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Charisma as attachment to the divine: Some Hasidic principles for comparison of social movements of Gandhi, Nasser, Ben-Gurion, and King (Volumes I and II)

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for comparison of social movements of Gandhi, Nasser,
Ben-Gurion, and King. (Volumes I and II)**

Fluharty, David Henning, Ph.D.

University of New Hampshire, 1990

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CHARISMA AS ATTACHMENT TO THE DIVINE:
SOME HASIDIC PRINCIPLES FOR COMPARISON OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
OF GANDHI, NASSER, BEN-GURION, AND KING

VOLUME I
(CHAPTERS I - VII)

BY

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DISSERTATION

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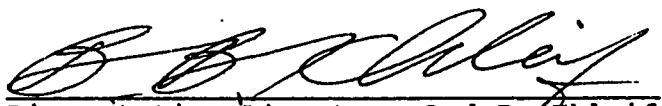
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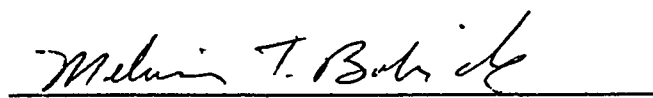
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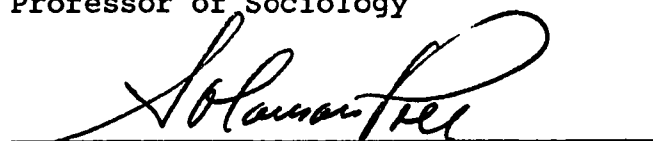
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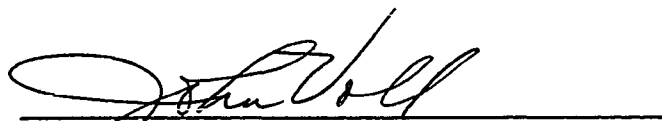
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ABSTRACT

CHARISMA AS ATTACHMENT TO THE DIVINE:
SOME HASIDIC PRINCIPLES FOR COMPARISON OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
OF GANDHI, NASSER, BEN-GURION, AND KING

by

David Henning Fluharty
University of New Hampshire, May, 1990

This study provides a comprehensive theory of charismatic relationships which, consistent with the original meaning of the term charisma, emphasizes the followers' belief that their leader is attached to their perception of the divine. In that the process of theory development shows its application to several modern leader-follower relationships, analysts can use the theory to examine such relationships in a variety of social settings.

The theory was developed from an ideal type model based on Hasidism, a significant Jewish religious movement which centers on the zaddik. Literally, zaddik means "righteous" and is applied to an individual who is believed to have a special relationship with God, and in Hasidism his role expanded to include tasks of leadership in all spheres of Hasidic life.

The ideal type model, constructed in twenty propositions, was compared to the characteristics of four

twentieth century leader-follower relationships which occurred in political and civil, that is secular, mass movements. The empirical data came from biographies, historical accounts, and personal remembrances describing the political, social, and personal relationships of the following charismatic leaders.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: India
Gamal Abdul Nasser: Egypt
David Ben-Gurion: Israel
Martin Luther King, Jr.: United States

The comparative analyses revealed that the leader-follower relationships of Gandhi and Nasser conformed to the model, but that those of Ben-Gurion and King did not conform to all propositions. It was found that the distinguishing features of charismatic relationships are that followers (1) believe the charismatic leader to be imbued with superhuman qualities, (2) believe that he has a divinely sanctioned mission, and (3) express those beliefs by showing him reverence and paying him homage. In other words, followers regard their leader as having divinely ordained, superhuman qualities.

Specific research for applications of the theoretical model is suggested, and a model for mass social movements, a by-product of the study, is also described.

CHAPTER I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY

Intent of This Study

The word charisma comes from the Greek charis which means a special favor, talent, or grace granted by God (O'Meara 1987, p. 84). The term, connected with the Latin gratia, was first rendered in English as charism or charisme with reference to the charisms of healing, prophecy, and other gifts of the spirit (Parrinder 1987, p. 218). Certain individuals were regarded as having attained a higher degree of perfection, and thus the "gift of grace," and as being therefore elevated above other human beings. For twenty-five centuries the meaning of the term itself went unchanged, but over the past several decades social and political scientists have expanded the concept of charisma to explain how certain leaders have profound and extraordinary effects on their followers (Morse and Morse 1985, p. 110; Wallis 1982, p. 25).

The basis for modern usage comes from Max Weber's application of the term charisma to designate a form of authority in which an individual, in secular as well as in religious spheres, is regarded as having an aura or emanation of supernatural origin, a "gift of grace" of body and mind (1947, pp. 328, 358ff; Parrinder 1987, p. 218).

Weber's formulations (which will be discussed in the next section) are generally regarded as having contributed greatly to our understanding of what has become known as the "sociology of knowledge" (Gerth and Mills 1946, p. 50), but he also "left many problems to his readers" in that his most important book, the three volume Economy and Society (1968), "was edited from disordered, fragmentary manuscripts without even the guidance of a plan or table of the proposed contents" (MacRae 1974, p. 101). Even with the admirable translations and prefaces of the entire work and several parts (for example, Gerth and Mills 1946, Weber 1922/1963 and 1947), many scholars have found Weber's formulations ambiguous and have debated what he, and thus the term itself, meant (MacRae 1974, p. 101; Hunt 1984, p. 161). In short, the concept of charisma has attracted a great deal of attention but there is also a lack of consensus about key aspects of the concept.¹

In this study I have set out to provide a comprehensive theory of leader-follower relationships which (1) is based on the original meaning of charisma and (2) is applicable to both religious and secular social movements² and (3) across cultures. With regard to to the first purpose, I have attempted to identify the most fundamental characteristics of charismatic relationships by developing a model from the beliefs and behaviors found in Hasidism, a religious sect of the Jewish religion in which all social life centers around a charismatic leader. That model, derived from religiously

oriented writings and thus with many religious elements, is consistent with the original meaning of charisma.

To develop a theory applicable to secular social movements, the second intent of this study, the model is then compared to four leader-follower relationships of the twentieth century which have been popularly recognized as charismatic.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in India
Gamal Abdul Nasser in Egypt
David Ben-Gurion in Palestine and Israel
Martin Luther King, Jr. in the United States

In contrast with religious leaders, such as Hasidic leaders, who head ecclesiae and incorporate temporal ideas and structures to fulfill their religious goals, the leaders selected for comparative analysis had civilian followers and incorporated religious ideas of their particular cultures as necessary to bring about civic and political changes.

Development of a theory which applies across cultures, my third purpose, was generated by the tendency of many analysts to explain as charismatic specific leader-follower interactions in particular social settings, for example, Wilson (1975) for "primitive societies," Johnson (1979) for the Reverend Jim Jones' People's Temple, Zablocki (1980) for contemporary communes, Wallis (1982) for the Children-of-God sect, and Goldberg (1983) for modern religious cults. Such frameworks offer elements for a general theoretical model, but these elements may be specific to the culture in which they occurred. In order to develop a theory which is

culture-neutral, this study examines charismatic relationships in four cultures -- India, Egypt, Palestine and Israel, and the United States -- which differ greatly in basic values, norms, and practices and their social structure. What they have in common is that millions of people attached themselves to an individual.

In this chapter I discuss the concept of charisma and then describe the methodology used for theory construction: the construction of an ideal type model, the organizational framework for the model, and the procedures whereby the charismatic relationships of the selected charismatic leader are compared to the ideal type model.

Charisma

Max Weber introduced the concept of charisma into the social sciences through his development, by utilizing comparative and socio-historical evidence, of three types of legitimate authority -- legal, traditional, and charismatic.³ He emphasized the inter-transformation of these three type of domination in the historical dynamics of social change, and central to this approach was the "routinization of charisma" in which the extraordinary states of devotion and fervor of charismatic situation cool and gives way to incipient institutions (Gerth and Mills 1946, p. 54). In his conception of charisma in terms of a "specific theory of social change," its most important example being the role of the prophet but also included

political and military figures (Parsons 1949, p. 663). Whatever the charismatic leader's social position, his authority flowed from the followers' belief that he possessed personal gifts which transcended existing or customary practices in society. He creates new precedents by his rulings, and these carry the authority of divine judgements or revelations⁴ (O'Toole 1984, p. 164).

Charismatic leaders, in Weber's view, are revolutionary forces in history: They set the moral standard for a later age (Gerth and Mills 1946, p. 52; Weber 1968, pp. 758ff). Charismatic authority, however, tends to be unstable and temporary (Weber 1913/1946, p. 248). If the followers do not disband after the death of the leader, they convert charismatic beliefs and practices into traditional (charisma of office) or legal (rationalized) arrangements (Weber 1947, p. 364). Rationalization, Weber's overarching concept, may be defined as the decline of charismatic leadership and of the traditional norms of legitimacy (Gerth and Mills 1946, p. 51). There is no legitimate order without a charismatic element, which makes Weber's conceptualization of charisma both a theory of legitimacy and of social change. Social movements are instruments of social change, and Weber saw their first claim, above all else, to be of a spiritual order; hence, the importance of charisma in social movements.

Weber placed his concept of charisma in a framework of a tripartite division of forms of legitimate authority.

Although his framework is widely regarded as a perfectly valid scholarly objective, many scholars have questioned its adequacy for use as a theory of charismatic leadership in general, or of political leadership in particular (Tucker 1968, p. 733). Perhaps even more troublesome, Weber, in his later "vocational essays" (1919/1946a and 1919/1946b), revised his charismatic model and specifically condemned the quality of irresponsible release which is inherent in all forms of the original charismatic formulations. By having located charisma firmly within the structures of everyday life, and thus removing nearly all of its extraordinary and distinctive external characteristics, Weber left the concept ambiguously defined⁵ (Dow 1978, p. 90). Since the 1960s, the concept has become further confused by its wide public use to describe a person of great personal appeal and charm, especially a political leader with such qualities (Morse and Morse 1985, p. 110).

This study is based on the premise of Weber's original formulation: A figure is regarded as somehow connected to the divine, and with his following forms a movement which seeks social change. As used in this study, charisma means that quality of an individual which humans believe to exist (in that person) because of that individual's presumed connection with fundamental, vital, order-determining powers.⁶ In a charismatic relationship humans believe that a person is connected with what sociologist Edward Shils calls "the ultimately 'serious' elements in the universe and human

life" (1968, p. 386); in my terms, followers believe that the charismatic leader is attached to a divine source which gives him superhuman capacities and abilities.

This definition distinguishes between the charismatic leader whose qualities are seen as superhuman and the leader who is in fact extraordinary -- whether in intellect, energy, communications, piety, enthusiasm, dedication, courage, or self-confidence. The less-than-charismatic leader is followed, honored, and respected by those who recognize his or her actual qualities. Whatever a leader's actual qualities, and however extraordinary they may be, charisma exists when believers give these qualities a sacred dimension and then assign additional superhuman qualities. Because the followers believe that their charismatic leader is attached to a divine source of power which gives him enormous, superhuman capacities and abilities, they display their devotion and veneration to him.

Like Weber who borrowed the term charisma from early Christianity (1947, p. 328), I use the term according to its meaning as a gift which comes from what humans perceive to be a divine source. The priests of early Christianity were characterized by "a higher perfection...a special Charisma," but, through the establishment of the Christian Church, "the old charismatic gifts and free offerings were transformed into a hierarchical sacerdotal system" (Troeltsch 1911/1931, pp. 99, 109). That is, before the establishment of the priesthood and a hierarchical organization, certain

individuals were designated as "the charismas," that is, certain men were thought to possess "spiritual gifts." Generally, these gifts consisted of "the ability to penetrate the neighbour to the bottom of his heart and spirit and to recognize whether he is dominated by a good or by an evil spirit and the gift to help him to freedom from his demon" (Benz 1986, p. 306). In other words, many Christians believed that a certain individual had divinely granted superhuman capacities and abilities with which he could help his followers.⁷

This religious pattern is much like that first formulated by Weber for secular leadership.⁸ Civilians designate an individual as possessing superhuman abilities and believe these gifts to have come from some supernatural source. Believers attach themselves to the charismatic figure with the expectation that he will use his superordinary powers in their behalf. This leader then prescribes specific actions for his followers who act accordingly with the expectation that they will somehow benefit.

When the charismatic individual or a number of charismatic figures with similar prescriptions have large followings, some prescriptions become normalized into appropriate social institutions. For example, confession was a common practice in early Christian charismatic ministeries, and its charismatic elements became institutionalized in the Middle Ages in both the Eastern and

Western Churches as the sacrament of penance (Benz 1986, p. 306). Over many years, confession (now the Rite of Christian Reconciliation) has become a ritual within the Catholic Church with little remaining of the charismatic elements on which it was originally based.⁹

In as much as it is based on belief, charisma is fundamentally a religious phenomenon (Wach 1944, p. 337), but the attribution of charismatic properties also occurs in politics, work, families, medicine, the military, and other social spheres. In this study, I will develop the distinctive features of charismatic relationships from (1) theoretical principles for early Hasidic religious charismatic leaders, and (2) analyses of selected secular leaders concerned mainly with political changes.

Methodology

Development of a general theory to describe and explain charismatic relationships begins with an ideal type model made up of twenty formally stated propositions. The conceptual model is then compared to behaviors of leaders and followers found in four modern charismatic relationships (those of Gandhi, Nasser, Ben-Gurion, and King), and, where necessary, revised. Taken together, the modified propositions constitute a general theory. In the following sections I describe the methodology in detail focusing on the construction of the ideal type model, its organizational framework, the source of its construction, and the method of

comparative analysis.

Construction of the Ideal Type

Max Weber introduced the ideal type as a tool for analysis of social behaviors in the real world. It refers to the construction of certain elements of reality into a precise conceptual model (Gerth and Mills 1946, p. 59). According to Weber (1949, p. 42), these "rational, empirical-technical and logical constructions" help the researcher examine a behavior pattern or a thought pattern as if it possessed logical correctness and consistency. To construct the conceptually-pure model, the researcher systematically categorizes the important features of a social phenomenon in such a way that he or she can use it to test reality.

In this study an ideal type for charismatic relationships is constructed from analysis of the No'am Elimelech (Elimelech of Lyzhansk, 1787/1977) which describes the charismatic relationships of the zaddik (pron. TSAD-dick; plural zaddikim),¹⁰ the charismatic leader in the Hasidic sect of Judaism. In several instances, I also analyzed the early history of the Hasidic movement to supplement the No'am Elimelech.

The ideas and concepts of the No'am Elimelech were brought to my attention by Professor Emeritus Solomon Poll whom I assisted in the translation of nearly 200 "principles" (our term) considered applicable to charismatic

leadership. Rabbi Elimelech's description of charismatic relationships are not in an organized form. To organize Rabbi Elimelech's principles, I attempted to construct a model for charismatic leadership by combining the characteristics discussed by various authorities. Perhaps because of their divergence of definitions of charisma and their variety of approaches, I was unable to develop from them a coherent and comprehensive framework which could account for many of the No'am Elimelech principles. In particular, the literature on charismatic leadership insufficiently emphasizes the superhuman elements which predominate Rabbi Elimelech's concepts.

Unable to fit the Rabbi Elimelech's concepts into a conventional model for charismatic relationships, I categorized the religiously oriented writings of the No'am Elimelech, and the historical circumstances of its author, into a series of propositions organized in a framework discussed in the next section. Together these propositions constitute an ideal type for charismatic relationships. To test that model, I researched the beliefs and behaviors of three modern charismatic leaders and their followers and analyzed them to determine the extent to which the ideal type model explained secular charismatic relationships.

The Organizational Framework

After several unsatisfactory attempts to organize the No'am Elimelech principles, I found that they would fit into

a framework based on a developmental approach which treats charismatic relationships over time. Use of a developmental perspective recognizes that a charismatic relationship develops in stages, allows one to focus on its characteristics at every point in its life cycle, and highlights the changes that occur over its life cycle. Obviously, each individual charismatic relationship has its unique features, but across many charismatic relationships one can identify a similar pattern of behaviors and interactions within each stage. A model organized around a developmental perspective enables one to know what to expect of any given charismatic relationship at any given stage and in the next stage.

One can also identify the normative expectations of behavior, the social roles of the charismatic leader and the followers. In my model, the role of the leader is a primary component in each stage. The behaviors by which he fulfills that role and the followers' behaviors in reaction to him are major characteristics categorized into propositions for the ideal type model.

The developmental framework is at the societal level in that it analyzes charismatic phenomena in society as a whole. Nonetheless, my goal is to formulate a theory which applies to all settings in which a charismatic relationship might occur. As will be discussed below, the ideal type model is based on a sect of a major religion, but beyond that I assume that the same characteristics occur within any

charismatically led group and between it and the segment of society in which it operates. It is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study to demonstrate rigorously that the characteristics of the charismatic relationship developed from society-wide charismatic movements apply to all charismatic movements regardless of their size or social setting.

The developmental stages of a charismatic movement appear to coincide with those described by Eric Hoffer (1951) for a "mass movement," a term he uses to designate very large collective actions which occur over a period of time and across more than one social institution. Before settling on Hoffer's typology as an organizational framework, I had examined the theories which described "social movements" in the social science literature.

Not only is there disagreement concerning the concept, but I could not find a widely accepted, comprehensive theory which seemed to encompass the process whereby charismatic movements formed, ran their course, and ended. In his classic study of the "true believer," Hoffer describes such a framework in his division of mass movements into three distinct stages, each characterized by the roles that dominate each stage: (1) preparation stage -- people of words, (2) dynamic stage -- fanatics, and (3) stabilization stage -- people of action.¹¹

The Preparation Stage. By "people of words" Hoffer refers to those scholars and literary figures -- male and

female, "priests, scribes, prophets, writers, artists, professors, students, and intellectuals in general" -- who study, evaluate, and speak and write about their society (1951, p. 121). Frequently concerned with how and to what extent citizens share the benefits of society, many people of words emphasize the circumstances whereby those in the lower statuses are deprived of social benefits. The typical and creative people of words value the search for truth and appeal to reason, but in their objective analyses they often question the actions and authority of the current social arrangement. Many place the blame for deprivation on the social structure.¹² Such a person of words, according to Hoffer, imperceptibly "undermines established institutions, discredits those in power, weakens prevailing beliefs and loyalties, and sets the stage for the rise of a mass movement" (1951, p. 120). That is, some people of words who operate within the social mainstream tend to discredit the prevailing order and generate dissatisfaction with the basic premises and precepts of the social order.

The less creative people of words are those who are more committed to redressing wrongs than to truth and objectivity. Such people of words are usually outside the social mainstream and engage in direct intellectual protest on behalf of the downtrodden and the deprived. They have a grievance with the social order and deliberately attempt to discredit it.

In the preparation stage people of words, whether the

typical and creative or less creative, discredit existing beliefs and institutions and thereby make possible the rise of a new fanatical faith, a disillusioned mass, and a hunger for faith in some passionate purpose. The passionate, faith-hungry mass is prepared for collective actions to bring about their social goals. The "charisma-hungry" -- borrowing Erik H. Erikson's term (Tucker 1968, p. 745n) -- are prepared to join a charismatic movement.

The Dynamic Stage. The dynamic stage of a mass movement begins when a significant number of faith-hungry people select a leader. The most active participants in a mass movement, whether charismatic or non-charismatic, are nearly always its most fanatical members, those characterized by contempt for the present and intemperate zeal for its destruction or at least radical reformation. Fanatics relish extreme acts and tend to create disorder and chaos, and often attempt to substitute the creation of disorder for the goals of the movement; the dynamic phase is characterized by recklessness and chaos. The leader is himself a fanatic.

In a charismatic movement, the followers fanatically attach themselves to a charismatic leader who prescribes actions which the followers carry out with fanatical zeal. Having dedicated themselves to a charismatic leader, they surrender to the extraordinary, to what is alien to all regulation and tradition, and, to what they view as divine (Weber 1968, p. 1115). Being followed by people without

regard for the prevailing social norms, the charismatic leader disseminates rules of conduct and modifies them whenever he sees the need to do so. Followers believe these proclamations to be divinely ordained, and they comply with his prescriptions without question.

Even when the original goal is reached, the fanatic feels driven to continue. Fanatics provide the primary force of the movement, but if not constrained they bring about internal strain and disruption. Indeed, the chaotic dynamic phase must end before the fanatical element destroys the movement and whatever it has accomplished.

The Stabilization Stage. When the charismatic movement seeks to stabilize its gains, the leadership functions as practical people of action. The stabilization stage begins with the transition in leadership role. In Hoffer's words, "With the appearance of the [person] of words the explosive vigor of the movement is embalmed and sealed in sanctified institutions" (1951, p. 135). The person of words ends the disorder and chaos of the movement and establishes its goals into the normative structure of the society. The charismatic leader is a fanatic and he is usually replaced by a practical person of action or, in rare instances, the charismatic leader himself may be a person of action.¹³

The Zaddik

The ideal type model is made up of twenty propositions which spell out the distinctive features of charismatic

movements, and are organized according to Hoffer's typology in Chapters III, IV, and V. The propositions were formulated by repeated classifications of the ideas and concepts from the No'am Elimelech written by Rabbi Elimelech of Lyzansk (1787/1977), himself an early Hasidic zaddik.

Hasidism is a significant Jewish religious movement giving rise to a pattern of religious life characterized as a close-knit group that prays with enthusiasm and ecstasy and centers on the zaddik, their charismatic leader. This socio-religious outlook (discussed in more detail in Chapter II) developed in the Carpathian region of Central Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century, largely in reaction to the great emphasis placed upon overly formalistic worship and observance. Literally, zaddik means "righteous" and is applied to an individual who is believed to have a special relationship with God (Rothkoff 1971a, col. 910).¹⁴ Among his followers, the zaddik has an extraordinary magnetism which followers express in all forms of behavior. They flock to his worship services and to his meal ceremonials; they grab food morsels he leaves on his plate; they emulate him and believe him to have the actual powers of God.

The followers of the zaddik believe that he embodies superhuman qualities; they admire all his activities and obediently follow his instructions; they look to him to provide spiritual guidance; and they believe that his powers are supernatural and God-given. They observe his personal

development and enjoy and gloat over his successes. All personal characteristics and other attributes imputed to the zaddik are self-evident in the eyes of the followers. In other words, the charismatic qualities of the zaddikim are in the eyes of the beholders, not necessarily self-proclaimed by him nor regarded as an inventory of personality traits removed from the social context of the religious community. In a charismatic relationship the community of followers attributes qualities to the leader that are extraordinary, and they believe this extraordinariness to derive from God-like, supernatural powers. The community visibly demonstrates in action that the leader has all of these extraordinary qualities.

The No'am Elimelech was one of the most popular and widely reprinted volumes of Hasidic teachings and Rabbi Elimelech was a leading theoretician of the zaddik concept (Green 1988, p. 94; Liebes 1971, col. 661). Rabbi Elimelech wrote for his religious disciples, followers, and successors, and his text vividly describes the superhuman qualities associated with the zaddik. He presents a set of relationships: those between the zaddik and the Hasid, the zaddik and other zaddikim, and the zaddik and God and the divine "worlds."

Historically, the zaddik's role expanded to include tasks of leadership in all spheres of the life of the followers. Rabbi Elimelech saw spiritual life intertwined with all aspects of life -- social, political, and

economic. His concepts therefore incorporate charismatic leadership in all the affairs of the community. Rabbi Elimelech's concepts cover nearly all the communal social relationships one would expect to find in a study of charismatic relationships.

The principles from the No'am Elimelech, and, in a few instances, facts from the history of the Hasidic movement were categorized into twenty working propositions to form the ideal type. Initially, there were forty categories. These were combined, and several deleted as not relevant to this study, so that the propositions, taken together, appear to describe in pure form a charismatic leader and the relationship between him and his followers. It focuses on the followers' belief that the charismatic leader is attached to a divine source of enormous power. The comparative analysis seeks to determine the extent to which certain modern charismatic relationships conform to an ideal type model.

Comparative Analysis

The ideal type highlights certain common features of similar processes and structures and provides a basis to compare and contrast empirical events (Turner 1982, p. 34). It serves as a model of the social pattern of charismatic relationships in a hypothetical, pure form. The ideal type is hypothetical in the sense that the characteristics of beliefs and behaviors described in each proposition are

assumed or supposed to exist in real charismatic relationships. Proposition testing involves determining the extent to which each proposition is substantiated by the beliefs and practices of charismatic leaders and followers in secular charismatic relationships. Where the actual charismatic relationships do not fully conform to the ideal type model, I have modified particular propositions accordingly. The result of the comparative analysis is an empirically corrected theory of charismatic leadership.

The Sample

In this study, I selected particular charismatic relationships (my sample) from which I could infer the characteristics of all charismatic relationships (my population) (cf. Smith 1981, p. 266). In other words, the charismatic relationships between the men and their followers, the sample for this study, are assumed to typify the characteristics of all charismatic relationships, the population.

The first criterion for the sample was to select relationships in which each charismatic figure had a very large number of followers. It seemed likely that large charismatic movements would have been extensively studied by scholars and other writers, and a large amount of documentation would therefore be available for analysis. A second criterion was to select movements which occurred in the twentieth century because adequately documented material

was more likely for modern movements than for those of past centuries.

For a third criterion, to minimize the possibility of identifying culture-specific features as common features of charismatic relationships, leaders were selected from different cultures. Finally, the charismatic movement must center around an individual. Attraction to an individual constitutes what Weber calls "'pure' charisma" (1913/1946, p. 248). Charisma can be attached to an office (cf. Weber 1915/1946, pp. 295-301; Shils 1958 and 1968), but consideration of an office-holder would have required the problematic analysis of whether followers reacted voluntarily to his "charisma" or to his "legal" authority. In instances where a leader establishes an office, the movement usually centers around him as individual.

Applying this criteria, the selected leader-follower relationships occurred in the first three quarters of the 1900s, and centered around the following individuals.

Mohandas Karamachand Gandhi in India
Gamal Abdul Nasser in Egypt
David Ben-Gurion in Israel
Martin Luther King, Jr. in the United States

Since this study attempts to develop a comprehensive theory by using a comparative analysis of actual charismatic relationships, I also argue that leader-follower relationships are charismatic to the degree that they conform to the theory.

Unit of Analysis

In social research, the what or who is being studied is the unit of analysis (Babbie 1979, p. 585). In this study the unit of analysis is the charismatic leader and his followers. Using a sociological approach, this study examines social interaction to understand the concept of charisma. It analyzes the relationship between the charismatic leader and his followers and focuses on the followers' belief that he possesses superhuman qualities. Because they believe he has charisma, followers hold him in awe, reverence, and great honor, and they dedicate themselves to him.

A sociological perspective varies from that of many scholars, especially those concerned with leadership in political and organizational settings, who tend to view charisma as a product of the leader's personality. The sociological approach analyzes the charismatic leader-follower relationship as a unit; those who treat charismatic leadership from the personality perspective emphasize the psychological characteristics of the "charismatic" individual.

The personality perspective is widespread; as organizational behaviorist Robert House states in a classic paper: "Both the literature concerning charismatic leadership and the opinions of laymen seem to agree that the charismatic leader can be described by a specific set of

personal characteristics" (1977, p. 193). In addition to the use of a personality or psychological perspective by scholars, popular usage of "charisma" and "charismatic" has entered into the larger culture where these designations are given to the personalities of well-regarded public figures. As sociologist Bryan Wilson observes, "Journalists use the term charisma, even though they entirely misunderstand the social relationship that it expresses, and misapply it in describing the mysterious quality of leadership, attributing it to the man rather than to the public's belief in him" (1975, p. 14) emphasis in original).

A psychological perspective has a sociological component in that it recognizes the leader-follower relationship. In applying the terms "charisma" or "charismatic" to describe an individual's personality, the writer (or speaker) indicates that the personality characteristics of that person have a special appeal to some group of people. A sociological perspective also emphasizes that the followers exaggerate the charismatic figure's actual characteristics and impute additional characteristics to his or her personality.

The choice of a sociological or a psychological perspective has come to depend on the analyst's personal orientation largely because of the ambiguity of Weber's original expressions. As anthropologist Clifford Geertz writes, "In Weber's sociology...the concept of charisma suffers from an uncertain referent: does it denote a

cultural phenomenon or psychological one?" (1977, p. 150).

Indeed, Weber implies both psychological and sociological elements in his definition of charisma.

[Charisma is]...a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader (1947, pp. 358-59).

Weber's initial words appear to establish charisma as a psychological characteristic of an individual. The passive voice construction of the definition also indicates that followers "endow" the individual with powers, "regard" these powers as of divine origin, and "treat" him as a leader. In a more directly stated passage, Weber describes the sociological element as "the recognition on the part of those subject to authority which is decisive for the validity of charisma" (1947, p. 359). In other words, charisma can only be that which is recognized by believers as "charismatic" in the behavior of those they treat as charismatic (Worsley 1968, p. xii).

The leader and his followers as the unit of analysis, coincides with the conclusion of Dankwart A. Rustow, a scholar who specializes in leadership studies and who categorized the various ways researchers analyze leaders. After noting a tendency to analyze charismatic leadership as a matter of psychological attributes, Rustow calls for

"additional study using a sociological approach in that charisma is a relationship, a process of interaction" (1970, p. 16). He recognizes the role of the followers and their perceptions as the most important factors in a charismatic relationship (ibid., pp. 10-16). Charisma is not merely an attribute of individual personality, but is a set of superhuman qualities believed to exist in an individual which is manifest through the followers' interaction with their charismatic leader.

In summary, I have analyzed the behavioral characteristics of each charismatic leader and his followers with respect to each other. I have also analyzed the behaviors and social circumstances relevant to charismatic leaders and followers before a relationship develops (Chapter III, Propositions 1 through 4), and the interactions between charismatic movements and the larger society (Chapter V, Propositions 18, 19, and 20).

Content Analysis

The information about empirical behaviors was gathered by a content analysis of the biographies, historical accounts, and followers' personal remembrances describing the political, social, and personal relationships of Gandhi, Nasser, Ben-Gurion, and King. As used here, "content analysis" refers to the means whereby the researcher summarizes, standardizes, and compares already existing records (Smith 1981, p. 147). Because each of the selected

charismatic leaders is widely recognized as a historic figure, there is abundant material from which to determine the characteristics of each charismatic relationship. From this information, the comparative analysis attempts to determine the extent to which a pattern, as operationalized from the propositions of the ideal type, does or does not exist in the charismatic relationships examined.

Manifest and Latent Content. A content analyst must decide whether the analysis should be limited to manifest content (items actually present) or whether it may be extended to latent content (the interpretive "reading between the lines" of symbolism underlying the physically present data) (Hoelsti 1969, pp. 12-14). Most of the essential characteristics sought in this content analysis involve behaviors. Behaviors can be treated as manifest content in that the authors of the material analyzed report on what happened and how people acted; from well documented materials one can determine directly whether or not a particular characteristic from the ideal type model exists in the real world.

Determining the significance of behavior usually requires interpretation. Because some propositions involve beliefs, establishing the significance of behavior and determining beliefs often necessitate analysis for latent content. Interpretation involves inquiry into symbolic meanings of messages of various authors. A message may convey a multitude of messages even to a single receiver

(Krippendorff 1980, p. 22). I have attempted to address the problems inherent in analyzing latent content by using many sources reflecting varying perspectives.

Primary and Secondary Sources. In some instances the materials analyzed were primary sources, such as personal accounts and transcripts of interviews. For the most part, the study relies on secondary sources, that is, information that comes from persons who did not directly observe the events (Long et al. 1986, p. 176). With secondary sources it becomes important to have a great variety of potentially disconfirming or supporting evidence for proposition testing (Smith 1981, p. 148). The evidence is therefore independently corroborated when various writers reach the same conclusions.

I relied on an abundance of material and sought writings of many people with a wide variety of perspectives. To the extent possible, I have sought well documented materials, which enabled me to compare various interpretations of the same factual information. All too frequently, however, analyst relied on a leader's own writings and speeches (for all four leaders, these were voluminous). For example, several writers relied on Gandhi's autobiography for information about his early life, including the important period when he emerged as a charismatic leader. Robert Payne (1969) independently examined this period and documented the differences between his findings and Gandhi's writings. I have attempted to

rely most heavily on such independently substantiated materials.

A related methodological problem involves the tendency of writers to focus on the perceptions and actions of the leader. Historian Clayborne Carson illustrates this focus in the literature about the civil rights movement: "The tendency to view the struggle from King's perspective is evident in the most thoroughly researched of the King biographies" (1987, p. 450n). This was also true for Gandhi, Nasser, and Ben-Gurion, and the interpretive writings for all four movements. It was therefore difficult to find information about the perceptions and behaviors of followers, and their perceptions and behaviors with respect to the leader are at the heart of my definition of charisma and for the comparative analysis. As will be discussed later (in Chapters VIII and IX), certain propositions could not be substantiated for the leader-follower relationships involving Ben-Gurion and King. There is the troubling possibility that substantiating evidence could not be found because of this tendency in the literature. In the comparative analysis of King, I investigated original sources, but journalists also tended to focus on the leader (cf. *ibid.*, p. 450).

In summary, the methodology involves (1) formulation of propositions based on the principles of the No'am Elimelech which in aggregate constitute an ideal type, (2) content analysis of writings about selected actual charismatic

leaders, (3) analysis to determine the extent to which charismatic relationships conform to the propositions of the ideal type, and (4) modification of the propositions as necessary to reflect that analysis.

The history, beliefs, and practices of early Hasidism are discussed in Chapter II with an emphasis on those details necessary to understand the principles of the No'am Elimelech used to construct the ideal type model. The ideal type model is presented in Chapters III, IV, and V, and summarized in Appendix D. The comparative analysis of the selected charismatic relationships is described in the next four chapters: Chapter VI - Gandhi, Chapter VII - Nasser, Chapter VIII - Ben-Gurion, and Chapter IX - King. The resulting theory is described in Chapter X, and summarized in Appendix E.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. In large part this lack of consensus results from theorists' attempts to develop distinct frameworks for the explanation of many different human behaviors. They identify "charisma" as one type of behavior, define the term according to their theoretical perspective, and fit the distinctly defined concept into their framework. Sociologist Benjamin Zablocki provides some examples which are also often referred to in the literature of the social sciences (1980, p. 10).

Charisma has been defined as a form of authority (Weber, 1947, pp. 358ff), as a pattern of social structure (Parsons 1937, p. 567), as a pattern of readiness to be led (Friedland 1964, p. 18), as a shared system of beliefs (Turk 1971, p. 122), and as a form of interpersonal influence (Etzioni 1975, p. 305).

These various perspectives provide some valuable insights about charisma as a concept. Perhaps because the theorists focus on the development of a particular framework and insert the concept of charisma into it, the conceptual meanings of charisma itself is seldom fully developed.

2. The term secular, from the Latin secularis, originally indicated those members of the clergy who lived "in the world" and not in monastic seclusion. Beginning in the Late Middle Ages, its meaning broadened to include property and processes which belonged to the world and its affairs, as distinguished from the church and religion -- civil, lay, or temporal (Simpson and Weiner 1989, p. 848). In the twentieth century, the term has been increasingly applied in a sociological connotation, and as used in this dissertation, to indicate facilities, resources, personnel, and social processes and space which are civil, political and temporal rather than spiritual (Morse 1981, p. 1173; Wilson 1987, p. 159).

The concept of a social movement has a variety of meanings within sociology which at times create some difficulty (Marwell and Oliver 1984, p. 4). Nonetheless, the concept is widely used, usually with the writer defining it for his or her particular study. In this dissertation, a social movement is an organized group dedicated to causing or preventing social change and acting in unusual ways or outside of conventional channels (Stark 1985, p. 495).

3. Each of Weber's three types of authority has a separate basis for a claim to legitimacy. In his words,

1. Rational grounds -- resting on a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority).

2. Traditional grounds -- resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them (traditional authority); or finally,

3. Charismatic grounds -- resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him (charismatic authority) (1947, p. 328).

For Weber's description of legal authority, see 1947, pp. 329-41, of traditional authority pp. 341-58, and of charismatic authority pp. 358-63. He discusses these in other writings as well, and numerous summaries of his writings appear in the literature of sociology.

4. In this dissertation, masculine pronouns, such as in these sentences, are used when their antecedent is "charismatic leader." I would have followed the recently established linguistic standard to use non-sexist pronouns to indicate social positions, but I found that charismatic leaders are overwhelming male. Indeed, I was unable to find a woman whom I could classify as a charismatic leader in modern times. The strongest female candidate for classification as a charismatic leader is Eva Peron, but her position in Argentine society was so closely linked to that of her husband, Juan Peron, that a separate analysis was not plausible.

5. Political scientist Robert C. Tucker, who places himself "squarely upon Weber's side in the issue regarding the usefulness of the concept of charismatic leadership," cites two closely related and noteworthy criticisms of Weber's writings:

First, it is pointed out that on the basis of Weber's various formulations -- some of which are rather nebulous -- it is not easy to distinguish between leaders who really are charismatic and leaders who are not. And secondly, critics have observed that Weber provided no clear statement or catalogue of the personal qualities in charismatic leaders which give rise to the emotional bond with their followers that charisma implies. In short, the theory of charismatic leadership, as Weber himself expounded it, leaves us in some doubt as to which leaders are charismatic and what makes

them so (1968, p. 732).

The purpose of this study is to provide a comprehensive theory of charismatic relationships, and thereby establish a criteria for charismatic leadership, which overcomes the first criticism. Tucker develops a frequently referenced theory of charismatic leadership, but one which, as indicated by his second criticism, emphasizes a psychological approach to the phenomenon. As will be discussed below, charisma involves a relationship between the leader and his followers; it is sociological.

6. This definition is a modification of Edward Shils' classic definition:

Charisma...is the quality which is imputed to persons, actions, roles, symbols, institutions, and material objects because of their presumed connection with "ultimate," "fundamental," "vital," order-determining powers (1968, p. 386).

Shils implies that others impute the charismatic qualities and believe that these qualities exist; I have made belief by followers explicit. He also indicates that charisma is imputed to (and believed to exist in) "action, roles, symbols, institutions, and material objects." I agree with his assertion but, in my view, the assignment of charismatic qualities to other than human phenomena results from the believers association of the actions, roles, etc. with a current or a past charismatic leader. This study attempts to construct a theory for charismatic relationships in which the basic relationship is between a human charismatic leader and his followers. Thus, my definition applies to qualities believed to exist in a human being.

7. The endowment of charisma upon another differs from the practice of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in which the believers themselves have subjective religious experiences associated with miracles, signs, wonders, and "the gifts of the Spirit" (charismata), especially "speaking in tongues" (glossolalia), faith healing, and "casting out demons" (exorcism). See Anderson 1987 for a description of these forms of Christianity.

8. Weber analyzed at length the relationship between religion and the secular spheres, one in which religion is an essential and primary influence on social change.

It is clear that Weber perceives religion as a major force in human society, though one exerted in many different directions. ...whatever its presumed origins, religion emerges and thrives within specific social structures, and it expresses, reflects, or responds to the ideal and

material interests of different sections of particular societies. In Weber's view, therefore, the mutual interaction of religion and society can only be analyzed in a context of conflicting social groups and changing social structures. Religion may merely be affected by such conflicts and changes, or it may play a part in initiating or maintaining them. ...Weber's interpretation [of religion] concentrates upon its role in the dynamics of social change and the uncertainties of social conflict. But it is as impossible to understand society, in Weber's terms, without understanding religion as it is to understand religion without understanding society (O'Toole 1984, p. 169).

As will be shown in the comparative analyses of Gandhi (Chapter VI) and Nasser (Chapter VII), and discussed in the conclusion (Chapter X), the religious tradition of the followers seems to be a factor in their ascribing a divine attachment to a human being.

9. In general, the clergy in modern, conventional Christian churches are no longer seen as charismatic individuals. Christians no longer endow their clergy with, nor believe that he or she has, superhuman qualities by which that individual can act on their behalf. Benz (1986) notes that people in modern Western societies live in diverse cultures and their interests center on their work, education, and entertainment and on the personal effects of local, national, and, increasingly, world events. Members of these cultures tend to expect individual pastoral care with the cleric acting more as a counselor than as a confessor and with the relationship one of practitioner-client more than of a leader endowed with spiritual gifts. In other words, modern clerics frequently function as a psychologist with a spiritual orientation, and this spiritual component does not constitute a charismatic relationship between the cleric and his or her "client."

10. The spelling of "zaddik" is from the Encyclopaedia Judaica (cf. Rothkoff 1971a). Other transliterations of the Hebrew include "zaddiq," "tsaddik," "tzaddik," and "saddik."

11. In Hoffer's description of the three stages, he refers to "man" or "men" of words or action (1951, pp. 119-38). Since the early 1950s when Hoffer wrote The True Believer, nonsexist language has become the norm in American society. Where a noun may apply to either a male or a female, "person," or "people" for plural, is now considered appropriate.

12. The term "social structure" is rarely used outside the social sciences, and within sociology there is

widespread disagreement about what it means (cf. Porpora 1989, p. 195). It is therefore noted that in this dissertation social structure refers to an organization of social positions and the distribution of people in them. In this conception, its components include social status, roles, institutions, and, in macrostructure, societies.

13. In Hoffer's distinction between the roles for each stage, he also indicates that separate individuals should fill each role.

A movement is pioneered by men of words, materialized by fanatics, and consolidated by men of action. It is usually an advantage to a movement, and perhaps a prerequisite for its endurance, that these roles should be played by different men succeeding each other as conditions require (1951, p. 134).

Hoffer also notes that only certain rare leaders, such as Gandhi, can be a fanatic and then a person of action (ibid., p. 135). As will be shown in Chapter VI, Gandhi was not a participant in the negotiations for Indian statehood, largely because he was too fanatical to be a practical man of action.

14. The Encyclopaedia Judaica (EJ) is organized in columns with each of the two columns per page numbered consecutively in each volume. When a source from the EJ is cited, "col." denotes a particular column, and "cols." denotes more than one column.

CHAPTER II

HASIDISM

The purpose of this study is to develop a general theory of charismatic relationships which emphasizes the idea that charisma is a function of the followers' belief in that they impute divinely granted characteristics to an individual and treat that person as if he (or she) possessed them. This idea appears in Hasidism in the relationship between the zaddik (pronounced TSAD-dick; See Chapter I, p. 16) and the Hasidim (sing. Hasid), the believers of the unique religious philosophy.

Hasidism arose, as a sect of Judaism, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century in Podolia and Volhynia, then in Poland and Czarist Russia (today southern Poland and southwestern Ukrainian S.S.R., USSR; see Appendix A for geographical gazetteer). Over the next century the movement spread to Lithuania and the Austro-Hungarian Empire and eventually to Israel and North America. For the past two centuries it has remained one of the most influential social and religious movements within Judaism (Shaffir 1974, pp. 2-3). The zaddik is the central figure, and the charismatic leader, in a Hasidic community. The zaddik-Hasidim relationship is described in No'am Elimelech written by Rabbi Elimelech of Lyzhansk (1787/1977), an early zaddik in the Hasidic movement.

The ideal type model, described in the following three chapters, is constructed mainly from Rabbi Elimelech's concepts as written in the No'am Elimelech. The social process by which the Hasidic movement was created, spread, and became stabilized serves as a basis for several of the propositions of the model. Hasidism, as will be discussed in detail below, developed like all religious organizations in that it evolved out of specific religious experiences of particular founders and their disciples (cf. O'Dea and Aviad 1983, p. 38). In that Hasidism developed as a mass movement through the preparation, dynamic, and stabilization stages, the principles of Rabbi Elimelech and the conditions and events pertinent to the formation of Hasidism conform to the theoretical framework used in the construction of the ideal type model.

In this chapter I first describe the social setting in which Hasidism formed (its emergence, development, and stabilization), and then describe Hasidic teachings, especially the beliefs and expressive activities surrounding their charismatic leader (the zaddik) and Rabbi Elimelech's expansion of the role of the zaddik to secular as well as religious functions. Hebrew terms are defined in the text, and longer definitions are given in chapter notes and the glossary of Appendix B.

The Preparation Stage

The preparation stage of the Hasidic movement involves

the social setting of Jews in Eastern Europe. During the 16th and 17th centuries, Jewish communities developed a stable social structure within the predominantly Christian states. The deterioration of that social structure in the 1700s prepared Jews for Hasidism.

The Social Structure

Sixteenth century Eastern Europe consisted of small rural communities devoted to agriculture with few means to communicate or travel between them. Nearly everyone struggled for survival. Jews were excluded from the social mainstream. The local community imposed sociopolitical restrictions upon the Jews which limited their residences and occupations. Typically, Jews were expected to organize and regulate their own communal affairs which created among Jews intense social interactions, community consensus, and a reinforced Jewish religious culture. While there were some differences between Jews in different communities, and over time, as a general pattern Jews composed a distinct social order. They often lived in separate quarters of a community, and in some places behind the walls of ghettos. "They attended their own religious institutions, were guided by their own clergy, lived by a distinctive annual calendar, and rarely interacted socially with the non-Jewish community" (Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1984, p. 12).

The larger the size of the Jewish community, the greater the formality of its organization. Typically, the

political organization of the typical Jewish communities consisted of Synagogues and the kahal. The kahal was the political organization of the Jewish community made up of a council and the courts (Shaffir 1974, p. 3; Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1984, p. 13). The kahal governed the political affairs of the community, but was involved with religious life as well; rabbis were frequently judges, synagogue wardens were bailiffs, and Talmudic civil law was the basis for court decisions. In many communities, the court and its officials carried out the ritual decisions of the rabbis. By the middle of the sixteenth century, this scheme of communal government was firmly established throughout Eastern Europe (Shaffir 1974, p. 3).

The struggle for physical survival dominated Jewish life and forced nearly all Jews to live in tune with the norms of the community. These norms included strict observance of religious rites; for example, one attended synagogue at prescribed times. The small size and tight social bonds of the community strongly influenced both religious and social conformity. Beadles, pillories, and vigilante committees enforced religious and communal norms. The effectiveness of these social sanctions made, with few exceptions, the political authority of the rabbis superfluous (Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1984, pp. 25-26).

The traditional structures in many Jewish communities began to deteriorate during the wars and social upheavals in Eastern Europe in the middle and late seventeenth century.

The most serious upheaval was caused by the Cossack insurrection initiated by Bogdan Chmielnicki in 1648-1651 in the Ukraine. The number of Jews who perished is estimated in the tens of thousands and as many as 300 communities may have been destroyed (Ettinger 1971a, col. 482; Davies 1982, p. 467). The refugee problem was very serious; the communities that survived had to absorb hundreds of dispossessed and very poor Ukrainian Jews. The massacres left the Jewish population of Poland fearful, economically ruined, and spiritually quite dazed (Mindel 1969, p. 10).

The kahal structure survived the Cossack massacres but with less power. The economy in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, also deteriorated during the last half of the 1600s which further decreased the structure's hold on the people. Kahal treasuries could no longer cover expenses and incurred debts and dependencies to monasteries, churches, and priestly orders. Synagogues were closed, buildings mortgaged, and nobles demanded more money from Jews. As most Jews individually and collectively slipped into even deeper poverty, they increasingly turned to those few Jews who were wealthy. As the wealthy Jews gained power, they purchased rabbinical positions for sons and sons-in-law. This growing corruption and nepotism fanned resentment of the communal government, fostered internal conflict, and began a decline in the authority of both rabbinical and secular authority (Shaffir 1974, p. 5; Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1984, p. 18).

During the period of deepening poverty for the Jewish people and deterioration of the hierarchical structure, Talmudic learning became the profession of a narrow circle of scholars; the lower classes, meanwhile, stagnated in ignorance and superstition (Dubnow 1918, p. 199). As the intellectual gap widened between a rabbi and his congregation, so too did the communications and bonds that had held them together. As historian Harry M. Rabinowicz concludes, "He lived in their midst but was not one of them" (1960, p. 20).

The Sabbatian Movement

By the mid-1600s Polish Jewry was materially ruined, its masses pauperized, and its social and religious structure severely weakened. Jewish life was characterized by harassment, persecution, oppression, bribes, and heavy taxes. Frustrated by these conditions, many Jews sought alternatives and were thus susceptible to a messianic awakening (Scholem 1973, p. 591). Throughout Volhynia, Podolia, Lithuania, and White Russia, the area that a century later would be the seat of Hasidism, many Jews from all sectors of their society accepted Sabbatai Zvi as the Messiah¹ (1626-1676) (ibid., p. 596). In the 1660s some Jews of Poland "abandoned their houses and property, refusing to do any work and claiming that the Messiah would soon arrive and carry them on a cloud to Jerusalem" (Dubnow 1918, p. 205; cf. Scholem 1973, pp. 594-95). Others fasted

and engaged in specific rituals to prepare for the arrival of Sabbatai Zvi from Jerusalem. On his journey he was arrested in Constantinople and offered the choice of death or conversion to Islam. He chose to convert but this could not eradicate the messianic expectations of many Jews (Shaffir 1974, pp. 4-5).

In other words, by late in the seventeenth century the once strong social, political, and religious structure had deteriorated and with it the intense bonds that held together the Jews of a given community. The Cossack massacres and later raids had caused communities to absorb new members, which, coupled with severe economic times throughout Eastern Europe, deepened the poverty of the Jews. The religious elite had become separated from the masses and a small but significant movement, Sabbatianism, had formed but nearly dissipated. The Jews entered the 1700s with a gravely weakened social structure which would be subjected to further dramatic changes. For many Jews, the conventional structure could not satisfactorily deal with the changes of the new century, and for a large number of them Hasidism filled the religious as well as social and political void.

Modernization

Modernization transformed Europe in the late 1600s and throughout the 1700s; the forces of change encompassed everyone -- peasants, landlords, artisans, burghers, and of

course Jews. Political authority and organization changed dramatically, economic opportunity developed and expanded, mass education emerged, and new ideas about the equality of man and the injustice of privilege evolved. The pace of change varied within countries (urban populations and middle classes were effected earlier than others) and across the continent (generally from west to east), but all of Europe was affected during the eighteenth century (Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1984, p. 31).

The Dynamic Stage

The dramatic social changes heightened the conflict between the affluent and the poor, magnified the gap between the Talmudic scholars and the unlearned masses, and placed increasing demands upon an already weak social structure. In this climate of social turmoil, two movements gained a foothold in many European communities: Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment) primarily in Western Europe, and Hasidism in Eastern Europe. Both movements filled the need for spiritual uplifting and guidance which rabbis, and for some the failed Messiah Sabbatai Zvi, did not satisfy. Because our interest is in Hasidism, I will elaborate on that movement.

In all societies, even where there is a stable social structure, small groups form on its fringe or margin or "periphery" (Shils 1961, p. 129). When the social structure weakens, new movements emerge from among these groups. For many years, dating back to the 1500s when rabbinical

authority was at its apex, some few Jews formed a variety of small religiously oriented groups. Consisting largely of itinerants and recent arrivals, that is people socially peripheral, the groups were widely diverse. Leaders differed in levels of learning and adherence to rabbinical authority. Members varied from the learned and the wealthy to the ignorant and the poor. Within this diversity, groups had a common characteristic: Each group developed an extraordinary allegiance to its specific leader, whose authority derived more from personal charisma than formally ordained traditional practices (Band 1978, p. 10).

The Formation of Hasidism

Sabbatianism had developed from among these people, as did Hasidism later (ibid.). Joseph Weiss, a recognized expert on Hasidism, concludes, "There is a striking resemblance between the late Sabbatian elite and the early Hasidic one." These men, few with a definite home, journeyed from town to town as itinerant preachers, preachers of penitence, exorcists, and emissaries (1985, p. 12).

As with typical founded religious organizations which begin with a charismatic figure and a circle of disciples (O'Dea and Aviad 1983, p. 39), Hasidism formed from the teachings and disciples of one of these charismatic, itinerant religious leaders: Rabbi Israel Ben Eliezer whom the Hasidim consider the founder of their movement. Born

about 1700 in Okup, a small town on the border of Volhynia and Podolia, he was orphaned at an early age and cared for by some charitable townspeople. He left school and while still a teenager became a teacher's assistant and later a synagogue beadle. As a young adult he continued on the social fringe, wandering through towns and villages, and became a leader of small marginal groups of religious enthusiasts. He gained a reputation as a miracle worker and was increasingly regarded as a man of righteousness and saintliness (Shaffir 1974, p. 6-7).

Called Israel Baal Shem by his early followers, he and his contemporaries led separate, independent groups which merged together over time into the Hasidic movement. In his later years Israel Baal Shem became known as the Baal Shem Tov. Baal Shem literally means "Master of the Name" and the honorific was used to designate men who, it was believed, eased the pain of illness and poverty through their knowledge of the secret names of God (Mintz 1968, p. 25). Shem Tov is the "Good Name." Baal Shem Tov is "The Master of the Good Name," thus distinguishing Israel Ben Eliezer by this honorific from contemporary baal shems who lacked his perceived holiness.

Attachment to the Baal Shem Tov by a number of followers initiated the dynamic stage of the Hasidic mass movement. His residence in Medzibezh, Podolia, became a center of the emerging movement. Just before his death in 1760, he chose Rabbi Dov Baer to succeed him. As he was a

relatively new figure among the many contemporaries, disciples, admirers, and followers of the Baal Shem Tov, many refused to accept his authority; in his chronicle of the succession, Abraham J. Heschel writes, "Only two or three of the youngest disciples attached themselves to him" (1985, p. 16). When, within several years, many of Baal Shem Tov's contemporaries and prominent disciples who had opposed Dov Baer withdrew from active leadership, his court at Mezhirech (in Volhynia) became the new center of the movement (Rubinstein 1971, col. 1392; Green 1982, p. 5).

Whereas the Baal Shem Tov and many of his contemporaries had not been teachers in the specific sense of the word, Rabbi Dov Baer, According to eminent theologian Martin Buber, "represents the quintessence of what makes up the teacher, and that is the reason for his special influence" (1947, p. 17). His teaching was not in an institute of learning, but instead he taught many disciples by his words and presence, just as apprentices lived with their masters and learned about their work and lives. This became the prototype for the spread of the movement as it created disciples, generations of disciples, and disciples of disciples (*ibid.*, p. 18).

The fame of the Great Maggid (great preacher), as he came to be called, spread and many students, "among them noted Torah scholars and remarkable personalities, came to warm themselves by his flame" (Heschel 1985, p. 16). According to Hasidic tradition, the Great Maggid had three

hundred disciples, about forty of whom are known as individuals by their personality characteristics, but most of them through their writings (Buber 1947, p. 23). In the thirteen years of his activity, his disciples spread his teachings throughout a large region around the Carpathian mountains, in what was then Podolia, Volhynia, Galacia, and Lithuania.

The Stabilization Stage

The next generation of leaders, many of them disciples of the Great Maggid (including Rabbi Elimelech of Lyzhansk), merged together the many groups into a rapidly spreading and growing movement. During the dynamic state, the large number of zaddikim and their respective followers increased greatly. These third generation charismatic leaders also stabilized the movement; in Weber's terms, they "routinized" the charisma of the Baal Shem Tov and the Great Maggid in the formation of stable communities (1947, pp. 363-92). In the small Jewish communities characterized by daily, vigorous interactions, the local Hasidic leader and his devoted followers became prominent groups. The third generation of Hasidic leaders tied their independent followings and even distinctive teachings to a common source, the teachings of the Baal Shem Tov as modified by the Great Maggid. They also regarded many of the historically independent contemporaries of the Baal Shem Tov and the Great Maggid as having been their disciples. The

name of the Baal Shem Tov survived in the historical consciousness of the Hasidim as that of the founder and central leader (Weiss 1985, pp. 4-5).

In summary, it can be said that Jews of Eastern Europe in the mid-eighteenth century were greatly frustrated by their social dislocation and social and religious deprivation. The Baal Shem Tov was the primary man of words and he began the dynamic stage of the Hasidic mass movement. Under the leadership of the Great Maggid, Hasidism grew and became unified. The third generation of leaders stabilized Hasidism into a normative pattern which still exists in Israel and various Western societies.

Thus, Hasidism developed according to the theoretical framework (described in Chapter I) used in the construction of the ideal type model (Chapters III, IV, and V). Although some of these conditions and events will be referred to in the presentation of the model, it is primarily based on the principles of Rabbi Elimelech. To understand those principles, pertinent teachings of Hasidism and Rabbi Elimelech are presented below.

Hasidic Teachings

Fundamental Ideas

Hasidic teachings, like those of other Jewish mystical movements since the Middle Ages, drew upon the esoteric theology of the Kabbalah (Smart 1984, p. 319). Whereas

traditional Judaic theology, as canonized in the Pentateuch and the Talmud, prescribes laws for behavior and religious ritual, the Kabbalah emphasizes interior experience and contemplation. The Kabbalistic literature, chiefly the Zohar, gave a new and esoteric account of the relations between God and the physical world. The Zohar depicts God as the "Endless" or "Infinite" (En Sof) which is far removed from the finite and imperfect world. The Kabbalah postulates that between the Infinite and the material world there are intermediate stages, or "worlds," which reflect and interpenetrate one another (ibid.).

Isaac Luria (1534-1572), among others, carried and developed Kabbalist ideas.² With the fall of Adam, according to Luria, the divine light of the ideal state of the universe was broken up into the "sparks" (nitzot) that illuminate the myriad of living souls. Similar to Luria's theory, the Baal Shem Tov taught that God dwells in all things in nature and in all humans; since God is in all things, goodness also resides in all things and all people (Hutchinson 1981, p. 344).

Beginning with the Great Maggid of Mezhirech, Hasidic theology emphasized the theories of the Lurianic Kabbalah, centering on the uplifting of "the spiritual sparks" (nitzozot). Hasidic interpretation of Lurianic theory maintains that, through contact with the concrete material world by means of attachment to or communion with God (devekut, "cleaving"), humans uplift the sparks imprisoned

in matter. Hasidic theologians also assert that the uplifting of spiritual sparks has particular application to the spheres of social life, thus creating a new system of social relations.

Some Hasidic scholars conceive the uplifting of spiritual sparks as indispensable, but many questioned whether every human is permitted to engage in it. The third and fourth generation leaders debated whether the Great Maggid intended the practice for all Hasidim or only for an elite whose extreme spiritual development would make them immune to the dangers of the concept's vulgarization. The latter interpretation came to occupy a central place in the literature of Hasidism, but the issue remains the focal point of an ongoing controversy (Schatz-Uffenheimer 1971, col. 1409).

Hasidic thought reflects a confrontation with social phenomena, transforms social concerns into legitimate problems, and addresses these concerns with mystical practices. Hasidic teachings are not expressed as established liturgical norms or formulas for the congregation, but they call for the worship of God through every material act. The Baal Shem Tov, his contemporaries, and especially his disciples issued doctrines which involved a sense of social mission for the Hasidim and their leaders (Schatz-Uffenheimer 1971, cols. 1407-1408).

In Rabbi Elimelech's writings, the zaddik draws "the flow of blessings" down to the earth (cf. Principle No. 29,

Appendix C). In the Jewish interpretation of the Bible, blessings (represented by the terms berakhah, shalom, and toy) include health, long life, many end enduring progeny, wealth, honor, and victory (Brichto 1971, col. 1084). So great is the power of the zaddik and his attachment to the magnanimous God, that he draws "blessings" in such abundance that they seem to "flow" from the upper worlds to his followers.

From its very beginnings, Hasidic teachings called for human worship of God by physical acts; that is, they regard the human physical dimension as an area capable of religious behavior and value. It is, moreover, incumbent upon humans to worship God even through mundane acts such as eating, drinking, and sexual relations, and with both the good and evil of their nature. Hasidic teachings affirm and reinforce corporeal worship with a theological concept grounded in the dialectical relationship between matter and spirit: "In order to reach the spiritual goal, man must pass through the material stage, for the spiritual is only a higher level of the material" (Schatz-Uffenheimer 1971, p. 1408). One cannot become liberated from the captivity of matter except by cooperating with it. The spiritual-reality relationship forms a supreme religious imperative. Subsequent to the Baal Shem Tov, the most extreme devotional and corporeal practices became recognized as suitable only for spiritually superior individuals, who would be safe from the dangers of excessive spiritual excitement and retreat

from the real world.

The Hasidic application of religiously oriented teachings to everyday activities is central to the zaddik-follower relationship, and, in the No'am Elimelech, Rabbi Elimelech emphasizes the role of the zaddik in all areas of life in the community. Because the No'am Elimelech principles apply to secular as well as the religious sphere, they provide, when organized into an ideal type model, a basis for comparative analysis of secular leader-follower relationships and the development of a general theory of charismatic leadership.

The foregoing emphasizes that part of Hasidic teachings that distinguishes the typical Hasid from the spiritually highly evolved individual. Extreme devotional practices, especially the uplifting of spiritual sparks, became seen as appropriate only for "righteous" men. The Hasidim looked to such a spiritually perfect man as their ideal, as a rare being capable of communion with God and of entering all "worlds," as a purified soul able to uplift the spiritual sparks from the mundane to the sacred worlds, as a channel for the favors of God, and as one from whom they must receive guidance for their own development; such man was their zaddik.

The Zaddik

In Hasidism the leader was the zaddik (literally "righteous one," pl. zaddikim) whose charisma made him the

paramount authority in the community of his followers. Through various activities and symbols the Hasidim expressed their belief in, devout admiration for, and obedience to their zaddik.

In the eyes of the Hasidim, the zaddik appears as if he controls God. In the No'am Elimelech, Rabbi Elimelech asks, "And who controls God," and he answers, "The zaddik" (Appendix C, Principle No. 38). Arthur Green, who translated the writings of a contemporary of Rabbi Elimelech, writes that the Talmud has God saying, "Who rules over me? The zaddik" (1982, p. 274n). He then notes that the preposition used for "over" is bi which can also be translated as "in." Thus, quoting Green, "the zaddik is one who recognizes that God dwells within him and is the source of all his powers, and that this is the meaning of his seeming authority 'over' the divine will" (ibid.). As stated by Rabbi Elimelech, "A gift was given to the zaddik to rule over God; God decrees and the zaddik annuls" (Appendix C, Principle No. 46). When humans invoke the Deity, both blessings and curses are basic prayers; when the Deity pronounces either good or evil against anyone, the pronouncement is to be understood as a decree rather than a prayer (Brichto 1971, col. 1084). The zaddik rules over God in as much as through his prayers he may annul the decrees of God. Jewish theological scholar Rabbi Louis Jacobs supports this interpretation: "In the comprehensive word on zaddikism, R. Elimelech of Lyzhansk's No'am Elimelech, the zaddik...is the man to whom God has

given control of the universe by his prayers" (1971, col. 1406). (This concept is applied in Chapter IV, Proposition 5.)

The idea of the zaddik as a charismatic religious leader had a long history in Judaism prior to its appearance as a central figure in Hasidism (Green 1977). The zaddik is seen as an individual who is considered righteous in his relations with God and man. The Biblical praises of the righteous men as well as the recognition of their tribulations had been interpreted as praises and recognition of the zaddikim (Rothkoff 1971a, col. 910). In the Hasidic movement the concept of the zaddik was raised to an unprecedented position of leadership over all aspects of communal life.

Taking the Baal Shem Tov as the founder, the zaddikim who succeeded the Great Maggid led the third generation of the movement. In this period the basic pattern of Hasidic leadership emerged. "From this generation onward," writes historian Avraham Rubinstein, "there were always a number of contemporaneous leaders, each claiming the allegiance of his followers" (1971, col. 1393). In the generation of the Baal Shem Tov, the zaddikim traveled extensively to meet with their followers; for example, Weiss notes that early documents describe Israel Baal Shem "as an itinerant exorcist, always on the roads" (1985, p. 17). Beginning with the Great Maggid and established in the third generation, each zaddik traveled little and usually stayed

at home in his "court," to which people flocked in devout pilgrimages (ibid., p. 18).

The Hasidic leader taking up residence in a particular town indicates the stabilization of the movement as a whole; the zaddik had become a permanent feature in many communities. Whereas decentralized and localized leadership resulted in an ever-increasing diversification of Hasidic thought and variation in the Hasidic way of life, the zaddik-follower relationships had common features.

...the zaddik provides the spiritual illumination for the individual Hasid and the Hasidic community from his own all-persuasive radiance, attained through his mystic union with God. This union and the ensuing enrichment of his soul are used for the sake of the people, to lead them lovingly to their creator. The zaddik is a mystic who employs his power within the social community and for its sake. A wonder-healer and miracle-worker, in the eyes of his followers he is a combination of confessor, moral instructor, and practical adviser (Rubinstein 1971, p. 1400).

In other words, the zaddik applies his charisma to the social and political as well as the spiritual life of the Hasid. It was the third generation of zaddikim who expanded their role from the religious realm into social and political spheres and thus magnified its importance.

With few exceptions, both leadership and allegiance were handed down from generation to generation. Passing upon the death of the leader to his designated son or, in some cases, chief disciple, there arose dynasties of Hasidic leaders and hereditary camps of followers. Many dynasties identified themselves by succession from a third generation

zaddik, and all were bound together by the teachings of the Baal Shem Tov as a common founder (cf. Buber 1948, pp. 338-41).

The pattern of leadership around a local figure assured the geographical spread and a growth in numbers of Hasidism throughout Eastern Europe. Changes of nation-state boundaries, most importantly the partitions of Poland and Lithuania (1772, 1793, and 1795), severed former lines of communications and cultural ties. Each charismatic head of a local center appealed to those of his region with his own style and interpretation of the Hasidic way of life. The local community became unified around its charismatic leader to resist the pressures and persecutions from civil authorities (Rubinstein 1971, cols. 1393-94).

The Hasidic movement was also resisted by Jews who considered it an illegitimate Jewish phenomenon, and especially by those who sought to retain the conventional structure. In its initial stages, Hasidism had been the subject of polemical writings arguing against its teachings, but it had not been proscribed; neither the Baal Shem Tov nor his charismatic colleagues had been seriously challenged. By the time the Great Maggid died (1772), only twelve years after the death of the Baal Shem Tov, Hasidism had become a threat to established Jewish society (Weiss 1985, p. 10). In addition to drawing large followings, many third generation zaddikim challenged, often quite effectively, traditional rabbinic institutions of authority

and models of religious practice (Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz 1980, p. 5n). In addition to an organized anti-Hasidic movement in Lithuania, Hasidism was opposed by local Jewish officials and congregations. The opposition in Lithuania was led by Elijah b. Solomon Zalman, the Gaon of Vilna, whose writings and sermons influenced his contemporaries and successors. The mitnaggedim, the opponents or adversaries of the movement, burned Hasidic works, published pamphlets opposing Hasidism, and instituted measures to ostracize the Hasidim socially, politically, and economically. It was the localized leadership pattern of the zaddikim which enabled Hasidism to emerge victorious over the mitnaggedim (Rubinstein 1971, cols. 1395-97).

Whereas the diversification in leadership and interpretation often led to considerable and open tension between the various Hasidic dynasties and courts, the different leaders maintained certain essentials of theories and traditions. Of particular interest for the construction of the ideal type for charismatic relationships, the spiritual outlook and pattern of leadership of the practical zaddik crystallized in the third generation. According to historian Esther Liebes, Rabbi Elimelech is considered the theoretician and creator of this "practical zaddikism" (1971, col. 662).

Elimelech of Lyzhansk

As young adults, Rabbi Elimelech ben Eleazar Lipmann

and his brother Rabbi Zusya (who later had his court in Hanipol) traveled from village to village as disciples of the Great Maggid. After the death of Dov Baer (1772), Elimelech established his court in Lyzhansk, Galacia (today Lezajsk, Poland) which became an important Hasidic center. In the doctrine of the zaddik Elimelech formulated the mores of Hasidic society. He transmitted the doctrine in sermons, letters, and treatises, many of which are collected in the No'am Elimelech, originally published in Lvov in 1787 (the year of his death) and republished in Brooklyn in 1977. In the No'am Elimelech Rabbi Elimelech interprets books commonly used by Jewish and Hasidic scholars, especially the Pentateuch, the Talmud, the Zohar, and the Lurianic Kabbalah.

Traditionally, the zaddik was solely a spiritual leader. In the No'am Elimelech, Rabbi Elimelech maintained that the zaddikim had leadership tasks in all spheres of life. In his theory, according to Liebes,

The zaddik had to live in the dialectical tension between the spiritual life of devekut (devotion) and the pragmatic, materialistic requirements of society. ...the authority of the zaddik comes from his direct connections with higher powers whose assistance he receives for his concerns for the individual and community (ibid.)

The concept of a direct attachment to the divine represents the ultimate "gift of grace," that is, charisma. Coupled with Elimelech's concept that the zaddik operates in all social spheres, his formulations of the zaddik-followers

relationship describe a pure form, an ideal type of the charismatic relationship. In the next three chapters (III, IV, and V) I present the propositions which make up the ideal type model for the comparative analysis of modern charismatic leaders (Chapters VI through IX).

CHAPTER NOTES

1. Born in the Turkish city of Smyrna, Sabbatai Zvi studied the Kabbalah and began to practice its ascetic disciplines with extraordinary fervor. He soon attracted a band of enthusiastic disciples who became convinced that their teacher possessed supernatural powers. In 1648, which, according to an opinion cherished in many Kabbalist circles, was to be the year of the Messiah's arrival, Sabbatai Zvi claimed messiahship. (Before his astonished followers, he pronounced the Ineffable Name of God). Driven out of Smyrna by conservative Jewish leaders, he traveled throughout the Near East gaining adherents.

In the fall of 1665 he returned to Smyrna and proclaimed himself the redeemer in the synagogue. His proclamation set off a wave of messianic hysteria, even among the most learned rabbis and lay leaders, which engulfed Jewish communities all over Europe and the Levant. All the fervent hopes were shattered less than a year later when Sabbatai Zvi, to save his life, removed his Jewish garments and donned the Turkish turban, thus signifying his adherence to the Moslem faith.

His conversion threw Jewish communities everywhere into consternation. Particularly in Poland, many Jews remained within Judaism but formed secret Sabbatian societies which clung firmly to belief in their master's messiahship and his ultimate appearance to glory (Martin 1974, pp. 47-49).

2. Issac Luria was one of the most creative and influential Kabbalists of the sixteenth century (Nielsen et al. 1983, p. 455). Many of his thoughts influenced Hasidism, in particular the withdrawal of God into Himself to leave room for human groping and error; the "broken vessels of Primary Light whose sparks subsist in the material world"; and the "bridging" of gaps, the in-gathering of sparks, and "restoration as a historical objective" (Weisel 1972, p. 264).

CHAPTER III

THE CHARISMATIC LEADER EMERGES

The methodology of this study involves the construction of an ideal type model of charismatic relationships and comparative analyses with that model of four actual charismatic relationships. This and the next two chapters present and discuss the propositions which together form the ideal type model. The propositions are constructed from principles related to charismatic leadership which are found in the No'am Elimelech (described in Chapter II, page 35ff).

The propositions that make up the ideal type are organized in a framework in which charismatic movements develop through three stages: (1) the preparation stage, characterized by the charismatic leader in the role of a person of words; (2) the dynamic stage, characterized by the charismatic leader and his most active followers in the role of the fanatic; and (3) the stabilization stage, characterized by certain followers, and in some instances the charismatic leader, in the role of practical people of action. The propositions of this chapter describe the social process by which the charismatic leader gains a following. The period prior to the charismatic leader's emergence is the preparation stage; when the charismatic leader becomes recognized as such, the charismatic movement begins its dynamic stage and he and his most ardent

followers assume the role of the fanatic.¹ (In the next two chapters (IV and V) I further discuss the dynamic stage, and in Chapter V include a proposition for the stabilization stage.)

Charismatic leaders and their followers appear to go through a preparation process made up of four distinct experiences. First, the charismatic leader-to-be encounters people living in conditions he considers objectionable and seeks improvements (Proposition 1). He then proposes and/or supports revisions of fundamental social values and norms, and he acquires a small network of devoted followers (Proposition 2). While the future charismatic leader is becoming aware of conditions and commits himself to improve them, the potential followers' social dislocation and deprivation prepare them for acceptance of a charismatic figure (Proposition 3). As the conditions fail to improve or worsen, the future leader issues a new doctrine which provides a vision of an idealized society² and repudiates much of the prevailing social order (Proposition 4).

The dynamic stage begins when the charismatic leader emerges, that is, when a significant number of people identify with his ideology and their place in the promised society and they attach themselves to him (Proposition 5). As additional people, usually those in the lower social strata, come to identify with the new charismatic leader, his following increases (Proposition 6). Followers attempt to comply with the leader's prescriptions despite the fact

that many are difficult and some require great economic and/or physical sacrifice (Proposition 7). The charismatic leader appeals to the followers through the effective use of argument and symbols (Proposition 8).

This chapter is divided into separate sections for description and discussion of each proposition of the ideal type model. Each proposition is introduced with a rationale for categorizing the No'am Elimelech principles. The propositions were developed through repeated classifications of the No'am Elimelech principles, and the rationale was based largely on the preparation, dynamic, and stabilization stages of Hoffer (1951). The introductory paragraphs thus emphasize Hoffer's typology as an organizational framework. Following each proposition statement, the basis of its derivation from the No'am Elimelech is discussed. (The notation "(#number)" refers to the numbered principles from the No'am Elimelech transcribed in Appendix C.) Each section ends with a short summary which clarifies the most important points of the proposition and the discussion.

Seeking Modification of Conditions

Category Rationale

The first step in the preparation of a charismatic leader is that he becomes greatly concerned about social circumstances, such as oppression or deprivation, which confront a segment of society. The potential charismatic leader encounters the harsh living conditions of many people

and he becomes so concerned that he sets out to improve their lives.

Proposition 1 - The charismatic leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their conditions.

The No'am Elimelech

Rabbi Elimelech indicates that the zaddik has always been a superior being (#1) but he characterizes him as having to develop himself to attain perfection; "The zaddik elevates himself constantly from one position to another as he becomes established in his service of God in truthfulness and completeness...." (#2). The perfect zaddik, according to the No'am Elimelech, is "the one who serves God in truth...and unifies himself in his thoughts to elevate himself from one level to the next until he attains the highest level" (#3).

When he has attained perfection the zaddik will serve God by modifying earthly conditions. As the zaddik develops toward perfection he "sees holiness on earth which his soul desires to elevate" (#4), finds evil in the "lower world" and seeks to remove it (#5), and "must concentrate all his intentions only for the good of the people" (#6). In general terms, prior to becoming recognized by many people, the potential charismatic leader must become aware of the earthly conditions, the good and the bad, and commit himself to improve -- for his people or tribe -- those conditions he finds objectionable.

In summary, a potential charismatic leader begins his preparation when he finds people living without the social and spiritual benefits generally available in the society, and he sets out to improve their conditions. Others are also concerned and, in the second step in his development as a charismatic figure, the individual joins their organizations and assumes positions of leadership.

Assumes Leadership Roles

Category Rationale

Societies establish procedures, through agencies for education and various forms of welfare, whereby their members can improve their conditions. When harsh conditions continue to exist, some people of words call for changes in the fundamental rules of the society (Chapter I, page 13). After the future charismatic figure observes the people's struggle for some time, he too calls for changes. The developing charismatic leader is usually a relatively minor person of words, but he first comes to the attention of others by his early speeches and writings. With but a few associates,³ his personal network is too small to be of significant influence. Nevertheless, this network forms a basis for the larger following by which he will later bring about the changes he sees as necessary.

Proposition 2 - The charismatic leader (1) proposes and supports revisions of the moral, ethical, and spiritual precepts of society and (2) gathers a small personal network of followers.

The No'am Elimelech

Revision of Precepts. In the previous section it was proposed that the charismatic leader found certain living conditions objectionable and sought to improve them. To bring about effective improvement in the social conditions, he must make many people aware of and concerned about them. As Rabbi Elimelech states for one particular type of charismatic leader, the zaddik, "There is a need for awakening in the lower world with which the zaddik will be able to emanate blessing to the world"⁴ (#7). And who is to awaken the people? The zaddik who "is obligated to open up the hearts of the people" (#8) and who awakens the "the fear of God from the upper worlds upon every person" (#9). Because it was Rabbi Elimelech who extended the leadership tasks of the zaddikim into all spheres of life (Chapter II, page 57), we can conclude that he views the zaddik as admonishing followers about moral and ethical as well as the spiritual ideas and behaviors.

A Personal Network. The abilities of the future charismatic leader are not yet those of a revered charismatic figure with divinely inspired abilities, but his abilities in the material world become recognized by a few people (#10). At this early recognition, he creates the basis for a future great influence on the improvement of conditions (#11). He has only a small following of his own, but from it the charismatic leader (zaddik) will later replace the influence of leaders in already established

organizations⁵ (#12). At this point in the development of the charismatic relationship, he is one of a number of leaders and not yet distinguished as "more elevated" than are other leaders (#13).

After becoming aware of people's unsatisfactory living conditions and setting out to improve them (Proposition 1), the charismatic leader-to-be, as at least a minor person of words, supports a revision of society's precepts and acquires a small following (Proposition 2). The individual leader is in a process of preparation for his emergence as a charismatic leader. The potential followers are also engaged in a preparation process, one by which they become predisposed to accept a charismatic leader.

Preparation of Followers

Category Rationale

Concurrent with the leader's development toward his emergence, followers endure circumstances which prepare them to become attached to the charismatic figure. Such people come mostly from the dislocated and deprived elements of society. For them the conventional social order has failed to provide a satisfactory way of life. They live on the fringe or margin of the social mainstream; in Shils' terms, they live on the social periphery.⁶

Certain people of words begin making these people aware of their place in society and also point out their right to a better life. With the awareness of their conditions comes

the realization that they can do little if anything about it. The distress created by their feelings of powerlessness and self-estrangement, that is, their alienation,⁷ preconditions potential followers for acceptance of a charismatic leader.

Proposition 3 - When the social conditions in a society are such that (1) many people are displaced and deprived of what is considered the normal pursuit of life, and (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of a charismatic leader to address them.

The No'am Elimelech

People become predisposed for acceptance of a charismatic leader when (1) they become aware of their economic, political, and/or religious dislocation and deprivation, and (2) they feel alienated, that is, powerless, self-estranged, meaningless, and socially isolated and dispossessed. Those who became predisposed to Hasidism saw their dislocation and deprivation and their feelings of powerlessness through the concept of exile, from the Hebrew galut, which expresses the Jewish conception of the condition and feelings of a nation uprooted from its homeland and subject to alien rule (Ben-Sasson 1971a, col. 275). The sense of exile was expressed by the feeling of alienation in countries other than their homeland (Israel), the yearning for the national and political past, and persistent yearning for the causes, meanings, and purpose of the exile (ibid.) Whatever their setting, people

become susceptible to acceptance of a charismatic leader when their conditions and their feelings about those conditions are analogous to the concept of exile which prevailed in Jewish communities and as discussed in the No'am Elimelech.

Rabbi Elimelech tells the Hasidim that "we must accept this exile with love until God will have mercy on us and will redeem us to an everlasting deliverance in our days..." (#14). That is, the socially dislocated and deprived must accept their material conditions until a higher power intervenes and then life will be greatly improved. Rabbi Elimelech also writes, "The Spirit of God is among us and we have the strength to attach ourselves to the Spirit of God" (#15). That is, the divine source is also in their exile-like deprivation, and when the divine power appears -- in human form as the charismatic leader (zaddik) -- they will be able to attach themselves to it.

When Rabbi Elimelech writes that "suffering in this world will bring him reward in the world to come" (#16) he likely means a spiritual world after physical death or a wonderful new earthly world. In the view of the socially dispossessed, their hardships are divinely recognized and the divine will somehow reward them for their suffering, preferably in this world.

People who become aware of their dislocation and deprivation and who become frustrated with it are preconditioned to accept a charismatic leader, one like the

zaddik who, according to Rabbi Elimelech, is able to turn misfortune into splendor (#17). That is, socially dispossessed people are prepared for attachment to a being capable of miraculous performances; such a being is the charismatic leader (the zaddik) (#18).

The potential charismatic leader has found social conditions objectionable (Proposition 1) and he has supported a revision of social precepts (Proposition 2). As just discussed, the followers' social dislocation and deprivation prepare them for attachment to a charismatic leader (Proposition 3). In the final step of the preparation stage, the charisma-ready people -- as if waiting for an emanation from the Divine -- become aware of such a being when he promises an idealized world such as that envisioned by the potential charismatic leader in the next proposition.

Repudiation of Present, Tie to the Past

Category Rationale

Conventional people of words usually direct their communications to the authorities of the social order, and some reach the dislocated and deprived peoples with the message that they are living without many social benefits which are available to others. The charismatic leader-to-be directs his ideas to the socially dispossessed and expresses his notions in lofty, transcendent terms.

The charismatic leader's doctrine contains four

elements: (1) It promises an idealized future society, (2) discredits the present society, (3) sets forth values, ideals, sentiments, and norms to be incorporated into the new social order, and (4) prescribes activities for himself and the people.⁸ The first three elements are discussed in turn in this proposition; the fourth element is noted in the next proposition and discussed in detail in Proposition 7.

An Idealized Society. Eric Hoffer addresses the ingredient of the idealized future when he writes, "Every mass movement is in a sense a migration -- a migration toward a promised land" (1951, p. 28). It is the charismatic leader who describes the promised land, a glorious new world in which the downtrodden and dispossessed will reap the benefits they desire; they will escape their exile. The charismatic leader describes this new society as one which is due the people and as one promised to them by a divine source to which he has access.

Repudiation of the Present. The charismatic leader's doctrine usually blames the present social order for the followers' dislocation and severe social and physical deprivation (ibid., p. 119). To make way for the ideal new world, he calls for the transformation, and in some cases the replacement, of the present social order. He portrays the existing social structure as without value, as worthless, and he describes it as evil, often as satanically evil. The charismatic leader thus repudiates and discredits the prevailing order in terms that emphasize its being

contrary to the nature of humankind and to the divine plan for humanity.

The charismatic leader makes the transformation of the present society as the morally righteous goal of the movement with the expectation that the envisioned new world will somehow follow. Nearly all of these ideas have been expressed by other people of words, but the charismatic leader borrows them. These ideas become identified with him, and he thus becomes recognized as the principal repudiator of the prevailing social order.

New Values, Ideals, and Sentiments. Having repudiated the current authority structure and the prevailing moral and ethical precepts, the charismatic leader's doctrine contains a new set of values, ideals and sentiments. Rather than create a new social foundation, the charismatic leader calls for redeeming social precepts from some historical time envisioned as a glorious period of the followers' past. He tends to exaggerate the glory of the past period, and also describes the acceptance of his values, ideals, and sentiments as being a part of a divine plan.

Proposition 4 - The charismatic leader issues a doctrine which (1) promises an idealized future society, (2) repudiates much of the existing social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of the group.

The No'am Elimelech

An Idealized Society. Faced with severe social

displacement and deprivation, many potential followers see themselves as dispossessed, as if in exile within their own society (Proposition 3). The charismatic leader describes a glorious new society, one promised to them by the divine and which is, in the words of Rabbi Elimelech, "a pure place, a place free from sins and evil" (#19). This "promised land" will have all earthly conditions including its mundane activities bound together and elevated to some mysterious, wondrous level, and the charismatic leader is prepared to unify everything, the earthly and the mysterious, for those who follow him (#20).

Repudiation of the Present. The charismatic leader also stipulates that the disillusioned and the frustrated can gain that wonderful future world only if the present social order is at least greatly reformed, and perhaps overturned. Focused on the future, he repudiates the most fundamental social ideals and practices of the present. Rabbi Elimelech provides an extreme example when he writes that "in the world to come there is no food and no drink" (#21). Food and drink are daily concerns in the world of the present, but such current concerns are not the usual human burdens or preoccupations; they have no importance in the future world of the Hasidim. Few charismatic leaders diminish the present to that extreme, but they disavow and renounce much of the fundamental social structure. They repudiate the present order in elevated, often spiritual terms; for example, according to Rabbi Elimelech, the zaddik "repels and

rejects" evil (#22), and calls "corrupt actions" of certain people to the attention of the divine (#23).

New Values, Ideals, and Sentiments. Having deprecated the present social order and its precepts, the charismatic leader provides another set of values, ideals, and sentiments based on idealized perceptions of the followers' past. The No'am Elimelech, the doctrine of Rabbi Elimelech, is itself an example. Rabbi Elimelech invented few new sentiments, values, and norms; rather, he revived those from a revered past. Like other early Hasidic writings, it has its origins in the Kabbalah, a collection of esoteric teachings which has formed the basis for many Jewish sects since the Middle Ages (Chapter II, page 47).

Rabbi Elimelech writes, "Every zaddik must go in the footsteps of his forefathers" (#24), and "the splitting of the Red Sea came through the spiritual awakening of the zaddik" (#25). Rabbi Elimelech thus connects the zaddik and the Hasid to their revered past and reinforces the values, ideals, and sentiments from their glorified past, giving them a sense of prowess, of empowerment.

People tend to forget their history and have to be reminded of it. From the charismatic leader's words which recall their past, they find the truth hidden within themselves as a people (#26). His doctrine asks them to return to a time and social place which occurred before the present evil existed (#27).

The charismatic leader issues a doctrine which (1)

promises the followers an idealized future society, (2) repudiates the present social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces values, ideals, and sentiments from the historical past of the followers. As has been indicated, the charismatic leader's vision of the existing and future societies tends to be in ideological and transcendent rather than in pragmatic terms, and his statements are laden with moral overtones. He portrays the social disorder as having cosmic causes and ramifications; the new society is part of a divine plan; the current disorder is a cosmic disharmony; and the glorious past has always pleased the divine source. Such ideas become the basis for the attachment of early followers to the charismatic leader, that is before his emergence as one who has "the gift of grace."

The potential leader and his future followers have undergone a process which prepares them for a charismatic relationship. With the preparation stage complete, the charismatic leader emerges, and the dynamic stage begins, when followers attach themselves to him.

Attachment to the Charismatic Leader

Category Rationale

Neither the disaffected mass nor the many small groups they have formed can become an effective force until they coalesce around a single fanatical figure.⁹ In terms of Hoffer's typology of people of words, fanatics, and people

of action, the charismatic leader and his most ardent followers assume the role of the fanatic and become unified through their charismatic relationship.¹⁰

People attach themselves to a charismatic leader when they feel (1) that the charismatic leader and his ideas have great power and (2) that a grand and glorious new society will result, a society in which they will have well-being, happiness, and prosperity.¹¹ In other words, followers must believe that the charismatic leader has the capability of bringing about his promised, glorious future and that their adherence to his prescriptions will result in the new world.

Proposition 5 - The followers attach themselves to the charismatic leader when they identify with his portrayal of their dislocated position in society and accept many of his prescriptions as the means to attain their rightful place in society.

The No'am Elimelech

Rabbi Elimelech describes the zaddik as one who envisions all that will happen when the Hasidim are spiritually redeemed (#28). Similarly, the charismatic leader's doctrine showed him to be a visionary and, to the followers, his actions evince his commitment to their having a rightful place in society. His call for revisions in the fundamental precepts of society (Proposition 4) indicates that he has an image of how to achieve this goal.

Many dislocated and deprived persons attach themselves to the charismatic leader, whom they believe to be connected

to the roots of the cosmos and can cause prosperity for everyone.¹² That is, they see him like the zaddik who, writes Rabbi Elimelech, "attaches himself to his roots in the upper elevations...and draws the flow of blessing down into this world" (#29). The numinous nature of the followers' belief in the charismatic leader's capabilities includes his being attached to a divine source of power. By virtue of his attachment to the divine, it is believed, the charismatic leader brings all manner of blessings upon the people. Rabbi Elimelech writes that the zaddik because he "cleaves (devekut) to God's attributes," is provided with "all the goodness and the flow of blessing which the zaddik will emanate to the people" (#30; similarly, #31).

Attached to the divine, the charismatic leader thus has the power to create a wonderful new society; Rabbi Elimelech writes that for the Hasidim "miracles and great happenings" come from a divine source "through the zaddik" (#32). Followers believe, paraphrasing the No'am Elimelech, that the charismatic leader can create a new life for them (#33, #34, and #35) in a new world in which harsh conditions do not exist (#36 and #37).

The charismatic leader not only has access to the divine source of power, but he appears to control it. "Who controls God?", asks Rabbi Elimelech and he answers, "The zaddik"¹³ (#38). The charismatic leader's enormous power is incorporated in his doctrine which is a decree not only for the followers but for the divine source as well; as stated

by Rabbi Elimelech, "The zaddik [charismatic leader] decrees as if he commands God and God fulfills his words"¹⁴ (#40; similarly #41).

Having such a divine power, no condition is so severe that the charismatic leader cannot alleviate it; even for those in social exile the zaddik has divine power (#48), and therefore the divine source itself is with those who are exiled (#49). Tied to a limitless source of divine power, the zaddik can overcome any worldly limitations (#50).

To receive the charismatic leader's "blessings," they must commit themselves to him; as Rabbi Elimelech writes, "It is impossible for the zaddik to bring forth the flow of blessing for those who do not agree with him" (#51). Indeed, the remedy for their own inabilities to live an acceptable life is to attach themselves to a charismatic leader (zaddik) (#52) on whom they can rely to bring forth happiness, well-being, and prosperity (#53).

In summary, followers (1) identify with the charismatic leader's portrayal of their conditions, and (2) accept his prescriptions as the means to attain their rightful place in society. The charismatic leader portrays their conditions in supernatural terms and sets forth his prescriptions as divinely ordained. The followers attach themselves to the charismatic leader as if he were attached to a divine source.

Later in the dynamic stage the charismatic movement will draw new members from all strata of society (Chapter

VI, Proposition 15), but in the early period the great majority of followers are the socially dispossessed. These are the people of the lower social statuses and are the ones with whom the charismatic leader must become identified.

Identification with Lower Statuses

Category Rationale

As just discussed, people are attracted to the charismatic leader's oral and written visions, portrayals, and pronouncements. He also demonstrates his concern for those on the social periphery, for the socially dispossessed, dislocated, and deprived segments of society; that is, for the lower statuses. Such exhibitions show that he identifies with such people and stimulate their identification with him.

The initial followers have the low self-esteem common with people who feel dispossessed.¹⁵ Regardless of their low self-worth, and in large part because of it, followers believe they can receive the charismatic leader's divinely granted favors.

Proposition 6 - The charismatic leader exhibits behaviors by which he becomes identified with those in the lower social positions of his society, and these behaviors show evidence of his unusual understanding and of their worthiness to follow him.

The No'am Elimelech

As discussed in the previous proposition (page 75),

followers believe that the charismatic leader, by virtue of his superior position in the cosmos and his access to divine power, is the source of happiness, well-being, and prosperity. To provide these favors "for children, life, and sustenance of the people," writes Rabbi Elimelech, the zaddik "must come down somewhat from his attachment to God [the divine source] and...see the needs of the world" (#54). He must intentionally detach himself from his elevated position (#55) and descend to the lowest level of society to bring about what the people need (#56). This apparent descent exhibits humility and modesty, which, in the eyes of the followers, enlarges his abilities (#57) and enhances his greatness (#58).

These exhibitions stimulate the followers attachment to the charismatic leader. The Hasidim see the zaddik as being involved at their level so he can understand their needs (#59). His display of humility becomes evidence that this being of enormous power will spread his favors upon all the people (#60); that is, the charismatic leader's identification with the lower positions in society shows that he will keep his promise of a much better life for all. He improves all society by improving the lot of its most disadvantaged elements.

It is the followers attachment to the charismatic leader that enables him to bring about improvements (#61) and which gives him the ability to stir interest, to excite, to arouse activity, and to bring about awe and reverence for

his ideology upon all people (#9 and #62). Adherents of the charismatic leader believe they become worthy through their reverence and allegiance to him; they therefore deserve any "blessings" and will receive special instruction from the leader (#63). It is also believed that the charismatic leader invites and encourages those who don't seek his help (#64). Some nonbelievers, especially former believers, are viewed as people who saw the charismatic leader's greatness but, being somehow evil, were followers for only a short time (#65). Yet, even nonbelievers receive benefits due to the charismatic leader's benevolence and charity (#66).

The charismatic leader's successful identification with the lower statuses does not diminish his own status or powers. In the case of the zaddik, one particular type of charismatic leader, he always remains elevated above others (#67), and just as he can descend from the upper levels, he can also elevate himself (#68).

In summary, the followers identify the charismatic leader with the lower statuses in the society, and they believe that he exercises his enormous power for all those who seek his help. Whereas the perceived greatness of the charismatic leader evinces their own unworthiness, he is also believed to be so extraordinary and magnanimous that he helps all people, the worthy and the unworthy alike. They view his behaviors in their behalf as evidence of his identification with them, and of their worthiness to follow him. As discussed in the next proposition, people attached

to such an extraordinary being try to comply with his prescriptions although they find many of them to be very difficult.

Difficulty of Prescriptions

Category Rationale

Followers attach themselves to a charismatic leader with the expectation that they will live in a new grand and glorious world in the near future, but attachment to a charismatic leader has a price. To make way for the promised idealized future society, the fanatical element of the charismatic movement, including the charismatic leader, seeks to disrupt the present society. Because disruption decreases the few benefits available, adherence to the charismatic leader's doctrine frequently makes an already difficult life one of even greater pain, suffering, and sacrifice.

In addition, those in conventional social positions of authority often attempt to suppress the movement, which inflicts more hardships on the followers. Some followers soon find many of the charismatic leader's prescriptions difficult to adhere to in that compliance requires sacrifices in the form of social sanctions, physical harm, financial hardship, or confrontation with established authorities.

Proposition 7 - In order to carry out the charismatic leader's doctrine the followers adhere to new prescriptions, some being difficult and

requiring great sacrifice, but they believe their adherence to even these difficult prescriptions is possible.

The No'am Elimelech

Followers identify with the charismatic leader's messages and ideologies as an extension of his charisma. According to Rabbi Elimelech, a follower's total devotion to the zaddik's messages and ideologies displays complete belief in the zaddik who can then "do a good deed for a person" (#69). In other words, the followers' belief in the charismatic leader, and expression of this belief through compliance with his doctrine, are prerequisites for his being able to provide improvements for them.

Followers may express their emotional attachment to the charismatic leader as love for him or as fear in the form of either reverence or awe (#70). Thus emotionally attached and unified with their charismatic leader, they too feel that they have increased capabilities (#71). They believe him to be a mixture of all manner of moral and spiritual perfection and, as Rabbi Elimelech notes, the "light" of the followers is ignited by him (#72).

The leader's prescriptions are difficult and can require great sacrifice, but their belief in him and his divinely ordained purpose motivates them to comply (#7). They also see their suffering and sacrifice as bettering the conditions of their community; in Rabbi Elimelech's terms, sacrifice will "create an awakening in the lower world" (#73) and "when the zaddik speaks he makes an impact upon

the whole world" (#74). The charismatic leader's sacrifices are a prelude to as well as part of action -- of rebellion, uprising, or opposition; it is rooted in group support.

In a No'am Elimelech metaphor, commandments are like "many branches of a tree, and every branch is attached to the main tree" (#75). Because the followers believe their charismatic leader's prescriptions to be divinely ordained commandments, they must attempt to adhere to all prescriptions because the "commandments" are interconnected.¹⁶

The followers' attachment to the charismatic leader entails adherence to his prescriptions, and they attempt to do so without question. The sacrifices required for these attempts add a further dimension to the charismatic relationship. Followers see themselves as having, according to Rabbi Elimelech, "an evil inclination to entice [them] every moment to do evil" and they "can stand up against the evil inclination and its power by self-mortification and suffering" (#77). In other words, pain and suffering caused by compliance with the prescriptions empowers them to overcome their inabilities and incapacities. In the words of the proposition, "they believe their adherence to even the most difficult prescriptions is possible."

In the face of even great difficulties faith in the charismatic leader and his power makes possible the followers' compliance. The followers' displays of reverence, devotion, awe, and unquestioning faith

demonstrate their belief in the charismatic leader's personal power. It is the emotional attachment to the charismatic individual and his messages and ideologies that stimulates their agitation, devotion, and excitement. The faithful draw strength from their attachment to the charismatic leader and compliance with his doctrine; the difficulties notwithstanding, they see attachment and compliance as the keys to their future.

The dynamic stage of the charismatic relationship begins when the followers emotionally attach themselves to the charismatic leader (Proposition 5). They identify him with those in the lower social positions of his society (Proposition 6) and attempt to comply with his prescriptions, however difficult (Proposition 7). The early period of the dynamic stage is based largely on ideas. As postulated next, the charismatic leader transmits these ideas through arguments and symbols and the ideas thereby become ingrained in the minds of the followers.

Arguments and Symbols

Category Rationale

The largest part of the charismatic leader's doctrine is usually a long, reasoned appeal to all of society's members. These essentially intellectual arguments for improvement of "harsh conditions stimulate the thoughts, imagination, beliefs, and values of many followers. "Intellectual" in the sense of scholarship is not

necessarily implied, but intellectual stimulation provides an increase in the followers' conceptualization, comprehension, and discernment of the nature of the problems they face and of their solution.

The significance of intellectual stimulation notwithstanding, the greater appeal is through the charismatic leader's frequent use of symbols. These symbols are compressed statements of major principles and beliefs, some of which become slogans with strong representational meanings, and objects which represent important ideas of the charismatic leader's doctrine.

Proposition 8 - The charismatic leader articulates his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and with symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas become ingrained in the minds of followers.

The No'am Elimelech

Whatever the form and substance of the leader's arguments, their power is magnified because the leader's words are regarded as having spiritual force; his utterances are symbols of his divine attachment. This is illustrated in Rabbi Elimelech's description of the zaddik: "The words that come out of the mouth of the zaddik create angels..." (#78) and "The words of the zaddik are called angels" (#79). That is, the rational and representational force of the leader's doctrine comes from the followers' belief that his very words have numinous qualities.

The charismatic leader reduces his arguments to slogans

and represents them in objects. The zaddik gives special meanings to particular words (#80), sometimes changing the meaning of common words for his purposes¹⁷ (#81). These representational meanings strongly influence belief in the movement, the followers, and the leader himself. The most obvious example of symbolic objects are flags and banners frequently displayed in charismatic movements, but the most important object is the charismatic leader himself, whom the followers deify (#82). The leader's physical body and pictures of him represent his ideas and the goals of the charismatic movement.

Charismatic leaders communicate many key ideas in metaphors; as Rabbi Elimelech writes, "In order for the zaddik to accomplish something, he must give a metaphor relating to the problem at hand, and the metaphor will implicitly solve the problem" (#83). The followers identify him with his metaphoric symbols which have wide appeal and great power.

In the preparation stage of the charismatic movement, the rational and representational force of the charismatic leader's doctrine transcends their intellectual meanings. Symbolic objects, most especially the leader himself, and also words, songs, slogans, and metaphors give representational meanings to the movement, the followers, and the leader. Symbolic images are the primary means whereby the doctrine becomes ingrained in the minds of the followers.

Chapter Summary

The propositions described in this chapter are listed in Appendix D for future reference. In summary, the first four propositions of the ideal type model cover the preparation stage of a charismatic movement. The charismatic leader and his followers must be prepared to enter into a charismatic relationship through experiences which have the following features. The potential charismatic leader becomes concerned about people's living conditions and sets out to improve them (Proposition 1). He then supports a revision of society's precepts and becomes active in public life through a small following in and a leader of groups committed to bringing about fundamental social changes (Proposition 2). Many people who are deprived of the normal benefits of the society are stimulated by people of words and become dissatisfied with their conditions; they thus become susceptible to attachment to a charismatic leader (Proposition 3). Finally, the charismatic leader issues a doctrine which promises a new idealized society, discredits much of the prevailing social order, and provides new values, ideals, and sentiments based on an idealized period of the followers' history (Proposition 4). The charismatic leader's doctrine is laden with moral overtones, portrays the people's harsh conditions as cosmic as well as social disharmony and disgrace, and calls for reformation based on a divine plan.

The dynamic stage begins when the charismatic leader

becomes seen as connected to the divine, one granted the gift of grace, and people attach themselves to him as a charismatic leader (Proposition 5). The charismatic leader becomes identified with the lower statuses due to his exhibited behaviors and these behaviors affirm that he understands them and that they are worthy of attachment to him (Proposition 6). The followers attempt to adhere to his prescriptions and find that some are difficult and require great sacrifice, but, being attached to such a wondrous figure, they continue to attempt compliance (Proposition 7). The charismatic leader continues to emphasize his ideas through rational arguments and symbolic images. His ideas thereby appeal to followers and become their own ideology (Proposition 8).

The next chapter further develops the ideal type for charismatic relationships through propositions which describe the common features of the followers' beliefs in the charismatic leader and of their expressive activities. At the heart of the charismatic relationship is the belief that the charismatic leader is attached to the divine. To followers there is no question that he has charisma, that is, the divinely granted gift of grace. The followers' specific beliefs and the ways in which they express those beliefs are the foundation for the charismatic movement and are established early in the dynamic stage.

After the ideal type model is described in this and the next two chapters, the following chapters discuss the

comparative analyses. The nine propositions described above will then be compared to the charismatic relationships of Gandhi, Nasser, Ben-Gurion, and King.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. As discussed in Chapter Note 4 (page 31), masculine pronouns are used in this dissertation when discussing a charismatic leader in general terms.

2. The level of analysis in this study is the society. See Chapter I, page 12.

3. The few people who become attached to him in this early period are usually relatives or companions with whom he has strong personal ties (Stark 1985, p. 320).

4. "Blessings" include health, long life, many and enduring progeny, wealth, honor, and victory (Brichto 1971, col. 1084). See Chapter II, page 49.

5. Rabbi Elimelech writes, "The zaddik walks on his heels supervising the continuous flow of blessing for the world" (#12). By the "walks on his heels" metaphor (From Genesis 25:19-34), Rabbi Elimelech implies that the charismatic individual takes the place of something or someone else. As applied here, the individual is an independent charismatic leader to only a small network of followers, but this network is the basis from which he will form a charismatic movement and replace the influence of leaders of existing organizations.

6. In Shils' model of society "there is a central zone in the structure of society."

The centre, or the central zone, is a phenomenon of the realm of values, and beliefs. It is the centre of the order of symbols, of values and beliefs, which govern the society. It is the centre because it is the ultimate and irreducible; and it is felt to be such by many who cannot give explicit articulation to its irreducibility (1961, p. 117).

One's relationship to this central zone of beliefs and values constitutes one's place in the society. The greater one's social distance from the center, the less the social rewards; that is, those on the "social periphery" have the least rewards (ibid., p. 120).

7. The term alienation has been used to describe such a wide range of psychological and social conditions in such a great variety of contexts that its meaning has become ambiguous and vague (cf. Mitchell 1987, p. 176; Zablocki

1980, pp. 8-10). For purposes of this dissertation, alienation means a feeling of powerlessness in regard to controlling one's surroundings and the feeling that what one does has little meaning or purpose (Sullivan and Thompson 1988, p. 531).

It should also be noted that the term is most frequently used by others after Marx's focus on a person's place in the economic order. The reader is reminded that, in a given charismatic movement, political or religious dislocation may be as important or more important than economic deprivation.

8. As will be discussed in Chapter IV, Proposition 13, unchanged or worsened conditions often stimulate demands by followers that he do something. Therefore, the charismatic leader will, at times, modify his doctrine, especially the fourth element, the prescriptions for actions within the movement.

9. Hoffer describes why it is necessary for a fanatic to lead the charismatic movement.

When the moment is ripe only the fanatic [charismatic leader] can hatch a mass [charismatic] movement. Without him the disaffection engendered by militant men of words remains undirected and can vent itself only in pointless and easily suppressed disorders. Without him the initiated reforms, even when drastic, leave the old way of life unchanged, and any change in government usually amounts to no more than a transfer of power from one set of men of action to another (1951, p. 130).

10. The mechanisms for unifying the charismatic leader and his followers are discussed at length in Chapter V.

11. These points come from Hoffer who describes the essential feelings of those who choose to participate in a mass movement.

For men to plunge headlong into an undertaking of vast change...they must have the feeling that by the possession of some potent doctrine, infallible leader or some technique they have access to a source of irresistible power. They must also have an extravagant conception of the prospects and potentialities of the future (1951 p. 20, emphasis added).

Because a charismatic movement is a particular form of mass movements, Hoffer's description applies to charismatic movements.

12. Specific major elements of the followers' belief are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

13. The concept that the zaddik controls God is clarified in Chapter II, page 52. In addition to No'am Elimelech Principle #38, this concept appears in Principles #5 and #39.

14. The concept that the zaddik can control God leads to the idea that God will therefore fulfill the decrees of the zaddik. Rabbi Elimelech also notes that the zaddik can "erase" or "annul" the decrees of God. This latter idea is found in No'am Elimelech Principles #42 through #47.

15. Hoffer often emphasizes the followers' low self-esteem and feelings of worthlessness. Relative to the socially dispossessed, he writes, "The less justified a man is in claiming excellence for himself, the more ready is he to claim all excellence for his nation, his religion, his race or his holy cause" (1951, p. 23). People with low self-esteem have a propensity to identify with someone or something extraordinary. In the case of a charismatic relationship they identify with the charismatic leader and his "holy cause."

16. The charismatic leader's prescriptions are much like those in conventional religious systems in that it provides a wide variety of divinely inspired "commandments" and through mandatory compliance believers can become attached to the divine without grasping its full meaning. Rabbi Elimelech provides an illustration from Hasidism: "God, in His great mercy, gave 613 commandments so that individuals could become attached to God" (#76). Followers need not fully comprehend the charismatic leader nor his demands of them; they need only to behave as the charismatic leader commands.

17. Examples of the charismatic leader's assignment of special meanings are given in the discussion of the four empirical charismatic relationships in Chapters VI through IX.

CHAPTER IV

THE PATTERN OF BELIEF AND ITS EXPRESSION

In Chapter III Propositions 1-4 described the preparation of the charismatic leader and followers leading to his emergence, and Propositions 5-8 described the charismatic relationship early in its dynamic stage. The viability and vitality of the charismatic movement in its dynamic stage depend on sufficient numbers of people having a pattern of belief surrounding him. In this chapter Propositions 9-14 describe that pattern and the actions of the charismatic leader and the followers which express their beliefs.

Ideas about the charismatic leader are determined by the followers who elevate the leader's perceived qualities to the highest levels of moral and spiritual perfection and purity. The most fundamental feature of their belief is the imputation of superhuman qualities to the point that they come to believe that those qualities actually exist. They go through the process of reification, that is, they tend to construct ideas and then treat them as if they had objective reality. Their social relations acquire a fixed, unchangeable quality as if the imputed superhuman qualities existed in the natural and the social world (cf. Abercrombie et al. 1984, p. 176). The imputed qualities, taken as a whole, constitute the "gifts of grace," the leader's

charisma.

The superhuman qualities come to be believed in as if they were a natural part of the charismatic leader, that is, as if he embodied them. Those who believe think that he uses these qualities for the followers' well-being (Proposition 9). The basic characteristics of the charismatic relationship also include the followers' belief that the charismatic leader has a divinely ordained mission (Proposition 10) and they see his behavior as representing ultimate behaviors which they should attempt to emulate (Proposition 11). Followers also believe that the charismatic leader bears their burdens and pain at great personal sacrifice, including imposing restrictions upon himself in order to bring about improved conditions (Proposition 12). They express these beliefs through a variety of displays of honor, respect, and reverence (Proposition 13). Finally, the intense adulation shown the charismatic leader may make him feel self-important, and his humble and modest acts in response to these expressions effect the charismatic relationship (Proposition 14).

The following discussion of propositions has the same format as used in the previous chapter. The rationale used to categorize the No'am Elimelech principles introduces each proposition. Because much of Rabbi Elimelech's writings focus on beliefs and expressive activities, the classification rationale was developed largely from an analysis of the No'am Elimelech principles. After the

introductory paragraphs, a proposition is stated and is followed by an elaboration of Rabbi Elimelech's applicable writings. Each section concludes with a brief summary and a transition to the next proposition.

Imbued with Superhuman Qualities

Category Rationale

As has been frequently noted above (Chapter III, Propositions 5 through 8), the followers believe that the charismatic leader has supernatural qualities which he can and will use to make all aspects of their lives better. The participants in a charismatic movement, particularly the initial followers, are mostly from that group of people who come from the dislocated and deprived sectors of the society (Proposition 3). To make life bearable, the frustrated seek new elements of pride, confidence, and hope, and a sense of purpose and worth (Hoffer 1951, p. 21). Individuals find new meanings through their intense belief in the charismatic leader who, they believe, knows the divine plan for a wonderful new world for them and has the supernatural abilities to bring it about. Above all else, followers believe that their charismatic leader is the embodiment of these superhuman qualities.

Proposition 9 - The followers believe their charismatic leader to be imbued with superhuman qualities which he applies for their benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being.

The No'am Elimelech

The charismatic leader is believed to have direct access to divine power, a concept which appears throughout Rabbi Elimelech's principles; for example, he often speaks of the zaddik as one who "attaches himself in high heavens" (#84), and "is constantly bound up with the upper worlds" (#85). In the eyes of the followers the divine source (God) gives the leader the gift of grace (#86). The followers believe their charismatic leader not only possesses divinely given superhuman qualities, but also that his very being is permeated with them, he embodies charisma.

When followers attach themselves to a charismatic leader they actually attach themselves to the charisma believed to be embodied in him, that is to what Rabbi Elimelech calls the "holiness" (kedosha) and "illumination" (behira) of the zaddik (#87). It is with respect to his perceived "holiness" and "illumination" that followers exhibit awe, devotion, passion, reverence, and complete trust. They become aroused through their belief in the charismatic leader's embodiment of superhuman qualities; they are convinced that he can defer and/or abolish the severe consequences of their fate (#88).

According to Rabbi Elimelech, the zaddik is an active force through which the divine source provides his community with everything they consider good (#89); he makes the divine presence relevant to their lives (#90); he "causes

the flow of goodness and blessings upon the people" (#91); he alleviates distress and helps to secure their abundant livelihood (#92). Followers of a charismatic leader believe that he, with power from the highest supernatural source, fills everything with loving kindness, goodness, and divinely granted favors (#93). When followers attach themselves to the charismatic leader they do so because they believe he will use his divine powers to do something beneficial for them. The charismatic leader, after all, can accomplish anything (#94).

The charismatic leader is constantly unified with the divine source of virtue and kindness (goodness) and of prosperity, well-being, and happiness (blessings), and by which he brings these to the people of his community and society (#91). To the believers, the charismatic leader's supernatural qualities are self-evident. The charismatic leader need not perform superordinary acts to bring divine favors upon the community. Because all his acts are superordinary, his being alone is sufficient; as Rabbi Elimelech writes, "The blessing flows out of the zaddik due to his attachment to God. This perpetual flow of blessing from the zaddik comes by itself without any effort" (#95). The followers believe that the leader embodies charisma and therefore improves their conditions even though they do not see him take some extraordinary action; when he appears to do nothing, he still transmits improvements for them.

The followers believe the charismatic leader to be

imbued with superhuman qualities, and that these qualities are believed to be part of his nature, inherent in him, and are therefore self-evident. The followers also believe that the charismatic leader will use these natural, inherent qualities to bring about the new "glorious world" he promised them. As described in the next proposition, they also believe that the divine source from which he received the qualities obligates him to use these qualities for the betterment of the followers's lives. He is obligated to use the "gift of grace" to achieve some divinely designated mission.

A Special Mission

Category Rationale

It is widely recognized that charismatic leaders believe they have supernatural missions and purposes. So also do followers believe their leader has a divinely ordained mission, that he is "called" by the divine source for some special purpose. They revere and venerate him as an agent of some omnipotent authority which charges him to perform a particular service. The charismatic leader usually considers himself as singled out before he is recognized by a group of followers, and the followers confirm the idea by their adulation.

It is also essential that followers believe they have an active role in the charismatic leader's mission. They must believe they are to fulfill some part of a cause that

transcends earthly limits. At work here is the process whereby humans turn practical purposes into holy causes.¹

Proposition 10 - Both the charismatic leader and the followers believe him to be designated by the supernatural for a special mission to fulfill and to convey to his followers.

The No'am Elimelech

The followers believe that the charismatic leader acts for their well being (Proposition 9), but also that his attachment to the divine source obligates him to do so. According to Rabbi Elimelech, the zaddik acts on behalf of the followers for the sake of a God-like power (#96). He "longs and desires for the fulfillment and satisfaction of the people.... The Lord places these desires into the heart of the zaddik..." (#97). Rabbi Elimelech also writes, "The calling of the zaddik is always to elevate the holy spirit of God" (#98). Similarly, followers believe the charismatic leader is called by the divine to fulfill a special mission.

Followers view the supernatural abilities of the leader and his divinely designated mission as being integrated within the leader himself. Rabbi Elimelech writes, "The real purpose in life is not the worldly.... The zaddik who elevates the spiritual sparks to the upper sea is the principal purpose" (#99). In hasidic teachings, humans and physical objects contain "holy sparks"² and these must be elevated into the "upper seas." Only righteous men, that is the zaddikim, can elevate "holy sparks" into the "upper

seas." Because, according to Rabbi Elimelech, the zaddik "extracts the sparks of holiness from them and transmits the sparks into the realm of the holy," humans are permitted to enjoy even basic earthly pleasures (#100). When Rabbi Elimelech writes that the zaddik is "the real purpose in life," he indicates that God's mission is integrated with the zaddik. In general terms, it can be said that the charismatic leader is believed to be singled out to resolve problems in the corporeal world as part of reestablishing harmony in the cosmos; to his followers, he and his mission are inseparable.

Followers believe the charismatic leader is attached to a divine source that wants to help the afflicted (#101). The source does not intercede directly but, according to the No'am Elimelech, "The flow of blessing of God is received only through the zaddik" (#66, also #102). Combining these principles, every person in difficulty can receive good fortune, favorable conditions, and happiness only through the charismatic figure who transmits all goodness from the divine source.

When Rabbi Elimelech writes, "It is the great honor of the zaddik that he draws his soul above and receives the flow of holiness" (#103), he indicates that it is a great honor for the zaddik to be one of a small number of select men so gifted. Likewise, followers believe their charismatic leader to be one of the very select few who is designated for such "great honor." They believe the

charismatic leader's association with such revered figures, such as the zaddik with other zaddikim, increases his abilities to bring them happiness, well-being, and prosperity (#104, #105 and #106). Some of these other figures may be people of words and thus their specific missions are to be philosophers and theologians; others may have missions which requires them to be socially and politically active (#107 and #108). Because both kinds are recognized, honored, and revered as beings imbued with supernatural qualities and purposes, the followers' association of their charismatic leader with them further elevates him and his mission to extraordinary, superhuman levels.

Followers also tend to perceive the charismatic leader and the other revered figures as a unified "brotherhood" (#109) which is responsible for all the goodness in the world (#110). Members of the brotherhood strengthen each other's abilities to bring forth improvements of conditions (#105). Followers connect their charismatic leader to other greatly revered figures and thereby elevate him to the highest levels attainable by human beings. Yet their charismatic leader is believed to be unique in as much as he has a special appeal to this specific group and to have powers and purposes independent of other charismatic figures (#111 and #112).

Followers also believe that the world cannot exist without the brotherhood of charismatic leaders (#113).

Believing that his divinely ordained calling makes him essential for the world, the followers elevate the leader to levels approaching deification; examples from the No'am Elimelech include: "When God created His world He consulted with the souls of the zaddikim"³ (#114) and "The zaddik will be called in the name of God and will also be one as they become unified" (#115). In other words, followers recognize the charismatic leader's attachment to and calling by the divine in that they deify him.

In the pattern of belief in a charismatic relationship, the charismatic leader is believed to be singled out by the supernatural for a divinely ordained mission. The holy cause for which the charismatic leader is believed to be designated is in many ways unique, but it is also likely to have similarities with the missions of others whom they recognize as "Great Men." Throughout history many societies have undergone circumstances in which members have lived in harsh conditions and have had leaders credited with advancing the dispossessed into the social mainstream. Some of these leaders became internationally recognized and honored as individuals who used their superhuman qualities to better people's lives. More importantly, perhaps, other figures endowed with charisma and with a special mission probably have existed in the history of the particular followers' society. When followers associate their charismatic leader with such figures, they not only elevate him and his mission to the highest previously attained

levels of human achievement and development, but they also elevate their charismatic leader to levels even greater than the perceived levels attained by other renowned figures. They thus make him a distinct "super-unique" entity in the history of humankind.

Followers show their recognition of his divine attachment through their actions. The model for their acts are the real and perceived behaviors of the charismatic leader himself.

The Ideal Type

Category Rationale

As proposed above, the followers believe the charismatic leader to embody superhuman qualities and to be designated by the divine for a special mission. They therefore see the charismatic leader's actions, or what they perceive to be his actions, as necessary to serve the divine source to which he is attached. These behaviors, whether actual or perceived, become the standard for their activities and willingness to serve their charismatic leader.

Proposition 11 - The charismatic leader's behaviors are the model for the behaviors of the followers.

The No'am Elimelech

Followers perceive their charismatic leader much as Rabbi Elimelech describes the zaddik as a being "who is

separated from everything worldly...as if he were not in this world at all" (#116). Followers envision him as being "above the element of time" (#117) and, adding to the mystery and wonder, "even his physical body is attached" to the divine (#118). Rabbi Elimelech also writes, "The zaddik, isolated from all worldliness and not involved in any worldly things, can reach superior perceptions in either sleeping or awakened states" (#119) and he can "hear without ears...and see without eyes" (#2). Whether the charismatic leader's acts and pronouncements are, by conventional standards, usual or unusual, followers impute an aura of mystery, wonder, and secrecy to them. So pervasive is their belief in an aura of enigma, the hidden, the unknown, and the amazing that mystery, wonder, and secrecy are thought to be self-evident in the behaviors of the charismatic leader.

The leader's behaviors, actual and perceived, represent in pure form how the followers should behave. The principles derived from the No'am Elimelech illustrate the behaviors seen as the ideal by the Hasidim: the zaddik is "in complete unity" with the highest positions in the cosmos (#120); he observes his own prescriptions, perceived as commandments of the divine, with the utmost dedication, purity, and devotion (#121); he increases his veneration of the supreme source even after an improvement of conditions (#122); he is associated with the divine in mundane activities, such as when eating and drinking (#123); and he complies with all prescriptions with an attitude and

enthusiasm as one who is unified with the divine (#124).

The zaddik, like other types of charismatic leaders, is seen as having constant reverence for and allegiance to the standards of the Supreme; metaphorically, the zaddik must not be deficient "by as much as a single strand of hair" (#125). He rejects ordinary pleasures, for example, "not even thinking of women" (#126). Whatever the nature of a charismatic leader's act -- whether it is mental, emotional, spiritual, or physical, seen or unseen -- followers see that act as a divinely ordained standard of behavior. Yet, believers cannot successfully emulate a being attached to the divine; few humans can be in a constant state of awe (#76). Rather, followers can and do pattern their actions by using the charismatic leader's behaviors as criteria.⁴ Rabbi Elimelech describes the effect on a follower when he or she views the charismatic leader as the ideal type:

It is a basic principle that a person should learn from the actions of the zaddik [charismatic leader]. One should see and meticulously observe his holy activities. Through this a person's innermost heart will become illuminated with holiness enabling him to start in the service of God. (#127)

The followers' behaviors toward and relationship with the charismatic leader are similar to the charismatic leader's behaviors toward and relationship with the divine. They try to act as though unified with the leader, to comply with his prescriptions as if commandments, to continue veneration even after their lives improve, to comply with prescriptions in mundane activities, and to behave toward

him as if he were divine.

The charismatic leader remains the exemplar even when he does not completely fulfill, or deviates from his doctrine. Followers justify apparent deviations in terms of his special position. As Rabbi Elimelech indicates, when the zaddik deviates he does so for some particular purpose (#128). It is, moreover, the greatest of zaddikim who, in Rabbi Elimelech's words, "sometimes will commit a sin for Heaven's sake because of his overwhelming righteousness" (#129, cf. #130). That is, when the charismatic leader appears to deviate from the ideal typical behaviors, followers interpret his actions as being for some higher purpose.

The charismatic leader, being human, has inclinations to do wrong, to sin (#131). In fact, as noted in the No'am Elimelech, the zaddik encounters greater temptations than do ordinary people (#132). Whereas his attachment to the spheres of divine power provides him extraordinary strength and endurance to meet temptations, he "may at times waver" and may appear to fall from his elevated position. Rather than being seen as a decrease in his dedication, many followers view the charismatic leader's apparent "fall" as strengthening him; for example, from the No'am Elimelech, "through his wavering he strengthens himself and becomes more careful" and "it will bring him to a feeling of humility" (#133). So important are the leader's conviction and his obligation to the divine source that, it is also

believed, the divine source arranges temptations to test the zaddik; as Rabbi Elimelech states, "God, in His great mercy, sends a certain sin in the path of the zaddik in order for him to strengthen and elevate himself, thereby lifting the whole world with him" (#134). In summary, to provide future happiness and prosperity for the community, the charismatic leader must continue to strive and struggle (#11). The perceptions of his constantly dedicating himself to his divinely ordained mission and his overcoming great temptation stimulate the followers similarly to dedicate themselves to him using his behaviors as a guide.

In summary, the charismatic leader's actual and perceived behaviors exemplify the demands of his doctrine. Followers believe him to behave according to a divine plan and thus consider all his behaviors as right and appropriate and as a model for their own acts. That is not to say that they act exactly as he does, but they try within their limitations. The supernatural is a mysterious, wondrous, and secret realm, and followers conceptually surround the charismatic leader and his activities with an aura of mystery, wonder, and cosmic secrecy. When the followers attempt to emulate the charismatic leader's behaviors, they attempt to behave as the divine would wish them to behave.

The charismatic leader is, in their view, attached to a divine source of power and is therefore capable of acts and achievements that are limited to such a being. As proposed next, such a being is also capable of bearing the many

burdens that befall the followers.

Bearing Burdens and Pain

Category Rationale

Inherent in the human condition is some amount of pain and suffering. The followers of a charismatic leader tend to be from among the socially dispossessed (see Propositions 3 and 4). For such people, pain and suffering are a part of their daily existence. A strong attachment to a charismatic leader offers believers the hope, in the vision of his promised new world, of relief from their physical, material burdens. Such attachment also allows them to transfer their spiritual and emotional burdens to him.

Proposition 12 - It is believed that the charismatic leader bears the spiritual and emotional burdens and pain of his people at great sacrifice to himself.

The No'am Elimelech

"The lives of the zaddikim begin with suffering," writes Rabbi Elimelech, "and end in tranquility" (#135). Followers recognize that their charismatic leader has overcome many difficulties. After he is established, his suffering continues as he bears their burdens and pain. The charismatic leader, it is believed, struggles and suffers during his life with the promise of tranquility when the movement achieves its goals.

For the zaddik suffering and self-denial may include

having no thoughts of physical desires; according to the No'am Elimelech he may not even have desire for his wife (#136). His self-denial is a cleansing by which he becomes completely attached to the divine source; in the words of Rabbi Elimelech, "When the zaddik purifies himself from all physical desires, even his physical body is attached to God" (#137). When the charismatic leader bears the spiritual burdens and pains of his people, he makes it unnecessary for others to suffer; as Rabbi Elimelech writes, the zaddik has "removed all obstacles...and thereby made it easy for others to enter the road leading to the way of God" (#138).

The charismatic leader's activities demonstrate that he bears the burdens of the followers, and others like them. "The zaddik," writes Rabbi Elimelech, "who is to influence God with his words and prayers, must remove himself from all pleasures and desires of this world," and "must relinquish his entire body and abandon all earthliness, at which time he can influence the flow of blessing" (#139). In other words, suffering is inherent in the charismatic leader and enables him to bring the followers a better life (#140).

To generate or reinforce the followers' belief, the charismatic leader makes visible his bearing of burdens by various public acts. The nature of his actions depends on the social domain attacked by the movement; for example, in political movements the charismatic leader accepts jail sentences, in religious movements he publicly displays painful religious observances, in economic movements he

displays his poverty. He may be carrying out his own prescriptions, or he may impose additional restrictions upon himself such as fasting or other privations. Whatever the act, he attempts to display his bearing of burdens, making sacrifices, and serving penance.

The perception that the charismatic leader bears the followers' burdens becomes increasingly difficult to maintain as the movement grows in size. The charismatic leader becomes surrounded by a small group of caretakers, advisors, and lieutenants who attend to his every need but who also control access to him. On the one hand, limited access to the charismatic leader adds to the perception that he is special, extraordinary, and elevated above other humans. On the other hand, the charismatic leader must be accessible and visible when he displays that he bears the followers' spiritual and emotional burdens. Such acts emotionally stimulate them to action.⁵

This proposition is the final postulated component of the pattern of belief in charismatic relationships. In summary, the followers believe (1) that the charismatic leader is imbued with superhuman qualities which he uses for their well-being (Proposition 9), (2) that he is singled out by the supernatural for special mission (Proposition 10), (3) that he exemplifies the demands of his doctrine (Proposition 11), and (4) that the charismatic leader bears their burdens and pain.

For belief to have social meaning, it must be expressed

through action. The next proposition presents the pattern of expressive activities whereby followers attempt to demonstrate their respect and reverence for the charismatic leader.

The Pattern of Expressive Activities

Category Rationale

In all social spheres, believers give meaning to their ideology through expressive activities. In charismatic relationships followers give meaning to their belief by the activities which signify or symbolize that belief. Common forms of expressive activity are adherence to the leader's doctrine, being in his presence, listening to him, and reading, reciting, and singing words by or about him.⁶ The followers' activities express the meanings they ascribe to him, reveal and signify their belief in him, demonstrate their reverence for and veneration of him, and recognize and reinforce the perception that he is elevated above other humans by his attachment to the divine source. In other words, followers express this belief through demonstrations of respect, reverence, awe, honor, devotion, admiration, fidelity, faith, loyalty, and veneration and by surrendering to him their freedom of choice.

Proposition 13 - Followers demonstrate their belief in the charismatic leader by giving him respect, holding him in reverence, and subordinating their will to his.

The No'am Elimelech

In every social domain those who believe in an ideology demonstrate their subscription to it. The charismatic leader-follower relationship has the added dimension that the leader is believed to be attached to the divine, and followers practically worship him. Similar to the No'am Elimelech principle that "God's actions, majesty, and grandeur must be glorified" (#141), followers believe they must glorify the divinely-ordained charismatic leader and they attempt to do so by a variety of physical activities. The Hasidim, for example, from their beginnings opened their own prayer houses (shtiblekh) and developed their own prayer rites, the particular version taking the form prescribed by their zaddik (Rubinstein 1971, pp. 1401-2). Songs and dances, whether in the prayer houses or at the zaddik's court and table, are also important forms by which the Hasidim express their belief.

In addition to glorifying the charismatic leader in the material world, it is believed that expressive activities empower the actor, the charismatic leader, and others in the movement. Rabbi Elimelech writes, "Whichever attribute of God a person worships, the same attribute will be awakened in the upper worlds..." (#142). Applied to the charismatic movement, whatever attribute of the charismatic leader a follower adheres to, that attribute will become "awakened," that is, activated within the movement. If an individual

physically displays compliance with the leader's doctrine, the act arouses compliance by others; an act that demonstrates sacrifice arouses sacrifice in others, and an act that exhibits reverence or awe or veneration or love or faith, etc. arouses that attribute among other followers. Awakening of such attributes within the movement increases the activity of others and reinforces and elevates the greatness of the charismatic leader in the minds of believers. Rabbi Elimelech provides a specific example for the zaddik-God relationship: "The zaddik who worships God in truthfulness can bring out holiness...and elevate it to the Lord" (#143). Similarly, when a follower glorifies the charismatic leader through truthful adherence to his prescriptions, that follower arouses truthful adherence by others in the movement.

Rabbi Elimelech states, "A person must serve God with all attributes in order that those attributes may be energized above" (#142). That is, followers are obligated to incorporate all manner of attributes in their ritual observances. They therefore glorify their leader in a wide variety of activities to display many different attributes.

"The zaddik must be a servant of God," writes Rabbi Elimelech, "and must serve Him with deep love and with songs and praises" (#144). So also must the followers serve their charismatic leader with songs, praises, and other expressive activities. By their ritual activities followers come to feel that they have access to the higher powers which

control nature and reality (#145), that is, the divine powers of the charismatic leader. When the leader speaks, reads, recites, or sings he is perceived as serving the divine source to which he is attached and from which he acquires the power to bring happiness to the people (#144). When the followers listen, read, recite, or sing they serve the charismatic leader and at the same time perceptually elevate him in that they see the charismatic leader as the personification of the divine source (#146). In short, paraphrasing the No'am Elimelech, followers should constantly narrate about the charismatic leader and enumerate his upright circumstances (#147).

By participating in a wide variety of expressive activities followers demonstrate their respect and reverence for the charismatic leader. The charismatic leader's doctrine prescribes some activities, and additional behaviors, norms, and sanctions evolve within the group of believers. Some activities are performed at specific times and/or in particular settings; others occur whenever and wherever followers gather. At least a minimum of performance is expected of every believer.

Nearly all demonstrations of respect and reverence are public. As followers participate they also observe the activities of other adherents which reinforce each other's belief. The more one participates, and the more intense one's display of reverence and devotion, the more conscientious and faithful one considers oneself and the

more others consider one committed to the charismatic leader. Public expressive activities therefore arouse excitement, fervor, and enthusiasm among the followers.

The followers' exhibitions of veneration and honor also make the charismatic leader aware of his importance, and, as will be discussed next, the ways in which he responds to his feeling of self-importance can affect the charismatic relationship.

Self-Importance

Category Rationale

Being the human object of reverence and veneration can be an intoxicating experience. Depending on how the charismatic leader psychologically handles intense adulation, his own feelings of self-importance can enhance the charismatic relationship or disrupt it. On the one hand, adulation can increase a charismatic leader's self-confidence, and the awareness of his importance may further stimulate him to fulfill the awesome obligations bestowed upon him by followers. Indeed, many charismatic leaders who become encouraged by demonstrations of honor, respect, and reverence tend to behave in the ways followers expect.

On the other hand, a charismatic leader can become so intoxicated by the followers' devotion that he may acquire feelings of extreme self-importance and arrogance. Such characteristics tend to interfere with their effectiveness

as a leader. Certainly there are situations where followers are attracted to haughtiness in their leader. Generally, when followers perceive that their leader has become arrogant, the charismatic relationship is adversely affected. Perceptions of his continuing humility, and especially his open displays of modesty and humility, reinforce the followers' belief.

Proposition 14 - The followers' adoration and recognition may influence the charismatic leader to believe in his own importance and superhuman qualities, but he must display modesty and humility.

The No'am Elimelech

The charismatic leader's abilities in the physical world are tied to his followers' adoration and recognition. When followers display intense awe, reverence, honor, dedication, and veneration, the charismatic leader might recognize that he and his movement can in fact perform miracle-like improvements. As Rabbi Elimelech writes, "zaddik...comes to such an elevated position that seeing miracles will not surprise him" (#148). The charismatic leader comes to feel important and self-confident to the point that seemingly miraculous accomplishments do not surprise him.

There is danger in the leader believing in his own importance and superhuman qualities to the point of arrogance. As Rabbi Elimelech warns, "Those zaddikim starting anew...may have an arrogance set ablaze within

them...[and may] fall into the sin of arrogance" (#149), and even "the great zaddikim must always be careful not to fall into conceit" (#150). Having elevated him to the highest possible levels, followers may view arrogance and conceit as evidence of a "fall" or of "sin." Obviously, such perceptions can cause adverse responses from many followers.

The successful charismatic leader recognizes the need to purify his behavior before his feeling of self-importance negatively affects the unity of the movement. Rabbi Elimelech provides examples of the attitude required: "The perfect zaddik who is elevated to higher and higher positions must think of himself as if he has not accomplished anything" (#151); "he must improve his character" (#1), and remain aware of his shortcomings and be distressed that he has not yet fully accomplished his mission (#152). In earlier activities the charismatic leader may have displayed what are ordinarily considered bad or "evil" inclinations. He "should not carelessly believe in himself," writes Rabbi Elimelech, but rather "he must be constantly concerned about and control his evil inclinations" (#153). Finally, Rabbi Elimelech notes how the zaddik can overcome any evil inclinations: "When one's heart burns with ecstasy, he should not think of himself as big.... He should consider himself humble and realize it is God that gave him this emotional excitement" (#146). The ecstasy felt by the charismatic leader frequently comes from

the followers' adulation, but he is better off to remain humble and modest and to recognize the adulation as a consequence of the followers' belief in his attachment to the divine.

Many followers recognize these dangers and credit the charismatic leader when he appears to overcome them. Such perceptions add to his greatness and serve to reinforce their elevation of him. As stated in the No'am Elimelech, "The zaddik who...considers himself as though he has done nothing at all...God chooses him and holds him near" (#154). So also do the followers choose him and hold him near.

Being the object of many displays of adulation, the charismatic leader comes to believe in his own importance. Nevertheless, the followers' still expect that the charismatic leader will be humble and modest.

Chapter Summary

The propositions described in this chapter are listed in Appendix D for future reference. In summary, the charismatic relationship becomes firmly established when the followers hold a body of beliefs about the charismatic leader and develop practices for the expression of those beliefs. The pattern of belief and its expression in actions evolve in the dynamic stage of the charismatic movement. Their common features have been described in the form of propositions which make up a part of the ideal type for charismatic relationships. The charismatic leader is

seen to embody supernatural qualities with which the followers have endowed him and to apply these qualities for their benefit (Proposition 9). Further, the charismatic leader is believed to be obligated to use his "charisma" for their benefit; the divine source obligates him to do so by assigning him a special mission (Proposition 10). The charismatic leader's behaviors guides the followers in their expressions of their belief (Proposition 11). He is perceived to bear their burdens, whatever their nature, often at great sacrifice to himself (Proposition 12).

The followers develop various ways of demonstrating their belief in the charismatic leader. Whatever the specific acts, they are displays of respect and reverence for him and of their willingness to subordinate themselves to him (Proposition 13). Being the subject of demonstrated adulation, the charismatic leader may feel self-important, but he must appear to followers to be modest and humble (Proposition 14).

This chapter has described Propositions 9-14 of the ideal type model. The next chapter completes the presentation of the model. The remainder of the study will discuss the comparative analyses.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. As Donald G. MacRae points out, fundamental categories of human understanding are imbued with a notion of the sacred, the holy; God is "the ultimate legitimacy" (1974, p. 77).

2. The Hasidic concept of "holy sparks" is discussed in Chapter I, page 48.

3. In the Jewish (and Christian) religions the story of creation is given in the first book of the Pentateuch (Bible). Genesis 1:26 states, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." God is talking to some being or beings. One interpretation is that He consulted certain purified souls who were in many ways like God Himself. Rabbi Elimelech identifies these souls as those of the zaddikim. Thus, the zaddikim are deified as God's consultants.

4. The extent to which actions of the Hasidim conform to the behaviors of the zaddik is documented for modern Hasid-zaddik relationship by Solomon Poll in The Hasidic Community of Williamsburg (1962). A Hasid's rank in the social structure is characterized by the frequency and intensity of his ritualistic observance. The more a Hasid absorbs the teachings of his zaddik and is absorbed by that teaching, the higher his social rank. Conversely, the less one observes the laws and the less intensely one performs the rituals, the lower is that person's rank in the social structure (ibid., pp. 60-61).

The model for religious and ritual behavior is the zaddik. According to Poll, the religious leader's "religious observances, ritualistic behavior, and entire behavior are living examples to the community" (ibid., p. 61). Furthermore, "their entire behavior is thought to be ritualistic. Every move and mannerism is a form of religious worship" (ibid. p. 63).

Only a zaddik can ever reach the highest rank. Nor would followers aspire to this highest rank since the frequency and intensity of religious observance would limit their enjoyment of worldly rewards. However, because frequency and intensity of observance is a constant criteria for social rank, and because the zaddik exemplifies the ideal behavior, the Hasidim pattern their religious behaviors after those of their zaddik.

5. The charismatic leader's inaccessibility can also adversely affect his identification with the lower statuses (Proposition 6, Chapter III, page 78) which needs to

continue if the movement is to grow and remain unified. If his dedication to the lower statuses became doubted, so too might his dedication to the goals of the movement, that is his divinely ordained mission (Proposition 10, This Chapter, page 99). In addition, later recruits, who may or may not themselves be from the lower social strata, join because they too are concerned with improving the harsh conditions (as will be discussed in Chapter V, Proposition 15). It is necessary, therefore, for the charismatic leader to continually display an identification with the lower statuses, and one way to do this is to display his bearing of their burdens.

6. Followers are also likely to express their belief in the charismatic leader by providing financial support. Rabbi Elimelech does not address this form of expressive activity, but it is well known that the Hasidim are expected to make financial contributions to the zaddik.

CHAPTER V

GROWTH, UNIFICATION, AND NORMALIZATION

Growth and Unification

The first eight propositions of the ideal type model (Chapter III) describe the preparation of the charismatic leader and the followers for a charismatic relationship, his emergence as a charismatic leader, and features of the charismatic leader-follower attachment early in the dynamic stage. Propositions 9-14 (Chapter IV) describe the beliefs and expressive activities which surround the charismatic leader. In this chapter, Propositions 15-19 complete the description of the charismatic relationship through the dynamic stage. Proposition 20, the final proposition of the ideal type model, describes the stabilization stage of a charismatic movement.

Early in the dynamic stage of a charismatic movement, a nucleus of fanatical followers collectively attempt to create the world promised in the leader's doctrine. The primary tasks of the charismatic movement become the recruitment of new members and the unification of the increasingly large following.¹ To achieve the followers' rightful place in society the charismatic leader prescribes specific actions, but to have the desired effect there must be collective actions. The followers must be willing to

endure physical, economic, and/or social sacrifices required by their leader.

A charismatic movement's foundation consists of the belief in the charismatic leader's supernatural qualities and the activities whereby followers demonstrate their devotion to and reverence for him. Its building blocks are growth in numbers and the unification of members. From his modest beginnings, the charismatic leader attracts additional followers as he creates an image of success (Proposition 15). Especially effective as a means to unify the movement are gatherings of followers with the leader or his designated representatives (Proposition 16). As the charismatic leader gains notoriety and appears to have an impact on the prevailing social order, those with a vested interest in the status quo oppose him (Proposition 17). He is credited by his followers with causing any advancement, whereas declines are blamed on others, especially those leaders and elites who resist him (Proposition 18). Throughout the dynamic stage the charismatic leader modifies his prescriptions and issues new ones (Proposition 19). In the stabilization stage of the charismatic movement, the charismatic leader's reforms become normalized into the social structure of the larger society (Proposition 20).

Except for a special introduction to the stabilization stage, this chapter is organized into sections in the same format as used in the previous two chapters. Each proposition statement is preceded and introduced by a

rationale for the categorization of the principles from the No'am Elimelech. A brief summary concludes each section.

Success and Growth

Category Rationale

The charismatic leader evolves from an obscure individual whose supernatural qualities have come to be believed in by a small number of ardent followers. The initial followers are mainly the socially dislocated and deprived people who are from the lower strata of society, that is, those who are on the social periphery² (Shils, 1961). As the charismatic leader receives recognition and popular notoriety, he increasingly recruits new members from strata closer to the social center. In fact, the charismatic leader becomes envisioned as the new social center.³ He advocates, promotes, and reinforces values, ideals and sentiments for the followers (Proposition 4, page 71). An image of success surrounds him. New followers join the movement as the charismatic leader and his associates exaggerate the impact of any achievement and attempt to label all actions as successful regardless of their actual outcome. A strong association with success stimulates the perception that the charismatic leader and his movement constitute the new social center, a new center of beliefs and values which people on the social periphery accept as a substitute for the center of conventional society.

Proposition 15 - The charismatic leader

usually has a modest beginning of his leadership and he attracts increasing numbers of followers as he creates an image of success.

The No'am Elimelech

The charismatic leader consciously acts in ways which promote an image of success. Followers interpret any improvements as coming from the charismatic leader. In other words, some successes are real and others are apparent, and followers give as much attention to the apparent as to the real. The basis for attributing all successes to the charismatic leader is the followers' belief that he understands the roots of their dislocation and deprivation and raises the society morally, socially, and economically (#155). Long deprived of what they have come to see as fundamental benefits, followers tend to view noticeable improvements as mysterious, wondrous miracles, for, as written in the No'am Elimelech, the zaddik "should only serve the Lord with perfection and the flow of blessing will come by itself"⁴ (#156). Indeed, only through the charismatic leader can miracles occur: from the No'am Elimelech, "All that God is doing for us, miracles and great happenings, come through the zaddik..." (#157, also #18). The divine gave the charismatic leader "a gift whereby [he] gives life to the whole world" (#86) and the divine wants him to succeed (#158). Followers thus attribute any improvement in their lives to one who is so gifted, and any real improvement of conditions is evidence of these abilities (#159).

The charismatic leader's ability to perform "miracles," and his image of success, are strengthened through the followers' compliance with his doctrine; as Rabbi Elimelech describes the attachment of the Hasidim to their zaddik: "The people...must attach and unify themselves with the zaddik because through their attachment the zaddik will be advanced in his power to annul the decrees from upon them and cause for them the flow of blessings" (#160). Compliance with their charismatic leader's prescriptions is the followers' duty. They are attached to and become unified around the charismatic leader who is aligned with a larger cosmic order and has the ability, according to Rabbi Elimelech, "to light the upper worlds, even to the point of illuminating the upper worlds" (#161). The followers believe that the charismatic leader can provide prosperity, well-being, and happiness and they interpret all the actions of the charismatic leader in ways which reaffirm that belief.

As interested and concerned people increasingly associate the charismatic leader with an image of success, many join his movement. An image of success also fosters unification of the larger following; in that it reinforces the belief in the charismatic leader's superordinary abilities and collectively comply with his prescriptions. Yet, as discussed next, an even greater unifying force is generated from appearances of the charismatic leader before the followers.

Gatherings With the Leader

Category Rationale

All the charismatic leader's qualities, whether actual or endowed, are displayed before gatherings of the followers. The faithful see and hear him; to touch him is a long remembered thrill. Emotions run high; the common experience of sharing the charismatic attachment binds together the mass of followers.

When the charismatic leader addresses his followers, his skills, expertise, and persuasiveness have their greatest impact as he creates great emotion among the followers. Whatever the appeal of his logical arguments, his words have added power because of the enthusiasm, excitement, fervor, and comradeship engendered by the feelings of the followers. Even in an atmosphere where some followers may disagree with him in some respect, which often occurs in groups with a socially radical mission, the charismatic leader's presence manifests his charisma and frequently conquers dissent.

As the following increases in size, the charismatic leader must at times designate someone to represent him. The duties, tasks, powers, and authorities of the charismatic leader center around the charisma with which he is believed to be imbued. In a charismatic relationship delegation frequently involves the transfer of his charisma to some close associates.⁵ So great is the force of the

leader's charisma that gatherings with designated representatives can also generate excitement, fervor, and enthusiasm.

Proposition 16 - At public meetings, the charismatic leader's presence, at times symbolized by a designated representative, adds enthusiasm and affirmation to the groups' unity.

The No'am Elimelech

The figure revered as the charismatic leader is a conglomerate of all the qualities and characteristics believed to be imbued in him. When followers are in the presence of the charismatic leader they are in the presence of a being who arouses and excites the collective inhabitants of the earth and the cosmos and brings forth all manner of favors (#162); of a being who, in the words of Rabbi Elimelech, has "a desire full of inspiration and excitement and [has] the fire of God burning in him" (#163). When they look upon the charismatic leader, followers can "see" his charisma; as the Rabbi Elimelech states, "The looks of the zaddikim have a light on their face that shines before the eyes of all people" (#164).

By speaking to large, responsive gatherings, the charismatic leader displays to the followers his extraordinary abilities; according to Rabbi Elimelech, the zaddik "has the power to soften the decrees with his holy mouth" (#165). In a mass gathering, the very words of the charismatic leader are believed to be associated with divine power, and have an effect as if they were associated with

that power. According to Rabbi Elimelech, the words of the zaddik "flow and ascend" into the upper spheres, but his holiness remains undiminished (#166).

The charismatic leader, moreover, need not speak to arouse and excite his followers; as Rabbi Elimelech writes, "All who indeed see him will testify that the performance constitutes a great meritorious deed that they must emulate" (#167). Whether the charismatic leader speaks or gestures, or even stands or sits, the believers respond with awe, reverence, respect, and honor. His presence brings them strong, at times overwhelming, feelings of happiness and bliss and deepens their individual and collective belief and faith (#168). Believers see his magnificence in his words, the slightest gesture, a nod, or the way he stands or sits. Gatherings increase the followers' conception of and devotion to the leader's moral and spiritual perfection as if "they become one person" with him (#169). Being in the presence of the charismatic leader makes people feel that they too have increased qualities and capacities (#35), even those individuals who came from the lowest social status (#170). Gatherings with such a being powerfully unify the followers.

So great is the belief in the charismatic leader's abilities, capacities, qualities, and especially divine power, that he affects followers even when not present. When followers respond to his representatives, they respond to the believed greatness of the charismatic leader. In

their view, representatives act and speak for and in the name of the charismatic leader, and followers regard them as extraordinary because they have learned from the leader; as the No'am Elimelech states, "Those who learn from the actions of the zaddik, help them" (#171). To help those "individuals who have been awakened" by the charismatic leader (#172), followers show a degree of reverence and dedication for the charismatic leader's representatives.

In summary, followers display all manner of reverence, honor, awe, and veneration for the charismatic leader in public gatherings with him and, oftentimes, with his recognized representatives. When these associates appear before gatherings, followers display reverence, devotion, and commitment to the charisma represented by the associate. They respond in many ways as if the charismatic leader himself was participating. Gatherings with the charismatic leader or his representatives unify the movement and generate great enthusiasm for compliance with the charismatic leader's prescriptions.

Sources of Opposition

Category Rationale

Followers believe the charismatic leader's ideas, attitudes, beliefs, sentiments, values, norms, and prescriptions are not only ethically sound but are morally right. In their view, the society is morally obligated to accept the charismatic leader's ideology and to operate

according to his prescriptions. Followers believe, moreover, that when the society is thereby transformed; they will live in their promised new world.

Indeed, whatever goals the charismatic leader sets out to accomplish, their achievement requires a transformation of the social structure; that is, the society's prevailing ideas, sentiments, attitudes, values, norms, and behaviors. The charismatic leader seeks to transform the society, but opponents resist major changes. In nearly all instances, the external opponents are those who have an interest in maintaining the status quo.

External opposition may temporarily impede achievement of the movement's goals, but it also tends to unify the followers and strengthen their attachment to the charismatic leader. The followers in a charismatic movement are bound together by a holy cause centered around a revered, deified being. This supernatural element, rather than diminishing due to opposition, is reaffirmed and reinforced, thereby strengthening the bond between followers and their charismatic leader.

Proposition 17 - The opposition to the charismatic leader almost always comes from the proponents of the status quo of the economic, political, social, and religious conditions.

The No'am Elimelech

Hasidism became widely recognized as a threat to established Jewish society during the time of the Great Maggid (Chapter II, pages 45ff). The Great Maggid's

teachings challenged the authority of established Jewish leaders who publicly criticized his writings and his leadership and that of his disciples (among whom was Rabbi Elimelech). Conventional rabbis preached against Hasidic ideas and in many towns Hasidic literature was burned in public bonfires. The established authorities also pressured the Hasidim in an attempt to break the charismatic relationship between a zaddik and his followers. They called for the Hasidim to be ostracized economically, politically, and socially, but it was clearly the charismatic leader who was the target of their opposition.

The Hasidim soon referred to all those outside of their movement as the mitnaggedim, literally opponents or adversaries (Chapter II, page 55). In addition to established Jewish leaders, the mitnaggedim came to include all non-Hasidic Jews, especially those who participated in various acts of resistance directed at the Hasidim; for example, in addition to burning books, they distributed pamphlets opposing Hasidism and ostracized the Hasidim.

Historians tend to credit the localized leadership pattern of Hasidic leadership for the ultimate victory of the Hasidim (Rubinstein 1971, cols. 1395-97). The central feature of localized leadership was the charisma of the zaddik. The charismatic relationship itself is equipped to deal with external adversaries. Followers believe that opponents cannot "harm or rule over" the charismatic leader because he is attached to a divine source (#173). Opponents

of the charismatic movement frequently attack the leader verbally but followers regard this as evil and consider such criticisms as without merit. In the spiritual terms of the No'am Elimelech: "The zaddik performs some acts, either good deeds, or learns Torah, or engages in prayer. Through these activities the flow of blessing continues and the Satan will have no room to complain" (#95).

Followers contrast the charismatic leader's righteous activities with the "evil" behavior of others, particularly opponents who interfere with the charismatic leader's efforts to provide a better life for the followers. As Rabbi Elimelech writes, "The heavenly rewards for the zaddik are based on the apparent contrast between his actions and those of the evil doers" (#174). Charismatic leaders must act beyond the acceptable social norms of their society, and they also demand such actions of their followers, but these actions are not seen as "evil." Indeed, followers see these acts as justified because of his divine attachment; as Rabbi Elimelech states, "The zaddikim...sometimes sin for Heaven's sake" as others are permitted to give false information to spare another's feelings or to save them from harm (#128). To many followers, such a deviant action ("a sin") evinces the charismatic leader's extraordinariness and attachment to a higher power. Just as "the zaddik must serve God [with] fear, love, and glory" (#175), so must the followers serve the charismatic leader who acts righteously against the evil of the established society.

External opposition to the charismatic leader comes from the proponents of the status quo. The greatest external opposition comes from those who reap the greatest rewards from society and believe that they have gained their wealth, power, and/or prestige because of the current social order. They are convinced that their "success" is the result of a fortuitous combination of circumstances and that this combination can exist only in a social setting which operates as does the present one. Such people feel personally and socially fulfilled and want to conserve their world as it is; they want to maintain the social status quo.

Because the charismatic movement forms after conventional social leaders have failed to improve the followers' conditions, the charismatic leader calls for an overhaul, and usually the complete restructuring, of the existing hierarchy (Proposition 4, page 71). Established leaders have access to and are often part of the law making and law enforcing elites. Their primary strategy is to maintain and enforce laws which favor the elites and the economically advantaged. They seek to diminish the influence of the leader and to suppress the activities of the charismatic leader and his followers.

External opposition may in fact impede the charismatic movement's progress toward its goals. There are also situations which may be interpreted as failures. In a charismatic relationship followers credit the charismatic

leader for any kind of success, but, as discussed next, they blame failures on others. Opposition also reinforces the followers' belief in their leader's charisma in that the opponents become the followers' scapegoats when conditions worsen.

Scapegoats

Category Rationale

The charismatic leader, his associates, and followers interpret successes as an affirmation of his supernatural qualities and abilities. They also tend to interpret worsening conditions in ways which support and enhance the impression that the charismatic leader is an elevated, divinely ordained being. An apparent failure seldom decreases belief in the leader's charisma, but instead tends to confirm it. This involves a form of scapegoating, the human process in which people assign blame for negative consequences to others.⁶ Because dedication to a charismatic leader requires an enormous emotional investment, believers cannot make him a scapegoat; it is emotionally much too painful. Indeed, it is far easier for followers to look for other scapegoats.

Proposition 18 - Worsening of conditions is always blamed on a variety of circumstances and never on the charismatic leader.

The No'am Elimelech

So powerful is their devotion to the charismatic leader

that followers attempt to interpret worsening situations in ways that reaffirm his elevated status. One interpretive scheme relates to followers having identified with the charismatic leader's portrayal of social displacement and deprivation (Proposition 5, page 75). Unimproved and even worsening conditions tend to reaffirm the leader's portrayal. Because, it is believed, the charismatic leader can abrogate what appears to be judgements from on high⁷ (#42), they continue to look to him to improve conditions.

Followers also believe the charismatic leader to be faultless. Apparent errors are considered inadvertent; as Rabbi Elimelech writes, "In his own eyes the zaddik considers that he sinned but, in all truthfulness, the sin came to him inadvertently in as much as God placed it into his path" (#176). That is, an apparent error cannot diminish his exalted status; as the No'am Elimelech states, "God does not allow the zaddik to commit an error that will bring him down from his elevated position" (#177). Being human, a bad thought may come to the mind of the charismatic leader, but, according to the No'am Elimelech, "The zaddik can push these thoughts away and distance them from his mind and not hang onto them at all" (#178); "if even a shade of sin befalls him, he admonishes himself" (#179); and he "carries his sin into the upper worlds" thereby transforming sins into virtues (#180).

Worsening conditions cannot be a failing of his divine power or of the divine source because, in the words of Rabbi

Elimelech, "From God himself bad things are not coming out" (#181). Rather, failures are seen as caused by evil and Satan-like forces against which the charismatic leader continuously struggles. Followers usually see the evil forces as personified in those who interfere with the goals and activities of the movement (Proposition 17). From his elevated position the charismatic leader can "punish" evil persons (#181) and, according to Rabbi Elimelech, "He is able to weaken the Satan," but he cannot be expected to control evil forces completely (#182). That is, the charismatic leader cannot be expected to control his opponents and adversaries immediately, but in time he will overcome them.

Specific acts may not be immediately apparent. The charismatic leader will assure his followers that he is doing something, but may share the specifics with only a few close associates. The charismatic leader conceals his plans in order to keep them from satanic adversaries (#183), especially those who caused the conditions to worsen.

The most common scapegoats are elements of the established social structure, and especially its leaders and the social elites. The charismatic leader has portrayed the social structure as the cause of the followers' distress (Proposition 4, page 71). Acceptance of this portrayal leads to the followers' attachment to the charismatic leader and becomes a basis for making the social structure a scapegoat. Followers realize that the main opposition to

the movement comes from those in positions of authority in the established social structure (Proposition 18 below). The charismatic leader and his close associates construct arguments which place the responsibility for failure on the social structure, and especially those in high social positions. Instead of blaming the revered charismatic leader when things go wrong, followers blame their dislocation and deprivation on those with power and/or in positions of leadership.

The facts related to any failure are far less important than the followers' beliefs that the charismatic leader is almost infallible and that the social structure is their enemy. Because followers tend to accept the social structure as being responsible for worsening situations, apparent failures frequently reinforce their belief in the charismatic leader. For example, making the social structure the scapegoat reaffirms the charismatic leader's repudiation of it (Proposition 4). Being attached and dedicated to the charismatic leader, failures tend to confirm all he is believed to have said and to have done. This reaffirmation and reinforcement of the followers' belief unifies them and stimulates readiness to make sacrifices.

Whereas followers find scapegoats for failures, they still expect the charismatic leader to provide his promised new society, and they will demand that he do so. Throughout the dynamic stage, the charismatic leader issues new or

modified prescriptions.

New and/or Modified Prescriptions

Category Rationale

As the dynamic stage progresses, and especially if it last for a long period, achievement of the charismatic leader's goals also can become hampered by actions or lack of actions by his followers. Internal conflict occurs in two forms from two segments of the charismatic movement: excessive acts by the most radical fanatical elements and inactivity by followers who become satisfied with what the charismatic leader has achieved. Violent acts tend to be committed by the most radical of the believers. They want rapid, far-reaching social change and often pressure the charismatic leader to call for radical measures. Many fanatics zealously disrupt the social order and seek to make social disruption the goal of the charismatic movement, regardless of what is being accomplished (Hoffer 1951, p. 133).

Over time, some followers will find the gains of the charismatic movement adequate. Thus satisfied with what has been accomplished, they want the disruption to stop. They seldom openly rebel, but they may no longer make the necessary sacrifices. Because the ability of the charismatic leader to achieve his goals depends on a committed, fervent following, inactivity is an important form of internal conflict.

The practical successes of a charismatic movement depend on the ability of its leader to measure the willingness of his followers to comply with his prescriptions. He must issue new and/or modified prescriptions in a way which controls excessive acts of the zealots, stimulates the emotional fervor of the somewhat satisfied, and counters the external opposition. In short, the successful leader must be innovative in his formulation of prescriptions and base them on the social environment of the community and the emotional fervor of his followers.

Proposition 19 - The charismatic leader often issues new and/or modified prescriptions which he bases on the emotional fervor of the community of followers.

The No'am Elimelech

Followers expect the charismatic leader to respond to the ebb and flow of events. When a failure (sin) has befallen the leader, he feels regret (repentance) and changes his prescriptions and thereby creates a new society ("he restores the whole world") (#184). The charismatic leader modifies or makes new prescriptions for the unified actions of the followers which reaffirms the followers' belief, especially in his capacity to overcome all the bad and degrading things that happen (#185) and to restrain the wicked forces in the world (#186).

According to Rabbi Elimelech, the zaddik employs his divine powers "when the upper worlds are elevated and accessible to the emanation of the flow of blessings to the

lower worlds" (#187). In general terms, the effective charismatic leader knows when he can prescribe actions that will bring happiness, prosperity, and well-being to the people, and when he cannot. The religiously-oriented zaddik prays "when the time is ready before God for prayers..." (#188); the charismatic leader knows what actions to take and when to take them.

Not only does the charismatic leader often "commit a sin for Heaven's sake" (#128 and page 133), he also at times demands that followers deviate from the established social rules and laws. For example, the Baal Shem Tov met with followers and held religious services in residences which deviated from the traditional practice of holding services in a synagogue, traditionally a sanctified "House of Prayer." This act must have been resisted because he had to reassure his followers "that the full-hearted desire to worship was more important than the form or place of worship" (Levin 1931, p. x). He had stimulated their emotional fervor so that they accepted his call for deviation from a highly valued social norm.

In summary, the charismatic leader demands that his followers deviate from socially accepted (taken-for-granted or routine) actions, and such actions are frequently resisted by external opponents. The most radical followers or those essentially satisfied may not fully comply with his prescriptions. The charismatic leader must, therefore, consider the social climate outside the charismatic movement

and the commitment and emotional fervor of his followers when modifying or issuing new prescriptions.

Normalization

Category Rationale

One of the primary attractions of the charismatic leader is the expectation that he will provide the followers with a better life. To attain a better life many of the charismatic leader's social reforms must become the normative pattern in the prevailing social institutions. The society accepts the charismatic leader's beliefs, attitudes, sentiments, and values as necessary to justify the newly accepted norms. It is in the stabilization stage of the charismatic movement that the reforms become normalized in ~~the~~ social structure of the society. Stabilization of the movement and normalization of behaviors in society are brought about by the practical people of action.⁸ Hoffer describes the necessity for the person of action.

The man [person] of action saves the movement from the suicidal dimensions and recklessness of the fanatics. But his appearance usually marks the end of the dynamic phase of the movement. The war with the present is over. The genuine man of action is intent not on renovating the world but on possessing it. Whereas the life breath of the dynamic phase was protest and a desire for drastic change, the final phase is chiefly preoccupied with administering and perpetuating the power won (1951, pp. 134-35).

In other words, in the dynamic stage the fanatical

leader and followers made war on the present social order. They intentionally disrupted it, but to normalize their gains a leader is required who can stop the disruption, organize followers to fit into a stable order, and negotiate with internal and external factions. Such a leader must be a practical person of action. In rare instances, the charismatic leader can become a practical person of action, but usually the fanatical charismatic leader must be replaced. Very often the person of action has been a close associate of the charismatic leader, but he may or may not be a designated successor.⁹ Followers may or may not see the new leader as a charismatic figure, but, in either case, the person of action convinces followers that his calls for action are a continuation of the charismatic leader's divinely ordained prescriptions. So powerful is the followers' attachment to their charismatic leader that it is possible for successors to appeal to them in his name. Regardless of who fills the role, his task is to stabilize the movement and to normalize the charismatic leader's rules for behavior into the routine patterns of society.¹⁰

Proposition 20 - The charismatic leader's teachings, particularly his rules for behavior, become normalized into the social structure.

No'am Elimelech

The process whereby a charismatic movement becomes stabilized is illustrated by the early history of the Hasidic movement (see Chapter II, pages 42ff). Rabbi

Elimelech and his contemporaries were the charismatic leaders who stabilized the Hasidic movement and around whom Hasidism became a normalized pattern. The Baal Shem Tov was credited as the founder by these and later zaddikim years after his death (Chapter II, page 47). The movement spread from Rabbi Dov Baer, known as the Great Maggid (great preacher), but met with often intense opposition. His behavior as a teacher became the prototype for future zaddikim when it was normalized as a pattern by his disciples, one of the most important being Rabbi Elimelech. The disciples stabilized the movement by establishing residence in particular towns and becoming leaders in all social spheres of life, and through them the practices and behaviors prescribed by the Great Maggid became accepted by the Hasidim and the Jewish society around them as the normative pattern of Hasidism (Chapter II, pp. 46ff). That pattern has remained normative for two centuries.

A successor to the charismatic leader (or, rarely, the charismatic leader himself), acting as a practical person of action, stabilizes the movement and seeks to establish the charismatic leader's values and teachings into the social structure. Whatever this individual's practical skills (communications, negotiations, management, or administration), the charisma to which the followers attached themselves remains a potent force. In the eyes of the followers, it was the charismatic leader who would bring them a better life; for the Hasidim, according to Rabbi

Elimelech, "the zaddik...causes the flow of goodness and blessing upon the people" (#91).

The practical person of action is seen as the means which normalizes the "goodness and blessings" into the social structure. In their view, the practical person of action is able to normalize the charismatic leader's values and teachings because the charismatic leader's powers are so great. Like the zaddik before whom "the heavenly bodies subordinate themselves" (#189), the charismatic leader's power subordinates the leaders and elites of the social structure into acceptance of his reforms.

Rabbi Elimelech notes that some zaddikim have "the capacity to reverse the [divine] judgements to complete mercy" (#190). In general terms, certain charismatic leaders can reverse the social judgements that created the social dispossession into merciful acts which will bring improved conditions for the followers. Such a charismatic leader can connect with those who must accept his prescribed behaviors into the normative pattern. When "the zaddik wants to have the flow of blessing," he will "take his request to the world designated for it" (#191); the charismatic leader takes his request for reforms to followers, elites, and the general public. The great charismatic leader, or his successor as his agent, appeals to the attribute of mercy, whether in a social or a spiritual domain (#192), and his reforms become normalized in the social structure.

In the ideal typical charismatic relationship the

charismatic leader's prescriptions become accepted into and become a part of the normative pattern of the social structure. Notwithstanding the number of followers and the degree of their reverence for and dedication to the charismatic leader, he set out to accomplish specific goals. These goals are achieved when his prescribed behaviors become normalized into the social structure.

Chapter Summary

The propositions described in this chapter are listed in Appendix D for future reference. In summary, throughout the dynamic stage, growth and unification of the charismatic movement become primary concerns of the charismatic leader. Beginning with a small following, it increases as the charismatic leader creates an image of success (Proposition 15). An image of success reinforces the followers' belief in the charismatic leader and serves to unify them around him, but the greatest unifying force is created by gatherings with the leader or his designated representative (Proposition 16). External opposition almost always comes from those who attempt to maintain the economic, political, social, and/or religious status quo (Proposition 17). The charismatic leader and the followers blame worsening conditions on others, primarily upon the leaders and the elites who are seen as the cause of their deprivation and dislocation (Proposition 18). Worsening conditions and internal conflict, created by the most radical followers and

by those satisfied with some gains, necessitate the charismatic leader's issuance of new and/or modified prescriptions based on the emotional fervor of the community (Proposition 19). In the stabilization stage the charismatic leader's values and prescribed behaviors become normalized in the social structure of the larger society (Proposition 20).

Together the twenty propositions of Chapters III, IV, and V make up the ideal type for charismatic relationships. For future reference, the propositions are listed in Appendix D. In the next four chapters these propositions are compared to the charismatic relationships of four recognized leaders of the twentieth century to determine the practical application of the ideal type model in a variety of cultures.

Chapter VI	Mohandas Karamachand Gandhi
Chapter VII	Gamal Abdul Nasser
Chapter VIII	David Ben-Gurion
Chapter IX	Martin Luther King

The comparative analyses will attempt to show the extent to which the behaviors postulated in each proposition occurs in the empirical world. Chapter X will discuss the results of the comparative analyses and any necessary modifications to the propositions of the ideal type.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. The means used to foster unification also stimulate a willingness for self-sacrifice. Hoffer describes the relationship and the importance of unification and self-sacrifice in mass movements.

When we ascribe the success of a movement to its faith, doctrine, propaganda, leadership, ruthlessness and so on, we are but referring to instruments of unification and to means used to inculcate a readiness for self-sacrifice. It is perhaps impossible to understand the nature of mass movements unless it is recognized that their chief preoccupation is to foster, perfect, and perpetuate a facility for unified action and self-sacrifice (1951, p. 57).

2. People on the social periphery have the fewest social rewards and many such people are susceptible to membership in a charismatic movement. See Chapter Note 6, page 90.

3. Clifford Geertz, using Shils' center-periphery model, describes the emotional appeal of the charismatic leader's new center.

...[charisma] is rooted in the sense of being near the heart of things, of being caught up in the realm of the serious, a sentiment that is felt most characteristically and continuously by those who in fact dominate social affairs, who ride in the progresses and grant the audiences, its most flamboyant expressions tend to appear among people at some distance from the center, indeed often enough at a rather enormous distance, who want very much to be closer (1977, p. 168, emphasis added)

The task of recruitment entails the establishment of a sense that the charismatic leader constitutes the new "heart of things," the center of a new society.

4. "Blessings" include health, long life, many and enduring progeny, wealth, honor, and victory (Brichto 1971, col. 1084). See Chapter II, page 49.

5. Intimates and lieutenants have potency imparted to them from the charismatic leader's omnipotent power, but the delegation of his power does not diminish him. Rather, the

ability to transmit his charisma is an additional dimension of the leader's abilities.

6. The term scapegoat, from "escape goat," was first used by English philosopher Matthew Tindale (1657-1733) in his translation of the Old Testament ritual of Yom Kippur (Lev. 16:8-10) in which a goat is symbolically burdened with the sins of the Jewish people (Funk 1950, p. 276; Goetz 1986a, p. 500). The use of scapegoats has a long and varied history involving many kinds of animals as well as human beings. In principle, pollution is transferred from a person or community to an animal or person, and the "scapegoat" then run out of town or killed, actually or symbolically (Goetz 1986b, p. 859). Christianity reflects this notion in its belief that Jesus Christ was the God-man who died for the sins of all mankind (Goetz 1986a, p. 500).

7. The zaddik's ability to "abrogate...judgements from on high" is a concept which stems from the idea that he can "control" God (Chapter III, page 76 and related endnote) and he can "annul" God's decrees (Chapter III, page 77 and related endnote).

8. Hoffer's concept of the "practical man [person] of action" is discussed in Chapter I, page 16 and the section below which explains Proposition 20.

9. Weber has categorized six ways in which a successor can be designated (1947, pp. 364-66).

10. The ideal type model has been explained in terms of a charismatic movement which operates in a society; that is, the level of analysis for this study is society. As noted in Chapter I (page 12), I assume that the resulting model will apply to all settings in which a charismatic relationship might occur. Therefore, if a charismatic movement limits its goals to change some segment of a society, that segment is subject to major transformation. The charismatic leader's prescribed behaviors will be normalized in that targeted segment. There is also a degree of normalization in the larger society in that it accepts, or at least tolerates, the transformed segment.

The application of the model to a segment of society is illustrated by the formation of religious sects which are frequently led by a charismatic figure. Their intent is to transform a religious group, and they are successful to the extent that the group incorporates the "new" beliefs and practices. Hasidism is an example.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: GANDHI

In the three previous chapters, I have described the ideal type model for charismatic relationships (listed in Appendix D). In this chapter I report the results of the comparative analysis whereby I have attempted to determine the extent to which the behaviors of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and his Indian followers conform to the model.

Background and Short Biography

On New Year's Day, 1947, Rear Admiral Louis Mountbatten, a war hero and one of the most famous men in England, acceded to the British Prime Minister's request to become Viceroy of India. The viceroy's office governed the destinies of a fifth of humankind. Mountbatten's task, however, was not to rule India but to guide 400 million of Britain's 560 million subjects in the formation of an independent nation. Because of the charismatic relationship between Gandhi and millions of Indians, a British prime minister was obliged to send Queen Victoria's great-grandson to New Delhi to find a way to give India her freedom (Shirer 1979, p. 1; Collins and Lapierre 1975, p. 23).

In appearance Gandhi was an unlikely revolutionary.

A tiny man, barely five feet tall, he weighed 114 pounds; all arms and legs, like an adolescent whose trunk has yet to rival the growth of his

limbs. Nature had meant Gandhi's face to be ugly. His ears flared out from his oversized head like the handles of a sugar bowl. His nose buttressed by squat, flaring nostrils thrust its heavy beak over a sparse white mustache.... Yet Gandhi's face radiated a peculiar beauty, because it was constantly animated, reflecting with the quickly shifting patterns of a lantern camera his changing moods and his impish humor (Collins and Lapierre 1975, pp. 23-24).

Gandhi's appearance was deceptive; this wizened seventy-seven year old charismatic leader did more to topple the British Empire than any man alive. In Gandhi's frail silhouette and the apparent brilliance of his acts, God-obsessed India recognized the promise of a Mahatma, a "great soul," and Indians followed him where he led. "Wherever Gandhi went, it was said, there was the capital of India" (ibid., p. 25). To the British he was a conniving, malevolent politician and a bogus messiah; to his followers he was a saint.

India's future Mahatma was born on October 2, 1869, in Porbandar (now in the state of Gujarat, India), the youngest child in a large family belonging to the Hindu merchant class. Childhood betrothal being the custom, Gandhi married Kasturbai when both were thirteen. (They remained married until her death in 1944.) At nineteen, he left his family for London to study law, and was called to the bar in 1889. After his return to India, he was unable to establish a law practice, and accepted a year's work in South Africa as counsel for an Indian businessman.

Gandhi stayed in South Africa for twenty years (1894-1914), became the central figure in the struggle for

Indian civil rights in that country, formulated an ideology which would be the foundation for his doctrine in India, and developed and tested a variety of political strategies to pressure a government -- presentation of demands to high level authorities, publicizing his followers' grievances, large-scale but non-violent demonstrations, and passive but direct resistance of objectionable laws. After Gandhi gained substantial concessions from the government, he left South Africa.¹

Having lived for the last twenty-eight of his forty-five years, except for brief intervals, first in England and then South Africa, Gandhi returned to India on January 9, 1915. He saw his native land through the eyes of an expatriate and found it strange, and his countrymen were not sure what status he should assume.² Gandhi traveled throughout India and made many speeches, frequently on public questions, but for several years he made no attempt to gather a great following (Payne 1975, p. 287). Four months after his return to India, he established an ashram, in the Hindu tradition a retreat for communal living. Located near Ahmedabad in northwestern India, the ashram served as home for himself and a small number of followers (initially people who had attached themselves to him in South Africa).

For several years, Gandhi traveled throughout India becoming familiar with his native country. His first significant public campaigns in India were on behalf of the

indigo workers at Champaran in 1917 and the millworkers at Ahmedabad in 1918, in both instances gaining large concessions from employers and notoriety for himself (discussed in Proposition 4 below). In 1919 he emerged as a charismatic leader when he organized a nationwide general strike against the Rowlatt Act, which provided drastic penalties for certain political activities by Indians (Propositions 3 and 5). When the general strike created violent disorders in several major cities, he called it off, but he had become committed to Indian self-rule and many Indian followers awaited his call for further resistance of the British government.

Gandhi intensified his noncooperation movement in the early 1920s, the most significant long-term strategy being the boycott of foreign, especially British-made, cloth and the spinning and wearing of hand-spun cloth (khadi) (Proposition 7 and 11). In addition to resisting British rule during the 1920s and 1930s, for which he was jailed several times, Gandhi began addressing the problem of untouchability, a long-held tradition in the Indian culture. For his anti-untouchability cause, he made countless speeches, published numerous articles, and in 1932-1933 undertook four fasts. The causes of self-rule and untouchability came together in 1933 with a British proposal to grant untouchables specific representation, which Gandhi foresaw would perpetuate segregation. His 21-day fast in the summer of 1933 was directed against both orthodox Hindus

and the British government (Proposition 13).

In 1930, Gandhi chose to violate the Salt Acts, which bore heavily upon the poor, with a 200 mile march on foot to make salt illegally from sea water. Tens of thousands of Indians throughout the country demonstrated and many were arrested, as were Gandhi and other Indian leaders. Shortly after release of Gandhi and most of the Indian leaders, Gandhi negotiated an agreement with the Viceroy for relaxation of the salt laws (Propositions 12-14).

Gandhi's efforts toward self-rule required a unified Indian population, but long standing cultural breeches existed between Hindus and Muslims. As the prospects for independence increased, political divisions became greater and more problematic. After an unsuccessful meeting in 1938 with the leader of the Muslim League (Mohammed Ali Jinnah), Hindu-Muslim disunity came to dominate more and more of Gandhi's attention (Proposition 17). Before and during World War II, Gandhi led various acts of civil disobedience against the British, was jailed several times, and continued to call for Hindu-Muslim unity.

After the war, Britain decided to grant India its independence, but negotiations resulted in its partition into a predominately Hindu India and a predominately Muslim Pakistan. Riots broke out between Hindus and Muslims in several major Indian cities. In September 1947 in Calcutta (at the age of 78) and in January 1948 in Delhi (then 79) Gandhi fasted and restored peace in each city (Proposition

20). On January 30, 1948, Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu extremist who believed that Gandhi had weakened India by befriending Muslims.

Comparative Analysis

This study examines the Gandhian charismatic relationship in India as it evolved through the three stages of a charismatic movement. Each section begins with the statement of a proposition from the ideal type model. A discussion of particular beliefs and activities of Gandhi and his followers demonstrates that the Gandhian charismatic relationship essentially conforms to the first nineteen propositions and partly to Proposition 20. Because it was found that many events and actions substantiate a particular proposition, the activity or belief described is usually the first major indication of conformity with a particular proposition. Because the ideal type model is organized around the progressive stages of a charismatic movement, the discussion generally follows the sequence of Gandhi's life. This is not a complete biography in that the discussion provides sufficient evidence to substantiate each proposition, but does not describe every substantiation. The research covered all events of the Gandhian charismatic relationship, however, and did not uncover any information which contradicted any proposition. The discussion in the next section shows conformity with the first four propositions which describe the preparation stage.

The Preparation Stage

Seeking Modification of Conditions

Proposition 1 - The charismatic leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their conditions.

During his twenty years in South Africa, Gandhi had developed a sympathetic attitude toward the socially dispossessed and had appealed to poor Hindus of lower caste (Brown 1972, p. 10). After his arrival in India Gandhi became concerned about the extreme deprivation and the health and sanitation practices of the Indian peasants and urban poor (Payne 1969, p. 290). Gandhi sought to modify the objectionable conditions of the Indian masses by preaching improvement of their diet and sanitary conditions and by practicing austerity. In India, Gandhi's concern for the deprivation of his countrymen became all-consuming and he dedicated himself, at first socially and later politically, to modifying those conditions. His concern about Indian living conditions and dedication to their improvement were the first steps toward his becoming the charismatic leader of millions of Indians.

Assumes Leadership Roles

Proposition 2 - The charismatic leader (1) proposes and supports revisions of the moral, ethical, and spiritual precepts of society and (2) gathers a small network of followers.

Many Indian scholars, leaders, and journalists were

writing and speaking about the disenfranchisement of their peoples. Gandhi became increasingly known as one of these people of words. He, along with scholars and Indian leaders, was invited to speak at the opening of Hindu University in Benares on February 4, 1916. His speech created an uproar when he proposed revisions to precepts of Indian life. Gandhi began by condemning the filthy streets and huddled houses in the city and questioning how a people who live in dirt and squalor could ever govern themselves. He then condemned the English language for use by Indians. He objected to Indian behavior on the railroads because they frequently spat and reduced the third-class compartments to a state of indescribable filth. He admonished the maharajahs, many of whom sat on the dais, for their wealth and commanded them to sell their jewels and to give the money to the peasants. Gandhi then attacked the English Viceroy who, Gandhi said, had created an atmosphere which produced "an army of anarchists." He ordered the British government out of the country (Payne 1975, pp. 297-98).

Gandhi had called for a revision of the basic mores and values of Indian society. He had antagonized the established Indian and English order and concurrently appealed to the students in attendance. A few students joined his personal network of followers by going to the Ahmedabad ashram and becoming devoted disciples (ibid., p. 300). His speech at Benares enhanced his reputation as a man of words and requests for his speeches increased.

Gandhi was not yet a national figure, but his fame as a public speaker (a man of words) was spreading (Fischer 1950, p. 137).

Preparation of Followers

Proposition 3 - When the social conditions in a society are such that (1) many people are displaced and deprived of what is considered the normal pursuit of life, and (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of a charismatic leader to address them.

In the preparation stage of a charismatic movement, not only must the potential charismatic leader become aware of the conditions of the people (Proposition 1), but the people themselves must recognize their social deprivation of fundamental social benefits. Gandhi's Benares speech and his subsequent calls for revision of basic precepts would have had little influence on his becoming a charismatic leader had not the Indian people become increasingly frustrated with their social conditions. In other words, as the Indian masses became aware of their social dislocation and deprivation and became frustrated by failures to improve their situation, they became predisposed to accept a charismatic leader.

The pattern of life for over three hundred million Indians had been the endurance of the severe hardships of poverty; millions of them rarely had enough to eat (Fisher 1932, p. 18). For centuries Indians had accepted such conditions as their plight, but prior to and during World

War I Indians increasingly saw their deprivation as a consequence of British rule. Anti-British campaigns and calls by influential Indians for home rule became common in many parts of India, especially when Indians became involved in the European war (Brown 1972, pp. 16-40, 358). During World War I the cost of living increased, the government instituted repressive measures, and, most importantly, more than half a million Indians fought for England (Payne 1969, p. 330). Indian politicians, soldiers, and even the peasants felt that the blood Indians were shedding in Britain's battle should be recompensed in the form of an independent India³ (Fischer 1950, p. 175).

When the war ended victoriously in November 1918 Indians expected, as a first step toward eventual self-rule, the cessation of wartime restrictions and laws. Instead, on March 18, 1919, four months after the armistice, a new government law, called the Rowlatt Act, continued the wartime rigors and rebuffed Indian expectations of home rule and Dominion Status (Fischer 1950, p. 176). The stated intent of the Rowlatt Act was to give the government powers to deal with sedition and conspiracy, but its provisions were so severe that they alarmed even the British Secretary of State for India⁴ (Brown 1972, p. 161). To Indians the Rowlatt Act symbolized that their reward for blood shed in the war was continued dislocation from what had become perceived as the normal pursuit of life. The Indian peoples had become susceptible to a charismatic relationship with

Gandhi who, they would come to believe, would lead them to independence.

Repudiation of Present, Tie to the Past

Proposition 4 - The charismatic leader issues a doctrine which (1) promises an idealized future society, (2) repudiates much of the existing social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of the group.

Gandhi's speeches, beginning at Benares, somewhat substantiate this proposition, but his ideas were not yet coherently formulated, much less widely known among the masses. In South Africa he had committed himself to people who had no political voice, and he had found ways to champion their interests (Brown 1972, p. 11). In India, however, he had not yet found "a single cause, a single hard-edged task to which he could devote the remaining years of his life" (Payne 1969, p. 301). Gandhi found that cause through several major events which occurred in the indigo fields near Champaran in northern Bihar (in northeastern India) and at the millworks of Ahmedabad (in northwestern India). Each event will be discussed in turn.

Champaran. Gandhi went to Champaran to settle a dispute between English landlords and their Indian tenants.⁵ He convinced some local lawyers and brought in others from major cities to help. "Quite suddenly," reports biographer Robert Payne, "everyone in Bihar seemed to know that Gandhi had taken charge of a fact-finding commission designed for

the express purpose of liberating the peasants. Crowds began to follow him wherever he went" (1969, p. 308).

British officials regarded Gandhi as a dangerous agitator and the district magistrate ordered him to appear in court. After a short trial in a packed courtroom with several thousand peasants outside, the judge delayed sentencing and several days later the provincial Lieutenant Governor ordered the case dropped (*ibid.*, pp. 310-11; Brown 1972, p. 67). For nearly a year Gandhi negotiated with the landlords, who finally agreed to surrender part of the money, and a part of their prestige (Fischer 1950, p. 152).

In the eyes of many Indian peasants, Gandhi held the promise for a better society. Having repudiated the social order and triumphing over it, "Gandhi was being recognized as a liberator, almost a saviour by the peasants; he was believed to possess extraordinary powers" (Payne 1969, p. 318). Major city newspapers reported on his activities at Champaran, and a great number of Indians, many still reluctant to follow him, now knew who he was and how he worked (Brown 1972, pp. 67, 79). The Champaran peasants attached themselves to Gandhi; a year later millions of Indians would also.

Ahmedabad. When Gandhi returned to Ahmedabad in early 1918 he found the mill hands in the textile mills full of grievances. The workers struck the mills in February, 1918, but the impoverished mill hands could not afford to strike for long. Complicating the situation, mill owners attempted

to break the strike. On March 15 only a small crowd of workers attended Gandhi's daily meeting. To keep the strike from collapsing, Gandhi resorted to the first of his political fasts (Payne 1969, p. 324). After two days of the fast, the millworkers and owners compromised and the twenty-one day old strike ended on the following day.⁶

The millworkers at Ahmedabad constituted a small following for Gandhi, and the fast had proved to be an effective tactic with which he could influence followers and opponents. After he emerged as a charismatic leader throughout India, the fast would be a formidable weapon for Gandhi. (He would fast fourteen more times for various abuses). His fasts politically pressured his opponents, not only because his followers feared for the life of their revered leader, but also because it appealed to Indians in that fasting conformed to their historical aspirations and ideals. In the Hindu tradition fasting had a spiritual significance in that fasts were often part of a sacred vrata. A vrata is a religious observance undertaken to draw the attention of the deity to what a believer desires with the promise of some sacrifice by the believer in return for the desired objective; fasting is often the sacrificial obligation in a vrata⁷ (Walker 1968, p. 581). Gandhi, by his sacred vow and accompanying fast at Ahmedabad, had discredited the established authority of the millowners and had appealed to Indians through the values, ideals, and sentiments of their history.

Gandhi had again shown that he was a champion of the common man and that he and his countrymen could confront the existing social order. He had fought for a better life for deprived and dispossessed Indians in rural Champaran and in industrial Ahmedabad; to better their conditions he had attacked the British government and British supported Indian businesses.

In 1917 at Champaran Gandhi decided on the goals to which he would dedicate his life: the departure of the British and Indian self-rule (Fischer 1950, p. 148). In his view, independent nationhood held the promise for a better life for Indians, and became a doctrine which he set out to spread throughout India and to fulfill. During the Ahmedabad millworkers' strike, Gandhi formulated his strategy: civil disobedience and, when necessary, use of a vrata with fasting as the sacrificial observance. Over the years he would refine and vary the forms of these tactics, but he had seen that private penance, a tradition in the Indian culture, could become public penance with useful results (Payne 1969, p. 325).

A Brief Summary: The Preparation Stage

It appears that Gandhi and his potential followers had experiences which substantiate Propositions 1-4 of the ideal type model. During the preparation stage Gandhi had found the living conditions of the Indian people objectionable and sought modification of those conditions (Proposition 1). He

had, as a man of words, supported a revision of the moral, ethical, and social precepts of society and had acquired a personal organizational network (Proposition 2). The Indian people had a long history of deprivation, but became aware of their social displacement and deprivation during and after World War I; this awareness and increasing frustration created a social setting which invited the emergence of a charismatic leader (Proposition 3). From his experiences at Champaran and Ahmedabad, Gandhi formulated and issued a doctrine which promised an idealized, future, independent India, repudiated British rule, and advocated, promoted, and reinforced those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of India's historical ideals and aspirations (Proposition 4).

Gandhi emerged as a charismatic leader in India by the early 1920s. The early years of the dynamic stage of the Gandhian charismatic movement are described in terms of the next five propositions.

Gandhi Emerges as a Charismatic Leader

Attachment to the Charismatic Leader

Proposition 5 - The followers attach themselves to the charismatic leader when they identify with his portrayal of their dislocated position in society and accept many of his prescriptions as means to attain their rightful place in society.

Reports of Gandhi's actions at Champaran and Ahmedabad (in 1918 and 1919) spread and many Indians became aware of

his doctrine for a sovereign India. Concurrently, the masses became predisposed to accept a charismatic leader when their susceptibility was aroused by the passing of the oppressive Rowlatt Act in March 1919 (This chapter, page 159). Awareness and susceptibility combined and many Indians attached themselves to Gandhi when, to pressure the British government for repeal of the Rowlatt Act, he called upon them to observe a nationwide hartal, a general strike. He also called for an accompanying day of "fasting and prayer" to symbolize the humiliation the people were undergoing (Payne 1969, p. 331); Fischer 1950, p. 176).

Some Indians, however, took to violence in spite of Gandhi's intent that the hartal be nonviolent. Many people died in the rioting, some due to Indian mobs but mostly due to British attempts to suppress public gatherings.⁸ On April 18, after 12 days of mixed success, Gandhi, greatly disturbed by the violence, called for the end to the hartal.

The extent of participation in the hartal varied considerably between regions, and between town and countryside, but in many places his hartal idea united vast multitudes in common action and paralyzed economic life (Brown 1972, p. 171; Fischer 1950, p. 177). The very large participation evinces an attachment by many to Gandhi as their charismatic leader.⁹

The proposition also states that followers "accept many of his prescriptions as means to attain their rightful place in society." Indeed, many Indians accepted Gandhi's

prescription of a hartal as a means to pressure the British into granting them their "right" to independence. Where his prescription of nonviolence had been understood, Indians complied. In Bombay, for example, Gandhi took personal charge of the demonstration; vast crowds had assembled, shops were closed, the ordinary life of the city had come to a standstill, and violence had been controlled (Payne 1969, p. 342); Brown 1972, pp. 171-72). The use of a general strike was unprecedented in India and Gandhi had not foreseen that the hartal by its very nature was bound to produce violence (Payne 1969, p. 332). Indians had not yet comprehended all the specifics of his strategy, but many thousands had accepted his prescriptions for action against the government as a means to attain their rightful place in their society.

Identification with Lower Statuses

Proposition 6 - The charismatic leader exhibits behaviors by which he becomes identified with those in the lower social positions of his society, and these behaviors show evidence of his unusual understanding and of their worthiness to follow him.

Gandhi became identified with those having the lower statuses by a number of clearly discerned behaviors. By his outward appearance "Gandhi identified himself with even the poorest of his people" (Fisher 1932, p. 64). He always wore the native dhoti, a loose fitting short trouser made by draping long loops of cloth from the waist around each leg to below the knee. The dhoti symbolized his rejection of

his high-caste status for that of a peasant, a symbol so powerful that British officials discouraged and at times persecuted officials who wore it (ibid., p. 32). In cool weather he wore a chaddar, a homespun shawl like that commonly worn by peasants. His life in the Ahmedabad ashram was noteworthy for its austerity. Until the late 1930s, when mob adulation became too dangerous, Gandhi always traveled third class on trains, that is, with the poor.¹⁰ His self-imposed poverty indicated an unusual understanding of poor people and an affiliation with them.

In his speeches Gandhi directed his words to the poverty-stricken elements that made up the Indian masses. He often spoke in terms of their fitness for independent nationhood, admonishing them for their living conditions and their poor diets. Despite their being scolded, the downtrodden understood that Gandhi spoke to them and was concerned for their lives.

The socially dislocated and dispossessed tend to have low self-esteem. To become a follower of a man as great as a charismatic leader, people must believe that he will accept them whether they are worthy or not. Gandhi was recognized as a champion of the untouchables, the outcastes who had no formal place among the rigidly established castes of the Hindu hierarchy (Payne 1969, p. 293; Nielsen et al. 1983, p. 119). Gandhi referred to them as Harijans, "the Children of God," and he repeatedly called for their inclusion in Indian social life, and he welcomed them into

his ashram (Gandhi 1921, pp. 162-67). Few Indians agreed with integrating untouchables into the mainstream of Indian life, but his actions showed Indians that he would help everyone regardless of their position in the social structure.

Clearly Gandhi's dress and behaviors identified him with the lower strata of society. His actions showed lower status Indians that he understood them and their deprivation and that they were worthy of attachment to him.

Difficulty of Prescriptions

Proposition 7 - In order to carry out the charismatic leader's doctrine the followers adhere to new prescriptions, some being difficult and requiring great sacrifice, but they believe their adherence to even these difficult prescriptions is possible.

The April 1919 hartal provides some evidence that many Indians willingly adhered to Gandhi's new prescriptions at great personal sacrifice. The subsequent khadi (homespun cloth) movement, because it was more widely adhered to, provides even better substantiation of this proposition.

Beginning in late 1917 Gandhi had encouraged the spinning and weaving of cloth in the Ahmedabad ashram. In many speeches he had painted a picture of an idealized future India, one in which "every village was a small paradise" (Payne 1969, p. 343). In 1920 Gandhi called for the khadi movement to pressure the British by reducing the need for cloth manufactured in the United Kingdom. Through the Indian Congress, the principal Indian political entity,

he called for the introduction of two million spinning wheels into India (Brown 1972, p. 313). The actual number brought into action is not known, but statistics for imported cloth show a drastic drop, by nearly half, from 1920-1 to 1921-2 (ibid., pp. 313-14). The khadi movement gained momentum as Indians increasingly made homespun cloth in their homes. Many Indian leaders began wearing khadi and some peddled it in the streets as Gandhi did.

...from the mid-1920s, homespun became the badge of the Indian nationalist. A propagandist for independence would no more dream of going into a village in foreign clothes or even in Indian mill cloth than he would think of speaking English at a peasant meeting (Fischer 1950, p. 232).

The wearing of homespun garments by Indian leaders indicates the widespread recognition of khadi as a practical means for employment of the poor and for the freedom of India (ibid.; cf. Brown 1972, p. 315). Gandhi had found in the khadi movement a theme which would rally the Indian people; the national slogan became "spin and weave" (Payne 1969, p. 351, emphasis added). In his doctrine khadi would lead to home rule when combined with civil disobedience (Fischer 1950, p. 231).

Gandhi's prescriptions for the khadi movement created many difficulties for his followers. The spinning and weaving of cloth required considerable time from a people who worked long hours to eke out even a meager subsistence. Manufactured cloth was cheap and convenient; it had become popular because purchase was easier than home-spinning and

home-weaving. Khadi was coarse and, compared to manufactured cloth, uncomfortable to wear. Yet, the difficulty and sacrifices notwithstanding, millions of Indians complied with their charismatic leader's prescriptions.

In Bombay in July 1921, Gandhi organized the first of many bonfires of foreign cloth. "The finest silks, embroidered saris, cambric shirts, tweed jackets, all went up in flames..." (Payne 1969, p. 356). His followers soon imitated him all over India (ibid.). In addition to the difficulties from altering their daily lifestyles and not buying the cheaper manufactured cloth, Indians burned personal possessions.

Many merchants burned their inventories and others freely gave up their possessions of foreign cloth.¹¹ Gandhi and his associates attempted to lessen the burden of merchants and the poor by arranging for monetary compensation. During the 1920s Gandhi traveled throughout India, made speeches, and met with groups and individuals to raise money to pay people for their cloth and clothes made from manufactured cloth (Fischer 1950, pp. 229-30).

Indians sacrificed by giving up their personal possessions, business inventories, or by contributing money to entice others to destroy manufactured cloth and items made of it. Their burning of cloth and boycott of manufactured cloth were forms of civil disobedience. One can conclude that, as stated in the proposition, "they

believed their adherence to even the most difficult prescription is possible." A major factor in their adherence was their belief in Gandhi's arguments and use of symbolic images, which are addressed in the next proposition.

Arguments and Symbols

Proposition 8 - The charismatic leader articulates his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas become ingrained in the minds of followers.

Gandhi called for Indian self-rule in numerous speeches throughout India, talking to all manner of people in every conceivable setting. He wrote innumerable letters, pamphlets, and articles for newspapers.¹² From his voluminous speeches and writings his doctrine spread by the principal means of communications in India -- word of mouth (Payne 1969, p. 654).

Gandhi was a highly skilled man of words. His speeches and writings continue to be admired as evidenced by the many published collections of his works. Perhaps the most significant example of his use of argument was Hind Swaraj (English for Indian Home Rule). Concerned with the enduring problems of government, industrialized societies, and village life, Hind Swaraj combines imaginative passion with "the vigorous marshaling of arguments in favor of non-violent resistance" (ibid., p. 225). He wrote it in 1909 (on a boat to South Africa), and had its ideas

confirmed by his Indian experiences. To disseminate his lengthy and logical arguments, Gandhi had it republished in 1921 as a seventy-six page pamphlet and in 1938 in an introduction to a book (Fischer 1950, p. 124).

In addition to their logical arguments, Gandhi's speeches and writing are rich in symbolic content. He made wide use of metaphors and slogans, such as "spin and weave." He used objects as symbols, the aforementioned dhoti, khadi, and the spinning wheel being important examples. His followers wore white khadi caps which became known as "Gandhi caps" and signified the wearer as one who believed in him and his cause. In 1921 Gandhi designed a national flag of white, green, and red -- white representing purity, green representing the Muslims, and red representing the Hindus -- and in its center a drawing of a spinning wheel (Payne 1969, p. 354). (After independence Gandhi's design became the flag of India with the spinning wheel subtly transformed to symbolize the wheel of law (ibid., p. 321).)

The meanings of physical symbols were easily understood by the poorest and least educated Indians (ibid., p. 321). So also were symbolic acts. His own peasant-like dress and his riding third-class on trains not only identified Gandhi with the lower classes but also symbolized that his cause was theirs. The bonfires of foreign cloth symbolized self-rule and the expulsion of the British.

By his dress and actions, Gandhi himself symbolized the

full meaning of khadi and civil disobedience. "Resembling the poorest peasant, he could more easily represent himself as the leader of poor peasants" (Payne 1969, pp. 355-56). He spun thread several hours each day, which was widely publicized and symbolized the importance of the khadi movement. Gandhi was himself a symbol.

In his voluminous writings, Gandhi appealed to educated Indians; by numerous symbolic images his ideas most strongly appealed to the uneducated. By both argument and symbolic imagery his ideas became ingrained in the minds of Indians followers.

A Brief Summary: Gandhi Emerges as a Charismatic Leader

The actions of Gandhi and his early followers appear to agree with Propositions 5 through 8 of the ideal type model. Gandhi's emergence as a charismatic leader occurred when Indians identified with his portrayal of their dislocated position in their own society, and they accepted many of his prescriptions as means to attain their independence (Proposition 5). Gandhi exhibited behaviors by which he became identified with those in the lower social positions of Indian society, and these behaviors showed Indians that they were worthy of following such a superior or esteemed being (Proposition 6). To carry out Gandhi's doctrine of khadi and civil disobedience, Indians adhered to his prescriptions, some being difficult and requiring great sacrifice, but, however difficult, they believed that

adherence was possible (Proposition 7). Gandhi articulated his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas became ingrained in the minds of followers (Proposition 8).

The dynamic stage of the Gandhian charismatic relationship was underway and lasted for over two decades. In the ideal type model, Propositions 9 through 14 deal with the pattern of belief and its expression which surround the charismatic leader. The following section reports on the comparative analysis of the beliefs held by Gandhi and his followers and the expression of those beliefs.

The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

The propositions of the ideal type are based on the zaddik-follower relationship of the Hasidic movement. The Hasidim believed the zaddik was imbued with superhuman qualities and was divinely ordained and divinely inspired to fulfill a purpose defined by a divine source. They also expressed their belief in various demonstrations of reverence and dedication to him.

Gandhi led a movement with political purposes, but the Gandhi-Indian charismatic relationship also had supernatural components. Gandhi was a religious man who led a mass charismatic movement of religiously oriented followers.¹³ A major task in the comparative analysis is the determination of religious factors in the pattern of belief which surrounded an otherwise political, and, in a Western sense,

secular mass movement.

Information about Gandhi's beliefs is abundant, including many volumes of his speeches and writings. There is, however, little information about what the followers believed. Some probably believed as Gandhi did, but in a rigorous comparative analysis one cannot take his speeches and writings as evidence of the followers' belief. When available, the following analysis relies on interviews of followers by scholars and journalists to substantiate a particular kind of belief.

Imbued with Superhuman Qualities

Proposition 9 - The followers believe their charismatic leader to be imbued with superhuman qualities which he applies for their benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being.

Whereas Gandhi insisted that he was only a politician, and his greatest achievements were political, "his followers tended to treat him like a saint" (Organ 1974, p. 363). In other words, Indians saw him as a being who embodied superhuman qualities. Massive crowds met Gandhi when he traveled and formed along his routes. Frederick B. Fisher describes one such mass display of reverence.

...I rode on the train one day with Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi towards Calcutta. No word of his coming had been allowed over the government owned wires for fear of an uprising. Yet the curious grapevine telegraphy of India, ancient and mysterious, knows no censor. At every station I saw the human seas overflow our train. Ladders of breathing and sobbing bodies were made so that the lucky ones might climb to touch...or merely to see the Mahatma. Rose-petals covered our engine. Peasants stopped their bullocks in the fields and

bowed in prayer as the holy train swept by. Every pole, fence, and hillock had its burden of worshippers (1932, p. 1).

Such a demonstration of respect and reverence for Gandhi strongly indicates that Indians believed Gandhi to be a human being imbued with superhuman qualities. In recognition of his saintly qualities Indians gave Gandhi the title "Mahatma," literally "great-souled one;" they threw rose-petals before him; and they bowed to him. In an illiterate country where the primary means of communication between villages is word of mouth, the spread of information about Gandhi's journey is itself a demonstration of the enormous respect and reverence Indians held for him. Having heard of his coming, thousands sought even a glimpse of the Great Soul, of one whom they viewed as the embodiment of superhuman qualities.¹⁴

Indian belief in Gandhi's superhuman qualities is also seen in the common practice of Indians to seek Gandhi's darshan, his blessing which he bestowed on them by merely pressing his hands together. To receive Gandhi's blessing by this simple gesture, Indians traveled long distances and risked serious injury in large frenzied crowds.¹⁵ They made enormous efforts and risked personal harm to receive a religious blessing from a human being whom they believed to be so extraordinary that he approached divinity. To Indians Gandhi was "a saintly man" and his darshan provided them with spiritual well-being.

For the final part of this proposition, it can be

concluded that Indians believed that he acted for their benefit, prosperity, and physical well being. They had seen and heard of his dedication to the interests of followers: for example, payments to farmers at Champaran, wages for millworkers at Ahmedabad, and the struggle for an independent India. Countless Indians followed Gandhi's prescriptions for over two decades largely because they believed that he embodied superhuman qualities and would use them to better their lives.

A Special Mission

Proposition 10 - Both the charismatic leader and the followers believe him to be singled out by the supernatural for a special mission to fulfill and to convey to his followers.

Substantiation of this proposition requires a separate analysis of Gandhi as charismatic leader and of Indians as his followers.

Gandhi. In 1917 at Champaran, Gandhi decided that he would work for the departure of the British (This chapter, page 163), and until his death in 1949 he dedicated himself to creating an independent and unified India. Perhaps because of his great humility, Gandhi never proclaimed that he believed himself to be singled out by the supernatural for this special mission. Yet, certain actions and pronouncements strongly indicate that he did indeed believe that he was divinely selected to bring about Indian independence and to convey that mission to the Indian people, his followers.

In his autobiography Gandhi attributed supernatural forces for the idea of the fast at Ahmedabad.

One morning -- it was at a mill-hands meeting -- while I was still groping and unable to see my way clearly, the light came to me. Unbidden and all by themselves the words came to my lips... (1940, p. 325).

Being a religious man, Gandhi surely meant "the light" as a form of spiritual enlightenment. The phrase "all by themselves the words came" implies words from a divine source. He similarly characterized his idea for the hartal in response to the Rowlatt Act; Gandhi told associates, "The idea came to me last night in a dream that we should call upon the country to observe a general hartal" (1940, p. 348). To a religious person, like Gandhi, such messages would be given to an individual by a divine source who has selected him (or her) for a special mission.

Although Gandhi did not directly proclaim that he was himself divinely designated for a specific purpose, he frequently declared that his cause had divine sanction. Gandhi characterized nonviolent civil disobedience as "a process of self-purification" to be used in "our sacred fight" (ibid.). In 1922 he wrote that "God had ordained" India to become a special nation (Duncan 1972, p. 69). He also believed, as he told the judge in his 1922 trial, that he was "called upon to lead" Indians against the British (ibid. p. 147). Such statements and actions show that Gandhi believed himself to be singled out by the divine for a special mission.

The Followers. Indian followers also saw Gandhi's ideas and actions as evidence that he was divinely designated to lead India to nationhood. At Champaran an English Indian Civil Service officer observed the followers' belief that Gandhi was associated with some divine power; he reported that Gandhi "was transfiguring" the imaginations of the peasant masses "with visions of an early millennium" (Payne 1969, p. 318). The Englishman discussed the Indians' developing beliefs about Gandhi and concluded that this was not his intent, but also that "he cannot control the tongues of all his followers" (ibid.). Whatever Gandhi's intent, Indians believed that he would lead them to a promised land on earth.

The frequent Indian war-cry was "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai," ki jai meaning "to him victory" (ibid., p. 349). Victory implies success in achieving some purpose, and they clearly understood that his purpose was to end British rule¹⁶ (Shirer 1979, pp. 70-71). A "Mahatma" is a numinous being attached to the divine. In the eyes of his Indian followers, the divine singled out Gandhi to challenge British rulers.

The Ideal Type

Proposition 11 - The charismatic leader's behaviors are the model for the behaviors of the followers.

Indians attempted to behave as did Gandhi; they saw his actions as representing the ideal and they attempted to

emulate that ideal. When Gandhi prescribed a fast for himself at Ahmedabad, some mill workers requested that they be allowed to fast with him, but Gandhi -- because of prospective hardship for them -- refused their wishes to emulate him (Fisher 1932 p. 155; Payne 1969, p. 324). In the khadi movement, Gandhi wore homespun cloth which became a virtual uniform for nationalist politicians and many Indian followers (Brown 1972, p. 315). In addition to wearing khadi, Indian leaders "peddled it in the streets as Gandhi did" (Fisher 1932, p. 232). Word of Gandhi's daily spinning spread throughout the country, and thousands spun their own cloth on old spinning wheels, a practice which by that time had become archaic (This chapter, page 169). Indians copied Gandhi's behavior in further actions against the British government (many of which are described later on in this chapter).

Indians could not fully achieve the ideal represented by Gandhi's behavior; it was not possible for ordinary people to behave as does a "Great Soul." Gandhi was attached to the divine; the followers were attached to Gandhi. Just as Gandhi's actions fell short of God's, their actions fell short of Gandhi's; but just as Gandhi appeared to be God-like in his actions, followers attempted to be Gandhi-like in theirs. He exemplified the demands of his doctrine and Indians sought to emulate his behavior.

Bearing Burdens and Pain

Proposition 12 - It is believed that the

charismatic leader bears the spiritual and emotional burdens and pain of his people at great sacrifice to himself.

Gandhi imposed many restrictions upon himself, poverty and fasting being examples already noted. He was also jailed for leading protests of British laws and actions. In these and other privations, Gandhi displayed that he bore the burdens of his followers; he made sacrifices and served penance to overcome the conditions of the people. Additional evidence of conformity with this proposition can be found in an important development in India's drive for independence and the Gandhian charismatic relationship: The Salt March.

In 1930, Gandhi sought a new opportunity for civil disobedience.¹⁷ In March the British government passed the Salt Act, which required a tax on salt, a substance essential for food preparation in India. Gandhi decided to lead a march which would symbolize not only the Indian's objection to the tax but also to all government power (Payne 1969, p. 389). Gandhi announced his plan on March 2, 1930. By March 11 scores of foreign and domestic correspondents dogged Gandhi's footsteps in the ashram (Fischer 1950, p. 267). All of India, and much of the world, would hear of Gandhi's 240 mile march.

Early in the morning of March 12 (after prayers) Gandhi and seventy-eight men and women from the Ahmedabad ashram headed due south for Dandi on the seacoast. Additional followers joined the procession which, within several days,

was nearly two miles in length (Payne 1969, p. 391). Gandhi's march stimulated Indians to break the Salt Laws, which was his political intent, but it also displayed his bearing of their burdens.

Gandhi insisted on marching the whole way, though a bullock cart rumbled behind him in case he should be exhausted. He marched ten to fifteen miles a day in the broiling sun, taking frequent short rests, and sometimes taking a whole day's rest, for he was in no hurry to reach the sea (ibid., p. 390).

During the twenty-four day march over dirt roads in stifling heat, many others "became fatigued and footsore, and had to ride in a bullock cart," but Gandhi never did (Fischer 1950, p. 268). The media coverage was extensive and word spread of Gandhi's march and its purpose; Indians had to be amazed that a sixty-one year old man would make such a march on their behalf. All of India was aware that the elderly Gandhi, wearing a simple dhoti and sandals and aided by only a thick, bamboo, iron tipped staff, was walking over 200 miles to symbolize Indian objection to a burdensome tax.

The Salt March had many supernatural elements which are associated with Gandhi's bearing of Indian burdens. According to Payne, "Every wall and rooftop and every tree seemed to be crowded with excited onlookers who hoped for his darshan" (1969, p. 390). Daily Gandhi addressed Indian audiences with words such as, "We are marching in the name of God. We profess to act on behalf of the hungry, the naked and the unemployed" (ibid., p. 391). No doubt Indians

believed his acts to be acts of sacrifice and penance for them. Hundreds joined the Salt March and millions boycotted taxed salt; their belief that their charismatic leader had borne their burdens had roused Gandhi's followers to action.

The Pattern of Expressive Activities

Proposition 13 - Followers demonstrate their belief in the charismatic leader by giving him respect, holding him in reverence, and subordinating their will to his.

Journalist Geoffrey Ashe reports that within a week of Gandhi's scooping up salt from the shore at Dandi,

everybody seemed to be making salt, or reading Congress leaflets on how to make it, or hawking illicit packets of it.... In Ahmedabad Congress had its own depot, and sold the salt or gave it away to enormous crowds, besides auctioning the Mahatma's original handful for sixteen hundred rupees (1968, p. 287).

By boycotting British salt and making their own, and by participating in general strikes, the khadi movement, and other forms of civil disobedience, Indians demonstrated their belief in Gandhi's charisma. Their demonstrations of adulation became so large and so intense that, when away from the ashram, he became fearful for his own safety.¹⁸ These actions of Gandhi's followers substantiate this proposition, but an additional series of events exceeds even these in illustrating the Indians' respect and reverence for and their subordination to Gandhi: the breaking of the social barriers against the untouchables.

Fundamental beliefs of the Hindu religion fixed the place of the untouchables in Indian society. Indian scholar Ved Mehta explains.

...a Hindu was so afraid of spiritual pollution that he never allowed his right hand to come into contact with his own genitals or anus, if he could help it. The right hand was reserved for eating and the left hand for touching the sexual organs and for anal cleaning. Any contact with breath, spittle, mucus, sweat, semen, menses, urine, or feces -- one's own or anyone else's -- was spiritually polluting; so were dead animals; so were women who had had intercourse with other men. The mere shadow or glance of the people who routinely came into contact with such pollution -- the untouchables -- was polluting. They were the only people who could engage in such work as scavenging and tanning and who could marry widows. Traditionally, they had to keep their distance from other Hindus. They had to live in separate communities, were barred from all schools and temples, and were not allowed to use certain roads or certain wells. They had no hope of improving their station in this life, for that was their karma -- their destiny, determined by actions in a previous life. They could aspire to be better born in the next life only by being true to their dharma -- their class rules of duty and service (1976, p. 244, emphasis added).

Since his earliest activities in South Africa Gandhi had spoken and written against untouchability. He referred to untouchables as the "Children of God" (Harijans), had repeatedly displayed his acceptance of them in his travels throughout India, and welcomed many into his ashram (Fischer 1950, p. 321; Mehta 1976, p. 161).

Their plight became an issue in 1932 when the British, seeking to retain their dominance by a "divide and rule" tactic, proposed an Indian constitution which would establish separate electorates of Hindus and untouchables.

To Gandhi this "Communal Award" politically sanctioned and perpetuated a division in Hinduism which he found intolerable. He set out to stop it. He had been imprisoned in a roundup of Indian leaders, and from Yeravda Jail he wrote the Prime Minister that he would resist the decision by a fast unto death and that the fast would begin at noon on September 20¹⁹ (Payne 1969, p. 439).

This would be his ninth vrata accompanied by a sacrificial fast, but this time there were no clear-cut issues, no clear enemy, no clear solution. He vowed that factions within the Indian leadership and the British government had to agree on a new formula for the Indian legislature, but they had no guarantee that Gandhi would accept it.²⁰ Biographer Robert Payne describes Indian reaction.

Gandhi had kindled a flame which swept across India. Never again, it seemed, would untouchables be despised and hated by the Caste Hindus. Never again would they be excluded from the temples, the well, the pasture lands and the dwelling places of the Brahmins. It was as though quite suddenly the Hindus had entered a new dispensation where there was no more ill-temperament of the scavengers and sweepers, and where the untouchables were untouchable no longer. Gandhi's fast had electrified the country. He had dramatized the insoluble problem by threatening to starve himself unto death unless the problem was solved (1969, p. 446).

A great social awakening, however temporary, had taken place throughout India. The Indian masses and Indian and British leaders knew only that Gandhi had taken a vow which would result in his death unless some agreement could be

reached for equality between untouchables and other Hindus. The various Indian and British representatives formulated the Yeravda Agreement, which Gandhi accepted, and he ended his fast on September 26. The happy Indian delirium lasted a week or so afterward, but then temple doors were again closed to untouchables and they were left to their own resources. Gandhi's vrata did not kill the three thousand year old curse of untouchability; in many ways the Harijans remained the dregs of Indian society. Yet something quite remarkable had happened as the Hindu community -- close to a quarter of a billion people -- experienced an upheaval which was both religious and social.

Gandhi had taken a sacred vow and had fasted; vicariously, his adorers shared his vow and suffered his pain. It was evil to prolong the suffering of a holy man: "They must not kill God's messenger on earth.... It was blessed to save him by being good to those whom he had called 'The Children of God'" (Fischer 1950, p. 321). So great were the Indians' attachment and dedication to Gandhi that they ignored, at least for a time, hundreds of years of social and religious tradition. The British authorities altered the proposed constitution because of the intense pressure exerted on them by the size and intensity of Indian demonstrations (Fischer 1950, p. 319), that is, by mass displays of respect and reverence for, and of subordination to, Gandhi as their charismatic leader.

Self-Importance

Proposition 14 - The followers' adoration and recognition may influence the charismatic leader to believe in his own importance and superhuman qualities, but he must display modesty and humility.

Pulitzer Prize winning author William L. Shirer observed Gandhi for many months during the 1920s and 1930s and concluded that Gandhi "was genuinely the humblest of men...though he was not unaware of his greatness" (1979, p. 2). Certainly, Gandhi was aware of his importance to his Indian followers and to their struggle for nationhood. "Mahatma," Indians cried out to him; they mobbed him wherever he went (This chapter, pages 176ff). Their adulation became so intense that he soon feared for his safety outside the ashram (This chapter, page 183n). Gandhi was the acknowledged leader of the Indian National Congress, which in 1920 adopted his doctrine of non-cooperation as its national program and his draft as their new constitution (Mehta 1976, pp. 141-42). Gandhi considered himself as designated by a divine power to lead Indians to nationhood (This chapter, pages 177ff).

In addition to being shown his importance by his followers' adulation, his political prominence, and his belief in his divinely ordained purpose, the British often showed Gandhi that they recognized his importance. For example, they used elaborate procedures to arrest him. After the Salt March and several subsequent Gandhi-led mass

actions against the government, British officials carefully planned his arrest and transportation to Yeravda Jail so as not to encounter mob resistance.²¹ The need for precautions were confirmed by the actions of Indians when they heard of his imprisonment: "All over India there were hartals and strikes" (Payne 1969, p. 401).

In spite of the many indicators of his great importance, humility and modesty characterized Gandhi's words and actions. His last act before leaving his disciples for Yeravda Jail was to lead them (and the thirty odd Indian policemen who accompanied British officials) in prayer (Muzumdar 1956, p. 246). His last message to his followers was to place their trust in their gods; he was their revered leader and was being arrested because of that status, but he displayed himself to be a small, humble creature who served a greater, divine power.

Events shortly after his Yeravda imprisonment further illustrate his humble and modest style. While he was in jail the disorders escalated; general strikes and salt marches led by his followers resulted in 100,000 arrests²² (Fischer 1950, pp. 275-76). Unconditionally released on January 26, 1931, Gandhi immediately asked for, and was granted, an interview with Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India. Biographer Frederick B. Fisher contrasts the arrival of the two leaders at New Delhi.

Lord Irwin came in on the famous viceregal "White Train" [all its coaches were white], with its whirring fans, its bedrooms, its tiled baths, and luscious food. He stepped out, not on the

common concrete pavement of the station, but upon a thick red carpet that swept up the platform, through the waiting room, and out over the pavement to his purring limousine. Everywhere he was surrounded by luxury, with servility, with attention a king might envy.

[Later] Gandhi crawled out of a third class railway carriage, full of hot humanity, crying babies, into the midst of his Indian friends, who had been waiting patiently since daybreak. It was raining and the Indians had a car there to drive Gandhi the six miles to the viceregal palace. But Gandhi said, "No," he would not ride. He needed the exercise after being shut up in the railway carriage for so long. But if some one would lend him an umbrella (1932, pp. 161-62).

To meet the highest official of the British government in India, Gandhi walked the six miles in the driving rain, carrying a black umbrella, as the humble, modest representative of his people. Throughout his three day meeting with Lord Irwin, humility characterized his behavior. Negotiating with the six feet, five inch Irwin, "one of those men who wear imperial robes as though they were born to them," the five feet tall Gandhi frequently huddled against the cold in his dhoti and long woolen chaddar (shawl). An anecdote indicates how humility typified Gandhi's behavior. While working with the British staff, the Viceroy's secretary observed, "You are a remarkably good draughtsman." Gandhi modestly replied, "I have that reputation" (Payne 1969, pp. 404-5).

Gandhi's meeting with the Viceroy as the representative of India was yet another indicator of his importance. As in other social settings, humbleness and modesty characterized his behavior. Indeed, his appearance, words, and behavior displayed humility and modesty to British officials, to his

disciples, to Indian leaders, and to the Indian masses.

A Brief Summary: The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

The Gandhian charismatic relationship appears to conform to Propositions 9-14 of the ideal type model. In the dynamic stage Gandhi and his followers developed a pattern of belief surrounding him, and they expressed these beliefs. Indians believed that Gandhi embodied superhuman qualities with which he would bring them nationhood and with it prosperity and well-being (Proposition 9). He and his followers saw an independent India as his divinely-ordained mission (Proposition 10). Followers attempted to behave according to the model established by Gandhi's behaviors (Proposition 11). Gandhi's self-imposed poverty, his vratas and accompanying fasts, his imprisonments, and the Salt March were among actions which indicated to Indians that he bore their burdens at great sacrifice to himself (Proposition 12). Indians expressed their belief in Gandhi's charisma by participating in various forms of civil disobedience: for example, general strikes, boycotting salt, and spinning, weaving, and wearing khadi (Proposition 13). Their demonstrations of respect and reverence plus various actions of the British authorities indicated to Gandhi his importance, but he continuously displayed humility and modesty (Proposition 14).

To further explain the dynamic stage of the Gandhian charismatic relationship, I will in the next five sections

address the extent to which the actions of Gandhi and his followers fostered growth in numbers and unification of the movement.

Growth and Unification

Success and Growth

Proposition 15 - The charismatic leader usually has a modest beginning of his leadership, and he attracts increasing numbers of followers as he creates an image of success.

The sequence of events discussed in previous sections show a modest beginning of Gandhi's leadership, the creation of an image of success, and an ever increasing following. In 1915 Gandhi returned to India and, though welcomed as a hero who had successfully fought for the rights of Indians in South Africa, he had to develop an Indian charismatic relationship nearly from scratch. He developed a modest following in 1917-1918 at Champaran and Ahmedabad, where his improvement of the conditions of Indian indigo farmers and millworkers had established an image of him as successful.

Gandhi emerged as a charismatic leader when many Indians responded to his call for the 1919 hartal. Also in 1919, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a revolutionary whose cry for independence had been heard all over India, died suddenly, leaving Gandhi as the national leader who commanded the largest following (Payne 1969, p. 110; Coolidge 1971, pp. 131-32). This following increased greatly with wide adherence to Gandhi's prescriptions for the khadi movement

of the 1920s. Despite his having been seriously ill and imprisoned at times during the decade, the khadi movement continued successfully to pressure the British. Throughout the 1920s Gandhi's following grew into millions. Huge crowds appeared wherever he went, they sought his darshan, they spun and wove khadi, and in 1930 millions boycotted salt.

Over the fifteen years after his return to India, an image of success developed around Gandhi and more and more Indians attached themselves to him as their charismatic leader. By the early 1930s he was the most important national leader of the Indian peoples; in 1931 he represented India, with the support of millions, in negotiations with the viceroy and later that year in London.

Gatherings with the Leader

Proposition 16 - At public meetings, the charismatic leader's presence, at times symbolized by a designated representative, adds enthusiasm and affirmation to the groups' unity.

An Indian interviewed by Ved Mehta had become a devoted follower of Gandhi after he witnessed a large public gathering in the early 1920s. (Bapu, which means "father," was an honorific by which Gandhi's disciples addressed him and referred to him.)

The crowd was chanting "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai!" but as soon as Bapu raised one finger they fell silent. He could control vast crowds, sometimes numbering millions, just by raising his finger. The magic of the man's finger was what affected me.

The crowd expected Bapu to attack the

Maharaja [but instead he said he would] "pay my respects to your great Maharaja." You could see that the people were stunned and were beginning to grow hostile. They would have stoned him, but Bapu was able to control them with his magic finger (1976, p. 216).

The "magic" in Gandhi's finger was the charisma believed to be embodied in him (cf. Proposition 9, page 175). The followers believed in his superordinary qualities and abilities, and that belief enabled him, with but a simple gesture, to control their zeal or their anger and to direct them in unified, collective actions.

To initiate a collective action Gandhi led some sort of mass gathering. In 1921 he presided at the opening of the first shop selling khadi and at the first bonfire of foreign cloth (Jack 1956, p. 514). The Salt March, a twenty day initiation of the salt boycott, began with about seventy volunteers from his ashram and grew to thousands trudging to the sea at Dandi. After Gandhi picked up salt from the seashore, the throng of followers, enthused and unified by his presence, openly violated British law by collecting salt (Polak 1956, p. 240).

Once Gandhi performed an act in the presence of his gathered followers, other followers, on their own or led by his representatives, acted in a similar manner. Louis Fischer illustrates the process in his explanation of the symbolism of the gathering at Dandi.

The act performed, Gandhi withdrew from the scene. The zeal, affirmation, and unity from mass gatherings carried over to subsequent collective acts led by his representatives. India had its cue. Gandhi had communicated with it by lifting

up some grains of salt (1950, p. 269, emphasis added).

Stimulated and enthused by Gandhi's actions and the subsequent collective actions of the mass gatherings, villagers on India's long seacoast went to the beach and waded into the sea with a pan to make salt (ibid.). Soon after the Salt March Gandhi was jailed. Just as representatives had organized bonfires of foreign cloth in the 1920s (This chapter, page 170), Gandhi's representatives led strikes and salt marches. Because Indians associated them with the charismatic Gandhi, his representatives instilled enthusiasm and affirmation for collective actions.

Sources of Opposition

Proposition 17 - The opposition to the charismatic leader almost always comes from the proponents of the status quo of the economic, political, social, and/or religious conditions.

Gandhi was opposed (1) by the British, and (2) by Indians tied politically and economically to the British. Both groups sought to maintain British rule, that is, the status quo. I will address each of these groups in turn.

The British. Britain had fought wars to acquire and to retain its Empire. A source of great wealth to the British people, India was an important, if not its most important, colony. Events of the late 1920s and early 1930s illustrate the means by which the British attempted to maintain the economic, political, and social status quo.

Lord Irwin, a distinguished politician in Britain, had been appointed Viceroy of India in 1926 and had hoped to bring Indians together and to preside over the establishment of a reformed constitution. Instead, to quell the unrest created by Gandhi and his followers, Irwin was forced to muzzle the press, to put a hundred thousand Indians in jail, to expose his government to critical reports in foreign papers, and to detain Gandhi without trial after the Salt March (Coolidge 1971 p. 175).

When coercion would not maintain the social, economic, and political status quo, Irwin negotiated with Gandhi a truce with both sides promising their best efforts to bring about peace (Fischer 1950, p. 278; Payne 1969, p. 405). It offered both sides a chance to cool off until constitutional questions could be discussed six months later at a Round Table in London (Coolidge 1971, p. 178). Britain had temporarily maintained the status quo.²³

Indians Tied to the British. The permanent Indian Establishment was made up of the army, police, and civil servants whose relative prosperity was tied directly to a stable, British-governed society. The measures designed to harm the British harmed them as well: "The servants of Delhi had not been softened by non-violent resistance, they had been brutalized" (Ashe 1968, p. 299). District commissioners, officers, and policeman despised the acts of Gandhi's movement, and they often reacted with fury (ibid.), because the collective actions disrupted the status quo.

The Indian economic elite of capitalist manufacturers and merchants had prospered under British rule. They too opposed Gandhi's charismatic movement. Much is written about a few wealthy Indians who gave Gandhi a portion of the finances needed to support his ashram and his projects for social and political reforms, but such men were a small exception (Nanda 1985, p. 137). Indian millowners almost as a class opposed Gandhi's non-cooperation movement against the British, and formed an "Anti-non-cooperation Society" in 1920 which issued "counter-propaganda" and supported moderates who opposed him (ibid. p. 136). Fearful that removal of British rule would end their lucrative enterprises, the economic elite attempted to keep the social order as it was.

Princely states and particular sections with their own cultural identities, some of which were considered British India, were economically and politically tied to Britain. They too had a interest in maintaining British rule and therefore opposed Gandhi's movement.

The opposition from these divisions was apparent at the London Round Table Conference of 1932. The British carefully chose representatives from various factions (including from religious groups discussed in Propositions 19 and 20), maintained that all minorities must be protected and satisfied before self-rule could be granted, and affirmed that any federal scheme must have a place for the princes (Ashe 1968, p. 306). In other words, to keep India a

colonial possession and thereby keep the existing state of its affairs, the British played the diverse Indian elements against each other to maintain the status quo.

Scapegoats

Proposition 18 - Worsening of conditions is always blamed on a variety of circumstances and never on the charismatic leader.

Gandhi made mistakes: for example, because his first hartal turned violent, he called it his "Himalayan miscalculation" (Gandhi 1940, p. 356). Yet, the greatest violence, and the actions most apparent to Indians, were committed by the British. Gandhi went to Bombay to quell the violence. He had spoken only a few words to a large crowd when the mounted police charged into them, swinging iron-tipped lathis which resembled lances. As they had in other cities, the police cut through the crowd inflicting many injuries. In some cities martial law was declared and Indians saw soldiers marching through their streets (Payne 1969, p. 332-33). Indians also acted violently; they burned buildings and killed Englishmen. Indeed, Indian violence was the announced reason for lancers charging through crowds and for martial law. From the viewpoint of Indians, however, who had not yet understood nor accepted Gandhi's prescriptions for non-violent civil disobedience, they had resorted to violence in response to British atrocities.

They also responded to the rumors about British actions. During the hartal, it was rumored that Gandhi had

been arrested (he had been refused permission to travel out of Bombay). As Robert Payne writes, "All over India people hearing about his arrest had rioted" (1969, p. 333). Whether based on direct British actions or rumors, Gandhi's followers did not blame him for worsening conditions, but others.²⁴

Later Gandhi created situations -- bonfires of foreign cloth and other acts of civil disobedience -- to provoke the British into police and military responses. When the British arrested Gandhi, blame was most easily placed on the British. Indians frequently revolted after his imprisonment; for example, after his arrest following the Salt March. To quell the revolt, British made many more arrests and sent police and soldiers to quell riots. In such instances, conditions worsened, and Indians blamed the British, who, in their view, had incited their revolt and then suppressed it.

New and/or Modified Prescriptions

Proposition 19 - The charismatic leader often issues new and/or modified prescriptions which he bases on the emotional fervor of the community of followers.

The "community of followers" that make up a mass movement includes people of various subcultures. Many of their goals coincide with the charismatic leader, but they differ in their perception of the final social order, and at times the methods to bring them about. Indian Muslims, religious sects, and other minorities also sought the end of

British rule, but their view of the resulting Indian state differed greatly from that envisioned by Gandhi.

Hinduism was the primary religion of the country, but Islam was also a major religion²⁵ and there were many Christians, Parsees, and Sikhs. Gandhi had followers from all of India's divisions, but mainly from the Hindu majority. The Muslims, Christians, Parsees, and Sikhs organized independent of Gandhi to protect their interests. The Muslim group became a major source of disunification of Gandhi's community of followers as discussed in the next Proposition.

From the beginning, Gandhi's doctrine called for nonviolence. However, during the first hartal in 1919, Indians responded to British violence with violence of their own. Gandhi concluded that Indians were not ready to follow his prescriptions in such a strategy (his "Himalayan miscalculation"), and he did not call for another general strike until 1930 in the aftermath of the Salt March. In the intervening years, largely from their experiences in the khadi movement, Indians had become unified around him as their charismatic leader and had learned to take blows and to accept injuries without responding in kind. Gandhi, in other words, prescribed actions appropriate to his followers' disposition.

After the Salt March, Gandhi sensed Indian readiness to accept additional prescriptions, and before his arrest on May 5, 1930 he organized a highly dramatic action against

the Dharasana Saltworks. His representatives carried out the plan to take possession of it on May 21. Biographer Robert Payne describes the actions of Indian followers and the British response.

The "raiders" consisted of about 2,500 members of Congress in white dhotis and Gandhi caps. The government had been forewarned by Gandhi, and they had placed four hundred policemen armed with steel-tipped lathis within the saltworks compound. It was open land, with only some waterlogged ditches and a barbed-wire fence dividing it from the rest of the barren coast.... Webb Miller, the American journalist, was present. With a kind of fascinated horror he watched [Gandhi's followers] marching toward the saltworks, wading across the ditch and then making their way to the barbed-wire fence, which few of them reached, for once across the ditch they were attacked by the police, who mowed them down as though they were tenpins, clubbing them over the head and body with their lathis....

At a temperature of 116 degrees in the shade the [followers] advanced in columns, one column following another. They were in good spirits, shouting: "Inquilah Zindabad!" (Long live the revolution!) at the top of their voices. Webb Miller observed that the [followers] had been well-trained, for not one of them raised his hands to defend himself.... Again and again the police charged, and there was the sickening sound of bamboo clubs on unprotected heads and white dhotis would suddenly turn blood-red from the steel tips of the lathis. Worse still, the police became infuriated by the onward march of [Gandhi's followers], and not content with clubbing them into insensibility and gashing them with spikes, amused themselves by squeezing the testicles of the wounded, thrusting sticks up their anuses, or kicking them in the abdomen (1969, pp. 396-98).

Miller reported to the world, "In my eighteen years of reporting in twenty-two countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disturbances, riots, street fights, and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharasana" (ibid.). For two hours

they marched against the compound, incurred injury, and were carried away by prearranged stretcher bearers to a make-shift hospital overflowing with wounded; in preparing followers for the Dharasana Rebellion, Gandhi had trained these devoted followers and had accurately gauged their emotional fervor.

A Brief Summary: Growth and Unification

Propositions 15-19 are substantiated in the comparative analysis in this section. Throughout its dynamic phase the Gandhian charismatic relationship grew in size and became unified around Gandhi. Those few who joined him immediately upon his return to India had been followers in South Africa. His Indian following began modestly with the peasants at Champaran and the millworkers at Ahmedabad, and it grew stimulated by an image of success created by those events, the khadi movement, and his increasing prominence as a political leader (Proposition 15). Large crowds attended his public gatherings and became unified by his presence which added enthusiasm and affirmation for his cause; likewise representatives at times unified the followers as their presence symbolized his presence (Proposition 16). Gandhi was opposed by the British authorities who sought to maintain Indians rule, and by Indians tied to British who therefore had an interest in the status quo (Proposition 17). When conditions worsened, particularly when the British used police and military force or arrested Gandhi, the

followers blamed the British government and not Gandhi (Proposition 18). For his Indian followers, the opposition of rival groups, the use of force, and his arrests confirmed the need for Gandhi's prescriptions to attain Indian self-rule. He issued new prescriptions, such as the Salt March, or modified prescriptions, such as additional forms of civil disobedience, in ways that took advantage of the emotional fervor of his followers (Proposition 19).

The Stabilization Stage

Having discussed the propositions which deal with the preparation and dynamic stages of charismatic movements, I will now address the final proposition which describes the stabilization stage. By the early 1930s, Gandhi had developed a large and unified mass following. The dynamic stage of his charismatic movement continued for another decade.²⁶ (The events of that period further substantiate many of the previous propositions.) The British and his Indian followers saw him as a fanatic bent on creating disruption and chaos. He was politically astute in developing the strategies and selecting the targets for his mass actions against the government. Others, however, established the new order: neither at the London Round Table Conference of 1931 nor by later discussions were his personal attempts successful.

The stabilization stage of the Gandhian charismatic movement began in the 1940s with several unacceptable

British proposals, first for increased Indian participation in the government and finally for independence. Gandhi was consulted about various proposals, but other Indian political leaders negotiated with the British. Some had been devoted followers of Gandhi, but they acted as practical men of action, and largely independent of him.

Normalization

Proposition 20 - The charismatic leader's teachings, particularly his rules for behavior, become normalized into the social structure.

The following appear to have been the causes to which Gandhi dedicated his life: (1) righting the "wrongs" inflicted upon his fellow men, (2) promoting his ideal of Indian self-rule in which Hindus and Muslims would live in harmony, (3) purging the corruption of modern civilization out of society, and (4) establishing a British-Indian relationship of partnership rather than subjection (Brown 1972, p. 354). He made these the doctrine of his charismatic movement, and they are addressed in turn below in the discussion of the extent to which his teachings and prescriptions became incorporated into the normative patterns of Indian society.

Righting of "Wrongs." The major "wrong" which concerned Gandhi was the social separation and the treatment of untouchables, the outcastes of Indian society. At the time of his emergence as a charismatic leader, approximately one-fifth of the population of India was made up of

untouchables (Mehta 1976, p. 245). In addition to deploring their degradation, Gandhi viewed the filth and unsanitary conditions which dominated villages and cities throughout India as resulting from the institution of untouchability (ibid.). People urinated and defecated indiscriminately around their quarters; in every community there were pools of stagnant water and piles of ordure; latrines were frequently unclean and neglected; and caste Indians refused to clean up after themselves and their neighbors leaving such work for untouchable scavengers²⁷ (ibid., p. 243).

Gandhi labeled untouchables Harijans, meaning "Children of God," frequently preached against untouchability, at times lived with them, fasted in 1932 in opposition to a law that would politically institutionalize their social separation (This chapter, page 183), fasted again in 1933 while imprisoned, and toured India for nine months (in 1933-4) on their behalf (Payne 1969, pp. 454-55). To demonstrate that people of all levels of society should be concerned with sanitation, in his ashram and while visiting other communities, Gandhi would take a shovel and bucket and clean up paths and adjacent areas; he also frequently admonished others to do likewise.

In 1938, legislative reforms, spearheaded by Gandhi's disciples and practical men of action Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandras Bose, removed the legal disabilities of the untouchables (Ashe 1968, p. 338). After independence, the Indian government officially abolished the

the social and religious disabilities²⁸ (Mehta 1976, p. 249). In real terms, however, little has changed for untouchables. Biographer Geoffrey Ashe concludes that untouchables are only a little better off (1968, p. 387). Indian scholar Ved Mehta argues that "Gandhi died without making the slightest dent in the Hindu attitude toward excreta and sanitation, and, by extension, toward spiritual pollution and untouchability" (1976, p. 250). In short, Gandhi's doctrine with respect to "righting the wrong" of untouchability became the official policy of India, but very little of his teachings and rules for behavior became the normative, day-to-day social pattern.

Harmony between Hindus and Muslims. Gandhi was Hindu but had had a long association with the Muslims. In South Africa he had acted initially for Muslim Indians. In 1924 he fasted for twenty-one days "to wash away the sin" of Hindu-Muslim killing and burning (Payne 1969, p. 374). Throughout his Indian charismatic relationship he referred to Hindus and Muslims as "brethren," and admonished both groups to behave as such.

India had a long history of Hindu-Muslim conflict. Throughout the struggle for Indian self-rule, Hindus and Muslims clashed. Many died or were injured; homes and property were destroyed. By the late 1930s, the Muslims, many of whom had been devoted followers of Gandhi, became unified around Mohamed Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League (Payne 1969, p. 510). During and after World War II

India was in chaos, not only from resistance to British rule by Gandhi and his followers, but also from bloody clashes between Hindus and Muslims. The religiously-divided groups became rival political factions, and, if there was to be an independent India, conflict between them had to be reconciled. Gandhi was committed to one India; the Muslims and many Indian political leaders favored two separate nations, one largely Hindu and the other Muslim.

By the 1940s, Gandhi was no longer an official of the Indian Congress, and therefore no longer a political representative of India, and his uncompromising opposition to a divided India left him out of step with official Indian representatives. In June, 1944, the Viceroy did not allow him to sit on the Working Committee which negotiated with the British for Indian independence (Payne 1969, p. 509). Jinnah used Gandhi's unofficial status as an excuse not to negotiate agreements with him in 1944 (*ibid.*, pp. 511-12; cf. Gandhi and Jinnah 1956, pp. 417-26). Practical men of action formulated the normalization of Hindu-Muslim relations.

Gandhi continued to influence the people, however. By 1946, Hindus and Muslims were again attacking each other. Gandhi traveled to the locations of greatest rioting and his presence helped to restore peace, however temporary (Payne 1969, pp. 536-46).

Lord Louis Mountbatten arrived in Delhi on March 22, 1947, as the last Viceroy; by August 15, India would be

partitioned into a largely Hindu India and a Muslim Pakistan forming two independent nations (Payne 1969, p. 527). Soon after Mountbatten arrived he consulted with Gandhi, and the Hindu leaders had discussions with him, but he had little influence on the formal decision making process²⁹ (Nanda 1985, p. 97).

Gandhi had been to a considerable extent pushed aside by practical men of action, but after independence he still retained his charismatic hold on the people. His last two fasts, in September 1947 and January 1948, temporarily ended violence which partition had triggered³⁰ (ibid., p. 114). As a charismatic leader Gandhi could temporarily unify Hindus, Muslims, and other groups, but the partition of India into two nations institutionalized Hindu-Muslim separation. Also, the social antagonisms within India remained. On June 19, 1948, Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu in a conspiracy by eighteen men who thought him too indulgent of Muslims and Pakistan (Nanda 1985, p. 114; Payne 1969, p. 619).

In the years following Gandhi's death, Hindus, Sikhs, and the Muslims who remained in India reached a social accommodation and tolerance for each other, but "harmony" is an inaccurate descriptive term. Moreover, because Gandhi so strongly resisted partition, it must be concluded that that part of Gandhi's doctrine which called for Hindu-Muslim harmony did not become normalized in the new social order.

Purging the Corruption of Modern Civilization. In Hind

Swaraj, which he wrote in 1909 and distributed throughout India during the dynamic stage of his charismatic movement, Gandhi denounced Western civilization, especially industrialism (Nanda 1985, p. 123). Gandhi saw British efforts to modernize India as a primary reason for ending British rule. Manufacturing was controlled by the British or an Indian elite tied to the British (This chapter, page 195) which, in Gandhi's view, subjugated Indians and retarded their abilities to meet the responsibilities of an independent people. The khadi movement, in addition to pressuring the British, was intended to make Indians self-reliant in that they would spin their own thread and weave their own cloth as they had before exposure to Western industrialization and manufactured products (Payne 1969, p. 343). His widely publicized daily spinning demonstrated a means by which Indians could remove the cloak of modernization, become autonomous human beings, and therefore be prepared for independent nationhood.

In 1956, seven years after Gandhi's death, the Indian government established the Khadi and Village Industries Commission to foster the production of khadi (Mehta 1976, p. 215). Several people, initially devotees of Gandhi, travel from village to village lecturing on the virtues and values of making and weaving homespun, but Indians see more virtue and value in the soft, mill-made cloth now sold throughout the country (ibid., p. 216). Those who continue to "spin and weave" are a small minority.

The British-Indian Relationship. For a time the British used the Hindu-Muslim riots as an excuse for their continued rule, but by 1947 they had decided that Indian self-rule was in their own best interest (Collins and Lapierre 1975, pp. 8-11). On August 15, 1947, India, less the area which became Pakistan, became a sovereign independent nation; specifically it became a Dominion in the British Empire and, therefore, an autonomous nation equal in status and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs (Stromberg 1969, p. 621). Gandhi's prescription for a sovereign India had been institutionalized.

More than any other factor, the Gandhian charismatic movement had pressured the British to agree to Indian independence (Nanda 1985, p. 56). Indians attached themselves to Gandhi because they revered him as a "Great Soul," as a saint who would lead them to self-rule. They complied with his prescriptions because their charismatic leader called upon them to act, but they also expected these actions to lead to independent nationhood. British and Indian leaders agreed to Dominion status for India because it had become the only practical solution to the chaos created by the Gandhian charismatic, nationalist movement.

Summary of Proposition 20 -- Normalization.

Of the four main parts of his doctrine, only Gandhi's cause of Indian self-rule became normalized into the Indian social structure. Practical political leaders fashioned the

new society, and their pragmatism took priority over his teachings and rules for conduct despite the fact that many had been his disciples. This replacement by practical people of action contrasts with the situation of Rabbi Elimelech of Lyznansk from whose writings the ideal type model was constructed. Rabbi Elimelech expected the zaddik (the Hasidic charismatic leader) to have a charismatic successor who would formulate his own doctrine, but who would also, to a large degree, perpetuate the teachings of his predecessor. He and his contemporary zaddikim, for example, had perpetuated the basic teachings of their predecessor, the Great Maggid (great preacher). In other words, they normalized the teachings of the Great Maggid into the pattern of Hasidic life (Chapter 2, page 45).

Gandhi did not have a charismatic successor, and few of his teachings became normalized into the pattern of Indian life. Mountbatten, in a speech on October 6, 1948, gave his explanation for why so few of Gandhi's principles became the normative pattern. He noted that Indians had not compared Gandhi with some great statesmen like Roosevelt or Churchill, but instead they "classified him simply in their minds with Mohammed and with Christ" (Fischer 1950, p. 473). Comparison of a human to Mohammed or Christ is more complex than Mountbatten implies, but he made the essential point. Millions of Indians believed in Gandhi, but not in all of his principles. Indians adored Gandhi as the "Mahatma" and held his person holy, but he had no

charismatic successor to perpetuate his teachings. Gandhi remained a revered figure, even after his death, but much of his doctrine remained identified with him as a unique individual.

In the next three chapters, the charismatic relationships of Nasser, Ben-Gurion, and King are compared to the ideal type model. In the study of each leader, I will examine the extent to which he is replaced by practical people of action in the stabilization stage.

Chapter Summary

With the just discussed exception of Proposition 20, the propositions of the ideal type model has been substantiated, thus demonstrating that an actual secular charismatic relationship can conform to the spiritually based ideal type model. In this study, the presence of spiritual elements in the charismatic relationship is the central feature. The Gandhian charismatic movement was essentially secular in that its primary purpose was Indian nationhood and thus political and civil, but many spiritual elements appear in the charismatic relationship between Gandhi and his followers. Indeed, Gandhi tended to mix religion and politics, but his own concept of religion had little in common with what, in the West, commonly passes for organized religion (Nanda 1985, p. 72). He invoked religious meanings for his causes, and gave religious significance to his calls for actions; for example, his

fasts had great impact in large part because Hindus saw them as part of a religious ritual, a vrata.

Perhaps Gandhi, for secular purposes, could appeal to Indians in religious terms because they are predominantly a religious people. To show that spiritual elements are indeed a feature of charismatic relationships, the religious versus secular orientation of the followers must be considered in the comparative analysis of the other charismatic relationship of this study.

The next three chapters discuss the comparative analyses of, in turn, the charismatic relationships of Nasser, Ben-Gurion, and King. Based upon the comparative analysis of Gandhi and the analyses of the other leaders, the resulting theory will be summarized in Chapter X.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. For accounts of Gandhi's leadership in South Africa see Fischer 1950, pp. 39-110; Mehta 1976, pp. 98-130; Payne 1969, pp. 89-127; and Swan 1985.

2. Gandhi's achievements in South Africa had received considerable notice in India. As biographer Robert Payne writes,

India welcomed him as a hero, but did not know how to use him. Whenever he appeared in public, he was greeted with open arms as "the great Gandhi," the man who had upheld the dignity of India in South Africa, the long-lost son, the man of destiny. But no one, least of all Gandhi, knew what kind of destiny was awaiting him (1969, p. 287).

Indian leaders were concerned that he was out of touch with his native land and would be something of a misfit in Indian politics (Brown 1972, p. 15).

3. By various statements British officials contributed to Indian expectation of self-rule. Of particular importance, the Secretary of State of India on August 20, 1917, announced in the House of Commons that British policy envisaged "granting of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire" (Fischer 1950, p. 175). Many Indians interpreted his statement as a pledge of Dominion Status.

4. The Secretary of State wrote the Viceroy, "I loathe the suggestions at first sight of preserving the Defence of India Act in peace time to such an extent as Rowlatt and his friends think necessary. Why cannot these things be done by normal, or even exceptional processes of law?" (Brown 1972, p. 161). So also did Indian leaders, including Gandhi, "loathe the suggestions."

Among the powers suggested were trial of seditious crimes by benches of three judges, sitting in secret if necessary, without juries, who might be subject to terrorism and would certainly be influenced by public discussion, and the power to demand security from suspects, to restrict places of residences, to require abstention from certain activities, and to arrest and imprison in non-penal custody (ibid.).

5. Most of the arable land in the Champaran district

was divided into large estates owned by Englishmen. The landowners compelled all tenants to plant fifteen percent of their holdings with indigo and to surrender the entire indigo harvest as rent. Because Germany had developed and was marketing synthetic indigo, prices fell and the landlords made their tenants bear the burden of their losses (Brown 1972, p. 63). They obtained agreements from many sharecroppers to pay them compensation for being released from the fifteen percent arrangement. When the farmers finally realized they were growing an unmarketable crop, they felt cheated and robbed and demanded their money back (Mehta 1976, p. 134).

6. Both millworkers and millowners made large concessions. They settled for a 35 percent increase in wages instead of the fifty percent originally demanded by the millworkers and the twenty percent originally offered by the owners (Payne 1969, p. 324).

7. Gandhi's eighteen fasts (three in South Africa) had political and social objectives in that Gandhi was aware that his fasts exercised a moral pressure. However, as Indian scholar B. R. Nanda writes, "The pressure was directed not against those who disagreed with him, but against those who loved him and believed in him..." (1985, p. 21).

Gandhi's fasts were an integral part of a common Hindu ritual, the vrata. The association of Gandhi's fasts with a vrata is my conclusion; reference to a vrata does not appear in the literature about Gandhi reviewed for the comparative analysis. Authors saw Gandhi's fasts as effective for secular, practical reasons; Gandhi was telling followers and adversaries, "Do what I say or I will suffer and probably die." No doubt the saving of their charismatic leader's life was a major factor, but there were religious-like factors as well. Hindus had traditionally used fasts to exert pressure on their opponents (Mehta 1976, p. 137). The notion of the vrata connects Gandhi's fasts to the religious component of the ideal type model and explains their enormous influence.

So common was the ritual of the vrata that when Gandhi took his sacred vow at Ahmedabad, many millworkers offered to undertake a sacrificial fast with him (Fischer 1950, p. 155; Payne 1969, p. 324). As will be discussed below, Gandhi called for a hartal (general strike) in which he also prescribed prayer and fasting as disciplines. One could argue that for many Indians the social and political strike was a collective religious vrata.

8. The hartal turned violent in many places. According to Indian scholar Ved Mehta, "Officials were attacked, government buildings burned, shops and houses plundered, trains stopped and looted, telephone and telegraph wires

cut," and many people died (1976, p. 140). The British government attempted to control news about the riots, and with considerable success. Yet, violence was so widespread that Gandhi heard about enough to become greatly distressed. He did not, however, know until June of the 1516 Indian casualties at the Amritsar Massacre. (The events at Amritsar are discussed at length in Chapter Note 24 below.)

9. See also Payne 1969, p. 331; Brown 1972, pp. 171-76; and Collins and Lapierre 1975, pp. 56-57.

10. Ved Mehta describes the conditions under which Gandhi traveled throughout India.

Third-class compartments had almost unrestricted ticket sales and no reserved seats -- only uncushioned benches -- and the compartments were crowded not only with people but with their bedrolls, bundles, trunks, baskets, and rubbish. Sometimes Gandhi had barely enough room to stand, and occasionally he was forced to sleep standing up (1976, p. 133).

11. Frederick B. Fisher describes one mass burning of manufactured cloth.

I watched one of these bonfires grow one afternoon in a park in Calcutta. Young college students and instructors came rushing across the grass to the cloth bazaars to demand importantly, "Have you any foreign cloth?"

The merchant grew pale. "We are poor men...we cannot afford to let you...."

The students interrupted impatiently, "Bring out what you have. We will pay you for it! We are not thieves. Pile your foreign stuff on the sidewalk."

The merchants obeyed amid growing crowds and excitement. "We'll give it to you;" the merchants grew more patriotic as the fervor grew. "We do not wish to make a cent on this cloth!"

The Moslems, selling meat in the nearby bazaars, called out, "We want a part of this" and threw coins to pay for more cloth. Joyously the students, helped by a hundred eager hands, carried bolt by bolt of stuff to the centre of the park and piled it upon a bronze statue.... There was nothing sinister about the performance. The Indians were carefully keeping to Gandhi's counsel about "no bitterness." But they were none the less in earnest...in deadly earnest (1932, pp. 158-59).

12. Robert Payne describes the incredible volume of Gandhi's writings: "He did not regard a day in which he wrote fifty letters as being in any way extraordinary. In addition he often wrote an article a day..." (1969, p. 654). The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi runs into ninety volumes (Nanda 1985, p. 1).

13. A large majority of Indians were Hindu, but there were also a large population of Muslims, plus Sikhs, Parsees, Buddhist, and Christians. Gandhi was basically a Hindu, but his religious philosophy incorporated ideas from theosophy, Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam (Nanda 1985, pp. 4-7). Largely because he saw an underlying unity in the various religious doctrines, he was able to appeal to religiously oriented people of differing religions.

14. Frederick B. Fisher was an unabashed admirer of Gandhi, but he seems not to have exaggerated the magnitude of the Indians' demonstration of reverence in that others give equally dramatic accounts. For example, Louis Fischer states, "Wherever [Gandhi] went, he was besieged by hordes.... At night his feet and shins were covered with scratches from people who had bowed low and touched him" (1950, p. 227). The bowing before Gandhi also shows that followers subordinated themselves to him.

15. Journalist and historian William L. Shirer observed Gandhi's darshan fulfill the desires of vast crowds, and offers the following explanation: "The Indians, even the lowest, illiterate peasant...felt in the presence of the great man that something immense was suddenly happening in their drab lives, that this saintly man in his loincloth cared about them, understood their wretched plight and somehow had the power...to do something about it" (1979, p. 69).

16. An anecdote by William L. Shirer illustrates how Indians believed that Gandhi had a special mission. Shirer accompanied Gandhi on a train which had been mobbed at each station. After midnight an Indian college teacher joined them in their compartment. Asked to explain the crowds, he replied "Well, you see, its quite simple. For these masses Gandhi holds out the only light, the only hope there is. They want to see the man who, they're told, goes around half naked like themselves and yet who dares to present their grievances to the mighty, bemedaled white Viceroy" (1979, pp. 70-71). The Indian masses recognized Gandhi as singled out for a special mission: a sovereign India.

17. According to Louis Fischer, Gandhi was waiting for the "Inner Voice" which Gandhi interpreted as "a message from God or from the Devil" (1950, p. 264). This further

substantiates Proposition 10, his belief that he was singled out by the supernatural as having a special mission.

18. Biographer Robert Payne describes the intensity of Indian adulation soon after his emergence as a charismatic leader.

In November [1919]...he visited Amritsar.... His appearance in the city set off wild jubilation, and when he walked into the Golden Temple of the Sikhs the crowds followed him in a state of elation. He would stand and talk to them, and then he would sit on the marble floors quietly, but once he began to walk again they would surge after him. Annoyed, he attempted to teach them discipline, telling them to remain still when he walked, but they refused to obey him. Five or six times he attempted to escape from the crowds, but they refused to let him go. Then he did something which he had never done before. To show them that he was determined to be free of them, he began to walk backward.... Finally they let him go (1969, p. 344).

Later efforts by Indians to see him became so intense that at times his very life was threatened. Walking backward nor any other act stopped their mobbing him. Shirer illustrates the danger from this adulation in an account of a trip with Gandhi in 1931 in which his railcar was nearly set on fire by the lanterns of his admirers (1979, pp. 68-71).

19. In December 1931 the British government began arresting members of the Indian Congress, the principal political entity representing the Indian peoples. Gandhi was the leader of the Congress, by stature if not by office. He was arrested on January 4, 1932, and detained in Yeravda prison in Poona. He considered a fast in March when he first heard about the proposal for a separate electorate. However, he had received assurances from the Secretary of State for India that no decision had been made and that his views would be considered (Payne 1969, p. 435). When plans went forward for the Communal Award, Gandhi announced that he would fast.

20. As the date for the fast neared, it became clear to his closest associates "that Gandhi was far less interested in the Communal Award than in shaking the Hindus out of their apathy toward the untouchables. He wanted a revolutionary change of heart, a sudden alteration in the nature of Hindu society. The decision handed down by the British Prime Minister merely supplied a time and an occasion" (Payne 1969, p. 441).

The purpose of Gandhi's vrata was not as clear to his followers. Nehru, for example, who was detained in another prison, wrote Gandhi that "news of your decision to fast caused mental agony and confusion;" the agony and confusion were shared by millions of Indians until the fast was over (Payne 1969, p. 440).

21. On May 5, 1930, the district magistrate and about thirty policemen quietly moved through a camp just after midnight and arrested him in his bed. They drove him to a train that had stopped at a prearranged time and place, placed him in a special coach with his armed escort, and then drove him to Yeravda Jail by high powered automobile with the shades drawn (Muzumdar 1956, pp. 244-45). (See also Fischer 1950, pp. 271-72 and Payne 1969, pp. 399-401).

22. Robert Payne provides details of the uprising.

...British-owned shops were closed, and the British-owned mills were closed down.... Women in orange saris picketed the shops, while men in white Gandhi caps ran the shadow government and marched against the police until they were arrested or mown down in lathi charges, only to be replaced by others. There was no possibility of bringing the nonviolent campaign to a halt, because Gandhi had left careful instructions on what should be done in the event of his arrest. As long as he was in prison, the campaign would run its course (1969, p. 402).

23. In Gandhi's view, his pact with Irwin represented a new relationship between India and Britain. It did not matter to him that specific points did not appear in the document. He had gained what he judged vital: negotiation instead of dictation (Ashe 1968, p. 297). He underestimated, however, the strength of British resolve to keep things as they were; it would be sixteen years before India became independent.

24. The British violence reached its apex with the Amritsar Massacre on April 13, 1913 (discussed in detail by Ashe 1968, pp. 193-95; Fischer 1950, pp. 180-84; and Payne 1969, pp. 337-42). In the city of Amritsar, five Englishmen had been killed, a lady missionary assaulted, and British banks, schools, and churches attacked. Gandhi tried to reach Amritsar but was turned back by British authorities. Brigadier General Reginald E. Dyer, who had become the commanding officer at Amritsar on April 11, decided to teach the Indians a lesson.

Some ten thousand Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims gathered to protest both the savagery of government oppression and the excesses of their own mobs. The meeting place was a

tract of about two acres in the center of the city and was entirely surrounded by the walls of three- and four-story buildings. The main entrance to it was a narrow alley about ten feet wide with several even narrower passages between buildings.

General Dyer marched fifty troops into this enclosed park, set up his machine guns, and without a word of warning opened fire on the densely packed crowd. In ten minutes 379 persons were killed and 1,137 wounded. Some lives might have been saved had medical services been available, but General Dyer refused to allow Indian medics into the compound.

The provincial government at first hushed up the story and then reluctantly admitted that there had been a few casualties. The British did not acknowledge the massacre for six months, and word of it did not reach Gandhi for two months. When Indians finally heard of the massacre they were shocked and it became a potent symbol of British oppression.

25. The Muslims became a major force opposing Gandhi from within his movement. They sought to maintain colonial rule until they had sufficient political strength to negotiate for their own sovereign nation. Muslims constituted nearly one-fourth of the total population, but, for the most part, the differences in religious tenets, usage, laws, and customs had been taken for granted by Hindus and Muslims alike (Nanda 1985, p. 77). Organizations for a Muslim nation formed in the late 1800s, and solidified into the Muslim League in the early 1900s. There was some hope for unification of the two communities in the 1920s, but by the time of the 1932 Round Table the Muslim League had gained sufficient strength for the British to recognize Muslims as a separate political entity and the League as their representative. In 1948 the Muslim League, under the leadership of M. A. Jinnah, succeeded in negotiating for an independent Pakistan.

The Hindu-Muslim separation is discussed further in the section for Proposition 20.

26. In 1932 the new Viceroy was Lord Willingdon who had concluded that social disruption must be suppressed and the security of India maintained even at the cost of imprisoning all the leaders of congress and transforming India into a police state (Payne 1969, p. 431). Throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s Gandhi led various actions of civil disobedience against the government, was imprisoned twice, and engaged in several sacrificial fasts.

27. Gandhi also tied the removal of untouchability to Indian independence reasoning that a people so divided could not rule themselves (Gandhi 1921, p. 164). As discussed below, untouchability remained in the social pattern after

India became independent. No doubt the remaining severe discrimination against a segment of its population has a negative effect on India as a nation and as a society, but the consequences are complex and beyond the scope of this study.

28. Specifically, untouchables were given the legal right to enter temples and schools, to walk to all public roads, to draw water from all public wells, to go anywhere, and, in effect, to touch anything and anyone (Mehta 1976, pp. 249-50).

29. Gandhi was not a member of the All-India Congress Committee which formulated positions for the negotiation of a sovereign India. Committee were well aware of Gandhi's arguments for a single India, but they saw their choice as between anarchy and partition; in March 1947 they voted 157 to 15 in favor of partition in order to salvage three-fourths of India from the chaos which threatened the whole (Nanda 1985, p. 97).

30. Following independence six million Hindus and Sikhs moved from Pakistan to India and an equal number of Muslims from India to Pakistan (Nanda 1985, p. 108). Bloody riots broke out on the routes of pilgrimage and in major cities. In Calcutta, where the rioting was fierce, Gandhi announced (on September 1, 1947) a fast to shock the people into an awareness of the crimes they were committing and to bring them to repentance (Payne 1969, p. 542). At the age of seventy-eight, the revered Gandhi would fast until death or until the rioting stopped. On the fifth day of the fast, representatives of all the important groups and organizations, including representatives of the refugees and from the three worst affected parts of the city, signed Gandhi's seven-point declaration covering the conditions for breaking his fast (Pyarelal 1956, pp. 457-58). Assured that the citizen's pledge would be duly implemented, Gandhi ended his fast (ibid., p. 462).

Gandhi then journeyed to Delhi and found the capital of India paralyzed by one of the worst communal riots in its long history (Nanda 1985, p. 108). There was martial law and a curfew which was lifted for only four hours a day; hospitals were full of wounded, and the dead rotted in the streets (Payne 1969, p. 548). Refugee camps had been set up on the outskirts of the city to separate, shelter, and feed the thousands -- Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims, -- who had been uprooted from their homes, lands, and occupations; were reduced to an unfamiliar and miserable poverty; and were bitter (Nanda 1985, p. 108). They threatened to erupt into terrible violence. Now seventy-nine years old, Gandhi announced a fast (on January 12, 1948) which he would break when all factions pledged themselves to peace. On the evening of the fifth day (January 17) one hundred and thirty

representatives of various groups met and passed a resolution that they would maintain the peace. Some dissident groups were absent but by the next morning had been rounded up and signed the agreement. Presented with the signed agreement and assured that the leaders were absolutely serious, Gandhi broke his final fast (Payne 1969, pp. 551-66 passim).

My conclusion that Gandhi's fasts were a sacrifice in the Hindu ritual of a vrata (Chapter Note 7) is supported by discussions before his Calcutta fast. Gandhi decided that he must have the permission of Rajagopalachari, the Governor of Bengal and a Hindu. Payne describes their negotiation.

So for two hours Gandhi and Rajagopalachari wrestled and came to no agreement.... Toward the end of the meeting Rajagopalachari read the draft of the announcement in which Gandhi explained why the fast was being undertaken. He observed that Gandhi reserved the right to add sour lime juice to the water he sipped at intervals during the fast: lime juice made him less thirsty. "Why are you adding the lime juice, when you say you are putting yourself in God's hand?" Rajagopalachari asked. He felt that Gandhi was not playing fair with God. If a fast is undertaken, then it should be undertaken in the most complete form possible.

Gandhi confessed his error. The offending words were struck out of the draft announcement, and at midnight the governor of Bengal returned to his palace (1969, p. 542).

Both Gandhi and Rajagopalachari approached the fast as a religious sacrificial rite, that is, for Hindus, a vrata.

CHAPTER VII

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: NASSER

The comparative analysis of the Nasserite charismatic relationship reveals that it conforms to the propositions of the ideal type model (although only partly for Propositions 16 and 20). During the dynamic stage of his movement, Nasser was the Prime Minister of Egypt, but he essentially established the position, and Egyptian devotion and reverence was to Nasser the man and not to his office.

Background and Short Biography

On July 23, 1952, eleven junior army officers seized power in Egypt, and three days later King Farouk abdicated his throne. Within eleven months the world's oldest kingdom was proclaimed a republic, and Gamal Abdel Nasser became the first native Egyptian to rule Egypt in two and one-half centuries¹ (Dekmejian 1971, pp. 23-24).

To Egyptians Nasser was their Beloved Son, their revered leader who in a decade and a half gave them a sense of dignity and national pride after two and a half thousand years of humiliation and oppression (Nutting 1972, p. 477). The depth of their devotion and attachment to him are evident in the mass demonstration of their grief after his death.

[While he lay in state,] Cairo's population,

swelled by millions arriving from the country-side, [marched] in sad procession through the city, chanting Nasser's name. The wailing of women filled the air, and in the crowds surrounding the Kubba Republican Palace where the body lay, men tore their robes and shouted, "Our tears are blood, Oh Nasser!" (Dubois 1972, p. 4).

Hundreds of thousands of mourning Egyptians, some from great distances, converged on Cairo's Kubba Palace where Nasser's body laid in state (Hofstaeder 1973c, p. 260). On the day of his funeral, millions of Egyptians lined the route of the procession shouting "Nasser liberated us! Nasser freed us from feudalism! Nasser gave us land! Nasser does not die! We are all Gamal Abdel Nasser!"² (Dubois 1972, p. 7). We can conclude that, attached in a charismatic relationship to Nasser during his life, they remained attached to him after his death.³

Nasser was born on January 15, 1918, of a modest bourgeois family, his father a postal clerk in Alexandria and his mother the daughter of a businessman. His mother died when he was eight, and his father remarried and frequently moved about in his work, often leaving Gamal to live with various relatives. He graduated from secondary school in Cairo, studied law for a time, entered the Egyptian Military Academy, and in 1938 was commissioned a second-lieutenant (Bill and Leiden 1979, pp. 216-17).

A few months after graduation, a group of young officers, apparently led by Nasser, began to hold clandestine meetings to discuss the problems facing their country. They formed a network of cells which grew to

include some four hundred men, most under the rank of major, who called themselves the Free Officers (Al-Dubbat al-Ahrar). Because he was arrested several times for participation in student riots in secondary school, some have concluded that Nasser had strong revolutionary tendencies from the age of seventeen (cf. Gunther 1959, p. 81). He was no doubt concerned for the debility and dependence that marked the status of his country (cf. Bill and Leiden 1979, p. 216), but revolution does not seem to have been the Free Officers' favored means of solution until the 1950s.

Ordinary Egyptians, perhaps because of their lengthy period of subservience, had developed an attitude that their country no longer belonged to them, that fate had perpetually relegated them to the status of subjects, and that foreigners would occupy the throne, own the land, and order their lives (cf. Nutting 1972, pp. 1-7). Those Egyptians who rejected the idea of subservience were thus few in number, but they formed a variety of groups which saw the Egyptian government's alliance with Britain as a betrayal of Egyptian nationalism (ibid., p. 12). One of these groups was the Free Officers who took over the government in the coup of June 23, 1952 (discussed in Proposition 2 below).

Not only was there a lack of strong feelings in the population for Egyptian nationalism, but the Free Officers did not have a clear doctrine to guide their actions or

provide a comprehensive program for needed social and economic reforms (Badeau 1959, p. 17). The new government ruled as a military committee until Nasser (in 1956) emerged as a prominent leader based on his doctrine which emphasized Arab nationalism (Propositions 4 and 5).

In January 1956, Nasser announced the formation of a new constitution, and in June Egyptians overwhelmingly approved it and elected Nasser as their president. As Nasser took titular as well as actual control of the government, Egypt's prospect looked bright. It had contracted with Czechoslovakia for war material (in September 1955), British military forces would soon leave the country (under an October 1954 agreement they left in June 1956), and the United States had agreed to put up \$270 million to finance the first stage of the Aswan High Dam. On July 20, however, the United States cancelled its offer. Five days later Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal, promising that the tolls Egypt collected would build the dam. Egyptians were jubilant (Proposition 6). Britain, France, and Israel conspired against Egypt, and in October 1956 jointly invaded it. In the short Suez War, Egypt suffered heavy losses of life and equipment, but Nasser emerged with even greater popularity (Proposition 7).

In 1958 Syria and Egypt formed the United Arab Republic, which Nasser hoped would someday include the other Middle Eastern Arab states. Syria withdrew in 1961, but Nasser retained his great popularity in Egypt (Propositions

10 and 14). In 1962 Nasser sent Egyptian troops to support the Yemen "Republicans" in a civil war, and withdrew them in 1967 when another war broke out between Egypt and Israel. The Israeli Air Force destroyed Egyptian aircraft on the ground, and the Israel Army forced an Egyptian retreat across the Suez Canal. In the face of the military defeat, Nasser attempted to resign, but massive street demonstrations induced him to stay in office (Proposition 13).

Egypt, being one of the poorest nations in the world, had enormous domestic problems (Propositions 1 and 3). In the 1960s Egypt's revolution incorporated Arab socialism, a pragmatic as opposed to an ideological form of government control of production (see Propositions 9 and 10). Industrialization was accelerated, and land reform gave ownership of farms to many peasants (the fellahin), but the high birth rate and the costs of the protracted civil war in Yemen and the 1967 war with Israel defeated attempts to increase general living conditions (Proposition 20).

Nasser was Egypt's revered political leader for 18 years, and was often opposed by other governments and by groups within Egypt (Propositions 17 and 18). On September 28, 1970, at the age of 52, he died suddenly of a heart attack.

Comparative Analysis

In the following sections I report the results of a

comparative analysis of the behaviors of Gamal Abdul Nasser and his followers with respect to the ideal type model developed in Chapters III, IV, and V (and summarized in Appendix D). The report is organized in the preparation, dynamic, and stabilization stages of the organizational framework of the ideal type model (Chapter I, page 11). The preparation stage of the Nasserite charismatic relationship covered two decades, from 1936 to 1955. During this period, Nasser was a student, an army cadet and officer, an organizer of the Free Officers, the leader of the coup, and the behind the scenes leader of the new government. The dynamic stage began when Nasser became the recognized head of the government and continued until his death. Nasser's successor, Anwar Sadat,⁴ was a practical man of action who led the stabilization stage.

Similar to the format used to report on the Gandhian charismatic relationship (Chapter VI), a proposition of the ideal type model begins each section and is followed by a discussion of the first major beliefs and activities which substantiate that proposition. The following discussion is not a complete biography of Nasser in that it provides only that evidence necessary to substantiate a given proposition. The entire period of Nasser's movement was examined, however, and no evidence was found which indicated rejection of any proposition.

Geographical locations are described in Appendix A. Short definitions of Arabic terms are given in the text, and

longer definitions are provided in Chapter Notes and/or the Glossary in Appendix B.

The Preparation Stage

Seeking Modification of Conditions

Proposition 1 - The charismatic leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their conditions.

From the time that the Persians had conquered the Nile valley in 640 A.D., conquerors and occupiers had regarded the native population as subjects whose only value was to produce crops to enrich the foreign government and its peoples (Wynn 1959, p. 1). The richest soil in agrarian Egypt was along the banks of the Nile, and for centuries it was held by Egypt's rulers, their relatives, and their retainers. Indeed, in the first half of this century, landlords owned the villages, and the fellahin (peasant cultivators) -- men, women, and children -- worked from dawn to dusk to produce the crops which enriched the foreign landowners (Dubois 1972, p. 13). Egypt's twenty-five million peasants were densely packed together (1500 per square mile of agricultural land), lived on the verge of starvation, had the highest death rate in the world, and disease was rampant in the villages.⁵

To speak of housing conditions is to exaggerate.... The fellaheen [sic] inhabit mud huts, built by making a framework of sticks, unusually cotton sticks, and plastering it with mud. The hut is in a small enclosed yard, where the family and the buffalo live together, with a

small inner room with a roof but no window and a sleeping roof where chickens, rabbits, and goats are kept (Warriner 1948, p. 43).

Possessions usually consisted of some reed floor mats, a garment or two per person, and a few simple utensils used for cooking food over dung fires (Peretz 1988, p. 225). Yet, the self-reliant, industrious, and stubborn fellahin not only endured but, despite their high death rate, multiplied, their growing population threatening to consume the land that nourished them (Dubois 1972, p. 14; Wynn 1959, p. 2).

For Nasser and other nationalists, the British were the principal obstacle to improving the economic and social conditions. Since its occupation of Egypt in 1882, the British had held the position of superior power over Egyptians: foreigners symbolized the political and economic exploitation of Egypt by Europeans⁶ (Vatikiotis 1985, p. 169). In the mid-1930s Britain's central focus was the maintenance of its preponderant position (Dekmejian 1971, p. 17). The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty (signed August 26, 1936) gave Egypt formal -- i.e., nominal -- independence, including the freedom to conduct its own diplomatic affairs, but Britain still occupied the Canal Zone with a garrison of ten thousand men, a British High Commissioner told the so-called Government of Egypt what to do, and the economic balance between Europeans and Egyptians remained unchanged (Vatikiotis 1985, p. 291; Nutting 1972, pp. 5-8).

The wafd,⁷ the primary nationalistic opposition,

mobilized groups of workers and students. Nasser, still in secondary school, joined delegations which called on political leaders in their homes, addressed classmates urging them to demonstrate against the British, and participated in many demonstrations which led to violent clashes with Egyptian and British police (Dubois 1972, p. 45; Stephens 1971, pp. 36-37). Nasser had recognized the plight of his fellow Egyptians while still a teenager, and had sought to modify their conditions (cf. Stephens 1971, pp. 30-31; Nutting 1972, p. 7).

Assumes Leadership Roles

Proposition 2 - The charismatic leader (1) supports revisions of the moral, ethical, and spiritual precepts of society and (2) gathers a small network of followers.

After Nasser left high school, he entered the Egyptian Military Academy, graduated as a second lieutenant in 1938, and with other junior officers formed the clandestine Free Officers Committee in 1939 (Wynn 1959, p. 32). The Free Officers saw themselves as "a secret revolutionary society dedicated to the task of liberation," and resolved to "fight imperialism, monarchy and feudalism" (Sadat 1957, pp. 13-14), but in practice they seem to have been little more than an informal "fraternity" of friends who had been posted together (Vatikiotis 1961, p. 57). They became organized in 1949 after the humiliation of Egyptian arms in the Palestine War of 1948 (Dekmejian 1971, p. 20).

When the British gave up their Palestine Mandate in May

1948, Egypt's nationalists saw the newly-created State of Israel as an enemy which they could defeat in a straight military conflict.⁸ However, in the 1948-9 Palestine War, Egyptian lives were carelessly squandered, which Nasser witnessed as a front-line officer.

The High Command in Cairo issued orders which were countermanded while they were being put into execution; supplies of all sorts were sadly lacking; their reception was not organized; old, rusty cannons backfired, killing the gunners; trucks broke down and had to be abandoned...; medical supplies were short; the orderlies were forced to attend only to the seriously wounded...; Nasser bandaged arms and legs, washed cuts and listened sympathetically as the soldiers railed about the lack of armaments (Dubois 1972, pp. 81-82).

In October 1948, Israeli forces encircled the Egyptians cutting them off from their nearest base sixty miles away (ibid., p. 83). Pinned down in Iraq al Manshiyya just east of Faluja, Nasser's troops fought off an Israeli tank attack on October 15, but by November 6 the entire Egyptian brigade, consisting of 4,000 troops, was trapped (Pearlman 1971, col. 327). After a four month siege, Egypt and Israel signed an armistice agreement by which southern Palestine was left in Israeli hands and Egypt retained an arid coastal strip at Gaza packed with Palestinian Arab refugees (Dubois 1972, p. 84).

When Nasser and his compatriots returned from the war, their criticism of the regime had become intensified. By the end of 1949, the Free Officers Association was established into a secret revolutionary organization (Be'eri

1969, pp. 81-82). One of several conspiratorial groups within the army, the Free Officers shared no common ideology except anti-British nationalism and dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs, but they had several advantages over competing organizations including the concentration of power in its Executive Committee and its chairman, Major Gamal Abdel Nasser (Dekmejian 1971, pp. 20-21).

By November 1951, Nasser had formulated plans for revolutionary action organized around the the Free Officers movement, but these plans were known only to his small network of followers⁹ (Vatikiotis 1961, p. 51). Nasser was not suspected by the government, and his promotion to Lieutenant Colonel was quietly hailed by the Free Officers (Dubois 1972, p. 87). Until the end of 1951, the Free Officers calculated that they could not stage a coup before 1955. However, following a series of blunders by King Farouk in 1952, a crisis developed between the King and the Free Officers¹⁰ (Be'eri 1969, p. 87; Vatikiotis 1985, p. 375). With surprising ease the Free Officers took over the government early in the morning of July 23rd, and on July 26th Farouk abdicated and left the country (Be'eri 1969, pp. 99-101; Love 1970, p. 181). Egypt had a new independent government; Nasser and his small network of followers had revised the fundamental precepts of Egyptian society (cf. Vatikiotis 1985, pp. 377-79; Hofstadter 1973a, pp. 32-52).

Preparation of Followers

Proposition 3 - When the social conditions in

a society are such that (1) many people are displaced and deprived of the normal pursuit of life, and (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of a charismatic leader to address them.

From the outset, the officers had no concrete program for political action.¹¹ Being relatively unknown to the people, the Free Officers needed a "Front Man" and recruited the highly respected General Mohammed Neguib (Dubois 1972, p. 101). They made Nasser the chairman of the Revolution Command Committee and the Deputy Prime Minister of Egypt, and installed Neguib as President and Prime Minister (Be'eri 1969, p. 107). By the end of 1953, the military regime had overthrown the monarchy, effectively neutralized the former political system and its leaders and groups, and initiated agrarian reform. Its rule, however, was by no means firmly established, widely accepted, or secure (Vatikiotis 1985, pp. 380-81).

Activities of the Muslim Brotherhood¹² and other groups, the often violent reaction of the military regime, and changes within the government (described in the next Proposition) frequently created turmoil in the country. In the years 1952 through 1954, there were ninety documented instances of large-scale imprisonments, violent strikes and demonstrations, suppressions, killing and assassination, and plots and purges (Dekmejian 1971, pp. 34-35). By 1955 Nasser had total military control (there were but two instances of violence), but the preoccupation with maintaining order had diverted attention from the

development of a comprehensive blueprint for social action (ibid., pp. 36-37).

Indeed, the social and economic problems confronting the Egyptian government were among the most difficult of any country in the world (Be'eri 1969, p. 382; cf. This chapter, pages 228ff). During 1952-1954 the regime had yet to develop a clear economic ideology, and its initiatives in land reform and reliance on private enterprise had brought little change for ordinary Egyptians, fellahin or city dweller.¹³ In other words, in addition to the frequent instances of violence in the country, little had been done to cure the terrible distress of the Egyptian people which had been their lot before the coup. The Free Officers had promised reforms, but Egyptians remained displaced and deprived of the normal pursuit of life and were frustrated by the lack of improvement in their conditions: a social setting existed which invited the emergence of a charismatic leader.

Repudiation of Present, Tie to the Past

Proposition 4 - The charismatic leader issues a doctrine which (1) promises an idealized future society, (2) repudiates much of the existing social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of the group.

Highly respected historian George Lenczowski has labeled the Revolution Command Committee's 1952-1954 phase as a period of "Egyptocentrism" to indicate its great

emphasis on the identification and eradication of the evils -- imperialism, feudalism, and monopoly capitalism --- of the King Farouk and British governed period (1966, p. 198). Nasser's promise of an idealized future society centered on an ideology of Arab, rather than Egyptian, nationalism. He repudiated, and overturned, the existing "Egyptocentric" social order by replacing Neguib as Prime Minister in March 1954 and as President in November.¹⁴ Politically, there was then no element in Egypt that could threaten Nasser's power (Be'eri 1969, p. 119; Dekmejian 1971, p. 37). Yet the Free Officers had understood since their first year in power that they would not be able to overcome the extreme social and economic deprivation of the ordinary Egyptian (Be'eri 1969, p. 382). Clearly, some new model for governing was required, and Nasser established his new model by advocating, promoting, and reinforcing Arab-related values, ideals, and sentiments from Egypt's past.

Nasser's ideas reached their first crystallization in The Philosophy of the Revolution (Nasser 1959), a book written in three chapters, the first two written in the summer of 1953 and the third that December (Be'eri 1969, p. 375). In the quarter of a year separating the two parts, Nasser's ideology moved from unadulterated Egyptian nationalism in the first two chapters into Arab nationalism in the third.¹⁵

In an illiterate nation, the publication of his ideas in pamphlet or book form was of interest primarily to

scholars and government officials, but he began openly to espouse the cause of Arab nationalism in response to international events, especially over Cairo Radio, which became one of Nasser's most potent political weapons (Dekmejian 1971, p. 100; Stephens 1972, p. 145). Powerful enough to transmit the daily "Voice of the Arabs" throughout the Middle East, the station and Nasser's Arab nationalist message could be heard all over Egypt (Eden 1960, p. 48; Stephens 1972, p. 145).

The joint defeat of the Arabs and Egyptians in the Palestine War had strengthened the historical, strategic, and emotional ties of Egyptians with other Arabs (Dekmejian 1971, p. 41). The Palestinian problem which had stimulated the formation of the Arab League ten years earlier,¹⁶ remained unresolved in 1955, and Egypt regarded itself as legally still at war with Israel, the armistice being only a suspension of hostilities (Stephens 1972, p. 152). Indeed, tensions between Israel and the Arab states heightened during 1954 and engulfed most of the Middle East in an arms race and cold war (ibid., p. 63; Love 1970, pp. 47-80; Neff 1981, pp. 42-47).

The problem of foreign domination had made Arab states fearful of military alliances with Western nations. Nasser, on September 2, 1954, refused to be a party to a projected Middle East defense pact with Britain because to the Egyptian people it would smack of colonialism (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 71). Nuri Said, however, after again becoming

prime minister of Iraq in September 1954, joined a military alliance first with Turkey (on February 24, 1955), which became known as the Baghdad Pact, and then with Britain, Pakistan, and Iran¹⁷ (Lenczowski 1980, pp. 283, 285; Mansfield 1965, p. 55).

Nasser reacted as soon as he heard of plans for the Baghdad Pact, and communicated his objections in terms of Arab nationalism.¹⁸ He expanded Cairo Radio's "Voice of the Arabs" broadcasts to four hours a day, emphasizing "anti-imperialist" propaganda and initiated a "Free Iraq" broadcast to injure Nuri, thereby communicating his Arab nationalist messages to Arabs in general and to Egyptians in particular (Nutting 1972, p. 75; Lenczowski 1980, p. 285).

Nasser's advocacy of Arab rather than uniquely Egyptian values, ideals, and sentiments were very much a part of Egypt's history. Egyptians had spoken Arabic for thirteen centuries, and had always been aware of themselves politically as an Arab, and religiously as a Muslim community and nation (Vatikiotis 1961, p. 210). By the late 1920s Cairo had become the cultural (though not the political) center of the Arab world, and had been the headquarters of the Arab League since its establishment in 1945. As Nasser frequently reminded Egyptians, they shared with their Arab neighbors a history of subjugation by the same invaders (Mansfield 1965, p. 54).

In essence, Nasser had initiated a revolutionary ideology. Egyptian nationalism had been found inadequate,

both in theory and practice, and external events had crystallized and accelerated the development of Arab nationalist thought and actions for Nasser and for Egyptians¹⁹ (Dekmejian 1971, pp. 91, 96). He formulated those thoughts and actions into a doctrine which promised Egyptians an Arab-oriented society in which Egypt would be the center of the Arab world, he had replaced the previous social order, and he had appealed to Egyptian historical ideals and aspirations.

A Brief Summary: The Preparation Stage

Early in his life, Nasser had recognized the abject poverty and foreign domination of his countrymen and women, and from his late teens he had sought modification of their conditions (Proposition 1). As an organizer and the leader of the Free Officers dedicated to the end of British influence, he supported a revision of the fundamental precepts of Egyptian society (Proposition 2). Because the 1952 coup resulted in few of the promised changes in Egyptians' conditions and they were instead exposed to violent acts by the government's opponents and the military regime's reactions, they remained displaced and deprived of the pursuit of a better life, were frustrated, and became susceptible to the emergence of a charismatic leader (Proposition 3). Nasser became the head of a new government (repudiating the previous social order), formulated a doctrine which promised an idealized Arab oriented society,

and advocated, promoted, and reinforced Arab values, ideals, and sentiments which were part of Egypt's historical ideals and aspirations (Proposition 4).

The preparation stage of the Nasserite charismatic relationship covered the period from the late 1930s to the mid-1950s. The dynamic stage began in 1955 with Nasser's emergence as the charismatic leader of the Egyptian people (cf. Dekmejian 1971).

Nasser Emerges as a Charismatic Leader

Long-time Middle East observer Peter Mansfield²⁰ has noted that Nasser was revered throughout the Arab world.

It was from this time [early 1955] that Nasser began to become the hero of Arab nationalism and his picture appeared in shops, cafes, and taxis from Aden to Aleppo and Trinidad. Most Arabs felt that here at last was the leader they had been waiting for, who could stand up to the imperialist powers. Some looked further ahead to see him recovering Palestine for the Arabs and restoring their ancient glories by uniting them in a single state. They were only confirmed in their views when he became the new target for criticism in the Israeli and Western Press (1965, p. 55).

As will be shown below, Egyptians at this time had the same feelings about Nasser. Because this study is concerned with the Nasser-Egyptian charismatic relationship, the discussion of the next four propositions emphasizes Egyptian reaction to Nasser during the period of his international initiatives and diplomatic activities.

Attachment to the Charismatic Leader

Proposition 5 - The followers attach

themselves to the charismatic leader when they identify with his portrayal of their dislocated position in society and accept many of his prescriptions as means to attain their rightful place in society.

In 1955 Nasser's popular appeal and not his governmental position provided a new basis for his authority; Egyptians attached themselves to Nasser as their charismatic leader (cf. Dekmejian 1971, p. 39). His doctrine had promised an idealized Arab society, and Egyptians, increasingly and in larger terms, began to look at themselves as Arabs (ibid. p. 40). In other words, Egyptians had identified with his portrayal of themselves as dislocated in a society based on Egyptian nationalism, and accepted many of his prescriptions centered on Arab nationalism as the means to attain their rightful place, not only in their own society, but in the world.

Nasser's initiatives to improve Egyptian living conditions (which will be described in discussions of the following propositions) had little effect until 1956 and later. His successes in foreign affairs in 1955, however, based on his opposition to the Baghdad Pact, his being recognized as the leader of the Arabs at the Asian-African Conference (discussed below), and the arms deal with the Soviet Bloc, had two effects. First, Nasser's international prominence distracted Egyptians' attention from their domestic conditions (Dekmejian 1971, pp. 42-43). Secondly, as Nasser became known as the leading representative of the Arab states, Egyptians saw themselves as the leading society

among the Arab peoples.

Throughout 1955, Nasser vehemently opposed the Baghdad Pact through broadcasts and various activities (This chapter, page 237). Nasser tied his opposition to Arab solidarity, and in October 1955 signed military agreements with Saudi Arabia and with Syria which placed the signatories' armed forces under a joint command headed by an Egyptian general (Lenczowski 1980, p. 528). All parties recognized Nasser's, and Egypt's, position of primacy among Arabs.

The Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia (April 18-24, 1955), a conference on non-alignment, brought together representatives from twenty-eight newly independent nations from the two continents (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 81). Nasser, Nehru of India, and Chou En-lai of China became recognized as the three central figures in Asia and Africa, and Nasser thus the foremost Arab leader (Vatikiotis 1985, p. 384).

Nasser came home to find himself hailed as "Champion of Africa and Asia," and his pictures flanked by those of Nehru and Chou En-lai. Egypt now had recognition in her own right. For, he was not only the first Egyptian to lead an independent Egypt, but also he had become the first Egyptian leader to have moved into the center of the world's stage (Dubois 1972, p. 152).

His brief stay in Bandung had symbolized emancipation and dignity and won him popular acclaim (Lacouture 1970, p. 108). By their recognition of Nasser as the leader of the Arabs, Egyptians identified themselves mainly as Arabs

and accepted Arab nationalism as the means to attain their rightful place in the world.

Nasser reinforced Egyptians' attachment to him when, based on contacts from the Bandung Conference and faced with a military threat from Israel, he turned to the Soviet bloc for military assistance (cf. Vatikiotis 1985, p. 388). Arab-Israeli tensions had increased, and the United States, while continuing to aid Israel, had added more and more conditions on arms sales to Egypt. In September 1955, Egypt signed an agreement with Czechoslovakia to exchange Egyptian cotton and rice for military arms²¹ (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 77; Stephens 1971, p. 160; Neff 1981, pp. 101-2). Nasser publicly justified the arms deal in terms of Arab nationalism and Egyptian humanitarianism, and Egyptians were jubilant (Stephens 1971, p. 155; Dubois 1972, p. 154; Mansfield 1965, p. 56).

Egyptian nationalism, as Nasser portrayed it, had resulted in Egypt's inability to attain a position within the mainstream of world society (This chapter, pages 234ff). Egyptians attached themselves to Nasser when they came to see themselves as Arabs, and foremost among the Arab peoples, and accepted his prescriptions tied to Arab nationalism as the means to attain their rightful place in the world (cf. Dekmejian 1971, pp. 50-51).

Identification with Lower Statuses

Proposition 6 - The charismatic leader exhibits behaviors by which he becomes identified with those in the lower social positions of his

society, and these behaviors show evidence of his unusual understanding and of their worthiness to follow him.

Although Nasser's international activities gave Egyptians a new image of themselves as Arabs and were seen as a means to achieve their rightful place in the world. Egypt remained a country with terrible domestic conditions. Having solidified his political base within the country, Nasser set out to build up Egypt's defenses and to assume a prominent place among the Arab nations. Many Arab states had been granted independence by the great powers, and Nasser became seen as the fulfillment of the Arab, and Arab-Egyptian, yearning for dignity. In his speeches and his international activities, he demonstrated his understanding of Arab feelings at the time: they insisted on being treated as equals, on their own culture as dominate in their countries, and on controlling their own destiny (Wynn 1959, p. 205-6). He thus became identified with ordinary Egyptians, and showed Egyptians they were worthy of following him.

On January 17, 1956, before a packed audience crowded into Cairo's largest square, Nasser announced that a new constitution had been drawn up which would provide for a one-party welfare state with an elected President and a national legislature. The new constitution proclaimed Egypt an Islamic republic with Arabic its national language. The religion and language of ordinary Egyptians would be the official religion and language of Egypt. The constitution

also granted Egyptians basic freedoms: freedom of worship, press, assembly, speech, and private ownership (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 131).

"Henceforth," declared Nasser, "the whole people will constitute the supreme council of Egypt," and the crowd shouted, "Long live Gamal!" (Dubois 1972, p. 155). Nasser was moving Egypt toward a socialist society,²² which, in the eyes of Egyptians, would raise their standard of living and provide old-age benefits, public health, and social insurance (Dekmejian 1971, p. 125). In the national plebiscite on June 22, 1956, in which voting by all males was mandatory and by women optional, 99.8% of the 5,508,291 voters accepted the new constitution and 99.9% approved Nasser as Egypt's first elected President (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 131). Egypt was an Arab state, the Egyptian people "part of the Arab nation," and Nasser their revered leader (Stephens 1971, pp. 184-85).

On July 26, 1956, Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal, and his manner of dress and speech identified him with the lower statuses of Egyptian society. He was scheduled to speak on the fourth anniversary of King Farouk's abdication, and Egyptians, anticipating the celebration of the anniversary, filled the roads to Alexandria and the early trains from Cairo. Instead of his customary Army uniform, Nasser appeared before them in a light blue suit which emphasized his being a civilian like his followers. More importantly, he spoke in colloquial

Egyptian Arabic instead of the classical literary Arabic he had used previously (Dubois 1972, p. 162). His speech was broadcast nationwide and his use of the colloquial Arabic dialect was "a tradition-shattering precedent" (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 135); he used phrases and words familiar to common Egyptians who could therefore identify themselves with him.

Difficulty of Prescriptions

Proposition 7 - In order to carry out the charismatic leader's doctrine the followers adhere to new prescriptions, some being difficult and requiring great sacrifice, but they believe their adherence to even the most difficult prescriptions is possible.

From 1954 on, Nasser had established a policy of international neutrality, but this meant that Egypt was entirely responsible for her own protection (Nutting 1972, p. 105). Nasser's Egyptian followers revered him for the independence he had brought them, but by late October 1956, they would have to adhere to Nasser's prescriptions for defense of that independence in a war with Israel, Britain, and France over the Suez Canal. Egypt had cooperated with the United Nations to keep peace between Egypt and Israel, but the peace ended, in large part, as a result of Nasser's attempts to finance a major undertaking which would be of enormous benefit to the Egyptian people, the construction of the Nile High Dam at Aswan (cf. Hofstadter 1973a, pp. 65-119).

Nasser saw the Aswan Dam as being of such great importance to Egypt that he called it "our new pyramid"

(Nutting 1972, p. 129). It would harness enough Nile water to provide the delta with all its electric power needs, and increase the cultivable area of Egypt by some two million acres, roughly thirty percent of the existing cultivated land²³ (Lenczowski 1980, p. 528). Its cost, however, was over \$1 billion which necessitated foreign assistance. Provoked by an anticipated Russian offer to loan Egypt money to begin the dam, the American and British governments and the World Bank offered to partially finance the project (Stephens 1971, p. 172). In July 1956, both governments withdrew their offers, and the World Bank followed.²⁴

Nasser's reaction was sudden and violent: On July 26, he nationalized the Suez Canal Company and announced that Egypt would use the revenues from canal usage to finance the Aswan Dam²⁵ (Lenczowski 1980, p. 529). Nasser had a second purpose: To show Egyptians that they were neither so poor nor so weak that they had to accept continued degradation (Stephens 1971, p. 199). In his nationally broadcast speech announcing the nationalization, Nasser reminded Egyptians that 120,000 of their ancestors had died building the canal and therefore "it belongs to us" (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 135). The speech was before a huge crowd in Alexandria who became "hysterical with joy. They screamed! Men threw their arms about each other and wept" (Dubois 1972, p. 163). Egyptians were joyfully ready to adhere to Nasser's prescription, but would have to survive a military attack jointly and secretly planned by Britain, France, and

Israel²⁶ (Love 1970, pp. 433-76).

During the Suez War of 1956-7, the Egyptian army suffered 2,000-3,000 men killed or taken prisoner and large equipment losses, and hundreds of civilians died in the fighting at Port Said. Yet, the net result of the entire Suez episode was an almost complete victory for Egypt and for Nasser. Egypt acquired sole control of the Suez Canal, removed the British civilians from the Canal Zone and confiscated its immense stores, and sequestered British and French property in the country. More than ever before, Cairo was the center of the Arab world, and nearly all the Egyptian population was attached to Nasser (cf. Mansfield 1965, pp. 57-58; Nutting 1972, pp. 193-94). The victory was difficult; Egyptians had made sacrifices including a period of added austerity and loss of life, but adherence to Nasser's prescriptions had been shown to be possible and beneficial.

Arguments and Symbols

Proposition 8 - The charismatic leader articulates his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas become ingrained in the minds of followers.

In fulfillment of the 1954 Anglo-Egyptian agreement, the last British troops left Egyptian soil on June 14, 1956²⁷ (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 129). Nasser and the Egyptians celebrated "Evacuation Day" with a wide variety of symbols to denote the significance of Britain's departure after

seventy-eight years of occupation. In Port Said, jet fighters flew overhead and an Egyptian frigate fired a twenty-one gun salute to prepare the crowd for Nasser's arrival. The way from the airport was packed with cheering throngs, as was the field before the Navy House, the former headquarters of the British.

Nasser stood waving on the balcony while cheers reverberated through the air. After a while General Amer [a ranking member of the Revolution Command Committee] stepped forward and raised his arms for silence. It settled over the crowd only gradually, but not until everyone was still did Amer place in the Prime Minister's hands an Egyptian flag. Nasser shook it out, bowed and reverently kissed it. Then, slipping it in place he slowly raised the flag above the people. The mass of people went wild with delight and Nasser, surrounded by his officers, stood with raised arms in tribute to this moment of exaltation (Dubois 1972, p. 156).

Nasser used the Egyptian flag, its air force, its navy, and himself to symbolize the importance of Egyptian independence, an independence credited to him by his followers. In his speech Nasser invoked the memory of Egyptians' long history of struggle under foreign rule.

This is the most memorable moment of a life-time.... We have dreamed of this moment which had been denied to our fathers, grandfathers and our brothers who have fought for years to achieve this moment and to see the Egyptian flag alone in our skies. Citizens, we pray to God no other flag will fly over our land (Stephens 1971, p. 164).

He had made the Egyptians' subjugated ancestors symbols which emphasized the importance of his achievement. Two days later in Cairo, in the presence of hundreds of

thousands in the summer heat, Nasser reinforced his idea of Arab nationalism by accepting the salutes from an estimated 11,000 paraders, including military detachments from all Arab countries, as they marched by his reviewing stand (ibid.; Dubois 1972, p. 157; Hofstadter 1973a, p. 130). The Arabs who honored him recognized, as did Egyptians, that he symbolized Arab nationalism (Wynn 1959, p. 203).

A Brief Summary: Nasser Emerges as a Charismatic Leader

Egyptians identified with Nasser's portrayal of them as Arabs and accepted his doctrine of Arab nationalism as the means to attain the rightful place in the world (Proposition 5). By making Egypt internationally prominent, he fulfilled the yearning of Egyptians for dignity. He established a new constitution which included a council representing "the whole people," and also began to dress as a civilian and to speak in the Arabic dialect of the common people, thus identifying with his followers (Proposition 6). Egyptians followed Nasser's prescriptions involving the nationalization of the Suez Canal which led to military attack and heavy losses but also to almost complete victory for Egypt; Nasser's prescriptions had been shown to be difficult, but also both possible and beneficial (Proposition 7). Nasser used a wide variety of symbols, including himself, to communicate the most appealing ideas of his doctrine (Proposition 8).

The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

Nasser's goals for Egypt were secular in that he "attempted nothing less than the transformation of the country's political and economic outlook" (Mansfield 1976, p. 449). Islam, however, became an increasingly important factor in the legitimation of Arab nationalism and Arab socialism in his foreign and domestic policies (Dekmajian 1971, p. 37; Esposito 1987, p. 127). As with other Arab national awakenings of the twentieth century, Nasser's Arab nationalist revolution brought with it an Islamic identification among the masses (Vatikiotis 1965, p. 120; cf. Be'eri 1970, p. 282). Nasser tapped the emotional force of Islam for his Arab nationalist and socialist ideologies and policies with the aid of the religious leaders of Cairo's Islamic university, al-Azhar.²⁸ (Vatikiotis 1965, p. 135; Esposito 1987, pp. 127-28). The discussion of the next six propositions relies in large part on this Islamic connection.

Imbued with Superhuman Qualities

Proposition 9 - The followers believe their charismatic leader to be imbued with superhuman qualities which he applies for their benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being.

Nasser became recognized more than a mere ruler; he was personally revered throughout the Arab world. Egyptians had traditionally deified their rulers, and now looked upon Nasser as a god and savior of his people (Nutting 1972,

p. 194). In other words, Egyptians believed that Nasser possessed superhuman qualities (cf. El-Menoufi 1982, pp. 86-87). In their view, he applied those qualities for their benefit, prosperity, and physical well-being; for example, after the Suez War Egypt had sole control of the Canal, had confiscated British materials stored in the Canal Zone, and had sequestered British and French property in the country (This chapter, page 247).

Nasser used traditional Islam as a device for self-legitimation, and thereby provided Egyptians with spiritual well-being. For example, Nasser made a pilgrimage to Mecca in August 1954, where he met with other Muslim leaders and called for Islam unity. A month later, the regime convened an Islamic Congress to emphasize its orthodoxy (Dekmejian 1971, p. 39). Nasser's Arab nationalism and socialism were supported by pronouncements from al-Azhar University and its mass communications media -- radio, television, press, and cinema. Al-Azhar consistently portrayed Nasser not only as the leader to whom Muslims had entrusted the task of reestablishing the true religious base of the Arab nation, but who possessed divine qualities which he would apply to set the world right for all Muslims. For example, the editor of Majallat al-Azhar (Journal of the al-Azhar) claimed that he had prophesied Nasser's "coming," like that of the Mahdi²⁹ (Vatikiotis 1965, p. 144). Mahmud Shalabi, an eminent Islamic scholar, wrote a series of books in which he attempted to prove that

Nasser in fact followed in the footsteps of the prophet and the "Just Caliphs"³⁰ (Warburg 1982, p. 137). In terms of this proposition, Nasser was seen as a leader imbued with supernatural qualities which he applied for the spiritual as well as the physical well-being of his followers.

A Special Mission

Proposition 10 - Both the charismatic leader and his followers believe him to be designated by the supernatural as having a special mission to fulfill and to convey to his followers.

In his Philosophy of the Revolution written in 1954, Nasser told of "heroic and glorious roles which never found heroes to perform them," and outlined his aspirations to be the leader of the Arabs, then of Africa, and then of all the followers of Islam (1959, pp. 61-62). In 1958 Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic, a political and economic union which he hoped would someday include all Arab countries, but which dissolved in 1961. On October 16, 1961, Nasser addressed Egyptians over Cairo Radio.

Fellow countrymen, I have given my life to this Arab Revolution and my life will last for this Arab Revolution. I shall stay here as long as God wants me to; to fight with all my efforts for the sake of the demands of the people. I shall give my whole life for the people's right to life. This nation has given me support of which I never dreamt, and I have nothing to give it but every drop of my blood.

Fellow countrymen, the hour of the revolutionary work has struck. We shall work by the will of God, and by the will of God, we shall be victorious. (Quoted in Dekmejian 1971, p. 57, emphasis added).

In other words, at this time of crisis Nasser invoked

the idea of divine appointment for his leadership and mission. His initial mission was Arab unity, which tapped a deeply felt emotion of nationalism and religion which, in Sunni Muslim Egypt, were one and the same. At the heart of his Arab nationalist doctrine, and central to its appeal for Egyptians, was the acquirement of dignity (Wynn 1959, p. 205). Due to Nasser's bringing Egypt and its Arab neighbors together, Egyptian Muslims could forget the inferiority complex of colonial days and hold their heads high, their feelings of self-respect restored through their communal achievements (Lenczowski 1966, p. 211). After years of subjugation, colonialism, and occupation, Egyptians had yearned to be highly respected as they had been in the years of the medieval caliphate³¹ (Dodge 1965, p. 111). Nasser's mission was thus seen as designated by the supernatural in that the restoration of self-respect coincided with a cultural and spiritual revival of Islam.

For the first five years of the dynamic stage, fulfilling the mission of Arab Unity dominated Nasser's charismatic movement. In the early years after the Free Officers' coup, Nasser's thoughts were absorbed in foreign affairs, and this emphasis continued between 1958 and 1961 when the problems of union with Syria took up most of his time³² (Mansfield 1965, p. 130). After dissolution of the union, in a televised speech on October 16, 1961, Nasser proclaimed, "Socialism is our only road to justice" (Stephens 1971, p. 345), thus formally introducing his

second mission: To bring Egyptians social justice and prosperity. The mechanism to achieve this mission became Arab socialism.³³

One might have assumed that, under a regime which declared Arab socialism as its ideology, the mosques would have maintained their pre-revolutionary positions. Yet, the Islamic establishment gave Islamic sanction to the secularization of Egyptian society (Warburg 1982, pp. 136-37). The hierarchy of al-Azhar, the recognized center of religious education and interpretation, connected Nasser's new Arab socialist doctrine to the divine; "as the whole accepts its parts...and because the mission of Muhammad cannot deny just socialism, for it was his message which rendered the poor his due of the rich man's wealth" (Vatikiotis 1965, p. 139).

Nasser may not have originated the idea of Arab unity, but he certainly became recognized as fulfilling that mission in legends which inspired Arabs in Egypt and other Middle Eastern nations (Wynn 1959, p. 140). Songs were composed to give praise to Nasser as if he were Egypt's new deity; as his subjects Egyptians gave thanks to divine providence for having sent him to deliver them from the hands of their enemies (Nutting 1972, p. 194). Similarly, his doctrine of Arab socialism and its implementation, a mission supported by Islamic leaders, was seen as setting Egypt on a constructive path to overcome massive poverty and overpopulation which severely affected most Egyptians

(Stephens 1971, p. 574).

The Ideal Type

Proposition 11 - The charismatic leader's behaviors are the model for the behaviors of the followers.

Egyptians saw Nasser as the Egyptian-Arab model to which they came to aspire. First of all, he was himself an Egyptian, the first ruler regarded as a native Egyptian in 2500 years, and he had expelled foreign occupiers for the first time in the same period. Secondly, Egypt's size, location, and history gave it a dominant position among Arab nations; it was in many ways "the center of gravity" of Arab and Islamic culture (Mansfield 1976, p. 450). His political and military actions on behalf of Arab unity and Arab nationalism endeared him to the Egyptian people. In their attachment to Nasser as the leader of the Arabs, Egyptians saw him as the personification of the fulfillment of their heritage as Egyptians, as Arabs, and as Muslims.

Nasser was himself a devout Muslim, but sought to anchor his government in Islam as a community rather than the rule of Islam as a dogma (Be'eri 1970, p. 284). He used Islam as a public and emotional force -- as a cultural force -- while not being tied to all the rules of Islamic tradition.³⁴ Nasser frequently attended Friday prayers, usually at al-Azhar (Warburg 1982, p. 135). As usual in convocations, formal ceremonies began with chanting from the Koran. On state occasions, when a foreign official was to be

honored or a national event celebrated, Nasser and other leading members of the government attended services in the Mosque of al-Azhar (Dodge 1965, p. 111), much like officials of the British government would attend services at Westminster Abbey.

Bearing Burdens and Pain

Proposition 12 - It is believed that the charismatic leader bears the spiritual and emotional burdens and pain of his people at great sacrifice to himself.

Egyptians traditionally viewed the head of government as the bearer of all burdens. Perhaps influenced by their historical dependence on a central government to build and manage irrigation systems,³⁵ the fellahin viewed the political authority of the government as a personal virtue, rather than merely a role or office, which they identified with Nasser, and later Sadat (El-Menoufi 1982, pp. 87, 90).

The burdens transferred to Nasser appear to cover nearly all aspects of fellahin life. During Nasser's period of charismatic leadership, the fellahin seemed to consider government as the one and only agency responsible for and able to overcome problems facing their home villages -- rural development, schools, clinics, mosques, roads, canal construction or repair, or youth centers (ibid., p. 89).

Egyptians appreciated the enormity of Nasser's tasks and the personal sacrifices required to achieve them. Nasser, after all, in the sixteen years of his mastery, attempted nothing less than the complete political and

economic transformation of a country long beset with extreme poverty and overpopulation and with limited resources (Mansfield 1976 p. 449; Stephens 1971, p. 576). Both the well educated and the relatively uneducated had to be impressed with the immense scope of his foreign activities and domestic programs. They must have felt about Nasser as did the university student who told journalist Shirley Graham Dubois, "Gamal Abdul Nasser had to struggle hard against much opposition to open up to us these opportunities" (1972, p. 240).

The Pattern of Expressive Activities

Proposition 13 - Followers demonstrate their belief in the charismatic leader by giving him respect, holding him in reverence, and subordinating their will to his.

So great was their reverence for Nasser that Egyptians were, in the retrospective words of the highly respected writer Tawfiq al-Hakim, "in a state of anesthetization."

...[Nasser] had inundated us with magic and dreams in such a way that we didn't know how he inundated us. Perhaps as they said it was his personal magic when he spoke to the masses, or perhaps it was the dream in which we had begun to live because of those hopes and promises. Whatever the fact, those glowing images of the accomplishments of the revolution made out of us instruments of the broad propaganda apparatus with its drums, its horns, its odes, its songs, and its films (1985, p. 28).

In other words, Egyptians' belief in Nasser was so complete that they themselves, by their demonstrations of respect and reverence for Nasser and subordination of their

will to him, confirmed his extraordinariness. Perhaps the best evidence for this phenomenon occurred in 1967 immediately after Nasser announced his resignation as president.

Israel, said to be secretly aided by American intelligence, launched a large-scale invasion and air attack on Egypt early on June 5, 1967. In less than three hours, Egypt lost nearly three-fourths of its combat aircraft, and, by the time a cease-fire went into effect on June 8, Israeli troops were in control of the Sinai Peninsula as far as the Suez Canal (Hofstadter 1973c, pp. 29-34, *passim*). On the evening of June 9, Nasser announced on radio and television that he had decided "to give up completely and finally every post and every political role, and to return to the ranks of the public to do my duty with them like every other citizen" (*ibid.*, p. 42). Nasser, however, was the greatly revered charismatic leader of the Egyptian people, and they would not let him be anything else. He could not become an ordinary citizen. "They had made him their political god; it was unthinkable that he should step down in favour of another at this moment of national peril and disaster" (Nutting 1972, p. 425). During his speech, air raid sirens sounded in Cairo but the stunned populace did not heed them (Dubois 1972, p. 214). Within a matter of minutes, thousands of Cairo's citizens headed for Nasser's house calling his name and pleading with him to stay and to lead them (Nutting 1972, p. 425; cf. Dubois 1972, pp. 214-17).

Nasser cancelled his resignation on June 10 accepting "the verdict of the people" (Hofstadter 1973c, p. 42).

The massive demonstrations would be surpassed in size and intensity only by those at Nasser's funeral three years later (Vatikiotis 1985, pp. 406-7). Even if the vast majority of Egyptians did not appreciate the magnitude of the military defeat, they certainly realized that Nasser's political and military leadership had failed. Yet, they demanded that he remain their leader. He was their charismatic leader to whom they gave even more than mere respect; they held him in reverence.

Self-Importance

Proposition 14 - The followers' adoration and recognition may influence the charismatic leader to believe in his own importance and superhuman qualities, but he must display modesty and humility.

Nasser received large displays of adoration from the time he emerged as a charismatic leader. By the late 1950s, in addition to his followers in Egypt, hundreds of thousands in every Arab state displayed their respect for Nasser: "To the Arab man on the street Nasser was a new Saladin³⁶ who, having shown he could successfully defy Western opinion, would lead the Arabs to unity, independence, and the recovery of Palestine" (Mansfield 1980, p. 66). Anthony Nutting, as British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in the mid-1950s, observed first hand the early adoration shown Nasser and the effect on his activities surrounding the Suez

crisis.

It would have required a man of almost superhuman qualities not to be carried away by the idolatry with which Nasser was now hailed by the Arab masses. And for all the skill and judgement which he had shown in steering the Egyptian ship of state between the treacherous reefs and shoals of the Suez crisis, the rais [political and moral leader] was no superman. Immediately after the fighting was over and his attackers had withdrawn, he went to work to exploit his new popular status in the Arab world, and especially in those countries whose foreign policies he wished to control (1972, p. 196).

For Nasser as well as Arabs and Egyptians, the Suez War irrevocably confirmed him in his role as an all-Arab leader. He had nationalized the Suez Canal and expelled the British Canal Garrison; his country had been subjected to coordinated attack by military forces clearly superior in size and armaments; and Egypt had still emerged politically victorious. Emboldened by his Suez success and immense popularity, Nasser saw himself as the representative of "Arab liberation" sentiments, and he launched a multipronged political offensive in the Arab world (Stephens 1971, p. 252; Lenczowski 1980, p. 536).

He had not, however, given much thought to how the Arab states would be governed if they achieved union under his leadership (Mansfield 1980, p. 68). The first experiment was the United Arab Republic, the Syrian-Egyptian union of 1958-1961 initiated by Syrian Baathists who shared his ideology of social revolution, Pan-Arabism, and anti-imperialism (Leczowski 1980, p. 537). The union failed only partly due to confusion and rivalries among the Syrian

factions. Another major factor, and one certainly influenced by his being the subject of continual and intense adoration, was Nasser's unwillingness to share power (Stephens 1971, p. 563). His official policy for Syria was the building of the same sort of society that was in place in Egypt (Lenczowski 1980, pp. 541-42) and which had brought him the adulation of Egyptians. Acclaimed by masses outside as well as within Egypt and identifying himself with their longing for some form of Pan-Arabism, "he was misled into thinking that those who waved his banner wanted to live under it" (Nutting 1972, p. 479). (He had to reckon not merely with the attractiveness of Arab unity nationalism, which he advocated, but of individual-state nationalism, built on colonial boundaries and local sentiments fostered by European powers, especially in the first half of the twentieth century.)

Yet, after the secession of Syria in 1961, Nasser remained aware that there and in other countries a mass of people still supported him (Mansfield 1980, p. 67). This recognition of himself as "Champion of Arab Unity" was a factor in his becoming involved in the inconclusive five-year civil war in Yemen, a long, costly intervention which contributed to Egypt's woeful performance in the June 1967 War with Israel³⁷ (Butter 1988, p. 320). Nasser's intervention with ground and air forces numbering in the vicinity of 80,000 by the mid-1960s, and fighting in a country with no borders with Egypt, testified to the

revolutionary commitment of Nasser (Lenczowski 1980, pp. 553-54). It also testified to the influence of his being recognized as the leader of the Arab revolution; it being a little more than a year after the Syrian secession from the UAR, thus "he needed a boost to his prestige in the Arab world and in Egypt" (Stephens 1971, p. 394).

In other words, as stated in this Proposition, Arab and Egyptian adoration and recognition influenced Nasser to believe in his own importance, and he at times committed his followers to costly and unwise foreign involvements. At other times, he responded to adoration with displays of modesty and humility. Although he had his image protected and polished by his government and security forces (discussed below in Proposition 15), Nasser resisted pressures to invest huge resources for glorification of his person. "There were no statues of Nasser, for example, dotting the Egyptian landscape. Nor did his face adorn postage stamps and currency" (Bill and Leiden 1979, p. 222). Also, despite the fact that the Egyptian populace had almost deified Nasser with songs and sayings proclaiming his infallibility, Nasser refused every popular demand that he be elected President for life, insisting on a term of no more than six years at a time (Nutting 1972, pp. 478-79).

A Brief Summary: The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

The pattern of belief in the Nasserite charismatic relationship appears to conform to the propositions of the

ideal type model. Egyptians had traditionally almost deified their rulers, and, particularly after the Suez crisis, looked upon Nasser as being imbued with superhuman qualities which he applied for their well-being (Proposition 9). Nasser and Egyptians believed him to be divinely designated for special missions -- Arab unity and Arab socialism -- to fulfill and to convey to his followers (Proposition 10). Being the first native Egyptian to rule Egypt in two and one-half centuries and a devout Muslim, Nasser was the model for the behavior of Egyptians as they attempted to fulfill their Egyptian and Islamic heritage (Proposition 11). As Egyptians had traditionally looked to the head of their government to bear their burdens, they transferred relief of their burdens to Nasser. So immense was his task that his bearing of their burdens required great personal sacrifice (Proposition 12). In a variety of ways, Egyptians frequently displayed their respect, reverence, and subordination to Nasser (Proposition 13). Their displays of adoration and recognition influenced Nasser to believe in his own importance which was at times a factor in his involving Egyptians in costly foreign ventures; at other times he responded with modesty and humility (Proposition 14).

Growth and Unification

For several years after the Free Officers' coup, the masses lacked a strong sense of themselves as Egyptians, and

their public support for the military regime was based more on anti-British sentiments and anxiety over the rise of Israel (Dekmejian 1971, p. 49). Nasser appealed to these same sentiments, plus Egyptians' historical identification as Arabs and Muslims, to emerge as a charismatic leader in 1955. The growth and unification of his following occurred through a process described in the next five propositions.

Success and Growth

Proposition 15 - The charismatic leader usually has a modest beginning of his leadership, and he attracts increasing numbers of followers as he creates an image of success.

From an analysis of Egyptians' public celebration of Nasser's successes, it appears that his following increased within several years after his emergence to include nearly all of Egypt. He returned from Bandung a hero; Egyptians saw him as "Champion of Africa and Asia" (Dubois 1972, p. 152). In 1954 Nasser had negotiated an agreement for the departure of English troops, and in 1956 Egyptians marked "Evacuation Day" with a wild celebration (This chapter, page 247ff). Nasser's arms deal with Czechoslovakia, which came right after Israeli attacks in Gaza in February 1955 and Western reluctance to provide modern arms, created almost hysterical reactions among Arabs (Dekmejian 1971, p. 44). The Egyptian press crowed, "In the old days, Egyptians had to crawl to Washington to beg for favors. Now Washington has to come to Cairo" (Wynn 1959, pp. 119-20).

The nationalization of the Suez Canal and the

subsequent Suez War (1956) appears to have solidified Egyptians' attachment to Nasser until his death. When Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal, Egyptians were "hysterical with joy" (Dubois 1972, p. 163). Egypt was defeated militarily, but politically and economically victorious. In terms of unifying his charismatic movement, Gamal Abdul Nasser was a big winner: "His prestige at home and among Arabs remained undamaged and indeed his charismatic appeal registered an upswing" (Dekmejian 1971, p. 46).}

Central to the "charismatic upswing" was the creation of an image of success out of defeat. Egyptian perception of the Franco-British invasion and capture of Port Said provides an illustration.³⁸ Egypt lost about 1,000 dead before British and French troops captured the city in a one-day battle (Stephens 1971, p. 246). According to the Arab-Egyptian "Saga of Port Said," the battle was the "Stalingrad of Egypt" in which stubborn Egyptian fighting men had stopped the British and French attack against enormous odds, the secret coalition of three well-armed armies.

How can they believe it? The answer is simple. Arabs believe the saga of Port Said because they believe in Gamal Abdul Nasser. Whatever he does, they will applaud. Whatever he says, they will believe (Wynn 1959, p. 193).

One factor in Nasser's ability to create such an image of success was the fact that, at the time, there were no significant elements which could detract from Nasser's

popular triumphs. Until the mid- and late-1960s (as discussed in Proposition 17 below), the state's tight control over the freedoms of expression and of assembly effectively dispelled all ideological currents that might undermine Nasser's revolution and his nationalistic and socialist goals (Gaffney 1987, p. 36).

Gatherings with the Leader

Proposition 16 - At public meetings, the charismatic leader's presence, at times symbolized by a designated representative, adds enthusiasm and affirmation to the group's unity.

Nasser's entrances into cities or presence at public celebrations attracted crowds that cheered him wildly, such as at the "Evacuation Day" ceremony marking the departure of the British from Egypt. Receptions for foreign dignitaries became a ritual in which he would emerge from a large, decorated tent, such as those that serve for marriages as well as funerals, and, greeted by waves of applause, step forward smiling and "pumping his arm like a seasoned champion" (Lacouture 1976, p. 120).

While Nasser's very presence elicited the massive displays of reverence and veneration, his acts also had meaning for Egyptians -- international prominence, economic and social reforms, nationalization of the Suez Canal, and the Aswan High Dam (Stephens 1971, p. 562). In addition to personal appearances, Nasser's speeches on radio and television were so highly popular that they constituted a public gathering.

Nasser's speeches contained no fiery rhetoric; they were monotonous, flowing slowly and incessantly like the great Nile. His words were pronounced with deliberation; his pauses and repetitions were frequent. His style was not ornate; rather, he spoke in a colloquial, conversational manner. The villagers sat listening as if at a seance (Harik 1974, p. 141).

From a Western view as well as from the viewpoint of those who do not know Arabic, Nasser was not a great speaker in that his oratory tended to be labored, repetitive, and full of trite expressions (Stephens 1971, p. 562). Yet, using simple language mixed with "folksy humor," Nasser took Egyptians into his confidence, or seemed to, and effectively maintained unification of his following (cf. Hudson 1977, p. 243). Their displays of enthusiasm affirmed their unified belief in him and what he meant to them.

This Proposition also indicates that designated representatives may also symbolize the presence of the charismatic leader. The content analysis for the Nasserite charismatic relationship did not reveal the use of designated representatives. Perhaps he did designate others to act in his name, but the writers whose work was reviewed, nearly all of whom were Westerners, did not document the actions. Perhaps, because Nasser directly controlled Radio Cairo and indirectly pro-government newspapers and periodicals which ensured complete coverage of his speeches and actions, he did not need representatives.

Sources of Opposition

Proposition 17 - The opposition to the

charismatic leader almost always comes from the proponents of the status quo of the economic, political, social, and religious conditions.

For about ten years, due to a variety of political and cultural factors, Nasser encountered little opposition in Egypt. Politically, after becoming the head of government, Nasser quickly established a highly authoritarian regime which harshly suppressed any opposition, for example, the Muslim Brotherhood (discussed in Proposition 18). Because he nationalized educational institutions, many intellectuals depended on the government for jobs, which may have made the voicing of dissent a rare practice (Dekmejian 1971, p. 63). Culturally, Egypt was (and remains) a highly homogeneous society. Nearly ninety percent of Egyptians are Sunni Muslims, and Egypt had no significant sectional, sectarian, or racial groups pursuing their own agenda³⁹ (ibid., pp. 84-85; Mansfield 1980, p. 199).

By the mid-1960s, a considerable rightist reaction had developed within the "new ruling class" (cf. Hosseinzadeh 1989, p. 308). Nasser's policies of land reform and the suppression of political parties had broken the political power of the largest land-owners, but had created an influential stratum of government officials, medium farmers, and lesser notables who still had considerable wealth and land⁴⁰ (Stephens 1972, p. 373). Empowered by positions within the Arab Socialist Union (Egypt's single political party) as watchdogs over the conduct of local government or as administrators of government programs, officials and

relatively wealthy landowners connected with them enjoyed opportunities for corruption, privilege, and abuse of power (ibid., p. 374, El-Menoufi 1982, p. 84). In August and September 1965, huge crowds of these conservatively minded Egyptians displayed their displeasure with the government through street demonstrations and strikes (Nutting 1972, p. 379). The press blamed the Muslim Brotherhood, but the cause was almost certainly economic instability, which for the first time affected this upper middle class (cf. Dekmejian 1971, p. 228). In April 1966, Nasser's regime, seeking to eliminate the remaining influence of "fuedalists," seized the property of scores of suspect land-owners (Stephens 1971, p. 373).

Whereas, as noted above, Islamic leaders supported Nasser's ideology and his implementing policies, rural religious functionaries in many cases opposed the latter (Warburg 1982, p. 137). An important and troublesome example was family planning. Rural imams (prayer leaders, preachers) saw family planning and birth control, although fully supported by Cairo-based religious leaders, as clashing with traditional teachings. Because rural imams lived close to the people and were unwilling to change their traditional attitudes and belief system, family planning was a complete failure (Warburg 1982, p. 137).

In summary, several social groups opposed Nasser's policies in an effort to maintain the status quo. Bureaucrats and the upper social stratum opposed social

reforms which disrupted their economic benefits. Rural religious figures resisted policies which, in their view, violated Islamic teachings.

Scapegoats

Proposition 18 - Worsening of conditions is always blamed on a variety of circumstances and never on the charismatic leader.

Self-criticism was one stratagem used by Nasser to keep from being discredited by his apparent failures. In effect he threw all moral responsibility onto his opponents, or even over to his followers, as if saying, "I confess that I was foolish enough to trust you" (Kerr 1965, p. 36). On October 16, 1961, following the secession of Syria from the UAR, Nasser "brought off a remarkable piece of self-criticism" when he admitted that middle-class and even feudal elements had infiltrated the state apparatus and had transformed it into a tool for their purposes (Lacouture 1970, p. 114; Be'eri 1970, p. 390). "We," he said, "overestimated our power. We were unable to guide the masses. We allowed reaction and opportunism to infiltrate our ranks.... We committed a gross mistake" (Dekmejian 1971, p. 62; emphasis added). Use of the plural pronoun transferred blame from Nasser to others, leaving it to the listener to interpret whether he meant his opponents, his colleagues, or even, his followers.

The spectacle was repeated most dramatically during and after the Arab-Israeli War (June 5-11, 1967). On June 9

Nasser announced his resignation as president in a nationwide television and radio broadcast (Hofstadter 1973c, p. 42). Numbed and dazed by the war and its aftermath, but unwilling to blame Nasser, Egyptians publicly demonstrated for his continuing leadership (This chapter, page 258). Nasser withdrew his resignation on June 10.

Yet, Egyptians were distressed about the occupation of their territory by Israelis and about the degrading defeat of its army (Nutting 1972, p. 428). They therefore demanded that those responsible for the defeat be brought to justice (Vatikiotis 1985, p. 407). In fact, Field Marshall Amer, as the commander of the armed forces, was greatly to blame having failed to reform or retrain the army in the eleven years after the 1956 war (Nutting 1972, 419-20). Nasser, however, was deeply devoted to Amer with whom he had been associated for longer than any of his associates. On June 10, the same day that Nasser removed his resignation, the National Assembly empowered him to rebuild the country politically and militarily. Nasser replaced Amer and ten other commanders of the armed forces making them the scapegoats for the defeat (Hofstadter 1973c, p. 43).

Many Egyptians also made themselves scapegoats. The mass media emphasized religious values like patience and perseverance; in the face of defeat, returning to faith was the road to consolation and consolidation of the Egyptian people. Within the framework of their religion, many saw the defeat almost as predestined: No precaution by Nasser

would have prevented it because it had resulted from their disbelief and abandonment of God (Hanafi 1982, pp. 61-62).

The Muslim Brotherhood viewed the 1967 defeat as divine revenge, but, because Nasser had effectively isolated them two years earlier, they had little effect. In 1965 Nasser was facing serious foreign and domestic problems (the fiasco of the Yemen expedition and an ineffective and over-sized bureaucracy). "The 'new conspiracy of the Muslim Brotherhood' offered an ideal scapegoat that would enable the leader to reunite the people behind him" (Kepel 1985, pp. 31-32).

They were a threat against him (and continue to be a threat to all secularly inclined states in Turkey and the Arab Middle East). From 1954 onward, in a series of successive purges, Nasser moved decisively to suppress the Muslim Brotherhood.⁴¹ Nasser not only disbanded the society and prohibited its publications, but imprisoned thousands of its members and put to death several of its leaders who stood convicted of plotting to overthrow the government (Hanafi 1982, p. 60; Gaffney 1987, p. 36). Interned in concentration camps, the Brethren developed new strategies to fight against what they considered to be a totalitarian, secularist state (Kepel 1985, p. 26). After the release of some Brethren and with associates never imprisoned, the Muslim Brotherhood reorganized in the early 1960s. They could not, however, agree on a strategy to bring down what they called the "Nasser dictatorship," and the degree of

their threat appears to have been slight (ibid., pp. 30-31). In August 1965 Nasser announced that as many as 400 people had been arrested in an alleged plot by the Muslim Brotherhood (Stephens 1972, p. 372). The Egyptian press blamed the Brotherhood for a series of disturbances and accused them of plotting to assassinate many top political leaders and other personalities (Dekmejian 1971, p. 228). Conditions had worsened, and Nasser and his followers successfully placed the blame on others, and not on Nasser, the Egyptians' charismatic leader.

New and/or Modified Prescriptions

Proposition 19 - The charismatic leader often issues new and/or modified prescriptions which he bases on the emotional fervor of the community.

All political leaders must make practical modifications of policies to accommodate a variety of external and internal events. Of particular importance in a charismatic relationship are those modifications of prescriptions which ensure that the followers remain attached to him as their charismatic leader. In the Nasserite charismatic relationship, both his bid for leadership among the Arab nations and his domestic programs led to his progressive appeal to Egypt's Islamic heritage. For example, after the dissolution of the UAR, he made domestic policies based on Arab "socialism" -- in the Arabic form, a term with an implied sense of justice -- his central focus (Lacouture 1970, p. 114). He pledged that in the future the interests

and dominance of the working people must be assured, naming the fellahin, wage earners, laborers, office workers, and members of the liberal professions and soldiers (Be'eri 1970, p. 390). To ensure the emotional fervor of Egyptians for his reforms, he used the support of Cairo-based religious leaders (cf. Esposito 1987, p. 128).

Throughout the 1960s Nasser had competition from several Arab socialist regimes and domestically faced the challenge of the Muslim Brotherhood and a stagnating social revolution (ibid., p. 127). As Morroe Berger writes, "The regime seemed to recognize more and more that Islam remained the widest and most effective basis for consensus despite all efforts to promote nationalism, patriotism, secularism, and socialism" (1970, p. 47).

A Brief Summary: Growth and Unification

After Nasser gained a significant following from his success at Bandung, he continued to create an image of success and attracted increasing numbers of followers with the withdrawal of British troops and the political and economic benefits from the Suez War (Proposition 15). Huge crowds cheered Nasser when he appeared at public meetings which added enthusiasm and affirmation to the group's unity, but with no evidence of designated representatives that would symbolize his presence (Proposition 16). Those who opposed him -- remaining landowners, bureaucrats, and rural religious functionaries -- sought to maintain the status quo

and therefore resisted many of his social reforms (Proposition 17). Worsening conditions were blamed on opponents and even on followers, but not on Nasser (Proposition 18). Nasser issued new or modified prescriptions as circumstances required, and used Islamic principles to ensure the emotional fervor of the Egyptian community (Proposition 19).

The Stabilization Stage

In terms of the framework for this study, Nasser's movement continued in its dynamic stage until he died on September 28, 1970. Whatever Nasser's desires to stabilize his revolution,⁴² his relationship with his followers was characterized by a charismatic bond, and external and internal events required Egyptians to reaffirm that bond: The Yemen Civil War, crises involving Israel, the June 1967 War, trials of high-ranking military officers, demonstrations and riots in major cities, the War of Attrition, crises with other Arab states, and rumors about Nasser's poor health (Vatikiotis 1978, pp. 8-10).

The dynamic stage when, at the age of 52, Gamal Abdul Nasser suffered a heart attack and died (Nutting 1972, p. 476). The transition into the stabilization stage was filled with uncertainties which went beyond the intense grief of his followers.⁴³ The traumatic defeat of the Egyptian army in the June 1967 war started a process of reappraisal and self-criticism which was only in its

preliminary stage until after Nasser died (Rejwan 1974, p. 178). The political and economic prospects for Egyptians were bleak (cf. Andersen et al. 1982, p. 182). Part of their land was occupied (Israel remained in control of the Sinai), their social revolution had lost its momentum, and they had lost their revered leader (Baker 1978, p. 122).

Nasser was replaced by Anwar Sadat, who, despite his status as a Free Officer and being vice president since December 1969, was an unknown quantity in Egypt (Baker 1978, p. 123). A practical man of action,⁴⁴ Sadat soon consolidated control over the government and brought about substantial changes in Egypt. However, much of Nasser's vision of the revolution survived under Sadat, who also made his own mark on that revolution (Andersen 1982, p. 182).

Normalization

Proposition 20 - The charismatic leader's teachings, particularly his rules for behavior, become normalized into the social structure.

Two ideologies dominated Nasser's teachings: Arab nationalism and Arab socialism. With respect to Arab nationalism, Nasser was, at the time of his death, the symbol of Egyptian national pride and dignity despite the defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War (This chapter, page 258) and his costly and ineffective War of Attrition with Israel (March 1969 - August 1970)⁴⁵ (Nutting 1972, p. 481). His vision of Arab autonomy had been partially fulfilled in that after 1952 the number of independent Arab states doubled

from seven to fourteen. From the standpoint of Egyptians, however, neither a common Arab defense and foreign policy nor a political and constitutional unity had been achieved (Stephens 1971, p. 572). Just before his death, for example, Nasser was establishing an inter-Arab committee to stop any radical Arabs opposed to a pending settlement and cease-fire with Israel (Vatikiotis 1985, p. 411).

Sadat, after solidifying control of the government in 1971,⁴⁶ created an alliance with the rich, conservative Arab states with whom Egypt would fight the Ramadan or Yom Kippur war in October 1973 against Israel (ibid., p. 412). The political outcome of the October 1973 war was a final accommodation with Israel, formalized in the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty in March 1979. Egyptians had come to recognize their important role in the Arab world, but they also had readopted old localized slogans like "Egypt for Egyptians" and "Egypt first above all else" (ibid., p. 413); less than a decade after Nasser's death, Pan-Arab nationalism became secondary to Egyptian nationalism.

Nasser's domestic policies were based on a particular form of socialism. Concerned with daily needs of the common Egyptian (food, a place to worship, employment, and national ethnic pride), its practical expression was in terms of the nationalization of basic industries, the expulsion of foreign ownership, and the construction of hospitals, mosques, and schools in many Egyptian villages⁴⁷ (Andersen et al. 1982, p. 182). The charismatic Nasser secured the

consent of the Egyptian people for his government but was unable to mobilize Egyptians behind his regime's domestic programs (Mansfield 1976, p. 451; Hudson 1977, p. 245). Nasser's socialism had had only benign political effects (mass public participation in the Arab Socialist Union, a major improvement in Egypt's international prestige, and the integration of the professional and political classes with the military bureaucracy), but it had nearly created an economic disaster -- high inflation, low industrial productivity, and high unemployment (Andersen et al. 1982, p. 182). In other words, Nasser was not able to normalize his Arab socialist teachings into Egyptian society.

After Nasser's death, Sadat's new regime needed a legitimating device, because "Nasser was still alive in the heart of the masses" (Hanafi 1982, p. 62; cf. Hudson 1977, p. 244). During Sadat's presidency (1970-1981), an intensified expression of Islam rose to command a foremost place amid the national and international concerns in that religious symbols and related political claims emerged as a preeminent foundation for sweeping changes in political priorities and economic orientation (Gaffney 1987, p. 35; cf. Hanafi 1982, p. 63-7).

Sadat openly sought private investment in Egypt, strengthened ties with the United States and Western Europe, and pursued a political solution to the Israeli question and Palestinian demands⁴⁸ (Andersen et al., p. 198). Although Sadat failed to demythologize Nasser, he reversed Nasser's

economic policies, particularly those toward private industry (Vatikiotis 1985, pp. 424-25). Shortly after becoming President, Sadat began returning small businesses to their foreign owners. Four years after Nasser's death, Egypt's highest appeals court ruled that confiscation of private citizens' property during his regime had been illegal and must be rescinded. Many slogans and symbols were retained and the 1971 constitution defined Egypt as a socialist country, but the liberalization measures of the 1970s "were tantamount to de-Nasserization," that is, desocialization of the economy (Peretz 1988, pp. 266-67). In other words, Nasser's doctrine of Arab socialism was not normalized into the Egyptian social structure.

Summary of Proposition 20 -- Normalization

Nasser's contribution to Egypt was to give a sense of dignity and national pride to a people who had known little but humiliation and oppression for a very long time (Nutting 1972, p. 477). No doubt he planted the seeds for a modern, industrial society and transformed the people into independent citizens who believed that they finally had a stake in their own soil and labor. He had intended that the seeds would sprout into a nation with a Pan-Arab nationalist foreign policy and an Arab socialist domestic policy. Instead, in the stabilization stage of his charismatic movement, Egyptian nationalism took precedence over Arab nationalism and a market economy and capitalism were

integrated into the economic system. Sentiments for him remained, but his teachings were replaced by Sadat's, a practical man of action.

Chapter Summary

The comparative analysis of the Nasserite charismatic relationship has shown that the overall framework of the ideal type model applies; his charismatic movement occurred in the preparation, dynamic, and stabilization stages. Analysis of particular propositions has revealed that all apply with two exceptions. The analysis partially confirms Proposition 16 in that his presence at public meetings added enthusiasm and affirmation to the unity of his followers, but no evidence was found concerning the same effect by designated representatives. Analysis with respect to Proposition 20 -- normalization of his teachings into the social structure -- indicates that this proposition only partially applies to the Nasserite charismatic relationship.

Because this study is attempting to compare secular political movements to a model derived from a religious group, the role of religion is of particular interest. In this analysis, the religious tradition of Egyptians was again a significant factor in their attachment to and their belief in Nasser as their charismatic leader. Nasser used religious interpretations by Islamic leaders to support his doctrine and in implementing actions. Egyptians compared

him to past, deeply revered, religious leaders (mahdi and Saladin) as well as historical rulers (pharaohs). One of his principal opponents was a religiously oriented group (the Muslim Brotherhood).

The next chapter reports on the third comparative analysis, that of the charismatic relationship between David Ben-Gurion and his followers in Israel. The theory developed from all the comparative analyses will be discussed in Chapter X.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. Since Persian invaders had destroyed the twenty-sixth and last Pharoanic dynasty in 525 B.C, Egyptians had taken orders from Persian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Kurdish, Turkish, French, and British pro-consuls (Stephens 1971, p. 11; Nutting 1972, p. 1).

2. Shirley Graham Dubois lived in Cairo during a part of the period of Nasser's charismatic leadership, and she relied heavily on her interviews and observations of Egyptians (1972, p. x). She was clearly a great admirer of Nasser, but she is also a journalist, and others support her accounts of the number of mourners, the distances they traveled, and the intense grief they displayed (cf. Hofstadter 1973c, pp. 260-62; Stephens 1971, p. 557). Her words attributed to crowds are therefore assumed to closely approximate what Nasser's followers shouted to him.

3. Extreme demonstrations of commemoration of the leader appear to be a characteristic of charismatic relationships. The intensity with which followers mourn the passing of Nasser and Gandhi was so extraordinary that it merits further study. Because intense grief of followers was not apparent in the No'am Elimelech nor in the writings about early Hasidic zaddikim, commemoration was not included in the ideal type model of Chapters III, IV, and V. Extraordinary commemoration might be a common feature of charismatic relationships, and will be discussed in the Chapter X, Conclusion.

4. Because transliteration of Arabic script varies, some authors spell names differently than do others. In this dissertation, the spelling of names of Arab personalities is taken from Nutting (1972, pp. ix-xvii).

5. A team of researchers from the Rockefeller Foundation, just before the 1952 military coup, found the fellahin to be worse off than the peasants of any other country in which they had carried out investigations -- which included China and India. On a scale of 106.5 for perfect health, India rated 54 and Egypt 15 (Bill and Leiden 1979, p. 225). Nearly all poor country and city dwellers were diseased. From sixty-five to eighty-five percent of the Egyptian population was infected with bilharzia, a debilitating disease caused by trematode worms carried by snails in the canals; some experts had estimated that bilharzia reduced Egyptian productivity by a third (Wynn 1959, p. 5). Amoebic dysentery in varying degrees was well-nigh universal, and trachoma and ophthalmia were also

widespread (ibid.; cf. Bill and Leiden 1979, p. 225). Two Egyptian children in every four died before reaching the age of five (Dubois 1972, p. 49).

6. Europeans -- British, French, Italians, Greeks, and Jews -- lived sumptuously in Egypt (Dubois 1972, p. 49). Foreigners were immune to Egyptian law, enabling them to smuggle drugs into the country, sell poison as medicine, and engage in every conceivable kind of criminal activity (Wynn 1959, p. 12).

Nor were the conditions of the fellahin and poor city-dwellers a concern of the upper and aristocratic class of Egyptians who, for the most part, were the descendants of former conquerors and occupiers of Egypt, and were interested only in reaping the largest possible profits from the land and the toil of Egyptians (Dubois 1972, p. 49).

7. An abbreviation for Al-Wafd al-Mistri, the Egyptian Delegation, formed on November 13, 1918, by Saad Zaghloul to represent Egypt to exert pressure on the British High Commissioner for Egypt's self-determination (Dubois 1972, p. 44; Vatikiotis 1985, p. 261). The Wafd developed into a political party headed by Zaghloul until his death in 1927, and then by Mustapha Nahas who headed the provincial government for several periods from March 1928 to February 1945 (Vatikiotis 1978, pp. 5-6). When not heading the government, the Wafd provided the primary nationalistic opposition to the status quo and successfully mobilized support for its dual aims of securing independence from British and limiting the monarchy's autocracy (Dekmejian 1971, p. 17; Vatikiotis 1985, p. 261).

8. See Wynn 1959, p. 33; Be'eri 1969, p. 80; Flapan 1987, pp. 191-95; Tannous 1988, pp. 550-54; and Kurzman 1972, pp. 217-20. Israel proclaimed itself a state on May 15, 1948. In the next chapter, the events leading up to the proclamation and the War of Independence, as it was called in Israel, are discussed from the perspective of the Ben-Gurion mass movement.

9. In October 1951 while on the faculty of the Army School of Administration, Nasser and his colleagues began distribution of a series of newsletters which exposed "the shame of Palestine" and revealed the names of ministers and officials who had made fortunes through substitution of defective, secondhand armaments (Be'eri 1969, p. 86; Dubois 1972, p. 87). The revelations resulted in an official inquiry into the sale of arms and the dismissal of several ministers, but also a search for the rebellious officers in the army.

10. In the early 1950s the Free Officers had concentrated on the recruitment of more officers sympathetic

to their cause through a campaign, by word of mouth and by newsletters and pamphlets. In the face of rising unrest in the officer corps and among civilian officials, the government tried to placate the army and police with pay raises and other benefits, and requested the King make some concessions of authority (Vatikiotis 1975, p. 374). Farouk, "in his obdurate stupidity," took a firm stand against appointment of General Neguib, an officer highly respected by the officers, as Minister of War and instead appointed his brother-in-law. To the officers appointment of a man who had received his military rank as the husband of Farouk's sister was Farouk's most vulgar provocation (Be'eri 1970, p. 95-6; Bill and Leiden 1979, p. 226).

11. In their broadcast announcing the coup, the Free Officers showed their vague notions of what was to be done: in the name of the people they would "cleanse the nation of tyrants" and "restore constitutional life" (Dekmejian 1971, p. 23).

12. The Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan al-Muslimin) was founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Bana, then an obscure teacher of the Koran, on a program to revive Islam by combating secularization with social justice -- a living wage, education, and social services for all. Appealing mainly to the urban proletariat, impoverished students, and the fellahin, the Brotherhood grew to (according to some estimates) a million members (Peretz 1988, pp. 221-22). Because it could claim that it was not a political party, the Brotherhood escaped dissolution and continued its activities long after the other parties were legislated out of existence in January 1953 (Lenczowski 1980, p. 523; Vatikiotis 1975, pp. 86-87). The Brethren openly challenged the military regime in January 1954 when it incited their student followers to demonstrate. After two days of clashes between these and pro-junta student leaders, the government arrested the student leaders and several Muslim Brotherhood leaders. Nasser's government dissolved the Brotherhood organization and proscribed all its activities, which drove the Brethren underground from where it soon came to control a secret apparatus, an even more serious threat to the regime (Vatikiotis 1985, pp. 380-81; Kepel 1985, pp. 26-31).

13. Without a comprehensive new economic program, all the regime could do was deflate the economy by cutting back expenditures, imports, and trade deficits, and encourage private enterprise -- native and foreign -- to invest and expand its activities in Egypt, all with little success (Vatikiotis 1985, pp. 391, 396). On September 8, 1952, the government issued a decree on agrarian reform which limited individual holdings to a maximum of 200 feddans (about 208 acres) and provided for the distribution of surplus

properties to needy peasants. It later abolished family trust estates, floated a loan to finance land reform, passed three labor laws, and inaugurated studies to increase the cultivable land in Egypt (Lenczowski 1980, p. 521). The Land Reform Law, with varying degrees of success, broke the economic and political power of the big landowners, but it improved the living conditions of only a few rural groups and failed to raise agricultural productivity appreciably (Vatikiotis 1985, p. 396). In 1947, the average Egyptian peasant required from 3 to 5 feddans (3.1 to 5.2 acres) of land for subsistence, but seventy percent of those who owned land had only one feddans or less; 11,000 landowners, each with 50 feddans or more, held over 2 million feddans -- more than one-third of Egypt's cultivated land (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 13). By the end of 1954, land reform resulted in the distribution of only 75,000 feddans which, for the masses, was insufficient to offset the austerity programs (Stephens 1971, p. 137).

14. Civil disturbances in January 1954 precipitated a crisis within the military regime. Part of the internal split was caused by some officers being sympathetic to the Muslim Brotherhood and a few to other political groups, but the major differences involved a struggle for power between Nasser-led forces and those in favor of Neguib (Vatikiotis 1975, pp. 88-89). At the heart of the disagreement was the role of the military in Egyptian politics. Neguib advocated an early "return to the barracks" by the officers which directly threatened the vested interests of the military elite. Neguib's policy of explicit opposition to military rule showed a total lack of sensitivity to the quest for power inherent in the ambitious young officers, who therefore had no choice but to support Nasser (Dekmejian 1971, p. 29).

Nasser became Prime Minister in March, and, during the first nine months of 1954, there were various resignations and restorations of Neguib to the presidency. Neguib was implicated in an October 26 attempt to assassinate Nasser and permanently relieved of his duties on November 14; Nasser became President on November 17 (Hofstadter 1973a, pp. 57-61).

15. The Philosophy of the Revolution was written with Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, a leading Cairo newspaper editor and a close personal confidant, but the principal formulations were Nasser's (Be'eri 1969, p. 375; Nutting 1972, p. 236). The emphasis on Egyptian nationalism in the first two chapters coincided with Egypt's national consciousness in the century leading to the coup which were Egyptian and not Arab (cf. Be'eri 1969, p. 375-9). In Chapter III Nasser writes of Egypt as being in three circles -- Arab, African, and Islamic -- in which it must concentrate and conduct its activities, and he clearly

emphasized the Arab circle (Nasser 1959, pp. 57-78). After Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, The Philosophy went through five editions in Arabic, was widely distributed by Egyptian informational officers, and appeared in shortened and serial forms in the Middle Eastern press (Badeau 1959, p. 15).

16. In 1945 in Cairo, seven Arab states -- Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, and Transjordan established the Arab League, the states being politically unified by two factors: the problem of Palestine and the problem of the liberation of Arab peoples from foreign domination (Lenczowski 1980, pp. 735, 739). On June 17, 1950, five of the seven member states signed a pact that aggression against any one of the signatories would be regarded as aggression against all. On February 2, 1951, Iraq signed a revision in which the more automatic features of collective security had been removed; Jordan remained the only member country outside the new system (Lenczowski 1980, p. 744).

17. In December 1954 the Arab League Council adopted a resolution that the foreign policy of the Arab countries should be based on the Arab League Charter, the inter-Arab collective security and economic cooperation pact, and the United Nations Charter (Lenczowski 1980, p. 744). Some sources said later that Iraq made "clear and absolute" reservations to this resolution (ibid.), and on January 12, 1955, the Iraqi Prime Minister announced that his country would soon adhere to a mutual security treaty with Turkey (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 72).

18. To Nasser the Baghdad Pact meant that the Turks, under pressure from its American and British NATO allies, would be drawn into an alliance with Israel. The Pact was thus, in his view, a deliberate scheme to disrupt the Arab world and bend it to the will of the West (Nutting 1972, p. 84; Vatikiotis 1985, p. 387).

19. R. Hrair Dekmejian reports a quantitative analysis of nationalist ideology over time, as indicated in Egyptian radio broadcasts, which reveals the decline of Egyptian nationalism and the concomitant rise of Arab nationalism between January 1, 1952, and December 31, 1959.

...the predominant theme expressed through April 1953 was Egyptian nationalism. However, during 1953 the cumulative frequency of Arab nationalism already slightly exceeded that of Egyptian nationalism.... After 1953, Arab nationalism maintained its yearly cumulative preponderance over Egyptian nationalism and starting in 1955 registered a sharp increase while

Egyptian nationalism became relatively insignificant (1971, pp. 93-96).

20. Peter Mansfield studied the Middle East as a scholar, a British Foreign Service Officer, and a journalist. He speaks and reads Arabic fluently, has travelled extensively in the Arab states, has lived in Beirut, and lived in Cairo while writing Nasser's Egypt (1965, inside cover).

21. In July Russia and Egypt agreed to a draft of an agreement in which Egypt would receive Russian arms -- MIG fighters, Ilyushin bombers, Stalin tanks, destroyers, and other equipments -- to be paid for in Egyptian cotton and rice (Nutting 1972, p. 104; Hofstadter 1973a, p. 116). The deal was officially handled by the Czechoslovak Government because Nasser thought it would appear less sinister; Israel herself had been armed by Czechoslovakia during the Palestine War (Nutting 1972, p. 104).

22. In the late 1950s, after Nasser's regime had politically established its authority, it began various programs for domestic change which evolved into what they called "Arab socialism." As late as November 1958, Nasser had not committed himself to a clear ideological position on domestic change, announcing broad guidelines to be "socialism, cooperation, and democracy" with these terms vaguely defined (Dekmejian 1971, p. 127).

"Socialism," [Nasser] finally summed up, "is the destruction of feudalism, monopoly and the domination of capital; [it consists of] building a national economy and working for the growth of this economy and its development in order to meet the needs of society as well as action to establish social justice" (Rejwan 1974, p. 99).

In its later pronouncements, the government still did not promulgate a clear and coherent ideology of "Arab socialism," probably because, as Nasser acknowledged, he and his colleagues were experimenting. "In our Revolution," he explained to the Preparatory Committee for the National Congress in November 1961, "practice has preceded precept and theory" (ibid., p. 95). Clearly, however, Nasser moved Egyptians toward a socialist society, and that society differed in many ways from the Western concept of socialism. At the heart of the difference is ishtirackiyya, the Arab term usually translated as "socialism," which means, literally, "to share," "to become partners with others," but with moral overtones (Bill and Leiden 1974, p. 306). Since sharing is part of the Islamic social ethic, the goal of Arab socialism is to share property (Nielsen et al. 1983, p. 682). In summary, the Arab Socialists reject

Marxism's materialistic philosophy and historical determinism, and instead they stress class cooperation rather than class struggle and oppose elimination of private property and the suppression of free enterprise (cf. Dekmajian 1971; Rejway 1974).

23. In the first decade of this century, British engineers built a dam at Aswan, heightened it in 1912, and again in 1933. The area irrigated accounted for less than three percent of the cultivable land in Egypt whose population had grown from 17 million mouths to feed in the 1930s to 23 million and rising by 1955. It was also necessary to somehow control the often harmful floods during wet seasons and to save the water and release it in abnormally dry years. Only the Nile High Dam could satisfy all these requirements (Nutting 1972, pp. 129-30).

24. Additional factors influenced the strained relations between Egypt and Britain and the United States. Britain was in the midst of economic hard times, had objected to Egypt's arms agreements with Russia through Czechoslovakia, was concerned with hostile activity by Egyptian agents and radio propaganda in friendly Arab countries, and were disturbed by Nasser's recognition of China. The United States shared Britain's foreign policy concerns and had additional domestic reasons for withholding financial aid. The influential pro-Zionist lobby pressed for Israel's use of the Suez Canal (forbidden by Egypt since 1951) as a prerequisite for aid, and the cotton lobby and Southern legislators resisted helping Egypt expand its cotton acreage while there was a huge cotton surplus in the U.S. In both countries there was also a personal distrust of Nasser by high government officials (Stephens 1971, pp. 190-91).

25. The Suez Canal had annual revenues of \$100 million, of which Egypt had received only \$3 million (Stephens 1971, p. 196).

26. In addition to Canal's economic importance to Europe, the causes of the 1956 Suez War involved the tensions between Egypt and the Western allied nations before Nasser nationalized it. Israeli-Arab relations had deteriorated and Israel feared for its existence, a fear fed by the Arab governments' continued economic boycott and refusal to entertain peace negotiations. Egypt's policies and attitudes particularly perturbed Israel. The fedayeen (semivoluntary Egyptian commando units) were making bold incursions into Israeli territory and were being glorified in the Arab press. Egypt persisted in its refusal to open the Suez Canal to Israeli vessels, and to deny Israeli access to the Gulf of Aqaba from the Red Sea. Soviet bloc-Egyptian arms deals were of great concern, and Israel

had found France more willing than the U. S. to sell it up-to-date military equipment (Leczowski 1980, p. 431).

Britain was by far the largest user of the Canal (28.3% of the tonnage of the 48 nations using it) (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 130), and was almost entirely dependent upon it for the transport of her oil imports (Nutting 1972, p. 149). British Prime Minister Anthony Eden had "strong personal animosity toward Nasser, whom he was inclined to compare to the prewar fascist dictators and therefore to regard as a menace to Britain and the world at large" (Leczowski 1980, p. 530). Nasser had calculated that Eden's willingness to use force against Egypt would be abated by American preference for economic pressure and diplomacy, which turned out, for awhile at least, to be correct (Nutting 1972, p. 147; cf. Hofstadter 1973a, pp. 141-157, 171-72).

Nasser miscalculated France's reaction, however. France was the major shareholder in the Canal, but was militarily occupied with a rebellion in Algeria. Nasser also thought that France, and Britain as well, would not risk destroying their remaining influence among the Arab nations (Nutting 1972, pp. 147-48; Hofstadter 1973a, p. 141). In late August French troops, equipment, and vessels were withdrawn from Algeria and joined British forces in Cyprus (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 158).

To justify to other nations its planned military action against Egypt, Britain and France created a crisis by restricting Egypt's ability to operate the Canal. They at first offered the 165 non-Egyptian pilots (40 were Egyptian) three years' salary if they returned home, then not only offered money for their quitting but threatened forfeiture of their pensions if they remained (Nutting 1972, p. 157). Egypt took over full operation of the Canal at midnight September 14-15 with a complement of seventy pilots on double-schedule assignments (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 175). By the end of September and into October, the great majority of vessels transited the Canal without material delay (*ibid.*, p. 183).

During September and October, the United Nations and other international bodies made little progress toward resolution of the dispute (cf. Hofstadter 1973a, pp. 177-205 *passim*). Israeli troops invaded Egypt's Sinai Peninsula on October 29, reached the Canal on October 31, and then pulled back ten miles as Anglo-French military operations began the same day (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 206).

27. In 1954 Nasser negotiated an agreement with Britain for the evacuation of their troops from the Suez Canal Zone (cf. Nutting 1972, pp. 68-72). Public satisfaction in Egypt was overwhelming (with the exception of the Muslim Brotherhood) (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 62). Nasser had achieved a national aim: British troops would leave Egypt after an occupation of nearly eight decades (Stephens 1971, p. 135).

The Anglo-Egyptian agreement also changed the balance of power between Israel and its Arab neighbors toward the Arabs (cf. Hofstadter 1973a, p. 62).

28. A thousand year old Islamic university in Cairo, al-Azhar was the center of Islamic learning, not only for Egypt and its Arab neighbors, but for the entire Muslim world (Dekmejian 1971, p. 85; Wynn 1959, p. 137). It was therefore necessary for Nasser to have the support of al-Azhar's religious leaders for essential features of his doctrine. He was helped by the fact that al-Azhar had made some attempts to bring its curriculum into the twentieth century; for example, its geography professors had grudgingly conceded that the world is round, and alchemy and astrology had given way to chemistry and astronomy (Wynn 1959, p. 138). With respect to industrial socialism, Nasser received their support; for example, the rector of al-Azhar declared, "Furthermore, there is no conflict between science and religion.... Religion never was and never will contradict science, because good never stands in the way of good" (Baker 1978, p. 105).

For further discussion of the issues concerning Islam and modernization see Baker 1978, pp. 104-5; Nielsen et al., p. 682; Andersen et al. 1982, pp. 103-6 and Esposito 1987, pp. 126-30).

29. In the Islamic tradition "the Mahdi" was seen as a political and military leader as well as a religious guide who would be rightly guided by God to establish justice and righteousness on earth (Voll 1972, p. 368).

30. The Caliphs were the successors to Muhammad as religious and political leaders of the Muslims (Hutchinson 1981, p. 534). The caliph continued to oversee the community's political and religious affairs, combining the offices of chief executive, commander-in-chief, chief justice, and leader (imam) of public worship (Nielsen et al., 1987, p. 615).

31. For a discussion of religion, politics, and society in "The Caliphate Period," see Esposito 1987, pp. 5-23.

32. On February 1, 1958, a joint agreement between Egypt and Syria established the United Arab Republic (UAR). Apparently, the decision was taken abruptly and without sustained examination of the problems involved or the many and far-reaching consequences and repercussions for Egypt, Syria, and other Arab countries (Vatikiotis 1961, p. 140). On September 28, 1961, Syrian army officers led a rebellion against Egyptian domination of the Syrian Region of the UAR (Hofstadter 1973b, p. 82).

33. For a description of Arab socialism as it developed

in Egypt, see Chapter Note 22 above.

34. Nasser's policies and activities with respect to the role of women in Egyptian society illustrate his breaking with Islamic tradition. Nasser's Egypt granted suffrage to women, appointed women to cabinet posts, and abolished religious courts for adjudicating laws of personal status (Be'eri 1970, p. 284). Islamic religious leaders exhibited considerable flexibility with respect to such changes, but their willingness to compromise had its limits. For example, Cairo-based religious leaders permitted birth control, but was resisted in rural areas (see page 269 in the text]). In Egypt religious leaders also opposed the abolition of polygamy, despite the fact that less than five percent of Egyptian married men have more than one wife. The government has an interest in changing the law, both as a matter of principle and as part of its efforts to control population growth, but has not dared to abolish polygamy (Be'eri 1970, p. 285).

35. Egyptians have always depended on agriculture as their main source of living and large-scale irrigation projects from the River Nile. Throughout their history they had relied on a central government to design, construct, and operate canals, dikes, dams, and hydraulics, and to manage the distribution of life-giving water. The fellahin had viewed their ruler as the intermediary between themselves and the Nile, and, because he controlled the water and thus their lives, they treated him as their supreme sovereign (El-Menoufi 1982, pp. 82-83).

Another explanation involves Weber's distinction between what he labeled "patriarchal" and "patrimonial" systems (See Weber 1947, pp. 341-58; Bendix 1962, pp. 330-60). "In most Islamic societies," writes James A. Bill and Carl Leiden, "patrimonial patterns of leadership have been dominant" (1979, p. 151). The fundamental human relationship that binds Muslim ruler and Muslim ruled is, a "relationship of emanation...in which one treats the other solely as an extension of one's self. The other accepts the denial of his own separate identity because to the mysterious and overwhelming power of the source of this emanation -- a yielding which is rewarded with total security" (Halpern 1977, p. 64). Islamic governments have been personal and both civil and military bureaucracies have been little more than extensions of the leader (Bill and Leiden 1979, p. 152). Although, according to the analysis of Bill and Leiden, Nasser's political system varied somewhat from the pattern in other Islamic countries, personalism and informality are two characteristics of his leadership (1979, pp. 216-28).

36. A renowned warrior and chivalrous leader from Kurdistan who retook Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187,

overthrew the Fatimads, and set up his own dynasty in Egypt (Nielsen et al. 1983, p. 620).

37. In late 1962, Yemen "Republicans," who had ousted the Imam and had become involved in a civil war with forces seeking to return him to the throne, asked Nasser for assistance. Egypt soon became engaged in combat so costly and unproductive that many observers began to speak of Yemen as "Nasser's Vietnam." It took until mid-1967 for Egypt to work out a satisfactory armistice and the rest of the year to extricate its armed forces (Hofstadter 1973b, p. 171).

38. Israel, in collusion with Britain and France, had already occupied Gaza and Sinai to help Britain reoccupy Egypt. Port Said was at the northern end of the Suez Canal and its operations center. On November 5, 1956, after offering resistance by hastily armed civilians, the Egyptian commander accepted a cease-fire under Anglo-French terms. He soon withdrew his acceptance on orders from Cairo, and fighting resumed for several hours (Lenczowski 1980, p. 532; Hofstadter 1973a, p. 209).

39. By far, the largest minority was about 3-4 million Copts, native Egyptian Christians adhering to the monophysite doctrine (a "single nature" creed that denies Christ's humanity and sees him as totally divine) (Mansfield 1980, pp. 199-200; Smart 1984, p. 366). Egyptian Muslims recognized Copts as "pure Egyptians," and therefore never proposed expelling them. After 1952, however, Copts had fewer opportunities than before the Revolution, were powerless and discriminated against in all sorts of small and subtle ways, and spent most of their energies trying to survive in a generally unsympathetic environment (Bill and Leiden 1979, p. 73).

40. The agrarian reform laws of 1952 and 1961 resulted in the complete elimination of big landowners, and small landholdings increased from 35 percent of the cultivated land in 1952 to 57.1 percent in 1965. Nevertheless, the upper middle landowners (those holding 20-50 feddans) increased from 22,000 persons in 1952 to 29,000 persons in 1965, while their landholdings increased during the same period from 654,000 to 815,000 feddans (El-Menoufi 1982, p. 84).

41. Prior to the Free Officers' coup the Muslim Brotherhood had actively rejected the Western secular path of King Farouk, and advocated a return to Islam and the Sharia (Islamic law) in charting Egypt's future (Esposito 1987, pp. 138-39). Initially supportive of the Free Officers' Revolution, the Brethren became a movement opposed to Nasser when it became clear that he was not going to join them in the creation of an Islamic state (ibid., p. 127).

Egypt never proclaimed itself an Islamic state. Under Nasser Egypt took a secular path, respecting Islam but generally separating religion as far as possible from the state, while using Islam to support its foreign and domestic policies. And the Muslim Brotherhood continued to oppose him (ibid., p. 126).

42. During the last half of his tenure in office, Nasser sought the "legitimation of the new order" (Dekmajian 1971, p. 15). The principal instrument by which he hoped to institutionalize his revolution was the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) which first appeared in 1961. The officials of the ASU, however, as well as many Cabinet members, were periodically reshuffled, an indication that institutionalization had not occurred (Bowie 1976, p. 155). By 1968, according to Dekmajian, the ASU "had not been sufficiently legitimized to be a reliable vehicle of revolutionary continuity" (1971, p. 154).

43. According to Anthony Nutting, Nasser

...was buried amid scenes of such lamentation by the Egyptian people that the funeral cortege had to be abandoned. Men, women and children wept and wailed unashamedly in the streets as thousands upon thousands pressed in upon the procession, straining to get a last view of the coffin which bore their dead leader to his place of burial. His errors and failures were forgotten; only his achievements were remembered by his grieving subjects (1972, p. 476).

For additional descriptions of Egyptians' intense grief for their charismatic leader, see page 222, this chapter. For comments about commemoration being a possible characteristic of charismatic relationships, see Chapter Note 3 above.

44. Andersen et al. conclude that "Sadat is a different kind of political animal" than was Nasser. In the terms used in this study, "the ideologically mercurial Nasser" was a fanatic, the charismatic leader in the dynamic stage of his charismatic movement. Sadat was a practical man of action in the stabilization stage; a technician, comfortable in Western dress, moving easily in the highest international social circles and among modern leaders, he "cultivates an image of international sophistication in dress, language, and personal manner." In the Western press, and especially in the American press, "Sadat was presented as a leader of quiet authority and dignity" (1982, p. 198).

45. For details on the War of Attrition see Hofstadter

1973c, pp. 125-87, and for its diplomatic repercussions *ibid.*, pp. 189-257.

46. Within a year after Nasser's death, Sadat expelled Nasser's political lieutenants from all positions of power. In a lightning coup in May 1971, Sadat established his undisputed control over the Egyptian state (Vatikiotis 1985, p. 411).

47. Per capita income increased between 1956 and 1964 as land reform, price and rent controls, food subsidies, and taxation policies improved the overall distribution of wealth. The average Egyptian was healthier and better fed in 1964 than in 1954. Educational opportunities also increased with two schools being opened every three days in the late 1950s. Illiteracy remained high, however, among the fellahin who kept children away from school to work in the fields. Throughout the 1960s Egypt educated thousands of teachers, engineers, doctors, pharmacists, and administrators, but many left for better opportunities in other Arab countries and the West (Mansfield 1976, p. 450; cf. Vatikiotis 1976).

The impressive gains through the first half of the 1960s prepared Egypt for a new period of expansion, but the disaster of the 1967 war intervened (Mansfield 1976, p. 451). Some twenty percent of Egypt's GNP was devoted to military expenditures, leaving insufficient resources to break the vicious cycle of poverty for most of the population.

48. The fourth Arab-Israeli war broke out in October 1973 and threatened to directly involve the Society Union and the United States. The two superpowers imposed a cease-fire through the United Nations, but a peace conference convened that December met for only two days. U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's "shuttle" diplomacy from one Middle East capitol to another during 1974-1975 resulted in a two-phased disengagement of forces, large amounts of U. S. economic aid to both Egypt and Israel, and restoration of diplomatic relations between the U. S. and Egypt (and Syria) (Peretz 1988, p. 127). The agreement also enabled the reopening of the Suez Canal which had been closed since the 1967 war and had cost Egypt between 200 and 300 million dollars a year in foreign currency, nearly a quarter of its foreign currency earnings in normal times (*ibid.*, p. 261).

CHARISMA AS ATTACHMENT TO THE DIVINE:
SOME HASIDIC PRINCIPLES FOR COMPARISON OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
OF GANDHI, NASSER, BEN-GURION, AND KING

VOLUME II
(CHAPTERS VIII - X)

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CHAPTER VIII

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: BEN-GURION

In the definition of charisma used in this study, followers believe their leader to be "connected to a divine source which gives him superhuman capacities and abilities" (Chapter I, page 6). It will be shown below that those propositions which are associated with a perceived divine connection do not apply to the leader-follower relationship of David Ben-Gurion and the Jews who settled in Palestine and created the State of Israel. Eric Hoffer's (1951) classic analysis of mass movements provided the organizational framework for model construction (Chapters III, IV, and V) and the comparative analyses with a charismatic movement treated as a particular form of mass movement. Because it was found that all propositions applied to the charismatic movements of Gandhi (Chapter VI) and Nasser (Chapter VII), and because particular propositions do not apply to the Ben-Gurion-led movement, those propositions distinguish charismatic movements from mass movements in general. These distinctions will be emphasized below and further discussed in Chapter X.

Background and Short Biography

At 4:30 PM on Iyyar 5, 5708 (Gregorian, May 14, 1948) in the Tel Aviv Museum, behind a battery of microphones,

flanked by the members of his provisional government, and before about three hundred and fifty selected officials and guests, David Ben-Gurion read the proclamation that established the State of Israel (Kurzman 1983, p. 19). From the early 1930s, he had pioneered the labor movement in Palestine, headed the struggle for Jewish independence, and then led his people as the first prime minister of Israel. From 1935 until independent statehood, Ben-Gurion headed the Jewish Agency in Palestine which was, in effect, the government of the Jewish population in Palestine (Herzog 1982, p. 19). He was the leader regarded, by both his admirers and opponents, Jews and non-Jews, as foremost among the founding fathers of modern Israel (Slutsky 1971a, col. 514).

After his retirement from public life in 1970, some Jewish writers compared Ben-Gurion to their revered prophets. For example, his official biography is entitled Ben-Gurion: The Armed Prophet (Bar-Zohar 1967). In another popular biography, entitled Ben-Gurion: Prophet of Fire, its author likens Ben-Gurion to Moses, Joshua, and Isaiah (Kurzman 1983, p. 17). The comparative analysis uncovered no evidence that Ben-Gurion's followers made such comparisons during the period of their leader-follower relationship. Citing Ben-Gurion's foresight, grasp of basic issues, courage, and forceful personality, some writers have classified his leadership as charismatic (cf. Avi-hai 1974, pp. 285-89; Herzog 1982, p. 106). They argue that

Ben-Gurion possessed these abilities to extraordinary levels, and displayed them while filling a series of administrative and political offices, but these abilities, according to the definition used in this study, do not constitute charisma.

In an earlier analysis, I attempted to treat Ben-Gurion as a charismatic leader. I attempted to infer the imputation of charisma from the followers' belief in their own divine mission and their having chosen Ben-Gurion to lead them. His followers were Jews who immigrated to Palestine during the first third of this century. To varying degrees, the immigrants believed themselves to be a divinely ordained people who had returned to Eretz Israel¹ to reestablish a homeland for themselves and for all Jews (Kressel 1971, col. 1034). Believing themselves to possess sacred characteristics, I postulated, these followers would have selected as their leader one whom they believed to have the greatest of superhuman qualities, and they consistently chose Ben-Gurion.

It was revealed in the analysis, however, that only a small minority of Ben-Gurion's followers strongly held this belief. His followers were mainly agricultural and industrial workers in Palestine, most of them Halutzim (pioneers, sing. Halutz who had encountered the hardships and had stayed to work and to fight for the establishment of a Jewish homeland (Abramov 1971a, p. 455; Elon 1971, pp. 132-38). Many of the Jews who settled in Palestine saw

the establishment of a Jewish homeland as the fulfillment of their religious teachings, but Ben-Gurion rarely justified his actions or prescriptions by invoking those teachings. The Halutzim who had strong religious convictions formed a separate organization, the Mizrachi, which at times opposed him (elaboration below, see Proposition 17).²

Comparative Analysis

The presentation on this chapter is in the same format as for the comparative analyses of Gandhi (Chapter VI) and Nasser (Chapter VII). Each section begins with a statement of a proposition from the ideal type model with the adjective "charismatic" retained. Each proposition statement is followed by a discussion of whether it is substantiated by the major beliefs and activities of Ben-Gurion and his followers.

The comparative analysis follows the progressive stages of the ideal type model. The preparation and dynamic stages occurred in the approximately twenty-five year period of Ben-Gurion's movement which led to the establishment of the State of Israel, that is, the period during which the creation of the State of Israel was due, beyond all other individual contributions, to the leadership of Ben-Gurion (Avi-hai 1974, p. 1). The stabilization stage covers the fifteen years during which he was prime minister and defense minister after statehood, and involves the normalization of his teachings (Proposition 20).

Geographical locations are described in Appendix A. Short definitions of Hebrew terms are given in the text. For further reference, these and longer definitions are discussed in Chapter Notes and the glossary in Appendix B.

The Preparation Stage

The first four propositions describe the preparation stage of Ben-Gurion's mass movement.

Seeking Modification of Conditions

Proposition 1 - The charismatic leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their conditions.

In childhood Ben-Gurion learned about the conditions of Eastern European Jews, and found them objectionable. David Gruen (later Ben-Gurion) was born in 1886 in the village of Plonsk, then in Russian Poland. Established at the end of the fifteenth century, the Jews of Plonsk had, from time to time, experienced political and economic oppression and destruction of homes and death at the hands of the Poles. By the mid-1800s the Jewish communities were at peace, but Jews, knowing that they lived adjacent to Poles who harbored strong feelings against them, feared assault as well as going hungry (Kurzman 1983 pp. 43-44). Many Jews, as a result of the Zionist movement, favored emigration to Palestine, a return to Zion.³ One of the meeting houses for such people in Plonsk was the home of Avigdor Gruen (Slutsky 1971a, col. 505), the father of David Gruen/Ben-Gurion.⁴

From a very young age, Ben-Gurion was thus surrounded by discussions of Zionist ideology.⁵ In his early teens, to fulfill one goal of Zionism, he solicited poor families to improve their children's knowledge of Hebrew (Kurzman 1983, p. 56). The future David Ben-Gurion saw Jews living in nations of gentiles where they were economically suppressed and politically oppressed. In the terms of Proposition 1, he had seen the living conditions of Diaspora Jews and had objected to them.

While still a teenager, Ben-Gurion sought to modify their conditions. He joined the Po'alei Zion⁶ (Workers of Zion) movement in 1903 and helped to organize Jewish workers and to instill Zionism in them in Plonsk, Warsaw, and smaller towns (Kurzman 1983, pp. 67-68). The goal of the Po'alei Zion was to set up a socialist state in Palestine, and in 1906 Ben-Gurion settled there. As a young adult, by organizing workers and serving on the central committee of the Po'alei Zion (Slutsky 1971a, col. 506), Ben-Gurion sought to modify the objectionable conditions of the Jews in Europe by establishing a homeland in Palestine.

Assumes Leadership Roles

Proposition 2 - The charismatic leader (1) proposes and supports a revision of the moral, ethical, and spiritual precepts of society and (2) gathers a small network of followers.

In Palestine, then governed by Ottoman Turks, Ben-Gurion mapped a strategy whereby Palestine would evolve into a Jewish state. Before he could execute his plans,

Ben-Gurion and other Zionists were banished from Ottoman territories⁷ (Kurzman 1983, p. 102). In 1918 (three years later) Ben-Gurion volunteered for the British Army and reached Egypt as a soldier in the Jewish Legion. There Ben-Gurion met volunteers from the labor movement in Palestine who formed the core of the united workers' movement. He and his colleagues made plans for Jewish mass immigration and settlement after British liberation of the country from Ottoman rule (Slutsky 1971a, col. 506).

At an annual conference of Po'alei Zion in February 1919 in Jaffa, Ben-Gurion called upon Jewish workers in Palestine and abroad to unite. They should become, in his view, a political force that would direct the Zionist movement toward the establishment of a new Jewish socialist society in Palestine (ibid., cols. 506-7). Later that month he opened the founding conference of Ahdut ha-Avodah (Zionist Socialist Labor Party) which, in Ben-Gurion's words,

aspired, through mass immigration, to model the life of the Jewish people in Eretz Israel as a commonwealth of free and equal workers living on its labor, controlling its property, and arranging its distribution of work, its economy, and its culture (1971a, col. 457).

Ben-Gurion envisioned a commonwealth of peoples with a unique culture; he not only called for revision of established social precepts but for their replacement. A member of both the executive committee and the secretariat, Ben-Gurion took charge of Ahdut ha-Avodah's administration

and day-to-day business and "quickly earned a reputation for organization, negotiation, and policy making and became responsible for almost any problem that bedeviled the executive" (Teveth 1987, p. 143). He had colleagues and a small network of followers.

Preparation of Followers

Proposition 3 - When the social conditions in a society are such that (1) many people are displaced and deprived of what is considered the normal pursuit of life, and (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of a charismatic leader to address them.

Mass immigration to Palestine occurred when the conditions in Eastern Europe became intolerable. The first major wave of immigration, designated as the First Aliyah,⁸ began in the late 1800s (and ended in 1903) following the intensification of social and political oppression in Russia, Rumania, and Hungary (Zinger 1971, col. 515). In Palestine, now dislocated from their homes, they attempted to create new agricultural settlements under a corrupt, hostile Ottoman regime. Pogroms in 1903 and 1905 in Russia stimulated the Second Aliyah which brought Zionist pioneers (Halutzim), hardworking and argumentative, obstinate, exuberant young men and women in their early teens and twenties, who had been isolated within their European communities (Elon 1971, p. 132).

An overwhelming majority of these immigrants were from Czarist Russia where they were governed by the Pale of

Settlement, a decree which legally authorized Jewish residence only in certain areas and severely restricted their occupations⁹ (Slutsky 1971b, col. 24). Poverty, waves of pogroms, and anti-Jewish decrees characterized life in the Pale (ibid., cols. 26-27). Leaving Eastern Europe did not end the Jews' deprivation and hardship. The trip itself was arduous and often dangerous,¹⁰ and in Palestine they faced harsh political and economic conditions.

The Halutzim (which included Ben-Gurion) held a conscious and consistent national ideology and ideals of a worker's commonwealth in the Land of Israel (Zinger 1971, col. 519). The yishuv (Jewish colonialist community in Eretz Israel) might have collapsed were it not for external philanthropy and the wave of Jewish pioneers of the Second Aliyah (Avidor 1971, col. 302). Still, the economic and health conditions remained so difficult in Palestine that many Jews returned to Eastern Europe (Avidor 1971, col. 519).

The Second Aliyah ended with the outbreak of World War I, which caused general havoc and destruction in the country. Turkey used Palestine as a base to launch attacks upon the Suez Canal, heavily recruited and taxed the population, built roads and railroads with compulsory labor, and confiscated property including food. The British invaded Palestine in 1917 and 1918. British occupation, according to historian Yehuda Slutsky, saved the Jews from extinction by starvation, disease, and Ottoman persecution

(1971c, col. 334). The Jewish population had been reduced by hardship, expulsion, and emigration from 85,000 at the beginning of the war to 57,000¹¹ (Zinger 1971, col. 520).

Jews had reason to believe that their endurance of impoverishment and Arab and military attack would end with the establishment of their own homeland after the war. For some time the British had shown a sympathetic interest in Jewish settlement in Palestine.¹² In a November 17, 1917, letter to Lord Rothschild, a prominent Jewish financier and philanthropist of Zionist causes, Arthur James Balfour, in his capacity as foreign secretary, officially called for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" (Stein 1971, col. 131). The statement became known as the "Balfour Declaration" of Britain's sympathy to Zionist aspirations.¹³ Its impact on Jewish public opinion was immediate. In many European countries, Jews formed huge crowds and processions displaying the Union Jack side by side with the Zionist flag (Medzini 1971, col. 1080).

The Balfour Declaration inspired the Third Aliyah (1919-23) (Roth 1959, col. 75), which was also stimulated by the Bolshevik Revolution and postwar pogroms in the Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary (Zinger 1971, col. 520). Many of the immigrants of the Third Aliyah saw themselves as Halutzim who returned to Eretz Israel with the aim of halutziiyyut (pioneering), the renunciation of material ambitions and self-advancement in favor of hard physical labor with little expectation of material rewards. The Halutzim dedicated

themselves to the rebirth of the Jewish Homeland (though in the midst of an ocean of Arabs) by the arduous settlement and reclamation of the land and farming it under the most difficult conditions, and they identified their personal happiness with the attainment of that ideal (Abramov 1971a, col. 455).

Jewish expectations of a Homeland were soon dashed. When the British occupied Palestine, the military administration showed little sympathy for the Balfour Declaration. From the perspective of the Jews, the military authorities gave the Arabs a free hand when anti-Jewish riots broke out in March 1921. The British arrested Jewish defenders and sentenced them to long prison terms (Slutsky 1971c, col. 337). After several more years of riots and political maneuvers, the League of Nations in 1923 ratified the Mandate for Palestine which established Transjordan as a British Protectorate (Ra'naan 1971, col. 311). Many newcomers in the Third Aliyah of 1919-23 were of strong Zionist convictions who had been influenced by the profound changes and revolutionary upheavals that had taken place in their countries of origin (Slutsky 1971c, col. 340). In Palestine, with its overwhelmingly Arab population, they found themselves subjects of the British Mandatory government, fighting with Arabs, and still impoverished.

Nearly all Jews who had settled in Palestine had come there to escape economic and political deprivation. They had seen the Balfour Declaration as a promise for a Jewish

national home. Displaced, deprived, and dislocated in their new settlements, they had come to realize that a Jewish Homeland could be achieved only by their own unified struggle (cf. Medzini 1971, cols. 1081-82). According to this proposition, they were susceptible to a charismatic leader who would guide their actions and unify them. As will be shown, they would be guided and unified by Ben-Gurion, an extraordinary but not a charismatic leader.

Repudiation of Present, Tie to the Past

Proposition 4 - The charismatic leader issues a doctrine which (1) promises an idealized future society, (2) repudiates much of the existing social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of the group.

Ben-Gurion's promise of an ideal society was a politically independent state based upon three central principles: (1) the Land of Israel would be a socialist economy under the workers' control, (2) workers would maximize their economic self-sufficiency through supplying their own needs and thus accumulating capital, and (3) agricultural and industrial economic organizations would be owned by the workers (Kolatt 1971b, col. 851). These collectivist principles were embodied in the kibbutzim (plural for kibbutz), small, usually agrarian, self-sufficient communities which had formed in Eretz Israel.¹⁴ In Ben-Gurion's view, through independent settlement and landownership, the Jewish workers could

become a united political force sufficient to gain statehood (Slutsky 1971a, cols. 506-7). Ben-Gurion thus described a new society for his followers, and his principles repudiated the existing social order by calling for the establishment of a politically oriented network of unified, Jewish worker dominated organizations.

By prescribing the development of kibbutz-like settlements, Ben-Gurion also advocated, promoted, and reinforced the values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of Jews in Eretz Israel, especially the Halutzim who had arrived in the Third Aliyah. For centuries, European Jews had formed their own communities within non-Jewish towns and cities; over many generations, Jews lived in a network of distinctly Jewish communities, and developed their own culture (Slutsky 1971b, col. 28). They brought that culture to Palestine, and, inspired by ideas of social justice and as pioneers, they were prepared to secure a homeland by physical labor in self-sufficient settlements (Kerem 1971, cols. 964-65).

In summary, Ben-Gurion's doctrine called for workers to organize an ideal society, repudiated the existing social structure of British governance and the native Arab population, and appealed to Jewish historical values and to ideals and sentiments of the new arrivals to Palestine.

A Brief Summary: The Preparation Stage

Ben-Gurion and his followers began their preparation

for a mass movement in the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe. Ben-Gurion grew up in a home in which Zionist ideas were frequently discussed. From the days of his childhood, he found the living conditions of Jews objectionable, and he worked in Zionist organizations in Poland and Palestine to modify their conditions (Proposition 1). After a three year exile from Ottoman territories, Ben-Gurion returned to Palestine after World War I and called for revision of social precepts in the form of their replacement with a new socialist Jewish society. Also, he had a few colleagues and followers in that cause (Proposition 2).

Jews came to Palestine because they were socially displaced and economically deprived in their countries of origin, and many sought to create a Jewish Homeland. They became susceptible to a leader-follower relationship when they found their conditions in Palestine to be harsh and difficult to improve, and they were denied their expectations of independent nationhood (Proposition 3). Ben-Gurion's doctrine portrayed an independent, socialist Jewish Homeland as an ideal new society based on principles which repudiated the existing social order. He also advocated, promoted, and reinforced the values, ideals, and sentiments emphasizing secular aspects of Jewish history and the aspirations of new Jewish immigrants (Proposition 4).

Ben-Gurion's movement appears to conform to the propositions of the preparation stage of the model. Jews were prepared to follow a leader, and Ben-Gurion was

prepared to lead them. The discussion of the next fifteen propositions, divided into three main sections, covers the dynamic stage of Ben-Gurion's movement.

Ben-Gurion Emerges as a Leader

Attachment to the Charismatic Leader

Proposition 5 - The followers attach themselves to the charismatic leader when they identify with his portrayal of their dislocated position in society and accept many of his prescriptions as means to attain their rightful place in society.

Ben-Gurion acquired his significant following during the 1920s as the head of established economic and political organizations. In 1920-21, Ben-Gurion represented the Po'alei Zion in London. In his absence, several socialist trade unions, organized as political parties and including his own Ahdut ha-Avodah, created the Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labor)¹⁵ (Kolatt 1971b, col. 848). When he returned to Palestine in late 1921 he found in the Histadrut the labor army which he could use as a political tool (Kurzman 1983, p. 149). He argued against extremists (who soon left the organization) and convinced the Histadrut council that they needed him. They elected him to both the executive committee and the secretariat which he soon dominated (Kurzman 1983, pp. 149-50; Teveth 1987, p. 187; Slutsky 1971a, col. 507). In 1922 the Histadrut accepted Ben-Gurion's doctrine as its policy (Kolatt 1971b, col. 851). In other words, Jewish workers in significant

numbers became followers of Ben-Gurion as they accepted his political and organizational principles and recognized his dedication to them.

From 1922 to 1927 Ben-Gurion traveled around the country from factory to kibbutz to housing project, lectured day and night at workers meetings, and demanded that all labor unions not only subordinate themselves to the Histadrut but that all Histadrut co-leaders should do likewise to him. Many workers and their leaders agreed, but the labor movement still had many factions and the Histadrut was nearly bankrupt (Kurzman 1983, p. 153). In 1926 the economy in Palestine was near collapse. At a huge meeting in Jerusalem the workers expected Ben-Gurion to propose emergency measures such as splitting up of jobs. Instead, he promised them neither work nor food but a magnificent state. A Jerusalem worker describes his audiences' acceptance of his prescriptions as a means to attain their rightful place in society:

At that moment, we forgot our suffering, our depression, and to a large extent our despair.... He instilled hope and confidence.... What other leader would have come to a meeting of workers, of destitute, barefoot, hungry people, and not speak about bread but about vision? (ibid., p. 159)

Workers understood Ben-Gurion's vision: hungry Jews could survive; Jews without a state could not. By 1926 the workers of two rival parties had voted for fusion with the Histadrut, and in December Ben-Gurion was elected to office by a larger margin than anyone else (Kurzman 1983, p. 170;

Teveth 1987, p. 339). The Histadrut, by its Third Convention in July 1927, had increased its membership fivefold since 1920 (Kolatt 1971b, col. 853), and Ben-Gurion could claim that the great majority of workers had demonstrated their dedication and loyalty to him and his Zionist principles on Election Day (Teveth 1987, p. 339).

After the Third Convention Ben-Gurion sought to merge his Ahdut ha-Avodah party with the second most powerful party, the Ha-Po'el ha-Za'ir. After merger, the leaders of Ha-Po'el ha-Za'ir recognized Ben-Gurion as so highly respected among the workers that they made him "the only candidate" for leadership of the Histadrut after merger (Teveth 1987, p. 359). Agreement on the platform of the new party was more difficult. In January 1930, delegates of both parties agreed to Ben-Gurion's manifesto for the creation of Mapai (Palestine Workers Party), which immediately became the dominant party in the Jewish community and the labor movement¹⁶ (Louvish 1971b, col. 912).

The delegates had identified with Ben-Gurion's vision of a new society and accepted his prescriptions to attain it as the party platform. They also honored him. After Ben-Gurion adjourned the convention, he silently went home while delegates and guests formed processions, singing and dancing through the rain-flooded streets. According to newspaper accounts, at three in the morning, several hundred celebrants marched to Ben-Gurion's house, woke him and his

sleeping neighbors, and dragged him into the street "singing and cheering under Ben-Gurion's direction" (Teveth 1987, p. 362). The Jewish workers had attached themselves to Ben-Gurion and had displayed their respect and honor for him.

Identification with Lower Statuses

Proposition 6 - The charismatic leader exhibits behaviors by which he becomes identified with those in the lower social positions of his society, and these behaviors show evidence of his unusual understanding and of their worthiness to follow him.

As a man of words, Ben-Gurion had spread his vision of a Jewish Homeland which would be a socialist state under workers' control (This Chapter, page 309). In his view, only hungry workers through their manual labor, the "religion of toil," could create the society that would result in their Homeland (Kurzman 1983, p. 144). He gave Jewish workers control of the enterprises by which they could create that society. Through the Histadrut he set out to form a pioneer "work-creating" force with its own industries, companies, cooperatives, mines, banks, and a socialized medical system, plus a small armed force to protect Jews¹⁷ (Kurzman 1983, p. 150). In short, Ben-Gurion identified with workers by making them central to the fulfillment of their own desires.

Ben-Gurion also recognized their worthiness in one of his first accomplishments in the Histadrut: a uniform pay scale which made equal all members of all statuses. Based

on a socialist principle from the kibbutzim, each member contributed according to his or her ability and received food, clothing, money, and land according to need. The Histadrut salary scale applied to elected officials and employees alike, including Ben-Gurion who decreased his own take home pay by 24% (Teveth 1987, p. 242).

Ben-Gurion's personal behavior identified him with the workers. He addressed countless meetings throughout Palestine dressed much like the workers themselves, in winter wearing a lumber jacket and thick khaki trousers, in summer a light cotton jacket and pants and open-necked sport shirt. He was himself so poor that he would often buy a one-way ticket to these meetings and then demand that his comrades wire him the return fare (Kurzman 1983, p. 153).

The unemployed made up the lowest social strata. They were numerous and their plight dominated the policies and actions of the Ben-Gurion led Histadrut. During the period before and after his emergence as leader of Jewish workers, Ben-Gurion showed his understanding of their conditions through development of construction and settlement projects¹⁸ (Teveth 1987, pp. 268-70). He weakened or expelled rival factions through political maneuvers in ways which enhanced the public image of the Histadrut, and thereby of himself as the champion of the unemployed (cf. Teveth 1987, pp. 272-83, 284-304). The lowest statuses must have believed that Ben-Gurion understood their needs and considered them worthy of the work which he, through the

Histadrut and as their leader, would provide them.

Difficulty of Prescriptions

Proposition 7 - In order to carry out the charismatic leader's doctrine the followers adhere to new prescriptions, some being difficult and requiring great sacrifice, but they believe their adherence to even these difficult prescriptions is possible.

Life in Palestine was severe, often more difficult than in the countries Jews had left. Arabs greatly outnumbered Jews (at least 800,000 to 150,000 in 1929) and resented loss of their lands as the British imposed unrestricted Jewish immigration. Attacks by either side were numerous, and Arab uprisings peaked in 1920, 1921, and 1929¹⁹ (Kurzman 1983, pp. 173-74). Faced with an economic crisis in addition to Arab attacks, many Jews left Palestine (Louvish 1971c, col. 527).

Ben-Gurion's doctrine demanded that Jews continue their struggle for their own Homeland, even when going hungry (This Chapter, page 313). Many Jewish workers stayed, identified with his vision, and complied with his prescriptions for hard work at low pay. They also adhered to specific difficult prescriptions such as his calls to picket, strike, and demonstrate against opponents and the British government. Workers were arrested, beaten, and, in some instances, died, but they continued to comply with Ben-Gurion's prescriptions (cf. Teveth 1987, pp. 173-74, 277-82, and 317-21).

Arguments and Symbols

Proposition 8 - The charismatic leader articulates his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas become ingrained in the minds of followers.

Ben-Gurion had to convince colleagues and opponents to accept his views, most often by the force of his logical argument. His aim of the attainment of statehood became symbolically communicated by the widely used slogan "from class to nation" (mi-ma'amad le-am) (Louvish 1971b, col. 912).

His appeal to the workers also required the use of symbolic images. As secretary-general of the Histadrut, Ben-Gurion addressed many people, and frequently workers in communities and settlements (Bar-Zohar 1968, p. 35). The pioneers, like Ben-Gurion, had vowed never again to use a foreign language, but to speak only in Hebrew. A reminiscence of a veteran pioneer indicates the power of his rhetoric and command of their unique language: "What did he speak on? I do not recall. I only remember, will never forget, how he spoke. Inflammatory. And, most important -- in Hebrew! And what Hebrew!" (Avi-hai 1974, p. 18). More than a language, Hebrew reflected an attitude to life, to history, and to society (Elon 1971, p. 110). He appealed to the pioneers largely by using the language which symbolically bound them together.

A Brief Summary: Ben-Gurion Emerges as a Leader

For these propositions of the dynamic stage, the relationship between Ben-Gurion and his follower conforms to the ideal type model. Active in various labor organizations from his arrival in Palestine in 1906 through the 1920s, Ben-Gurion became a leader of Jewish workers who elected him to high office in the Histadrut and the Mapai (Proposition 5). He identified with those in the lower statuses by dressing like them, by emphasizing programs for the unemployed, and, most importantly, by giving them a central role in creating a Jewish Homeland (Proposition 6). Living under severe economic and political conditions, many Jewish workers remained in Palestine, complied with Ben-Gurion's prescriptions for physical work, and believed that compliance would lead to an independent Homeland (Proposition 7). Ben-Gurion convinced followers by logical arguments and slogans, and symbolically by using only the Hebrew language (Proposition 8).

It appears that the first eight propositions apply to all mass movements. Because four of the six propositions discussed in the next section do not conform to the ideal type model, they appear to distinguish charismatic movements from other mass movements.

The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

The analysis of the Ben-Gurion mass movement reveals

that Propositions 9, 10, 13, and 14 could be only partially substantiated. Specifically, evidence for the components related to attachment to the divine could not be found in the beliefs of Ben-Gurion nor of his followers.

This portion of the comparative analysis focuses on the period from the establishment of the Mapai in 1930 to the end of that decade. During this period, the Ben-Gurion movement was well into its dynamic phase, his following in Palestine became solidified, and his leadership expanded to include worldwide Zionism. Because Jews were outnumbered by Arabs over five to one, immigration and money were essential to establish a viable Jewish nation. National and international Zionist organizations recruited immigrants and provided funds. In 1932, Ben-Gurion set out to make the Mapai the dominant party in international Zionism, particularly the World Zionist Organization (WZO) (Kurzman 1983, p. 180; Bar-Zohar 1967, p. 45).

In the WZO elections in July, 1933, Ben-Gurion's labor party won 44 percent, a gain of fifteen percent (Kurzman 1983, p. 187). Ben-Gurion had campaigned in Eastern Europe as well as in Palestine, and his party had received sixty-three mandates, more than twice his opponent's twenty-nine (Teveth 1987, p. 428). With the help of a few small sympathetic parties, labor enjoyed a majority (Kurzman 1983, p. 187), but there is insufficient evidence to conclude that he was victorious because he was "charismatic" as defined in this study.

As a result of his victory, Ben-Gurion was elected to membership in the Zionist and Jewish Agency Executives and as chairman of the Zionist Executive. In 1935 he also became chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive.²⁰ Zionist policies would no longer be issued from London or Basel, but from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv; Ben-Gurion would dominate Zionism for the next thirty years (Bar-Zohar 1967, p. 47; Slutsky 1971a, col. 508).

Imbued with Superhuman Qualities

Proposition 9 - The followers believe their charismatic leader to be imbued with superhuman qualities which he applies for their benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being.

When Ben-Gurion's followers chose him to lead the Mapai and then sang and danced in the streets in the early morning hours (This chapter, page 314), they displayed their recognition of him as the embodiment of qualities they greatly respected. The important question, however, is whether his followers believed him to have been imbued with superhuman qualities.

Ben-Gurion became the single, most important leader of the Jews in Palestine when they elected and reelected him to top offices, accepted his platforms, and at times made public displays of confidence in his political abilities. He had the worker's respect and loyalty, but not because they believed him to be imbued with superhuman qualities. Rather they regarded him as a pioneer like themselves, and as an extraordinary individual who could achieve their

goals.

Those goals were primarily political and economic.

That he won their confidence and acceptance was perhaps his greatest political achievement, for they truly regarded him as one of their own, the one who could translate their accomplishments and sacrifices into political objectives and outline a plan to achieve them (Teveth 1987, p. 346, emphasis added).

In other words, followers saw him as devoted, like themselves, to the establishment of a Jewish homeland, a place where that ethnic group could live and work free of the oppression and persecution they had experienced in European countries.²¹ They also saw him as capable of achieving that homeland. The qualities they recognized and admired were political and organizational. They do not appear to have endowed him with superhuman qualities, and expected him to provide spiritual well-being only in the sense of nationalistic yearnings.

Ben-Gurion's political and organizational qualities, and not endowed superhuman qualities, also attracted followers in Europe. His primary opponent in the 1933 elections of the WZO was Vladimir Jabotinsky, the leader of the right-wing Revisionist Party which called for the use of violence and terror against the Arabs. In the April-July electoral campaign, they appeared before Jews throughout Europe, often together "exchanging verbal blows, competing visions, and reproofs" (Teveth 1987, p. 422). Ben-Gurion attracted large crowds in towns in Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia; in a letter to his wife he boasted,

"People walked for four or five hours to [hear me], sometimes in the pouring rain" (Kurzman 1983, p. 182).

Ben-Gurion's official biographer, Michael Bar-Zohar, concludes that Ben-Gurion "will have his place in [the Jewish people's] gallery of immortals, with Moses, King David and the Prophets" (1967, p. 282), but he describes Ben-Gurion during the 1933 campaign as being "an excellent organizer, a talented speaker and a determined leader" who "succeeded in putting in the field a whole army of disciplined militants, spread over central and eastern Europe" (ibid., p. 45). In other words, after Ben-Gurion's retirement he was seen as immortal, but his appeal during the elections was as a politician and organizer who would use his qualities for their political and economic benefit, prosperity, and well-being.

One might assume that Ben-Gurion's constituents believed him to be imbued with superhuman qualities, and that his political and organizational skills were among those qualities. He attracted large crowds to hear his speeches and won the 1933 election, but these indicate only an adherence to Zionism by many of the persecuted and oppressed Jews of Europe and those who had immigrated to Palestine. In fact, Ben-Gurion probably won the 1933 election because, right in the middle of the campaign, Chaim Arlosoroff, a leader of the Mapai, was assassinated (Teveth 1987, p. 422). Ben-Gurion and his colleagues accused Jabotinsky of involvement in the assassination and

discredited Jabotinsky and his party among the workers in Palestine and their sympathizers in Europe (ibid., pp. 419-31; Bar-Zohar 1967, pp. 45-47; Kurzman 1983, pp. 182-87.

A Special Mission

Proposition 10 - Both the charismatic leader and the followers believe him to be singled out by the supernatural as having a special mission to fulfill and to convey to his followers.

Ben-Gurion became internationally prominent in the 1930s, but his primary following before and during this period was in the yishuv (Jewish colonists in Palestine). Worldwide Jews had recognized him as he was seen by his followers in Palestine: as the champion of the labor movement, as the principal Halutz among the Halutzim, the Jewish pioneers. Halutziiyyut, as the concept evolved in Palestine in the 1920s, implied a return to the Jewish homeland with the aim of settling, reclaiming, and farming the land, even under the most difficult conditions (Abramov 1971a, p. 455). The Halutzim undertook a mission to create a society which would evolve into a National Home, but the idea of being singled out by the supernatural for that mission is not explicit in the concept of halutziiyyut.

Although not emphasized in the Zionist ideology as preached by Ben-Gurion and to which many of his followers adhered, a supernatural component exists in the religious connotation of aliyah. For religious Jews, the primary motive for immigration was the divine commandment to go to

Eretz Israel and to settle there. In the Bible, the prophet Cyrus proclaims, "Whosoever there is among you of all His people -- his God be with him -- let him go up" (II Chron. 36:23; Ezra 1:3). The commandment appears to have been reinforced by the prominence of aliyah in Jewish history.

It was aliyah that re-created the Jewish commonwealth in the Land after the Babylonian Exile, provided the community with some of its prominent spiritual leaders during the Second Temple and subsequent periods, preserved and repeatedly renewed the Jewish presence in Eretz Israel during the periods of Byzantine, Arab, Mamluk, and Ottoman rule, and reestablished the State of Israel in modern times (Alfassi 1971, cols. 508-9).

The ideology and history of Zionism indicates that the religious meaning of aliyah probably had at most a weak influence on Ben-Gurion's followers. In Zionism, aliyah implied personal participation in the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland, and the elevation of one's personality to a higher ethical level (Patai 1971b, p. 21). In the earlier periods of immigration, many were motivated by messianic yearnings, and even in later periods there were some idealists (Louvish 1971a, col. 633), but the Zionists' principal purpose was immigration to create a presence in Palestine sufficiently established and organized to constitute a social and political force (Louvish 1971c, col. 523).

For the greatest number of immigrants to Palestine, the primary reasons for leaving their original homes was to escape severe economic and political conditions. It is well

documented that the periods of immigration which modern historians label as an Aliyah were stimulated by extremes of oppression and deprivation in Eastern Europe (cf. Roth, 1959; Patai, 1971c; Louvish, 1971c).

For Ben-Gurion and his followers, the reestablishment of a Jewish homeland was seen as a special mission, but the idea that they might be singled out by the supernatural does not appear to be present in their leader-follower relationship.²² The belief in divine designation did occur in the missions of Gandhi and Nasser. It appears, therefore, that belief in the leader being singled out by the supernatural for a special mission distinguishes charismatic movements from other mass movements.

The Ideal Type

Proposition 11 - The charismatic leader's behaviors are the model for the behaviors of the followers.

The Halutzim in Palestine had a highly developed sense of local communal solidarity, but they also regarded themselves primarily as part of a national entity (Abramov 1971b, pp. 1246-47). They were the ideal type in whom the yishuv and the worldwide Zionist movement took great pride, were praised and extolled in poetry and prose, and were the dominant characters in the literature and art of the period. The Halutz was the person who totally, and with unflinching dedication, lived up to the Zionist ideal (Abramov 1971a, p. 455).

Ben-Gurion exemplified the halutziiyyut ideal in that he emerged as the leader in Eretz Israel through labor organizations, and he became recognized internationally on a platform of labor as the means by which Jews would acquire their homeland. In the 1920s he had formulated the idea of a cooperative "workers society" (hevrat ovedim), and, as the leader of Jewish workers, had organized and run it (Slutsky 1971a, col. 507). Ben-Gurion, with several others, organized the Mapai in 1930, and then he became its leader. In his campaign of 1933 for leadership in the WZO, he insisted that Eretz Israel had to be "conquered" through the work of an army of pioneers (Bar-Zohar 1967, p. 45). By their votes, worldwide Jewry recognized him as foremost among the internationally revered Halutzim.

It can also be argued that by the mid-1930s, Ben-Gurion was recognized as the model of Zionism. Not only had labor become the most prominent political force in the WZO, but in 1935 he was elected chairman of the Zionist Executive and the head of the Jewish Agency (Bar-Zohar 1967, p. 49). By their insistence that he not only join the Zionist Executives but that he also be their chairman, his Zionist comrades recognized the respect with which he was held by thousands of Zionist supporters of Jewish workers (Kurzman 1983, p. 188; Teveth 1987, pp. 433-36).

Bearing Burdens and Pain

Proposition 12 - It is believed that the charismatic leader bears the spiritual and emotional burdens and pain of his people at great

sacrifice to himself.

During his frequent trips as an international leader, Ben-Gurion wrote many letters to his wife and children and made daily diary entries, all of which were sent through the Histadrut Executive Committee. Frequently, copies were made and distributed among the Histadrut and Mapai executives before they reached their destination (if they reached them at all). Whether or not he intended it, this correspondence became unveiled messages to his colleagues in Palestine (Teveth 1987, p. 437). They read of his requests that his wife join him (*ibid.*, p. 429), his attempts to make up to her for her suffering (*ibid.* p. 433), and his concern about their lack of finances. Even though Ben-Gurion drew a liberal expense account, his salary was not sufficient to support his family. His wife moved into one section of the house with her children and rented the remaining part to tourists in his absence, and worked as a nurse in a first aid station (Kurzman 1983, p. 189). Both his attempts to ease the separation from his family and his lack of finances are seen in a December 1933 letter in which he told his wife of his planned return and the gift he had for her, and he then added, "I haven't bought anything for the children as I didn't have enough money" (Teveth 1987, p. 453).

Histadrut officials were his colleagues and most devoted followers, and they knew of his longing to remain in the pioneering segment of the labor movement. In a September 1935 letter to his family, probably held by

colleagues because it was not seen by his children until published thirty years later, he wrote,

Leaving the Histadrut for me is in fact like leaving Palestine.... My deepest desires and aspirations, my spiritual and human ties, my private and public life, my true worth as a man, a Jew, a worker, and an individual of our time -- everything is tied in with the Histadrut. More precisely, with the Eretz-Israeli labor movement (ibid., p. 437).

Many Jewish workers probably knew of Ben-Gurion's sacrifices, the number depending on how many were informed by Histadrut and Mapai officials. His anguish at leaving his duties in Palestine, his unhappy separation from his family for long periods, and his financial difficulties were sacrifices whereby Ben-Gurion assumed the burden of the yishuv to attain a Jewish homeland. At least his closest associates and some number of workers believed that he bore their emotional burdens at great sacrifice to himself.

This Proposition also states that the charismatic leader bore the spiritual burden and pain of his followers. The spiritual ideology of the Halutzim was tied to Zionism and the establishment of the Jewish Homeland. Ben-Gurion was the personification of that ideology, a zealous Zionist dedicated to the establishment of a homeland for all Jews. In other words, he bore the spiritual as well as the emotional burdens and pain of his followers at great sacrifice.

The Pattern of Expressive Activities

Proposition 13 - Followers demonstrate their

belief in the charismatic leader by giving him respect, holding him in reverence, and subordinating their will to his.

The platforms for the labor parties, and the strategies to carry them out were consistently Ben-Gurion's, and the acceptance of the platforms and strategies by Zionist and labor officials indicates the respect they had for him. Reverence, however, appears to be an exaggeration when this Proposition is applied to the Ben-Gurion leader-follower relationship. "Reverence" connotes love, veneration, and profound awe, but these are not evident in interactions between Ben-Gurion and his followers. The decisions and directions of the Zionist and labor movements were often made in contentious settings. For example, it was Ben-Gurion's idea, presented in July 1932, that the labor movement should undertake "the conquest of Zionism" by making the Mapai the dominant party using the Histadrut as a base of support. He was opposed by the upper echelon of the Histadrut who considered his plan contrary to the organization's philosophy and who were concerned about the drain on their already scarce resources (Kurzman 1983, p. 181; Teveth 1987, p. 400). Supported by some top-level officials and many of second rank, his proposal was adopted by the council in October 1932 (Kurzman 1983, p. 181; Teveth 1987, pp. 400-1). Ben-Gurion had won the contest. Many followers had subordinated their will to his and he had retained some measure of their respect.

Reverence, however, implies awe and devotion. Had his

followers revered him, they would have offered, at most, only minor resistance. In Ben-Gurion's movement, his followers demonstrated their belief in him to the extent that they showed respect and subordinated their will to his. In the relationships of Gandhi and Nasser, their followers also demonstrated reverence which is apparently a distinguishing feature between charismatic and non-charismatic relationships.

Self-Importance

Proposition 14 - The followers' adoration and recognition may influence the charismatic leader to believe in his own importance and superhuman qualities, but he must display modesty and humility.

In his 1933 campaign, Ben-Gurion's followers gathered in large numbers to see and to hear him; a "human sea" overflowed meeting halls, and streets were "black with people" (Kurzman 1983, p. 182). By their votes in elections, followers, in Palestine and worldwide, demonstrated their respect for him; 226,058 Zionist (44 percent) voted for labor in the 1933 election of the Zionist Congress (Teveth 1987, p. 398n). Ben-Gurion had called for the Mapai to "conquer Zionism," and he had been responsible for its becoming, almost against its will, the largest faction at the Zionist Congress. He then headed a coalition which dominated the WZO.

Ben-Gurion had reason to believe in his own importance, but not in his having superhuman qualities.²³ As argued

above, the voters recognized his political and organizational skills rather than superhuman qualities.

He responded to his new importance with modesty and humility which was the accepted norm for the labor movement culture. A man was expected to make a show of refusing high office, whereupon his associates entreated him to acquiesce to the "will" of the movement; any display of eagerness for office or overt striving for it was disapproved (Teveth 1987, p. 435). Just before the convening of the Zionist Congress, at the moment of what was then his greatest triumph, he announced, "I shall stay in the Histadrut and shall not join the [Zionist] Executive" (Teveth 1987, p. 433). Both his colleagues and the members of other factions, including some who had opposed him, implored him to agree to election to the Zionist Executive. Ben-Gurion's protests far exceeded the norm, perhaps to establish a position for acceptance of future as well as present programs and actions (*ibid.*, pp. 435-36). Whatever the reasons, he was aware of his own importance and seemed to display modesty and humility.

Upon accepting the chairmanship of the Zionist Executive in 1933, Ben-Gurion became the world's most powerful Zionist (Kurzman 1983, p. 188; Bar-Zohar 1967, p. 47). In the Zionist Congress elections in 1935, Ben-Gurion's labor faction made further gains, almost attaining a majority with 48.8% of the vote (Teveth 1987, p. 436). Again he outwardly displayed extreme modesty in

that he forced his followers to beseech him to accept the chairmanship of the Jewish Agency Executive (Kurzman 1983, p. 195; Teveth 1987, p. 505). After protesting that he wanted nothing more than to be a "soldier in the ranks," he accepted the position after his colleagues pleaded with him for hours (Kurzman 1983, p. 195). His protests again resulted in acceptance of his strategies; in effect, Ben-Gurion became the "prime minister" of a shadow Jewish government²⁴ (Kurzman 1983, p. 195). His political purposes notwithstanding, Ben-Gurion had shown his belief in his own importance and probably seemed to exhibit modesty and humility.

In charismatic relationships, the leader also believes in his superhuman qualities. In non-charismatic relationships, this belief would not be present.

A Brief Summary: The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

The analysis of the pattern of belief and its expression revealed that only two propositions were fully substantiated by the Ben-Gurion movement. To his followers, Ben-Gurion exemplified halutziiyyut and Zionist ideals and thus served as a model for the followers' behavior (Proposition 11). As their leader he made great sacrifices to bear the burden and pain of their being a people without an established homeland, but these were emotional and not spiritual burden and pain (Proposition 12).

Propositions 9, 10, 13, and 14 only partially apply.

They therefore appear to distinguish charismatic from other mass movements (the models for which will be developed in Chapter X). The aspects of those propositions which could not be substantiated dealt with associating Ben-Gurion with an attachment to the divine. Ben-Gurion's followers in Palestine and worldwide believed that he had abundant political and organizational skills which he would use for their benefit, prosperity, and well-being, but they did not believe him to embody superhuman qualities (Proposition 9). The followers believed themselves to have been singled out for the special mission of reestablishing a Jewish homeland, and Ben-Gurion more so than all others, but divine designation for this mission is not supported by this comparative analysis (Proposition 10). Followers, in Palestine and worldwide, showed their respect for Ben-Gurion by their votes in national and international elections, and colleagues subordinated their will to his by accepting his platforms and strategies. Reverence, however, does not appear to be an appropriate description of their feelings for him (Proposition 13). By the elections in 1933 and 1935, Ben-Gurion had become the most important of all Zionists, and he displayed modesty and humility by refusing posts in the Zionist and Jewish Agency Executives. He did not, however, have reason to believe in his having superhuman qualities (Proposition 14).

Growth and Unification

Propositions 15 through 19 deal with factors which positively influence growth and unification during the dynamic stage. In this study, the dynamic stage is considered to have begun in the early 1920s, and to have covered the next two and one-half decades.

Success and Growth

Proposition 15 - The charismatic leader usually has a modest beginning of his leadership, and he attracts increasing numbers of followers as he creates an image of success.

Soon after his election to the executive committee and the secretariat of the Histadrut in November 1921, Ben-Gurion became recognized as its leader. Ben-Gurion's initial followers came from the Second and Third Aliyot.²⁵ The immigrants of the Second Aliyah (1904-14) had been primarily young pioneers from Russia motivated by socialist idealism, and those of the Third Aliyah (1919-23) had been youthful Halutzim from the centers of Jewish life in Russia, Poland, and Rumania (Patai 1971c, pp. 535-36; Roth 1959, pp. 75-76). The prevalent idea among these immigrants was that, to establish a completely separate economic sector in Palestine which would lead to international recognition of a Jewish Homeland, Jews must become self-sufficient, not hire Arab labor, and do all physical work with their own hands, including the most difficult, the least paying, and the most menial (Elon 1971, p. 168).

Characteristics of the yishuv, and thus Ben-Gurion's potential followers, began to change with the Fourth Aliyah (1924-32). Mainly middle-class with some "capitalists," its newcomers had left Poland where Jews suffered from fiscal restrictions, and they settled in the main cities of Palestine (ibid.; Louvish 1971a, col. 634). The newcomers of the Third and Fourth Aliyot increased the number of workers, but they did not automatically become followers of Ben-Gurion. He attracted more and more workers because he became associated with its success in building a workers' commonwealth of agricultural settlements and in establishing labor exchanges in cities. Many parties within and outside the Histadrut attempted to recruit arriving immigrants (Kolatt 1971, cols. 848-52). In this competitive setting the Histadrut grew,²⁶ and over fifty-six percent of that growth went to Ben-Gurion's Achdut ha-Avodah party (Teveth 1987, p. 339).

Ben-Gurion's following increased further when in January 1930 his Achdut ha-Avodah party merged with the Ha-Po'el ha-Za'ir to create the Mapai. The representatives of the Ha-Po'el ha-Za'ir, the party second largest to his own in the Histadrut, recognized Ben-Gurion as "the only candidate" for leadership of the Mapai (ibid., p. 359). From the modest beginning of his charismatic leadership in the early 1920s, he created an image of success and attracted many followers. By July 1931 when Ben-Gurion went to the Zionist Congress, two-thirds of the yishuv supported

him (Edelman 1964, p. 86).

Gatherings with the Leader

Proposition 16 - At public meetings, the charismatic leader's presence, at times symbolized by a designated representative, adds enthusiasm and affirmation to the group's unity.

The effect of Ben-Gurion's presence at public meetings in Palestine is illustrated in a January 1926 report on the Elected Assembly of Palestinian Jewry, a body of representatives from all the groups in the yishuv.

His posture on the speaker's rostrum, hands in pockets, exudes awareness of his power. He always looks as though a great party stands behind him, and quite often he proves to be right. As he ascends the rostrum, someone jokingly remarks, "Now Ben-Gurion looks like an English lord setting out on a Sunday's hunt." But at the sight of his serious face silence prevails in the auditorium. His strong and moderate voice begins to rise more and more. His words are weighty; he does not use a fiery style or big words, but from time to time he hits the right chords, now and then with a cutting quip. He always emphasizes the national aspect (Teveth 1987, p. 339).

This account is from Ha-Aretz, a newspaper that spoke for the anti-Histadrut middle class. If Ben-Gurion's presence impressed opponents, it certainly added affirmation and unity for his followers. Indeed, at the 1926 Elected Assembly the coalition of parties supporting Ben-Gurion received an unprecedented eighty percent of the vote (ibid.).

At gatherings of Zionists outside of Palestine, Ben-Gurion had to compete with Chaim Weizmann's statesmanlike eloquence.²⁷ When Weizmann would climb onto

the platform at Zionist conferences, Ben-Gurion nearly always hung back; much shorter than Weizmann, he didn't want to trail behind him, thereby emphasizing their physical disparity which might have been misinterpreted as a personal inferiority. When he finally rose to address an assembly, labor delegates would greet his appearance, and his first sentences, with loud handclapping. In contrast with Weizmann's relatively soft voice, Ben-Gurion had a forceful, passionate style of oratory (Edelman 1964, p. 87).

Ben-Gurion influenced his followers at public gatherings other than formal conventions. An example is the December 1927 public trial of seventeen Histadrut members who had, following Ben-Gurion's orders, picketed against British restrictions and had been arrested. A huge crowd gathered in the courthouse yard and jammed the doorways. Ben-Gurion, with special authorization from the judge, sat as defense council for one of the defendants. The Ha-Aretz called the trial a "sensation" and depicted Ben-Gurion as the star of the trial (Teveth 1987, p. 351). If the anti-Histadrut Ha-Aretz saw Ben-Gurion as the star of the show, his followers probably saw him as a hero when all their fellow Histadrut members received light sentences.

A leader of a charismatic or a non-charismatic mass movement uses public gatherings to recruit new members and to unify them. The leader become the central figure and his words and actions add enthusiasm to the group's unity. The proposition also states that the leader's presence is at

times symbolized by a designated representative. There were other representatives of his party who spoke for his positions and who supported him, but there is no evidence, in either biographies or general histories, that they were seen as symbols of Ben-Gurion.

Sources of Opposition

Proposition 17 - The opposition to the charismatic leader almost always comes from the proponents of the status quo of the economic, political, social, and religious conditions.

Ben-Gurion led a coalition of parties which called for a socialist, economically egalitarian, and secularist Jewish society (Hertzberg 1971, col. 1054). These "Socialist Zionists," and thus Ben-Gurion as their recognized leader, had three categories of opponents, each of which emphasized the maintenance of one aspect of the status quo from this proposition: (1) the General Zionists (economic), (2) the British and Palestinian Arabs (political), and (3) religiously orthodox parties.²⁸ Each will be discussed in turn.

The General Zionists. Many of the middle class immigrants of the Fourth Aliyah formed parties which together comprised the General Zionists. Their influence increased with the arrival of refugees from Germany after 1933, during the first years of the Fifth Aliyah (1933-1940). Many transferred large amounts of capital through the Ha'avarah (trade agreement with Germany) contributed valuable skills and business expertise, and

stimulated economic prosperity²⁹ (Brenner 1984, p. 79; Patai 1971c, p. 537). Even though these new immigrants shared the purpose of reestablishing a Jewish Homeland, the yishuv became a less cohesive social grouping. The new immigrants came from different countries and economic backgrounds and had different ideas about how to bring about a Jewish commonwealth and about its final form.

Many of the immigrants of the Fourth and Fifth Aliyot became General Zionists who rejected pioneering, and instead sought to reestablish the middle-class, urban way of life to which they were accustomed. In contrast to Ben-Gurion's socialist doctrine, they vehemently insisted that the very future of the yishuv depended on free enterprise (Hertzberg 1971, col. 1053).

The General Zionists bloc within the WZO included many Zionists outside Palestine who also believed that free enterprise should be the basis for rebirth of the Jewish homeland. They supported the view that free enterprise, to the extent that it already existed in Palestine, should be maintained and enlarged.

The British and Palestinian Arabs. The British occupied Palestine after World War I and governed the region under the Palestine Mandate (confirmed on July 22, 1922, by the League of Nations Council) (Slutsky 1971c, col. 338). British policy regarded the maintenance of law and order, whether by political or military means, as the prime responsibility of the government (ibid, col. 340). In 1922

ninety percent of the population were Arabs whose ancestors had lived in Palestine for centuries, and they increasingly considered Jewish settlement as occupation of their homeland. In order to appease the Arab majority, the British Government imposed various restrictions on immigration and settlement (ibid.; Hertzberg 1971, col. 1056). In other words, the British defined the status quo as peaceful relations between Arabs and Jews, and took whatever actions it deemed necessary to maintain it.

The building of a National Home was thus left to Jews, and from 1920-29 the Jewish people and the Zionist movement took advantage of the available opportunity for immigration, settlement of the land, and the development of industry and commerce (Slutsky 1971c, col. 340). There had been in Palestine, according to a census in 1922, only 84,793 Jews in a total population of 757,182 (ibid.); almost 70,000 Jewish immigrants arrived from 1924 to 1929³⁰ (Patai 1971c, p. 537). During this period, Ben-Gurion and other Zionist were poorly prepared for Arab animosity and hostility, having believed that as long as there was no economic exploitation of Arabs by Jews there would not be any lasting nationalist antagonism between the two (cf. Elon 1971, pp. 157-172). They had failed to appreciate that increasing Jewish presence and settlement dispossessed Arabs from their lands and thus disrupted their status quo.

Large-scale violence broke out in August 1929. After large detachments of British troops restored order, a

parliamentary commission of inquiry proposed restrictions on Jewish immigration and on the purchase of lands from the Arabs. In October 1930, Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield issued a White Paper which called for fresh restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement. Under the pressure of public opinion, the prime minister nullified the restrictions and made it possible increasingly to develop the Jewish National Homeland (Slutsky 1971c, cols. 344-45).

When Hitler rose to power in Germany in 1933, the trickle of immigration became a flood. By the spring of 1936 the Jewish population had risen to close to 400,000, some 30 percent of the total population. Jewish presence was especially noticeable in the cities.³¹ The numbers of Arabs in and around the cities also increased because Jewish immigration and land buying forced Arab farmers to less productive lands, or off the land altogether (Migdal 1980, pp. 262-64; Sayigh 1979, pp. 25-40). In other words, Zionists enacted policies and practices which disrupted the economic and political status quo. Arab resentment soon led to organized anti-Jewish riots in 1936-39³² (Landau 1971, p. 62).

At the end of 1938, the British concluded that the Arab world must be appeased lest it join Britain's enemies in the event of world war. Unable to reach agreement between Arabs and Jews, the British colonial secretary on May 17, 1939, issued a new White Paper which essentially accepted Arab demands³³ (Slutsky 1971c, cols. 349-50). The Arabs, having

already seen their status quo too severely disrupted, did not accept the British measures (cf. Elon 1971, p. 27). Sporadic uprisings occurred into the 1940s. Between the end of November 1947 and July 1949, the War of Independence was waged by the Jews of Palestine against the Palestinian Arabs and supporting armies from neighboring countries (Lorch 1971, col. 306).

The Religious Orthodoxy. Religiously orthodox Jews were organized around two parties: the Agudat Israel, which found Zionism to be too secular, and the Mizrachi (Ha-Po'al ha-Mizrachi), which saw itself as part of the Zionist cause but sought to preserve and even refresh traditional Judaism (Hertzberg 1971, col. 1052). The majority of Orthodox Jews belonged to the Agudat Israel. In their view, the establishment of a Jewish nation meant their having to accept equality with Jewish nonbelievers, and thus the eventual end of the supremacy of the Orthodox faith within Jewry. In other words, the members of the Agudat Israel saw themselves as the defenders of the supreme status of the Orthodox Jewish faith everywhere in the world, and therefore they opposed Zionism and the premise of Ben-Gurion's plans (ibid., col. 1068).

Smaller in membership and less zealous than the Agudat Israel, the Mizrachi was a part of the Zionist movement and sufficiently large to demand and obtain concessions from Ben-Gurion, both in Palestine and the WZO (cf. Teveth 1987, pp. 152-55, 277-83, 399, 466, and 608). Mizrachi leaders

insisted that Zionist programs should not only deal with political and economic matters, but should build Eretz Israel society based on the religious tradition of the past (Goldschlag 1971a, p. 791). With Ben-Gurion's movement they shared the philosophy of labor primacy, but because they considered the spiritual beliefs of Ben-Gurion and his followers as insufficient, they retained the party as a separate entity with separate operations (cf. Goldschlag, 1971a and 1971b).

Beginning in the early 1900s, the Mizrachi maintained their own kibbutzim, and in 1935 established a union of four religious pioneer groups (Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Dati, "The Religious Kibbutz") as a separate entity within the Histadrut (Unna 1971, col. 972). They maintained a school system separate and distinct from the Histadrut (Teveth 1987, p. 408). While the Mizrachi shared with Zionists, and Ben-Gurion, the ideology of the development of a Jewish Homeland through labor, it saw the Jewish religious tradition, particularly prophetic concepts of social justice and talmudic principles of human relations and good government, as the status quo and emphasized its application to contemporary problems (Unna 1971, col. 973). In other words, to maintain their perception of the status quo, they opposed Ben-Gurion.

Scapegoats

Proposition 18 - Worsening of conditions is always blamed on a variety of circumstances and never on the charismatic leader.

The Halutzim attached themselves to Ben-Gurion because they thought that he would help them establish a Jewish Homeland. They would themselves face and overcome the natural conditions -- poverty, arid land, temporary shelter, and malaria and typhoid -- but looked to Ben-Gurion to overcome the political conditions which stood in the way of the creation of a Jewish Homeland. Ben-Gurion's followers accepted his doctrine and they supported his political strategies, believing those strategies would defeat those who opposed the establishment of a Jewish Homeland (that is, those groups discussed in the analysis of the previous Proposition). When those accepted strategies did not achieve their goal, that is, when political conditions worsened, Ben-Gurion was able to hold his followers by placing the blame on others, usually the British government.

Mass immigration and Jewish settlement were essential parts of Ben-Gurion's strategy to bring about the Jewish Homeland (Tevesh 1987, p. 458). Following the economic crisis and Arab uprising of 1926, Britain greatly reduced the rate of immigration (cf. Patai 1971c, p. 537). In 1929 Arabs still outnumbered Jews, by some estimates as much as six to one, and Ben-Gurion continued to call for unlimited immigration. In response to Arab uprisings in 1929, Lord Passfield, in October 1930, issued his White Paper, which virtually cancelled the Balfour Declaration. Some Zionists were ready to give up on a state, but Ben-Gurion replied with a "White Paper" of his own. He sent pamphlets to all

groups affiliated with Histadrut and the Jewish labor movement throughout the world calling on them to rebel against the "British betrayal" (Kurzman 1983, pp. 174-76). In February 1931, in the face of a vast wave of public protest organized by the WZO in London, Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald wrote Chaim Weizmann a letter partly rescinding the White Paper (Eban 1971, cols. 431-32).

While blaming the British for impeding his movement, Ben-Gurion also sought to remove Chaim Weizmann from the presidency of the WZO. He reminded followers that Weizmann had for years been the most prominent defender of the British and the intimate friend of its leaders (Kurzman 1983, p. 176). MacDonald had rescinded the White Paper in a letter to Weizmann to help him stay as President of the WZO, but in 1931 the Zionist Congress removed him from office³⁴ (ibid., p. 179; Litvinoff 1954, p. 106).

In 1933, after Ben-Gurion's election campaign in Palestine and Eastern Europe and with the help of a few small sympathetic parties, labor had a majority (Kurzman 1983, p. 187). Ben-Gurion ascended to the chairmanship of the Zionist and Jewish Agency Executives in 1935 which coincided with the peak of Jewish immigration and land acquisition in Palestine, due in large measure to the active help of local British officials (Teveth 1987, p. 511). Then, when the Arab Revolt began in April 1936, the British, over Ben-Gurion's strong objections, again slowed the rate of immigration and settlement³⁵ (Kurzman 1983, pp. 211-12;

Teveth 1987, pp. 525-23).

By January 1939 the yishuv accounted for only thirty percent, perhaps less, of the population of Palestine. In February representatives of the British government told Ben-Gurion and other WZO officials that they planned to halt immigration (Teveth 1987, pp. 698-701). After a meeting in London adjourned without an agreement, colleagues now realized that severe restrictions on immigration and settlement were imminent, and again blamed Weizmann as well as the British (ibid., p. 706; Kurzman 1983, pp. 222-23).

To oppose the impending White Paper, Ben-Gurion developed a plan in which the yishuv would build military industries, reorganize Haganah under a central command (with Ben-Gurion to become a kind of "defense minister"), mobilize every adult between eighteen and thirty-five, and, above all else, bring in Jews illegally and settle them (Teveth 1987, pp. 707-8; Kurzman 1983, p. 224). He had put forth many of these ideas in 1935 when he had tried to convince his followers to prepare for immigration and settlement restrictions (Teveth 1987, pp. 508-11). On May 17, 1939, the British published the White Paper.³⁶ Conditions had worsened, and Ben-Gurion's followers, now convinced that the British were to blame, accepted nearly all of his plan to resist the British White Paper (ibid., pp. 711-16; Slutsky 1971a, col. 508).

When Britain declared war on Germany on September 1, 1939, Ben-Gurion was faced with the need to support the

British government which he and his followers had blamed for severe restrictions of immigration. He solved the dilemma with a logic which became the theme of the yishuv for the rest of the war: "We must help the British in their war against Hitler as if there were no White Paper; we must resist the White Paper as if there were no war" (Kurzman 1983, p. 227). Ben-Gurion, with the support of his now angry followers, intensified "illegal" immigration and settlement of land in areas prohibited to Jews (Slutsky 1971a, col. 508).

New and/or Modified Prescriptions

Proposition 19 - The charismatic leader often issues new and/or modified prescriptions which he bases on the emotional fervor of the community of followers.

Biographer Shabtai Teveth has summarized the pattern by which Ben-Gurion, however reluctantly, modified his prescriptions.

...he simply did not give up easily. It would have been easier to pry a bone from a bulldog than a true concession from Ben-Gurion. He was not unwilling to compromise, but his compromises, always the result of recognition to unaccommodating reality, were calculated to enable him to take a further step later. Although he was, in such cases, willing to strike a bargain, once it was done his compromise became his new hard line, pursued relentlessly (1987, p. 187).

This pattern of reluctant compromise began with his emergence as a charismatic leader in the Histadrut, and, manifested itself again and again in the course of Ben-Gurion's public life³⁷ (ibid., pp. 187-88).

Ben-Gurion's plan to dominate Zionism provides an example of how he issued a prescription, held to it for many years against strong opposition, and finally modified it based on the emotional fervor of the community of his followers.

In 1925 Ben-Gurion called for a change in the goals of the Histadrut and the labor movement. To Ben-Gurion Jews had precious little time to establish their Homeland, and he called for large numbers of Jews to be brought to Palestine in the shortest amount of time. This was possible only if the labor movement stood at the head of the Zionist Organization. To gain a democratic majority in the WZO, Ben-Gurion would expand the labor movement into a "people's movement," which would embrace not only Histadrut members -- hired hands in agricultural settlements and trade unions in Palestine -- and the Histadrut supporters in Europe and America, but also the entire yishuv -- shopkeepers, peddlers, small business men, and so on (Teveth 1987, pp. 389-90).

At this time, Ben-Gurion's followers lacked the emotional fervor to carry out this new prescription, and they had several practical reasons for delaying compliance. The Histadrut had been in existence for only six years, and his closest colleagues questioned whether it had yet created an individual and society that could imbue an entire nation with its values. The kibbutzim and the agricultural cooperative villages (moshavim), the labor movement's two most important creations in Palestine, were still immature

and in need of further support. To become a people's movement, the labor movement would have to incorporate as wide a public as possible, and therefore accept many people who did not believe in the Histadrut's pioneering, socialist Zionist ideas (*ibid.*, p. 390).

Ben-Gurion persisted with his plan, and in 1929 his followers finally agreed to an international Labor Congress, but, in large part due to the Arab uprisings in that year, it was postponed until September 1930 (*ibid.*, pp. 395-97). Many followers still felt that the Histadrut was not yet strong enough, and the Labor Congress did not adopt his new prescription; in fact, the Labor Congress never met again (*ibid.*, pp. 399-400; Kurzman 1983, p. 178).

Resistance to his plan continued into 1932, and in October Ben-Gurion changed the focus of his approach. He called on his followers to oppose a potential coalition of Jabotinsky's Revisionist Party with Mizrachi and some General Zionist parties, and the Mapai readily provided funds and manpower to support it (Teveth 1987, p. 416; Kurzman 1983, p. 181). In the 1933 elections for the Zionist Congress, Ben-Gurion's labor party won 44 percent of the worldwide vote, formed a coalition to reach a majority, and he was elected chairman of the Zionist Executive (Kurzman 1983, p. 187).

In summary, Ben-Gurion issued a new prescription for a "people's movement" through which the labor movement would "conquer Zionism," but he had not accurately sensed the lack

of emotional fervor among his followers. After many years, he modified his prescription to target a feared opponent, the Revisionists and their perceived sympathizers. His followers accepted and supported his modified doctrine, and Ben-Gurion became the dominant figure in world Zionism.

A Brief Summary: Growth and Unification

During the 1920s and 1930s, the dynamic phase of his charismatic movement, Ben-Gurion's following grew in numbers and became unified. He had a modest beginning in his leadership, which began with small numbers of Zionist pioneers; as he created an image of success as head of the Histadrut and later the Mapai, he attracted additional followers in Palestine and then worldwide (Proposition 15). By his presence, he added enthusiasm and unified his followers at meetings in Palestine and at international conferences, but there is no evidence that representatives symbolized his presence (Proposition 16). Ben-Gurion's movement had a variety of opponents -- the General Zionists, the British and Palestinian Arabs, and religiously orthodox parties -- each of which sought to maintain the status quo (Proposition 17). His followers blamed the worsening of political conditions on the British rather than on him as their leader (Proposition 18). Ben-Gurion made proposals for new or modified political strategies when new conditions demanded a change, and modified them to fit the emotional fervor of his followers (Proposition 19).

The Ben-Gurion mass movement completely fulfills Propositions 15, 17, 18, and 19. It partially fulfills Proposition 16, the exception being not having representatives act as a symbol for the leader. There are several possible explanations for this difference between charismatic and non-charismatic movements. First, the charismatic leader is believed to have great, superhuman qualities which include the power to confer some of his "charisma" to a representative. The charismatic leader's associate thus represents the charisma believed to exist in the leader himself. Without a belief that Ben-Gurion had superhuman qualities, his followers did not see his associates as other than their own political and organizational representatives.

The second possibility involves the analysis of Proposition 8 which deals with the communication of the leader's doctrine by symbols. Both Gandhi and Nasser were themselves symbols. Ben-Gurion was not, nor were his use of material symbols or slogans as extensive. As will be discussed in Chapter X, symbolic representations are perhaps more common in charismatic movements, and people can therefore more easily view representatives as symbols.

The Stabilization Stage

In the organizational framework for the ideal type model, the leader of the dynamic stage of a mass movement is a fanatic who rarely stabilizes his movement as a practical

person of action (Chapter 1, pages 16ff). Ben-Gurion was one of those rare leaders. He is now recognized as the individual who played the critical role in defining Israel's policy and attitudes in the formative first decade and a half of the new state's rebirth (Avi-hai 1974, p. 37).

In essence, the dynamic stage of Ben-Gurion's movement ended, not on May 14, 1948, when he officially proclaimed the rebirth of the independent Jewish nation, but five and one-half months earlier when, on November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly voted to partition Palestine to establish a Jewish state and an Arab state. The yishuv rejoiced; the Arabs did not.³⁸ The next day Israel's War of Independence began (Herzog 1982, p. 11; Lorch 1971, col. 306). Before the proclamation of statehood, Ben-Gurion, as Chairman of the Jewish Executive, was the head of a quasi-government of the yishuv with defense of the fledgling nation its primary concern (Herzog 1982, p. 19). After statehood, he was prime minister and minister of defense. During and after the eighteen month war, Ben-Gurion and his followers established the national structures and policies necessary to govern Israel's citizens and to take its place in the international community.

Normalization

Proposition 20 - The charismatic leader's teachings, particularly his rules for behavior, become normalized into the social structure.

Ben-Gurion emerged as a leader in 1921 and became the dominant figure in Zionism into the 1940s based on a doctrine which prescribed actions that would result in an independent Jewish nation. Now, as a practical man of action, Ben-Gurion normalized teachings and rules of behavior which ensured the survival and growth of Jewish settlement and the enhancement of state power (cf. Avi-hai 1974, p. 275). Now in the stabilization stage, these teachings and norms varied from the doctrine of the dynamic stage as his decisions and actions became state-centered and no longer Zionist-centered. He normalized his state-centered ideology into the nation and its culture by (1) providing Israelis with a national identity, (2) institutionalizing an economic structure, and (3) establishing an educational system which encompassed Jews from around the world, each of which are discussed below in turn.

Israeli Self-Identity. During the War of Independence, Ben-Gurion headed the defense effort. He organized the raising of financial support, the acquisition of arms, the recruitment of military experts, and prepared operational plans, and, by the time the War of Independence ended on July 20, 1949, he had molded the character and structure of the Israel Army³⁹ (Slutsky 1971a, col. 510). In addition, Ben-Gurion is credited with shaping the identity for Israelis, for giving them new attitudes about themselves and about the reality of Jewish statehood (Avi-hai 1974, p. 37). In his view, the reestablishment of a Jewish

homeland recreated the status of Jewish authority over Jews which enabled them to reject their miserable past in exile⁴⁰ (ibid., pp. 39-40). Instead of the passivity and powerlessness which Ben-Gurion associated with the generations in exile, Israelis would exemplify other virtues: dignity, courage, perseverance, and self-reliance (Eisen 1986, p. 118).

Economic Institutions. Ben-Gurion's central prescription in the dynamic stage had been mass immigration into Palestine. He had also promised his followers that they and the new immigrants would create a socialist society in which workers would control the economy, be self-sufficient, and own the agricultural and economic organizations (Proposition 4, This chapter, page 309). Mass immigration remained a supreme principle of the State of Israel (Avi-hai 1974, p. 40). The consequences of mass immigration and the need to make the state the primary institution caused Ben-Gurion to modify the role of the Histadrut and thus the place of the workers in the new society. He met with resistance, however. At least half of the first Israeli constituent assembly in 1948 were veteran Halutzim and a third were members of kibbutzim (Elon 1971, p. 132). To decrease the role of labor, he confronted those who had been among the most dedicated and active participants in his labor movement.

Between May 15, 1948, and the end of 1951 entire Jewish communities were transplanted to Israel. In those three and

one-half years the Jewish population doubled by the arrival from 70 countries of over 684,000 immigrants -- one-third more than came in the 70 years of pre-State Zionist Aliyot (Patai 1971c, p. 538; Litvinoff 1954, p. 246).

Many of the nearly a thousand people a week who poured into Israel found unemployment and temporary accommodations instead of the paradise they expected. They slept in windy tents, often shared with two or three families in makeshift camps, cooked their limited rations on smoky stoves, and spent days looking for work as the economy crumbled and a black market flourished (Louvish 1971d, col. 381; cf. Segev 1986, pp. 117-54). Finally, in July 1949, a crowd of ragged, raging unemployed immigrants marched on the Knesset in Tel Aviv shouting "bread and work" and storming the gate in a battle with club-wielding police (Kurzman 1983, pp. 332-33).

During the economic crisis of 1926, Ben-Gurion, then a fanatic in the dynamic stage of his movement, had promised disgruntled workers neither work nor food but a magnificent state (This chapter, page 313). Now a practical man of action bent on stabilizing a nation, Ben-Gurion, to remain as prime minister, compromised with the Religious Bloc and then the General Zionists and finally threatened to resign (ibid., pp. 333-34). His government temporarily stabilized politically, he instituted measures to save the economy from complete collapse and to give his people "bread and work."

For the two decades before statehood, the workers'

organization, the Histadrut, had operated the labor exchange for the yishuv and developed new and expanded existing settlements (Allon 1971, col. 860). During the early 1950s, the Histadrut continued in these functions but it was necessary for the state to assume responsibility for the economy. Ben-Gurion and the government of Israel established several austerity measures, received funds from the United Jewish Appeal and the "Bonds for Israel" drive in the United States,⁴¹ received grants-in-aid and loans from the United States and other international sources, and concluded a reparations agreement with the German Federal Republic for payment of DM 3,000,000,000 (\$715,000,000) for partial reparations for material losses suffered by the Jews under the Nazi regime⁴² (Louvish 1971d, cols. 382-83).

By 1956 Ben-Gurion's government had become sufficiently stabilized to take over the labor exchanges. The focus of the Histadrut turned to its trade-union functions as the state supplied increasing amounts of development capital and took over control of nearly all of the Histadrut's public services (Allon 1971, col. 860).

The Educational System. Before statehood, the yishuv was predominantly Ashkenazim (European),⁴³ and, even with its various economic, religious, and political factions, it had become unified in a social structure. The newcomers were almost evenly divided between "white" Ashkenazim and "dark-skinned" Afro-Asian Oriental Jews, whereas before 1948 almost ninety percent had come from Europe. Large numbers of

Oriental (Afro-Asian) Jews had to be absorbed into a society of people who regarded such Jews as different in their essence from the Jews from Europe or even America⁴⁴ (Avi-hai 1974, p. 57).

Tensions were further aggravated by the fact that established Israelis were better off than the newly arriving immigrants, and the newly arrived Ashkenazim were relatively better educated and more skilled than the Orientals and could usually advance more quickly up the social-economic ladder (Elon 1971, p. 251). According to an often repeated saying, "Israel wants immigration, but the Israelis don't want the immigrants," and they especially did not want the Oriental Jews (cf. Segev 1986, pp. 117, 155-94). There was a danger that Israel would become divided into two cultures (Louvish 1971d, col. 381).

From 1921 when he had become secretary of the Histadrut and the leader of Jewish workers, Ben-Gurion had emphasized the creation of a "workers' culture." The Histadrut, in compliance with his prescriptions, had established central institutions and local branches which provided instruction in Hebrew, publications, libraries, theater, periodical literature, and, from 1925, a daily newspaper (Kolatt 1971b, col. 853). In its education system, as well as in many of its activities, the Histadrut had acted as a proxy for the state-to-be during the Mandatory period (Avi-hai 1974, p. 73; Allon 1971, col. 860). One of the first legislative acts of the new state (August 1, 1949) was to pass the

Compulsory Education Law which retained "trends" -- labor (the Histadrut), "general" (non-labor), and two orthodox (the Zionist Mizrachi and non-Zionist Agudat Israel) school systems -- but brought them under state control (Louvish 1971d, col. 383; Avi-hai 1974, p. 98). In February 1951 Ben-Gurion demanded the establishment of a national education system, which created a political crisis and new elections. After the elections of that summer, Ben-Gurion established a stronger coalition and the Religious Bloc weakened when the Mizrachi Party separated from the Agudat Israel (Avi-hai 1974, pp. 99-100).

The elections provided a breather from the debate, and Ben-Gurion's new government delayed bringing up the potentially explosive issue for another year. Ben-Gurion was again uncompromising in his principle of state primacy, and in July 1953 the four trend school system was abolished by the passage of the State Education Law, which provided for two "state-national" trends -- a state system which amalgamated the general and labor trends, and a state-religious system which had been the Mizrachi trend -- under control of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Louvish 1971d, col. 384); Avi-hai 1974, pp. 100-1).

The Agudat found a loophole in the law and retained a separate system subsidized by the state, but education had been removed from the spheres of parties and established under the authority of the state (Louvish 1971d, col. 384). In other words, education had been taken from the worker's

control and had been normalized into the social structure as essentially a state run system.⁴⁵

Summary of Proposition 20 -- Normalization

Ben-Gurion was himself the practical man of action who stabilized his movement. He significantly modified his teachings and rules for behavior, however, to meet the practical requirements of state- and nation-building.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has shown that Ben-Gurion's mass movement went through the three stages -- preparation, dynamic, and stabilization -- which constitute the organizational framework of the model. His actions and beliefs, and those of his followers, substantiate the propositions of the ideal type model except for parts of Propositions 9, 10, 13, 14, and 16. The comparative analyses of Gandhi and Nasser have shown that all propositions (less Proposition 16 for Nasser and partially Proposition 20 for both), taken together, describe the charismatic relationships in their movements. The analysis of the Ben-Gurion movement indicates that charismatic relationships are distinguished from non-charismatic relationships only by those Propositions which relate to the followers' belief in the leader's divine attachment.

Biographers and historians, writing some years after a movement's dynamic stage, may consider a leader as

charismatic because of how that leader is then perceived based on past accomplishments. This study has shown that the analyst must thoroughly examine the leader's appeal at the time of the leader-follower relationship. In the Jewish religious tradition, Eretz Israel is a land promised to Jews by their deity. It might therefore be assumed that Ben-Gurion's followers would impute superhuman qualities to him. This study, however, has revealed that those Jews who considered themselves sanctioned and guided by that deity opposed Ben-Gurion rather than attached themselves to him. In his later years Ben-Gurion claimed to have been guided by the Bible and frequently quoted passages from it (cf. Avi-hai 1974, p. 42), but there is no convincing evidence that he invoked Biblical teachings in his pronouncements to his followers in Palestine. He and his followers were Zionists engaged in the political struggle to establish an area of Palestine as an independent state, but only after he ended his public life was he revered and elevated to the status of a prophet.

This analysis of Ben-Gurion's mass movement has revealed that not all propositions of the ideal type model were met. The next chapter reports the comparative analysis of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s relationship with followers in the civil rights movement in the United States, which also does not conform to all propositions. The final chapter compares the analyses of Ben-Gurion and King with those of Gandhi's and Nasser's movements, and thereby clarifies those

propositions which distinguish charismatic from
non-charismatic relationships.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. Literally, the Hebrew term Eretz Israel means the Land of Israel, what was called Palestine in the early 1900's. In the Jewish religious tradition, Eretz Israel denoted the divinely designated homeland of the Jewish people. Jews considered themselves the immediate descendants of the prophet Jacob, whose name was changed by God to Israel (Gen. 32:28). They were called "the children of Israel" (Ex. 1:1), and they grew into a people called "the people of the children of Israel" (Ex. 1:9). Eretz Israel became the designation of the nation of a people who designated themselves as "Israel" and "the children of Israel" (Rabbinowitz 1971, col. 106). It was promised to and for them by their God (Gen. 12:1, 12:7; cf. Patai 1971a, p. 1262).

According to rabbinical law, the very land of Eretz Israel is holy; "Every precept dependent on the land [of Israel] is in force only in that land" (Oppenheimer 1971, col. 1028). Certain ritual practices are therefore reserved for that Holy Land (examples include leket, peret, shikhhah, and pe'ah described by Arzi (1971), and terumot and ma'aserot described by Oppenheimer (1971).

Following the convention from the Encyclopaedia Judaica, Eretz Israel will not be emphasized as a Hebrew term in the text, nor in later Chapter Notes.

2. I also assumed that Jews who settled in Palestine were automatically a religious body of people, and their seeking a "Jewish Homeland" was therefore an expression of their religion. The term Jew has two meanings: (1) An adherent to Judaism, and (2) a descendent of the Hebrew people (Morris 1981, p. 704). As used here, the adjective Jewish relates to the second definition, but I had regarded any "descendent of the Hebrew people" as automatically "an adherent to Judaism." It would then follow that a religious leader would tend to elevate Ben-Gurion as their leader to the connection with the divine which is central to this study. The assumption turned out to be false.

The Palestinian Jews immigrated from Europe where they constituted what sociologists call an "ethnic group," a category of people who perceive themselves and are perceived by others as possessing shared cultural traits. A culture encompasses the groups' history as well as their religion, and the history of Jews as an ethnic group in European countries is replete with their being a despised, oppressed, and persecuted people. At times religious practices were restricted and even forbidden, but usually the causes and the consequences of oppression and persecution were economic and political. Many of the immigrants to Palestine had

themselves experienced the poverty and brutality directed at Jews in Europe, and others, including Ben-Gurion, saw the probability of it occurring to them if they remained. Indeed, many of the immigrant Jews were not themselves religious, a conclusion supported by the fact that the major groups which opposed Ben-Gurion in Palestine were religious parties (see Proposition 17).

In conclusion, the Jewish Homeland sought by Ben-Gurion's followers was a land where the descendants of the ethnically defined Jewish people could escape the terrible conditions that had confronted them for centuries in Europe.

3. Very early in Jewish history the word Zion became a synonym for Jerusalem (Kressel 1971, col. 1034), and, as applied by the Hebrew prophets, a spiritual symbol for the Holy Land which became a central concept in the religious life of Jews in Europe (Patai 1971a, p. 1262). From its beginnings, Zionism was concerned with the establishment of a National Home in Palestine for persecuted Jews whose position had become untenable in the areas of Jewish settlement in the Diaspora.

4. Ben-Gurion arrived in Palestine in 1906 as David Gruen. In 1910 he became an editor of Ahdut (Unity), the periodical of his political party which was published in Hebrew (Bar-Zohar 1967, p. 22). He signed his articles "Ben-Gurion," which means "son of a lion cub," having renamed himself after Yosef Ben-Gurion, a democratic leader of the Jewish revolt against the Romans in 66 A.D. (Kurzman 1983, p. 101).

5. Zionist ideology expressed the yearning of the Jewish people to return to Eretz Israel (Patai 1971a, p. 1262). Various Zionist societies merged with the World Zionist Organization (WZO) established by Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) in 1897 (Ettinger 1971c, col. 1037). Under Herzl, the Zionist movement, in Poland and in most of Eastern Europe, became organized into political parties, and the term Zionism expressed a political orientation toward Eretz Israel in place of the prevailing philanthropic approach (Patai 1971a, p. 1264). Zionism sought to change the attitudes of Jews from a messianic belief in miraculous ultimate redemption to political, social, and some spiritual objectives (Katz 1971, col. 1071). Zionism also fought assimilation, raised Jewish self-esteem, gave the impetus for Jewish self-defense, upheld Jewish cultural values, fostered the study of the Hebrew language, and produced a revival of Hebrew literature (Patai 1971a, p. 1265; cf. Hertzberg 1971, cols. 1046-50).

6. Literally, "Workers of Zion," Po'alei Zion began in Russia toward the end of the 19th century as a movement

based upon the Jewish proletariat whose ideology consisted of a combination of Zionism and socialism. Later, countrywide Po'alei Zion parties were established in many nations including Russia, the United States, and Eretz Israel (Kolatt 1971a, col. 656).

7. To implement his strategy for a Jewish State independent of Ottoman rule, Ben-Gurion went to Turkey in 1911 to study law. He intended to establish close ties with the Turkish educated ruling class and to join their political struggle, thereby advancing the cause of Eretz Israel as a center for the Jewish people (Kurzman 1983, pp. 102-6). When World War I broke out, the Turkish administration began to persecute Zionist and arrest their leaders, including Ben-Gurion, accusing them of conspiring against Ottoman rule by attempting to establish a Jewish State (Slutsky 1971a, col. 506).

Banished from Ottoman governed lands, Ben-Gurion went to Egypt and then New York City. There, in 1918, Ben-Gurion married Paula Munweis, a nurse in New York whom he abandoned temporarily in her sixth month of pregnancy to volunteer for the Jewish Legion (Elon 1971, p. 133). She was a devoted wife until her death in 1968 (Slutsky 1971a, col. 506). The Ben-Gurions had three children.

8. Jewish historians label each period of mass immigration an Aliyah (pl. Aliyot), a return to their historical homeland which signified an ascension from exile to the land of their prophets. According to this perspective, Jews settled in Eretz Israel not only to escape extreme displacement and deprivation in their countries of origin, but also to fulfill the sacred teachings of their religion (Alfassi 1971, cols. 508-9). Aliyah literally means "ascent" or "going up" as in religious ritual where it denotes a "calling up" to read the Scroll of the Law in the synagogue during worship (Roth 1959, col. 73). Jews who immigrated to Eretz Israel were specifically designated olim (plural of olah), which literally means "those who go up" and was borrowed from its religious usage where it denoted a burnt offering carried to the top of the mountain (Rothkoff 1971b, col. 601). The olim were thus "ascenders," and their coming to Eretz Israel was an aliyah (Roth 1959, col. 73).

In other words, for many Jews coming to Palestine, Aliyah implied personal participation in the fulfillment of the ideal of a reborn national homeland, and the elevation of one's personality to a higher ethical level (Patai 1971b, p. 21; cf. Louvish 1971a, col. 633). Even during periods of mass aliyah, when the main driving force was persecution and distress, there was always a leavening of idealists among them, and some olim were motivated by messianic yearnings (Patai 1971b, p. 21).

In the Ben-Gurion movement, the religious connotation appears to be of little significance. Ben-Gurion himself

defines Aliyah simply as "a wave of immigration" (1971b, p. 12n).

9. The Pale of Settlement was a territory within the borders of Czarist Russia wherein the residence of Jews was legally authorized. The original decree in 1791 prescribed areas of residence for the masses of Jews living in the portion of Poland annexed by Russia in 1772. The specific areas and rules governing restrictions were changed throughout the 19th and early 20th century, and the Pale of Settlement was abolished after the Revolution of February 1917 (Slutsky 1971b, cols. 24-27).

10. Jews traveling to Palestine encountered many difficulties. Ships available for Jews were dilapidated and many sank. Captains and pirates sometimes murdered their passengers or sold them into slavery. Often large ransoms had to be paid, and convoys across the deserts of Palestine were often raided (Alfassi 1971, col. 510).

11. Historian Don Peretz indicates very nearly the same population figures, but also notes that "no accurate population estimates existed" for this period (1983, pp. 278-82). Indeed, some estimate the population in 1918 as one million Arabs and 18,000 Jews, the latter down from 30,000 in 1914.

12. In the late 1800's French and then British governments became interested in control of the region, largely because it created a buffer between Turkish armies and the Suez Canal (Ra'anana 1971, col. 307). For over a decade prominent figures in the World Zionist Movement (particularly Chaim Weizmann who would later oppose Ben-Gurion on policy issues) had lobbied the British to declare Palestine a Jewish homeland. After a change in government in 1916, decisions were made for a British invasion and for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine under British protection (Stein 1971, col. 132).

13. See Ronald Sanders (1983) who, after a two chapter prologue giving the nineteenth and twentieth century background, describes in forty-two chapters the entire context of relevant events between November 1914 and December 1917. In addition to expressing British sympathy for a Jewish homeland, Balfour also stated "that nothing shall be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights" of Arabs in Palestine. British officials recognized that the native population, which was then ten times the Jewish population, must somehow be included in international arrangements. Yet, Arabs were not satisfactorily accommodated before nor after Israel was established as a state, and the status of Palestinian Arabs as a people remains a major problem today.

14. The kibbutz (pl. kibbutzim) is a voluntary collective community, largely agricultural, in which there is no private wealth and which is responsible for all the needs of the members and their families (Kerem 1971, col. 963).

Ben-Gurion originally fashioned his doctrine after the kevuzah (pl. kevuzot) which had small memberships based upon the idea that the community should be small enough to constitute a large family. (Twenty-nine kevuzot were established under the responsibility of the Zion Organization from 1913 to 1919.) When large numbers of pioneering settlers arrived during the Third Aliyah, they established large, self-sufficient villages which combined agriculture and industry, and for which the name "kibbutz" was used. Later the distinction between the two terms disappeared (*ibid.*).

Because "kibbutz" has been incorporated into American English with nearly the same meaning, it is not emphasized by underlining as a Hebrew word.

15. Histadrut is an abbreviation of the Hebrew Ha-Histadrut ha-Kelalit shel ha-Ovedim ha-Ivriyyim be-Eretz Israel; in English, the General Federation of Jewish Labor (Bar-Yaacov and Aderback, 1971, col. 534). Histadrut was formed in December 1920 as a compromise between two workers organizations. Soon a third organization dissolved and a fourth joined it to create a single unified federation of Jewish workers (Kolatt 1971b, cols. 848-49).

16. Mapai is an abbreviation of the Hebrew Mifleget Po'alei Eretz Israel; in English, the Party of Workers of the Land of Israel (Avi-hai 1974, p. 24) and usually shortened to Palestine (later Israel) Workers Party (Louvish 1971, col. 912).

The Jewish workers appear to have displayed respect and honor for Ben-Gurion's actual political talents and not for any greatly exaggerated nor newly endowed qualities. Direct evidence indicates that they showed their great regard for him as an individual, but not for any superhuman qualities.

One might infer charismatic characteristics in the Ben-Gurion and Jewish workers relationship by abstraction from their beliefs about themselves. For centuries, while living in other lands, Jews had held to the concept of galut (exile), that is, they felt uprooted from the homeland of their prophets and subject to alien rule (See Chapter III, page 67); cf. Ben-Sasson 1971a, col. 275). Many had come not to Palestine but to Eretz Israel, and their immigration had been an aliyah to reclaim the land of their prophets from the existing gentile natives. The primary source from which Ben-Gurion drew followers were the Jewish workers, the Halutzim, some number of whom felt bound together by their belief that they were fulfilling the prescriptions of their

deity. It follows that such people would feel such a bond with their leaders, and they increasingly attached themselves to Ben-Gurion. In later years Ben-Gurion and others would cast themselves as having been devoted to a holy cause (Avi-hai 1974, pp. 42-49), but at the time Ben-Gurion made scant reference to some sort of divine plan in his portrayal of their dislocated position.

17. This armed force was the Haganah, or Jewish Defense Organization. Formed in the early 1920's from demobilized Jewish troops from the British army and the original secret defense groups organized in Ottoman times, the Haganah was one of the distinct groups that formed the Histadrut (Avi-hai 1974, pp. 23-24).

18. Ben-Gurion opposed welfare for the unemployed for a number of reasons. He saw relief programs as interfering with the goal to make the Histadrut the sole workers' organization and the political force to create a Jewish state; work and not welfare would strengthen and consolidate the Histadrut (Teveith 1987, p. 272). Jews receiving dole would not take low paying jobs (for example, no Jews on welfare went out of cities to plant forests or tobacco), and it would corrupt and demoralize them (ibid., pp. 269-70).

Because Jews in Palestine were greatly outnumbered by Arabs, mass Jewish immigration was essential to create an independent Jewish state. Having large numbers of Jews on welfare could impede immigration in that it indicated an economy unable to support more workers. Ben-Gurion took two contradictory approaches: internally he used unemployment to trigger the raising of funds to create jobs; externally he denied the existence of an employment problem and urged would-be immigrants to hurry to Palestine lest they lose the jobs waiting for them (ibid., p. 270).

19. Few Westerners have an interest in the plight and fate of the Palestinian farmer or worker, and therefore misunderstand the causes of Arab resentments, whether in the 1920s or today. The reasons for Arab uprisings are beyond the scope of this study, but Sayigh 1979 and Migdal 1980 are recommended.

20. Jewish Agency (Heb. Ha-Sokhenut ha-Yehudit le-Eretz Israel). An international, nongovernmental body whose aim was to assist and encourage Jews throughout the world to help in the development and settlement of Eretz Israel. Its Executive, drawn from representatives of the World Zionist Organization, was recognized in July 1922 in the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine "as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine." From

the enlargement of the Agency in August 1929 until the establishment of the State of Israel, this body played the principal role in the relations between the National Home and world Jewry on the one hand and the Mandatory and other powers on the other (Stock 1971 col. 26).

21. See Chapter Note 2 for the categorization of the Jews as an ethnic group.

22. As discussed below (page 343), religiously orthodox Jews tended to oppose Zionism. Similar opposition exists today, such as with the hostility to Israel by the Neturei Karta of Jerusalem, who believe that a Jewish state cannot be established before the Messiah appears.

23. As has been noted before, some recent writers have attributed supernatural qualities to Ben-Gurion. Retrospectively, Ben-Gurion may also have seen his role as similar to prophets and sages of the past, and thus one with superhuman qualities. Writing in the late 1950's and the 1960's, he justified many of his political maneuvers as being based on Jewish history and the Bible. See Avi-hai, 1974, especially Chapter Three, and the references cited therein.

24. Ben-Gurion's plan included a smaller Zionist and Jewish Agency Executives with only its President, Chaim Weizmann, and one representative of each in London and the rest in Jerusalem (Teveth 1987, pp. 505-6).

25. During the first four decades of this century, there were distinct periods of immigration into Eretz Israel, each of which historians have labeled an Aliyah (pl. Aliyot). See Chapter note 8 above.

26. The Histadrut started with 4,500 members in 1920, grew to 8,500 by 1923, and by 1927 to 22,800 (Teveth 1987, p. 339). In agriculture, the Histadrut encouraged the kibbutz movements, mediated in disputes between settlements, and provided agricultural training. The Histadrut concluded wage agreements, established programs for social benefits, and set up labor exchanges which fixed conditions and priorities for employment, and was recognized by the British government as the representative of Jewish workers in collective bargaining (Kolatt 1971, col. 852).

27. Chaim Weizmann became the acknowledged leader of Zionist movement in 1917 when, after prolonged negotiations in which he was the central Zionist figure, the Balfour Declaration was obtained from the British Government (Hertzberg 1971, col. 1048; Patai 1971a, p. 1266). After being the dominant figure in world Zionism throughout the 1920's, Weizmann was heavily attacked in the Zionist

Congress of 1931, and withdrew from official positions. Largely because Weizmann did not hold them together, the non-labor factions split, and one large faction (designated "General Zionists B") supported Ben-Gurion at the 1933 Zionist Congress (Teveth 1987, pp. 428-29). In 1935 Weizmann was reelected, with Ben-Gurion's support, to the presidency of the WZO (Avi-hai 1974, p. 30). He retained that post until 1946, and was the first president of the state of Israel (Eban 1971, p. 423).

28. Vladimir Jabotinsky and his Revisionist party were also rivals of Ben-Gurion and the Mapai, but for only a short time. In the late 1920's, Jabotinsky's Revisionist Party called for break up of the Histadrut, but, with Ben-Gurion in the vanguard, it resisted the right-wing pressure from Revisionists and other parties (Slutsky 1971a, col. 508). Before attacking Ben-Gurion personally while running against him in the 1933 Zionist Congress elections (This chapter, page 322), in the late 1920's Jabotinsky had called him a "cowardly, incompetent" leader and, by inference, a dictator (Teveth 1987, p. 369). Ben-Gurion decided to dominate Zionism in 1932 (This chapter, page 330), largely to prevent the ascendancy of the Revisionist in the WZO (Slutsky 1971a, col. 508). In other words, Jabotinsky and the Revisionist constituted a threat which Ben-Gurion used to expand his movement.

29. Between August 1933 and September 1939, \$40,419,000 was transferred from Nazi Germany to Palestine through "Ha'avara," a transfer agreement between Germany and Zionists, and the company set up to manage the funds (Pinner 1971, cols. 1012-13). German Jews could put money into a bank inside Germany, which was then used to buy exports which were sold outside Germany, usually but not exclusively in Palestine. When the participating German Jews arrived in Palestine, they would receive a percentage (usually more than fifty percent) of the payment for goods that they had previously purchased after they had finally been sold (Brenner 1983, p. 65). Most of the 50,000 who left Germany during the period used Ha'avara, which, when it ceased operations at the outbreak of World War II, had dealt with 160 banks, and had handled 500,000 transactions (Feilchenfeld 1971, p. 438).

The money was crucial to the Zionist cause. Ha'avara enabled over 16,000 immigrants to come in over the British quotas, and created an economic boom in Palestine during a time when the western world was in a Depression (Brenner 1983, p. 65).

30. The writers relied on for this study were reasonably consistent in their reports of Arab and Jewish population trends. The figures seem to have come from two full British censuses taken in 1922 and 1931 and their

several population surveys in the mid-1940s, or are estimated from those data. Demographer Joel S Migdal, after noting that he and others came upon their statistics independently, states that nearly all "relied upon many of the same far from totally accurate sources," and, indeed, "many have argued over the veracity of results of all these enumerations" (1980, pp. 23n, 25n). If the figures are inaccurate, they probably overestimate the Jewish population and underestimate the Arabs, which makes the position of Zionists for more immigration, and of Arabs for less, even stronger.

31. In the period 1933-36, 164,267 Jews legally entered Palestine. Despite British efforts to control illegal immigration, between July 1934 and the outbreak of war in 1939, 43 ships succeeded in disembarking over 15,000 refugees without immigration certificates on the shores of Palestine (Louvish 1971c, col. 532).

As noted in Chapter Note 30, population numbers may be inaccurate, but the following indicate trends. Half of the Jewish newcomers made their home in Tel Aviv, which had a budget exceeding that of the other twenty-two municipalities put together; Jewish population in Haifa trebled, reaching 50,000, about half the population of the city; by 1936 Jerusalem had a Jewish population of 76,000, sixty percent of the city's total population (Slutsky 1971c, col. 345).

32. On April 19, 1936, two days of riots broke out in Jaffa, followed by a general strike which, the Arabs announced, would continue until the government fulfilled three demands: the stoppage of Jewish immigration, the prohibition of the transfer of land to Jewish ownership, and the establishment of "a national representative government." Arabs ended their strike after nearly six months without achieving their aims, but conducted a campaign of terror for the next three years. Armed bands of Arabs attacked Jewish individuals and settlements, burned Jewish property, and attacked British police and army detachments (Slutsky 1971c, cols. 348-49).

33. The White Paper had three principle provisions which effected the yishuv. First, it restricted Jewish immigration to 10,000 a year for a period of five years bringing the Jewish population to a third of the total, after which further immigration would depend upon Arab consent. In recognition of Hitler's persecutions, 25,000 additional certificates were promised for Jewish refugees in Europe. Second, the sale of land to Jews was severely restricted. Finally, the White Paper provided for the establishment within ten years, circumstances permitting, of an independent Palestine state, would maintain strategic and economic links with Britain. (Slutsky 1971c, col. 350; Kurzman 1983, p. 224).

34. Weizmann would be active in the WZO in the future, but with his influence greatly diminished. In part because Ben-Gurion didn't want the job but mostly because he recognized Weizmann's value as a diplomat, Ben-Gurion successfully pushed labor's representatives at the 1935 Zionist Congress to again make Weizmann president (Kurzman 1983, p. 196). Ben-Gurion believed that Weizmann, having lost much of his reputation, would not be a leader now, but a kind of Zionist ambassador who would take orders from the Zionist Executive, that is, Ben-Gurion (ibid.; Teveth 1987, p. 508).

35. In the first three years of the Fifth Aliyah, more immigrants arrived in Palestine than in the Third and Fourth Aliyot combined (in 1933 over 30,000, in 1934 over 42,000, and in 1935 nearly 62,000) (Patai 1971c, pp. 536-37); between 1932 and 1935 the Jewish population doubled to 355,157 (Teveth 1987, p. 511). After the nearly 30,000 immigrants in 1936, immigration slowed to 10,000 Jews in 1937, nearly 13,000 in 1938, and 16,000 legally and 11,000 illegally in 1939 (Patai 1971c, p. 537).

36. For a summary of the restrictions imposed by the White Paper, see Chapter Note 33.

37. Ben-Gurion was totally committed to Zionist ideology and the establishment of a Jewish state, and vehemently opposed any action by others which detracted from that goal. This intense dedication is illustrated in Ben-Gurion's actions, and those of other leaders of the WZO, with respect to the rescue of Jews in Germany prior to and during the Holocaust (cf. Brenner 1983, pp. 228-51). One example occurred in the wake of the terrible kristallnacht program of November 10-11, 1938, in Germany. The British offered to take in thousands of Jewish children directly into Britain, but Zionists sought to have all Jews immigrated to Palestine. On December 7, 1938, Ben-Gurion proclaimed,

If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them by transporting them to Eretz Yisrael, then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the life of these children, but also the history of the People of Israel (Gelber 1972, p. 199).

The British proceeded with the "Children's Transport" and saved hundreds of Jewish children (Metzger 1989, pp. 801-2).

38. Various schemes for partition of Palestine into

Jewish and Arab areas had been proposed since the 1930's, and from 1937 on was the basis of Ben-Gurion's Zionist policy (Teveth 1987, p. 863). In February 1947 the British Foreign Secretary proposed to Arab representatives and to Ben-Gurion a new plan for partition which both the Arabs and Ben-Gurion rejected (Kurzman 1983, p. 269). That same month, the British government announced that it was handing over the Palestine problem to the United Nations (Slutsky 1971c, col. 359).

In May 1947 the Palestine problem came before a special session of the U.N. General Assembly which appointed an international committee to study the problem and submit recommendations for a solution. On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly accepted the majority recommendation of the committee which established areas for separate Jewish and Arab states with international control of Jerusalem (Kurzman 1983, pp. 274-75). The British government announced that it would not cooperate with execution of the partition plan and would withdraw British civilian staff and military forces by May 15, 1948. The Palestine Arab leaders and the Arab states also announced their rejection of the U.N. decision and their determination to solve the problem by force (Slutsky 1971c, col. 360).

39. When the War of Independence (described in Chapter Note 17) began, the Haganah was the primary defense force. There were also two underground organizations, the Irgun Zeva'i Le'ummi and the Lohamei Herut Israel, that initially operated independently. On May 30, 1948, Ben-Gurion combined all the groups, organized around the command structure of the Haganah, into the Israel Defense Forces (Lorch 1971, cols. 306-7).

The yishuv began the War of Independence in December 1947 with rifles, a small quantity of light machine guns, a few dozen medium machine guns and 3-inch mortars, and assorted hand grenades and explosives manufactured in clandestine workshops (ibid., col. 306). Ben-Gurion recognized that for the new State to be secure, it needed suppliers of arms and technology and its own capability to provide both. By March 1948 they were manufacturing anti-tank projectors, submachine guns, and explosives and importing armaments from other countries including thirty light plans for reconnaissance, transportation, and supply to isolated areas (ibid. col. 308). In 1949 Ben-Gurion made Israeli production of defensive weapons the official policy of his government, in 1951 personally approved the establishment of an aircraft industry, and by 1960 had built a nuclear power plant capable of producing enough fissionable material for making nuclear weapons (Avi-hai 1974, pp. 209-11).

40. In Ben-Gurion's view, Jews had been without a definitive identity during the periods in which they were in

exile, whether in Babylon, Egypt, or Europe; Jewish history was the history of a ceaseless, tremendous battle by the Jews to withstand the physical and spiritual pressures of non-Jewish environments without the freedom to be themselves as Jews (Avi-hai 1974, pp. 37-38). Ben-Gurion appears to gloss over the importance of the Diaspora period, almost to the extent of ignoring the nineteen centuries of exile. Rather than ignoring exile, however, he rejected it:

Exile in which Jews lived and still live is to me a wretched, poor, backward and inadequate form of life. We must not be proud of it -- on the contrary we must reject it utterly and completely (quoted in Avi-hai 1974, p. 40).

Ben-Gurion saw four major events in Jewish history: the Exodus from Egypt, the theophany at Mount Sinai, the conquest of the Promised Land by Joshua, and the establishment of the State of Israel. The rebirth of an independent Jewish Homeland exceeded even the revelation and law-giving of Sinai in that the creation of the state goes back into the totality of Jewish history, and, with the "in-gathering of the exiles," modern Israel would surpass its two predecessors in that the ingathering would be greater numerically. In other words, the Jewish revolution of this century, i.e., Ben-Gurion's movement, was not a revolution against the state powers who governed in the Diaspora, but against the Jewish people's historical fate (Avi-hai 1974, pp. 38-39).

41. In May 1951, Ben-Gurion, with his wife, flew to the United States to open a "Bonds for Israel" drive. He was greeted and cheered in sixteen cities (including millions in a ticker tape parade in New York), spoke to large groups, met with President Truman and other prominent Americans, and raised about fifty-five million dollars to start the campaign (Kurzman 1983, pp. 335-36).

42. Ben-Gurion's plan for reparations from the Federal Republic of Germany set off one of the most emotional, bitter, and difficult debates of the post-state period. Ben-Gurion had proposed to the Jewish Agency Executive in June 1944 that they accept restitution on behalf of "the Jewish people," and in the dynamic stage of his charismatic movement it was rejected. After statehood and in the stabilization stage, his proposal was again initially rejected, but finally realized in an agreement signed by Germany on September 10, 1952. See Kurzman 1983, pp. 336-39; Teveth 1987, pp. 866-67; and Avi-hai 1974, pp. 202-3.

43. Ashkenazim (sing. Ashkenazi) -- German or West-, Central-, or East-European Jews. Contrasted with Sephardim (sing. Sephardi), Jews of Spain and Portugal and their

descendants who, particularly those exiled from Spain in 1492, settled all along the North African coast and throughout the Ottoman Empire (Nielsen, et.al 1983, p. 456).

44. In 1948 one and one-quarter million Arabs became refugees. Within the pre-1967, that is, the 1949 borders of Israel, the Arabs constituted only seven percent of the population. In 1949 the Zionist settlers acquired three-fourths of the area of Palestine; the remaining one-quarter became what is now known as the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In 1967 Israel acquired the rest of Palestine as defined by the British Mandate.

45. In his later years, Ben-Gurion assessed the new educational system as "a decisive step toward strengthening the state and the unification of the nation" (Avi-hai 1974, p. 102). He also used other means to incorporate oriental Jews into the larger Israel culture, but with only partial success. He emphasized the advancement of the Oriental Jews in speeches to various groups, appointed a North African Jew as Communal Advisor who represented the Oriental Jewish communities and recruited such Jews into state and public service, and, as discussed below, established a national educational system for everyone (Avi-hai 1974, p. 57). By the end of his official leadership, many Oriental Jews had become successful in gaining important economic and local political positions, but only a few, immigrant or native born, who had reached positions of real power on the national level was extremely small (Elon 1971, p. 307).

CHAPTER IX

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: KING

Background and Short Biography

Over a ten year period (1955-1965) Martin Luther King, Jr. was able to turn several mass protests against racial discrimination into a crusade for civil rights, to translate these local conflicts into moral issues receiving nationwide attention and concern, and to appeal to the consciences of White Americans and thus bring political pressure to bear on Washington (Lewis 1986, p. 871). He became the symbol, for both Blacks and Whites, of the civil rights movement and awakened Black Americans.

King was born on January 15, 1929, into a family steeped in the tradition of the Southern Black church: both his father and maternal grandfather were Baptist ministers.¹ At the age of fifteen, under a special program for gifted students, he entered Morehouse College in Atlanta and received his B.A. in 1948. In his senior year he decided to enter the ministry and spent three years at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, graduating at the top of his class (Bachelor of Divinity, 1951). From Crozer he went to Boston University where he met and married Coretta Scott and earned his Ph.D. (awarded in 1955).

In 1954 King accepted the pastorate of the Dexter

Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. In December 1955 a racial crisis propelled him into the leadership of a city-wide boycott of the local transit company. He and other Blacks of Montgomery maintained the nonviolent boycott for over a year in the face of grave danger and intimidation: King's house was dynamited and his family's safety threatened; Blacks endured mass arrests, physical assaults, and threats. The boycott was successfully concluded in December 1956 when Blacks and Whites rode Montgomery buses for the first time on an unsegregated basis.

Now convinced of the need for and the feasibility of a broader civil rights movement based on a nonviolent philosophy, King and other Black activists established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in January 1957. The SCLC gave King a platform from which to speak: King lectured in all parts of the country, discussed problems of Blacks with civil rights and religious leaders at home and abroad, visited Ghana and India, and conferred with heads of state.

King's influence reached its zenith in the years from 1960 to 1965. His strategy of nonviolent protests was highly publicized, used by many groups throughout the South, and influenced Congress and Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. In 1960 he moved the headquarters of the SCLC to Atlanta, and became co-pastor with his father of Ebenezer Baptist Church, but he devoted most of his time to

the civil rights movement. In Atlanta he agreed to support sit-in demonstrations of local college students, and in October was arrested with thirty-three others protesting lunch-counter segregation. When he was sentenced to a state prison farm, the case and concerns for King's safety assumed national proportions. King was released after intercession by Kennedy, the Democratic presidential candidate, an action so widely publicized in the Black community that it was felt to have contributed to Kennedy's slender election victory eight days later (Brooks 1974, pp. 155-57; Garrow 1986, pp. 147-49).

In a series of civil rights protests in Albany, Georgia, in 1961-62, law enforcement officials remained nonviolent, and the campaign failed. King realized that the success of nonviolent demonstrations depended upon violent responses by Whites, which television and print media would record and spread throughout the country. In the spring of 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama, King's campaign drew nationwide attention when television cameras recorded police turning dogs and fire hoses upon demonstrators. King was jailed along with thousands of his supporters, including hundreds of school children. The campaign ended with desegregation of public accommodations and hiring, a victory for King's doctrine of nonviolence.

Near the end of the Birmingham campaign, King joined other civil rights leaders in organizing the historic March on Washington, the largest massive protest ever to occur in

the United States (Brooks 1974, p. 1). The August 28, 1963 assembly of more than 200,000 Americans of all faiths, races, and creeds drew together the multiple forces for peaceful change in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial, and dramatized to the nation and to the world the importance of solving America's race relations problems. Here King delivered his fiery "I Have a Dream" speech, a vision of a time when the evils of prejudice and segregation would vanish and all men would be brothers.

In the 1960s, other groups also organized civil rights protests -- the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Committee of Racial Equality, and small groups organized to protest local grievances. The King- and other-led demonstrations and the March on Washington strongly affected national opinion and resulted in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. King's leadership of the civil rights movement was recognized internationally by his being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in December 1964.

During the March 1965 demonstrations at Selma, Alabama, opposition to King from within the civil rights movement surfaced. King organized, but did not take part in, the initial march from Selma to Montgomery, which was turned back by mounted state troopers with nightsticks and tear gas. He then headed a procession of 1,500 marchers along the same route. Upon meeting a barricade of state troopers, instead of forcing a confrontation, he led his followers in prayer, and then unexpectedly turned back. Many Blacks,

especially young radicals who already faulted him for being too cautious, suspected an "arrangement" with federal and local authorities. Vigorously but not convincingly denied, the suspicion clung to King. The events at Selma nevertheless aroused the nation and contributed to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Throughout the nation, and especially in the slums of large Northern cities, impatience with the lack of substantive progress encouraged the growth of Black militancy. In 1966 King initiated a drive against racial discrimination in Chicago. After a summer of rallies, marches, and demonstrations, an agreement was reached but, because it had little effect, many concluded that King could not deal with the complexities of Northern racism. He was also increasingly criticized for his acceptance of a major leadership role in the movement for peace in Vietnam. He found himself being challenged, and even publicly derided, by young Black-power enthusiasts.

Early in 1968, King announced a "Poor People's Campaign," an attempt to form a coalition of the poor of all races that would address itself to poverty and unemployment. This populist appeal, clearly a danger to the status quo, engendered little mass support. While preparing for a Poor People's March on Washington, King went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support striking sanitation workers. On April 4, at the age of thirty-nine, Martin Luther King, Jr. was killed by a sniper's bullet.² The murder set off

riots in Black communities throughout the nation. James Earl Ray was charged with the murder, pleaded guilty in March 1969, and was sentenced to 99 years in prison.

Comparative Analysis

King's mass movement evolved through the preparation, dynamic, and stabilization stages of the framework for the ideal type model. Yet, his relationship with his followers does not appear to fulfill several propositions of the ideal type model for a charismatic relationship: The comparative analysis revealed no evidence that followers believed him to be imbued with superhuman qualities (Proposition 9), saw him as divinely designated for a special mission (Proposition 10), or held him in reverence (Proposition 13).

Hereafter, a proposition is stated to begin each section; the discussion which follows indicates the extent to which a given proposition is substantiated. Each stage is introduced with background information and summarized.

The Preparation Stage

Growing up in Atlanta in the 1930s, Martin Luther King, Jr. must have learned early on what it was like to be a Black in the Deep South. However, the extent to which his childhood and young adult experiences prepared him for leadership in the civil rights movement is not clear.³ Although certainly aware of Black-White social differences, the young King was not frequently reminded of them because

his daily life took place in an almost all-Black environment: at home, at church, at school, and in the neighborhood (Oates 1982, p. 11; Garrow 1986, p. 35).

His father, for many years the pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, was "a major force" in Atlanta's Black community, a man with considerable business interests and political and social clout (Oates 1982, pp. 13-14). The senior King had moved up into the Black upper middle class, and his son appears to have set out to follow his father's example. While attending Morehouse College, "the school for the children of Atlanta's Black middle class," he took little part in civil rights activities (Garrow 1986, p. 36, emphasis in original; Brooks 1974, p. 102). At Crozer and Boston University, he studied various writings dealing with the meaning of social justice, but did not participate in activist organizations (Garrow 1986, pp. 38-47).

In April 1954 King accepted the position as minister of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. Still working on his dissertation at Boston University,⁴ he flew to Montgomery monthly until September when he moved his wife and baby daughter to that city. The comparative analysis of the preparation stage focuses on the events surrounding King in Montgomery.

Seeking Modification of Conditions

Proposition 1 - The charismatic leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their conditions.

The twenty-six year old King was shocked by the blatancy of Montgomery's White supremacy (Sitkoff 1981, p. 48). His earlier experiences in Atlanta, Chester, and Boston led him to favor moderate, middle-class politics as the best path for Black advancement, a path endorsed by his church's membership which were mainly teachers, college professors, and prosperous business people (ibid.; Garrow 1986, p. 50). He joined the Montgomery chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)⁵ and established a church committee, under his supervision, which held forums on political developments and kept members informed of NAACP activity in Dixie (Garrow 1986, pp. 50-51). Dexter's relatively prosperous congregation was soon contributing more to the NAACP than any other Black church in town (Brooks 1974, p. 104; Oates 1982, p. 58). King also administered social-action programs through his church to tend sick and needy Blacks, to help Black artists with promise, and to administer scholarship funds for Black high school students (Oates 1982, p. 57).

King became known among a small group of socially active Blacks in Montgomery, and he developed a close friendship with Ralph Abernathy, the better known activist minister of the First Baptist Church (ibid., p. 59; Abernathy 1989, pp. 128-30). In early August 1955, King spoke at a meeting of the local NAACP chapter, and positively impressed many local citizens who for the first time heard the young pastor of the "rich folks" church

(Garrow 1986, p. 51). Two weeks later, he was named to the group's executive committee.

Assumes Leadership Roles

Proposition 2 - The charismatic leader (1) proposes and supports revisions of the moral, ethical, and spiritual precepts of society and (2) gathers a small network of followers.

The letter notifying King of his selection to the executive committee came from the secretary of Montgomery's NAACP chapter, Mrs. Rosa Parks. Three months later, on December 1, 1955, Mrs. Parks refused to move to the rear of a municipal bus and was arrested, an incident which set in motion the series of events that resulted in King becoming the primary spokesman of Montgomery's Blacks during the bus boycott.⁶

The first organized protest was a one-day boycott of the bus service on December 5, and over ninety percent of the Blacks who ordinarily rode the buses stayed off them (Warren 1965, p. 203; Sitkoff 1981, p. 44). At an afternoon meeting the next day, the elated leaders established the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and, despite King not having previously distinguished himself as a leader, unanimously elected him its president.⁷ In its early stages, leadership of the movement was ad hoc and tentative, but King soon became "the voice of the boycott"⁸ (Brooks 1974, p. 100).

Throughout the year-long boycott, King articulated the revisions of fundamental moral, ethical, and spiritual

precepts sought by Blacks of Montgomery. He had also gathered a small network of followers. According to Alabama State history professor Lawrence D. Reddick, writing during the boycott, "The people have 'fallen in love' with King, a boyish-looking Ph.D" (1970, p. 92). Included in this small network were the other leaders of the MIA, some of whom would become his closest associates when he emerged as the leader of the civil rights movement (Propositions 5 and 6 below).

Preparation of Followers

Proposition 3 - When the social conditions in a society are such that (1) many people are displaced and deprived of the normal pursuit of life, and (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of a charismatic leader to address them.

"Historically," writes sociologist Daniel C. Thompson, "Black Americans have constituted a disesteemed, despised, relatively powerless racial minority" (1974, p. 39). As slaves they had been denied all the elementary rights that the national founders had insisted were the birthright of every human being. After the Civil War, the slavery system gave way to a caste-like system in which Blacks were categorized into one caste and Whites into another, with Whites having nearly all of the power, status, and financial resources (Drake 1970, pp. 103-4). Into the 1950s, Blacks continued to constitute a separate and depressed class of people.

The segregation and depression of Blacks was most pronounced in the South, where the economy depended upon cheap, plentiful, and easily controlled Black labor (Bloom 1987, p. 3). A ruling coalition of the Southern elite passed laws which established and perpetuated political structures and judicial procedures to preserve White supremacy and traditional biracial segregation in every walk of life (Thompson 1974, pp. 43-44). The ideology of White supremacy was readily supported by middle and lower class Whites, many of whom used violence to punish any individuals, but especially Blacks, who questioned the system by word or behavior (Drake 1970, p. 103).

During the first half of this century, various movements had limited success in raising Blacks' political influence and economic conditions (Bloom 1987, pp. 57-90). A major breakthrough occurred on May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court prohibited the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools.⁹ Black expectations ran high, seeing the decision as the second Emancipation Proclamation which would end all Jim Crow laws (Sitkoff 1981, p. 23). The initial jubilation was quickly tempered by an offensive by Whites against the federal government and the Black population.

For Blacks that meant a reign of terror such as they had not experienced for decades. Economic coercion, political murders, and even lynchings returned as Blacks faced an all-out assault to drive them back to their "place" of subservience (Bloom 1987, pp. 88-89).

Several hundred school districts, chiefly in the border states, peacefully integrated their classrooms, but momentum stopped on May 31, 1955, when the Court, influenced by the violence, issued its implementation order calling for gradual desegregation¹⁰ (Sitkoff 1981, pp. 23-24).

The racial conditions which prevailed throughout the South -- a long history of Black subordination to and segregation from Whites, Black expectations for change heightened by Supreme Court rulings, and increased White resolve to maintain the racial status quo -- were firmly established in the mid-1950s in Montgomery, "the cradle of the Confederacy" (Brooks 1974, p. 106). This was a rapidly growing city (78,000 people in 1940, 124,000 by 1956), forty percent (about 50,000) of whose population was Black. As a group Blacks were at the bottom of the economic ladder (for example, 63% of Black women and 48% of Black men were either domestics or laborers) (Brooks 1974, pp. 107-8).

Montgomery had had several activist Black leaders -- including Vernon Johns, King's predecessor at Dexter (Abernathy 1989, p. 19) -- and periodic racial incidents, but Whites considered race relations "good" in the sense that Blacks seldom challenged their state of subordination (Brooks 1974, p. 106; Reddick 1970, p. 88). In August 1955, Montgomery's Blacks rejoiced when their leaders petitioned educational authorities to begin immediate steps toward desegregation, but were shocked by the cruel murder of Emmett Till in Sumner, Mississippi¹¹ (Brooks 1974, p. 105).

Reddick describes the prevailing mood before the bus boycott, and why the Black population wanted to take some action.

There had been a long history of abuse by the bus operators. Almost everybody could tell of some unfortunate personal experience that he himself had had or seen. Montgomery Negroes were fed up with the bus service in particular, and like Negroes throughout the South, with race relations in general. The outrage of the Emmett Till murder was alive in everybody's mind. The silence and inaction of the Federal government, in the face of daily abuse, beatings and killings of Negro citizens, was maddening. Negroes have no faith at all in Southern law-making and law-enforcing agencies, for these instruments of "justice" are all in the hands of the "the brothers of the hoodlums who attack us" (1970, p. 90).

Montgomery's Blacks had made a few gains, but the structure of segregation remained solid and, for its seventeen thousand Black bus riders, most of whom rode the bus to and from work, the Jim Crow service was a frequent reminder of the indignity of being Black in Dixie (Bloom 1987, p. 137). Not only was seating segregated, but, if the "White" seats were filled, drivers often required Blacks to get on in front, pay their fares, disembark, and reboard at the back door (Brooks 1974, p. 109). Pistol-toting bus drivers had shot one Black man and threatened others, and there were countless stories of discourtesy and name-calling by drivers (Bloom 1987, p. 138, emphasis added). Black leaders had talked about a bus boycott for about a year, but they could not find a "good litigant" until the arrest of Rosa L. Parks (Raines 1983, p. 38; Williams 1987, pp. 63,

66-67).

Repudiation of Present, Tie to the Past

Proposition 4 - The charismatic leader issues a doctrine which (1) promises an idealized future society, (2) repudiates much of the existing social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of the group.

By December 1955, Martin Luther King, Jr. had established himself as a preacher, popular among a small circle, but barely known to the general population of Blacks in Montgomery (Warren 1965, p. 203). Black leaders had thrust the presidency of the MIA upon him, but he soon became its primary spokesman. Yancy Martin, a college freshman in 1955-56 and later a political leader, recalls King's impact on audiences.

Oh, yeah, everybody was just captivated by the cat, man. He was a very articulate person. He sounded good, and it was just great to see a Black person who could get up and move an audience the way he did without talking out of the Bible. I mean, he was talking about what we oughta have, and what we oughta be, and what the situation oughta be in the South, and what kind of country we oughta live in. He was always saying the thing and he was saying it so well (Raines 1983, p. 61).

King gave Montgomery's Blacks an appealing picture of the society they should live in. He repudiated the existing social order by repeatedly stating the underlying assumption of the Montgomery boycott: Equal citizenship for Blacks was only possible in an integrated society (Thompson 1974, pp. 6-7). At the same time, King and the other MIA leaders

were advocating, promoting, and reinforcing the values, ideals, and sentiments of Montgomery's Blacks in that the continuation of the boycott was almost entirely the idea of the Black population. A Montgomery teacher close to the leadership told a reporter:

The amazing thing about our movement is that it is a protest of the people. It is not a one man show. It is not the preachers' show. It's the people. The masses of this town, who are tired of being trampled on, are responsible. The leaders couldn't stop it if they wanted to (ibid.).

King himself told Bayard Rustin, who later became his associate and confidant, at their first meeting in late February 1956, "passive resistance" was not chosen "by any single person" but "was the spontaneous movement of the people." King acknowledged to others that he and other MIA spokesmen "have attempted to give leadership" to a movement created and maintained by the people themselves (Garrow 1986, p. 68). In other words, King advocated the values, ideals, and sentiments of Montgomery's Blacks.

A Brief Summary: The Preparation Stage

Whatever King's experiences as a child and young adult with respect to being concerned with the Blacks' conditions in the South, in Montgomery he found their living conditions objectionable and sought modification of their conditions (Proposition 1). Early in the bus boycott, he became the primary spokesman of the boycotters as he continually proposed and supported revision of fundamental precepts of

Montgomery society, and he gathered a small network of followers (Proposition 2). Before the Civil War, Southern Blacks had been slaves, and afterward they remained displaced and deprived of their normal pursuit of life. The Jim Crow treatment on Montgomery's buses was a continual reminder of their social displacement and deprivation, and frustration built as Blacks could not find a way to end the subservience and oppression (Proposition 3). After the bus boycott had been underway for several months, King formulated his doctrine of nonviolence. In it he promised Blacks an idealized future society, repudiated the existing social order of the South, and based it on the values, ideals, and sentiments of Montgomery's Blacks (Proposition 4).

King Emerges as a Leader

Attachment to the Charismatic Leader

Proposition 5 - The followers attach themselves to the charismatic leader when they identify with his portrayal of their dislocated position in society and accept many of his prescriptions as means to attain their rightful place in society.

Over the course of the year-long boycott, the movement evolved from its preparation to dynamic stages, and King from a man of words to a fanatical leader. Soon after the beginning of the bus boycott, King became the primary spokesman of the MIA, and effectively portrayed to Blacks their dislocated position in Montgomery's society. To bring

about a new society he soon found himself confronted with a continual series of realities and choices that he had not anticipated (Bloom 1987, p. 139). King formulated his doctrine of passive resistance out of those realities and choices as he increasingly recognized that Montgomery's Blacks "had to be nonviolent and passive in order to resist successfully" (Lewis 1982, p. 279, emphasis in original).

On the evening of January 30, while King was at a rally, the front of his house was bombed when his family was in the rear of the building. Upon being informed of the bombing, King rushed home to find a crowd of several hundred Blacks who were angry and unwilling to comply with police demands that they disperse. At the request of the Police Commissioner, King stood on the front porch and pleaded with the crowd to go home, emphasizing the need for calm and nonviolence (Garrow 1986, p. 60). Reddick, who closely observed events in Montgomery, concludes that King's plea "probably saved the city from a race riot" (1970, p. 96). Camera and newsmen had covered the bombing of his house and his speech to the crowd, and their pictures and accounts began the creation of the image of Martin Luther King as a nonviolent leader (Warren 1965, p. 204).

King himself, however, had not yet fully adopted passive resistance (Raines 1983, p. 53). On February 1, he and Abernathy were refused permits for handguns by the county sheriff's office, and for several months armed guards protected his house (Garrow 1986, p. 74). King became

committed to nonviolence when the authorities of Montgomery forced him to make tactical and strategic decisions. In their reporting of the subsequent events, the national press firmly established King as the symbol of nonviolent protest.

The first demands of the MIA were mild: reasonable courtesy, first-come-first-served seating, and Black drivers on Black routes (Warren 1965, p. 204). When the mayor and other officials embarked on a "get tough with Negroes" policy, Black leaders and even the most conservative ex-bus riders became convinced that bus segregation itself had to be attacked (Reddick 1970, p. 97). On February 1, 1956, suit was filed in federal court seeking an injunction against segregated bus seating (Garrow 1986, p. 61).

Largely in retaliation, Montgomery's authorities brought charges against, and on February 21 a local grand jury indicted, 115 Black leaders (Warren 1965, p. 205). The leaders announced they would surrender, and hundreds of Blacks applauded them as they entered the police station one by one.

The photograph of [King] with a numbered plaque hanging from his neck captured national and international attention. Statements in support of the boycott, as well as cash contributions, poured in from all over the world.

At a mass meeting the next evening, the indicted Black leaders marched between thousands of cheering men, women, and children who overflowed the street outside Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. Women held their babies to touch these men of courage. Inside, hundreds more chanted, and shouted, and prayed, and pledged themselves to "passive resistance," to shun the buses and "walk with God" (Sitkoff 1981, p. 54).

A month^{er} later, the town now jammed with reporters and cameramen of the national print and television media, King was the first to be tried, and on March 22 convicted.¹² "King was convicted in Montgomery, but in the national court of public opinion he was not only acquitted but vindicated" (Brooks 1974, p. 117). When King emerged from the courthouse, a crowd of more than three hundred, Black and White, cheered him. "We will continue to protest in the same spirit of nonviolence and passive resistance, using the weapon of love," King told them and the dozens of newsmen (Garrow 1986, p. 74). The crowd, accepting his prescription to attain a better social position, then sang, "We ain't gonna ride the buses no more" (Sitkoff 1981, p. 56).

White Montgomery's efforts to stifle the boycott had backfired. For local Blacks, King's trial, and King himself, through his speeches and actions, gave the boycotters a renewed determination and infused the boycott movement with a revolutionary aura, elevating the buses from a literal to a symbolic significance (Warren 1965, p. 205; Garrow 1986, p. 75). Montgomery's buses came to represent all Jim Crow laws, which they deemed unconstitutional and unjust, and which they set out to annul through passive resistance. King emerged as the dominant proponent of that means whereby Black could attain their rightful place in American society (Thompson 1974, pp. 6-7).

No longer merely the movement's spokesman, King had made the conversion from a man of words to a fanatical

leader. He became an "electric presence" in the community and at the head of columns; his sojourns in jail were internationally reported; he effectively raised funds in the North; he unyieldingly enforced nonviolence; and he negotiated with Whites (Lewis 1982, pp. 279-80).

Due to the extensive nationwide press and television coverage, the boycotters received considerable financial support from private persons worldwide and from a variety of labor, civic, and social groups in the United States (Brooks 1974, p. 117). Yet, as the boycott continued through 1956, amid numerous crises and often severe sacrifices confronting the boycotters (cf. Raines 1983, pp. 58-65; Bloom 1987, pp. 143-46), its fate rested with the courts. Finally, on December 17, the Supreme Court rejected the city's last appeal, and the actual order arrived in the city on December 20 (Garrow 1986, p. 82). At 5:55 the next morning, "with television cameras grinding and reporters questioning," King was the first passenger on the first bus on the route near his house (Brooks 1974, p. 119). As news photographers snapped pictures of King, Abernathy, Nixon, Mrs. Parks, and Glenn Smiley, a White advisor of the MIA, the bus pulled away from the curb (Garrow 1986, p. 82). After 382 days, the boycotters had achieved their goal, inspired Blacks throughout the South to take similar actions (Bloom 1987, p. 146), and propelled Martin Luther King into the leadership of the civil rights movement.

Identification with Lower Statuses

Proposition 6 - The charismatic leader exhibits behaviors by which he becomes identified with those in the lower social positions of his society, and these behaviors show evidence of his unusual understanding and of their worthiness to follow him.

Organizational administration, fund raising, and extensive travel removed King from routine direct contact with his followers, but he took several measures, discussed below, by which he became identified with Southern Blacks. After the Montgomery boycott, King spent the next three years (1957-1959) organizing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), coordinating its activities with other civil rights groups, and raising funds.¹³ The extensive media coverage of the boycott had made King a nationally known figure, a leader at the forefront of a bold, new direct-action approach calculated to disrupt the social order and at times designed to defy or thwart a local or state law supporting the biracial system¹⁴ (Thompson 1974, p. 7). Television had become a major source of news, especially in the Northeast, where the coverage was perforce liberal in interpretation, and from where much of the national news originated (Brooks 1974, p. 117). King, with his direct-action program, provided more exciting news than other Black leaders (many of whom rejected and condemned him, making it even more exciting), and the mass media constantly gave him opportunities to answer his critics and to explain his nonviolent civil disobedience philosophy

(Thompson 1974, pp. 8-9).

Through his many speeches and the extensive press coverage, he maintained some identification with common Blacks, but his deep involvement with civil rights leaders also meant that he had less direct contact with the people.¹⁵ His demonstrating with them and going to jail on their behalf remained the most effective means for this identification and for his showing evidence of their being worthy to follow him. "In the Black community, going to jail had been a badge of dishonor," Bayard Rustin later told an interviewer. "Martin made going to jail like receiving a Ph.D." (Raines 1983, p. 56, emphasis added; cf. Thompson 1974, pp. 8-9).

His leader-follower relationship became reestablished when he demonstrated with Black students in Atlanta in October 1960. Student leaders in Atlanta had begun a series of lunch counter protest in March,¹⁶ and, after meeting various forms of resistance from Atlanta's officials, had targeted Rich's department store (Raines 1983, pp. 86-88). On October 18, three student leaders convinced King to accompany their group, emphasizing that "he was going to have to go to jail if he intended to maintain his position as one of the leaders in the civil rights struggle" (Garrow 1986, p. 143; cf. Raines 1983, pp. 88-90). King and thirty-six others were arrested, and all but King released two days later when the Mayor arranged a thirty-day truce (Garrow 1986, pp. 144-45). King was held for violation of

probation on a trivial traffic offense, driving without a Georgia driver's license.¹⁷ At 4:00 AM on October 26, in handcuffs and leg irons, King was transported to a maximum security prison for four months at hard labor, "an unheard-of sentence for a first-offense traffic violation which did not involve dangerous driving" (Raines 1983, p. 90).

The Presidential election was less than two weeks away. President Eisenhower refused to issue a statement prepared by his Justice Department, and the Republican candidate, Richard M. Nixon, declined to comment, apparently fearing he would offend White voters in certain states (Brooks 1974, pp. 155-56). The Democratic leadership had the opposite reaction. Candidate John F. Kennedy immediately called Mrs. King expressing his concern for her and her husband, and Robert F. Kennedy, his brother and campaign manager, called the judge who had sentenced King to prison (Garrow 1986, p. 147). The next day King was released, although the effect of Robert Kennedy's intervention is not known (Franklin 1974, p. 625). It is clear that news of the Kennedy brothers' actions swept through the Black community. In addition to public news reports, more than a million pamphlets telling of the their deeds were distributed in Black churches and other meeting places (Brooks 1974, p. 156). On November 1 King issued a statement that stopped just short of an endorsement of Kennedy (Garrow 1986, p. 148).

When the votes were counted on November 8 -- in the closest Presidential election of the century -- Blacks had reason to believe that they were responsible for Kennedy's election.¹⁸ King had gone to jail, though under more severe conditions than he had anticipated, and by this behavior he had become identified with Blacks in all social positions. He had displayed his unusual understanding of their conditions and of their worthiness to follow him, and they had displayed their renewed devotion to him at ballot boxes and in voting booths.

Difficulty of Prescriptions

Proposition 7 - In order to carry out the charismatic leader's doctrine the followers adhere to new prescriptions, some being difficult and requiring great sacrifice, but they believe their adherence to even the most difficult prescriptions is possible.

By March 1961, the increasing costs of running the SCLC forced King to make fund-raising his top priority (Garrow 1986, p. 153). King was recognized as the foremost Black leader, the one who had provided the civil rights movement with its guiding philosophy linking direct action with nonviolence, but other organizations now initiated various protests actions. In November 1961, various local Black organizations, including chapters of SNCC and the NAACP, came together to form the Albany Movement to present a united front against entrenched discrimination in Albany, Georgia (Brooks 1974, p. 176). King became involved and suffered his first major setback when Albany Sheriff Laurie

Prichett and his police acted with restraint against the protestors.¹⁹ King's failure at Albany caused him to add two prescriptions to his strategy: (1) Select targets who would react violently against demonstrators and would jail King, and (2) stay in jail until officials agreed to negotiate (Lewis 1982, p. 283, emphasis added).

In 1963 King reestablished civil rights as the dominant issue in domestic politics due largely to the violent reaction of Theophilus Eugene "Bull" Connor, Birmingham's Commissioner of Public Safety. To bring this about, King's followers had to follow his prescription for planned confrontation, and they would have to suffer mass imprisonment, injury from high pressure water hoses, and physical attacks by police, their dogs, and unrestrained thugs (Raines 1983, pp. 167-78).

The SCLC chose Birmingham for its "Project C" -- "C" for "Confrontation"²⁰ (Garrow 1986, p. 229). Demonstrations began on April 3, 1963, but Connor reacted mildly, closing lunch counters and gently arresting small groups, and counting on an injunction to quell King and his followers (Brooks 1974, pp. 203-4). The city secured the injunction on April 10, but not before Connor had used dogs to disperse crowds three days earlier, an attack recorded by reporters and cameramen (Garrow 1986, pp. 239-40). King attempted to spark the movement by violating the injunction on Good Friday, April 12, being arrested, and with Abernathy being placed in solitary confinement (Brooks 1974, p. 204).

King's arrest aroused national concern, and many officials and celebrities deplored the use of police dogs, but the protests still had not generated the desired massive assault on segregation (Garrow 1986, pp. 242-47).

Recognizing the need to bolster faltering support among the followers, King and Abernathy accepted bail on April 20 (Brooks 1974, p. 205). Unable to mobilize sufficiently the Black adults of Birmingham, and with the press losing interest and many leaving town, SCLC staffers recruited some six thousand school children willing to "walk to freedom" (Garrow 1986, p. 247). Over a period of four hours on May 2, waves of children, aged six to sixteen, walked downtown and dropped to their knees as police approached. On that day, 959 children and ten adults were arrested (Brooks 1974, p. 207, emphasis added). The next day, Connor, determined to avoid any repetition, ordered the use of dogs and fire hoses injuring marchers, bystanders, and reporters and photographers. The action of the police caused consternation and dismay throughout the country, and in many places sympathy demonstrations were held (Franklin 1967, p. 631).

King's followers were finding his prescription for direct action extremely difficult, but they still complied. Front pages of national and overseas newspapers and the evening television news broadcasts carried scenes of escalating mass demonstrations, arrests, and police brutality.²¹ An uneasy truce was agreed to on May 10, 1963

(Oates 1982, p. 240; Garrow 1986, pp. 258-59).

The old order in Birmingham -- and in much of the South -- was cracked forever. Bombings, acts of terror, murder could not restore the old segregated ways or halt the changes set in motion by [dedicated Blacks], those Whites willing to negotiate despite fear, and, above all, by the unknown people of great courage and quiet determination willing to go to jail for freedom (Brooks 1974, p. 209).

Masses of Blacks had followed King's prescription of direct, nonviolent confrontation, had suffered imprisonment and numerous injuries, and had succeeded. They and others throughout the South came to believe that adherence was possible and would bring down the old social order. In the ten weeks following the Birmingham confrontation, there were at least 758 demonstrations in 186 cities across the South, and some 14,733 persons were arrested in eleven Southern states (compared to 3,600 at the height of the 1961 sit-ins) (Brooks 1974, pp. 210-11). In terms of this Proposition, his followers had accepted his prescriptions, however difficult and at great sacrifice.

Arguments and Symbols

Proposition 8 - The charismatic leader articulates his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas become ingrained in the minds of followers.

King wrote extensively, describing his doctrine in lengthy and reasoned arguments. By 1964 King had published three books, which communicated his ideology and his aims.²² He also wrote a regular advice column in Ebony, and

published numerous articles. The most famous of his writings was his "Letter from Birmingham Jail," written during his solitary confinement in April 1963 (King 1964, pp. 77-100). The SCLC published it as a pamphlet and distributed almost a million copies, and it appeared in numerous periodicals (Oates 1982, p. 230).

It is not clear what effect King's writings had on his followers, or how many of his followers read his books and periodicals much less the "Letter."²³ His written works probably had at least an indirect effect on his followers in that his writings, along with the highly publicized Birmingham protests, contributed to his being seen nationally as the embodiment of civil rights (cf. Lewis 1982, pp. 285-86).

King was most effective as a speaker. During the first year and one-half of his ministry at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church (1954-5), King wrote out and memorized the complete text of his Sunday sermons. Speaking without notes for thirty-five to forty minutes, mixing "emotion and intellect," he impressed nearly all who heard him (Oates 1982, p. 56; Garrow 1986, p. 50). Even before he became the leader of the MIA, he received invitations to speak from as far away as Pennsylvania (Oates 1982, p. 57).

After his emergence as a civil rights leader, King applied his highly developed and effective speaking skills to articulate his doctrine. His speeches to Black masses in Montgomery and Albany motivated the masses to participate in

direct action protests. At Birmingham he was unable to motivate adults in sufficiently large numbers, but his speeches held together the movement until the police reacted violently. From Montgomery on, he traveled widely speaking to groups of upper middle class Blacks and sympathetic Whites, many of whom then contributed funds to the SCLC.²⁴

Probably his greatest speech, and certainly the best known, was his "I Have a Dream" speech given near the end of the massive March on Washington.²⁵ King had worked for hours writing his speech, but he soon spoke extemporaneously, using a peroration from previous speeches. Although the huge crowd was tired from the series of speeches and musical presentations under the warm afternoon sun, their fervor and applause rose with each of King's passages (Lewis 1978, p. 227; Garrow 1986, pp. 283-84). The speech was "rhetorical and almost without content" (Lewis 1978, p. 228), but King's symbolic images of an American dream -- its Declaration of Independence, its land, its children, and its cherished values of brotherhood and justice for all -- conveyed the moral power of the civil rights movement's cause to the millions who watched the live television coverage, and the millions more who would see and hear parts of it again and again the following months and years (cf. Garrow 1986, p. 284).

A Brief Summary: King Emerges as a Leader

After King became the spokesman of the MIA,

Montgomery's Blacks identified with his portrayal of their social dislocation. After he was jailed, tried, and convicted for leading them, they accepted his prescriptions as a means to attain their rightful place in Southern society (Proposition 5). His prescriptions called for disobedience of certain laws, and when he went to jail in violation of those laws he became identified with ordinary Blacks and showed their worthiness to follow him (Proposition 6). In Albany, Georgia, King confirmed that civil disobedience was effective only when authorities reacted violently. Adhering to this prescription in Birmingham, King's followers were subjected to beatings, dogs, and high pressure hoses, and found that the tactic, however difficult, was effective in achieving their goals (Proposition 7). King articulated his doctrine in writing and most effectively in speeches to his followers (Proposition 8).

The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

In the late 1950s and into the 1960s, the civil rights movement was an aggregate of direct action protests under a variety of leaders (Thompson 1974, p. 7). King assumed leadership of protests in Atlanta, in Birmingham, and, as will be discussed below, in St. Augustine, and he and the SCLC provided emotional and financial support for others' demonstrations.²⁶ His success in Montgomery had made him the

symbol of nonviolent Black protest, and the central spokesman for the coalition of groups that made up the civil rights movement, articulating its causes and applying national pressure for legislation and enforcement.²⁷ Highly regarded by whites as well as Blacks, newsmen and politicians sought out King for the views of Blacks and their leaders (cf. Washington 1964, p. 16).

In America of the 1980s, King is considered a charismatic leader. This label, however, is applied "in the broadest use of the term" which "has lost many of its religious connotations and now refers to a wide range of leadership styles that involve the capacity to inspire -- usually through oratory -- emotional bonds between leaders and followers" (Carson 1987, p. 449).

Whereas many Blacks probably regarded him as extraordinary, there is no evidence that followers believed him to be connected to a divine source, an essential feature of my definition of charisma (Chapter I, page 6). King's leader-follower relationship does not conform to those propositions which depend on this connection (Propositions 9, 10, and 13). The others are substantiated.

Imbued with Superhuman Qualities

Proposition 9 - The followers believe their charismatic leader to be imbued with superhuman qualities which he applies for their benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being.

The Black church supplied some ideology for the civil rights movement, and many of its foremost leaders, and was a

frequent meeting place for its participants (Marx 1970, p. 381). The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was, by all accounts, an extraordinary preacher from the pulpits of the Black churches from which he frequently addressed Black audiences. Most of his associates, nearly all at first, were also ministers (Raines 1983, pp. 68-69). Notwithstanding these associations with the religious life of Southern Blacks, or even the fact that King's followers were emotionally touched by his orations, there is insufficient basis for concluding that he was believed to be imbued with superhuman qualities.

Historically, the preacher had been the leader of the Black community (Raines 1983, p. 69). In the Black church, people with a shared problem were brought together in privacy, and often sang spirituals and heard sermons rich with protest symbolism²⁸ (Marx 1970, p. 379). To become a militant protester, however, is quite another matter, and research indicates that the usual participation in conventional Black churches might inhibit rather than support attitudes of protest.²⁹

Black ministers organized and directed the Montgomery bus boycott, and "Prayers, Biblical themes, ministerial personalities, and hymn singing...added a religious aura to the nonviolent movement" (Washington 1964, p. 13). Montgomery, however, constituted the experimental stage of the civil rights movement. Whatever the degree to which MIA leaders convinced Montgomery's Blacks that nonviolence was

in keeping with Biblical teachings, even King increasingly based his ideational framework on Gandhian precepts of nonviolence.

Films of Gandhi's resistance movement were shown regularly to Black congregations. Demonstrations of nonviolence were accompanied by references to the Mahatma. Songs and skits emphasized the success of passive resistance in India (Sitkoff 1981, p. 59).

Journalist emphasized the uniqueness of King's Gandhian approach, thereby differentiating him from NAACP leaders and the Black church's ministerial hierarchy (ibid., p. 60). Others copied King's strategy, not because of religious ideology, but because nonviolent, passive resistance had worked at Montgomery (Raines 1983, pp. 69-70, 99).

Religious-like fervor remained valuable in the civil rights movement, but soul music replaced hymns; the passion of rallies was expressed by rhythm and blues as well as gospel tunes³⁰ (Washington 1964, p. 15). Faith was an important ingredient in the movement, but that faith was the Blacks' new belief in themselves, a new inner strength to resist the years of oppression and persecution (Bloom 1987, p. 144). King contributed greatly to that new faith (cf. Raines 1983, p. 56), and at times used religious teachings to support it, but there is no evidence that more than a few followers believed him to be imbued with supernatural qualities.

A Special Mission

Proposition 10 - The charismatic leader and

the followers believe him to be designated by the supernatural for a special mission to fulfill and to convey to his followers.

King, his followers, and the leaders and members of other civil rights groups had a special mission: To secure for Blacks their rights as ordinary American citizens. So committed were countless Blacks that they willingly entered situations knowing the potential for severe personal injury. Indeed, the usual tactic was to provoke such situations. While King probably believed himself to be designated by his God for leadership, it does not appear that his followers believed King to have been specifically designated by the supernatural nor their mission to be divinely ordained.

King was, by all accounts, a deeply religious man, and, once he accepted the mantle of leadership which had been thrust upon him, he appears to have justified the role to himself as the will of his God. According to Andrew Young, who became an associate of King in September 1960 and the Executive Director of the SCLC in 1964,

I think that Martin always felt that he had a special purpose in life and that that purpose in life was something that was given to him by God, that he was the son and grandson of Baptist preachers, and he understood, I think, the spiritual notion of men of destiny. That came from his family and his church, and basically the Bible (Garrow 1986, p. 289).

Other close colleagues, many of whom were ministers, also saw that King perceived his role as predestined (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 289-90; Raines 1983, p. 426; Oates 1982,

p. 289). There is no indication, however, that these colleagues believed in his predestination, nor that his mass following did either.³¹

Nor could evidence be found which indicated that his followers believed in divine designation for themselves. As historian Nathan Irvin Huggins states, "Charisma is an exchange between the leader and the group" (1987, p. 479, emphasis in original). Huggins, and others as well, cite King's perception of the exchange but do not show how followers viewed their relationship with King.³² In fact, although King often cited Biblical comparisons for his actions and for those of his followers, he mainly justified the mission and protests with national and cultural symbols³³ (Thompson 1974, p. 9). It is likely that followers saw their mission as King told reporters in November 1963 in Danville, Virginia,³⁴ after he led a demonstration there despite a local injunction against civil disobedience, "I was enjoined January 15, 1929, when I was born in the United States a Negro" (Oates 1982, p. 254). Bound together by their birth as Blacks in segregated America, the events of the 1950s had created a self-confident, though embattled, Black population and leadership. Into the 1960s, Blacks protested more frequently and their demands became broader, not because they saw themselves as on a divinely ordained mission, but because they were disappointed, cynical, and angry, and were by now emboldened by successful protest actions throughout

the South.³⁵

The Ideal Type

Proposition 11 - The charismatic leader's behaviors are the model for the behaviors of the followers.

The many protest demonstrations in the South in the early sixties were modeled after King's nonviolent, direct action approach. His personal participation, however infrequent, exemplified the type of behavior which others would follow (Carson 1987, p. 452). As stated by Hosea Williams, a long-time civil rights activist before joining the SCLC and its field director after, "The difference in King's leadership and other leaders' leadership -- King shows you what to do, the others'll tell you what to do.... I found him out in the streets leadin' the people, showing them how to get free" (Raines 1983, p. 445).

The demonstrations at St. Augustine in 1964 illustrate how King's behavior provided a model for others in that he displayed the courage, determination, and discipline essential for nonviolent direct action. In the latter half of 1963, Robert B. Hayling, a local dentist and NAACP activist, set out to end St. Augustine's atmosphere of racial terror, using King's Birmingham campaign as a model.³⁶ Police beat and jailed the demonstrators, and meanwhile allowed Klansmen to bomb and strafe Black homes, fire shotguns into Black nightclubs, and beat Hayling and others nearly to death. The federal government ignored

Hayling's pleas for help, instead promising \$350,000 to help White leaders celebrate St. Augustine's four hundredth birthday the next year (Oates 1982, p. 294).

Removed as Youth Council advisor for the NAACP, Hayling affiliated his organization with the SCLC which sent staffers to St. Augustine in March 1964. By the end of the month over 200 demonstrators were in jail, the SCLC chapter had submitted its demands to the city, and city officials had refused to negotiate (Garrow 1986, pp. 317-18). For the next several months, demonstrations continued, but they were poorly planned and the participants undisciplined (ibid. p. 325). On May 18, King and his top staff members visited St. Augustine and established a long-range program. Police prevented a clash between demonstrators and white hecklers on May 27, but the next night allowed whites to attack demonstrators with bicycle chains and iron pipes, intervening only after many demonstrators had been injured and some knocked unconscious (Oates 1982, p. 295).

After a speaking and fund-raising tour, King returned to St. Augustine on May 31. Demonstrations had been temporarily halted, the SCLC had petitioned a federal judge to intervene, and on May 30 a Klan rally had drawn 300 people, many from outside St. Augustine (ibid., pp. 295-96; Garrow 1986, p. 328). King spoke to the protestors but held off demonstrations until the judge (on June 9) enjoined the Sheriff and the city from interfering in night marches and prohibited "cruel and unusual punishment" of prisoners

(Oates 1982, p. 297). Marches resumed that night, and to generate "creative tension" he, Abernathy, and eight others appeared at a local restaurant, sought service, and were arrested (ibid., pp. 297-98; Garrow 1986, pp. 330-31). King was bonded out of jail after four days of solitary confinement, and left town to deliver commencement addresses at two northern colleges (Garrow 1986, p. 331).

Legal maneuvering, demonstrations, and violent responses continued for the next several weeks.³⁷ King returned on June 24, his presence motivating his followers to demonstrate that night in several parts of town. His return also inflamed the Klansmen, who attacked marchers and their highway patrol escort, injuring both Blacks and officers, and whipped Black bathers with bicycle chains at a "swim-in" at an all-white beach. King himself displayed great courage at another demonstration when whites surrounded him and a group of frightened Blacks, and he led them to safely past name-calling ruffians.³⁸

The next day the Senate passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and that night 800 club-wielding, enraged Klansmen attacked the marchers in the city's main square, severely injuring demonstrators as well as reporters. Beaten demonstrators and other Blacks gathered at a Black church, and many angrily proposed retaliation. King and Abernathy soothed them, but St. Augustine was becoming a nightmare (Oates 1982, p. 300). King was allowed a graceful exit when the Florida Governor suddenly announced a biracial committee

to mediate the situation (Garrow 1986, p. 336). On June 30, King called off the campaign, apparently successful. By being jailed, by being on the streets with demonstrators, and by calming them after attacks, he had also displayed how nonviolent protestors should behave.

Bearing Burdens and Pain

Proposition 12 - It is believed that the charismatic leader bears the spiritual and emotional burdens and pain of his people at great sacrifice to himself.

King's jailings were highly publicized and therefore apparent to his followers. Hayling, for example, was well aware of how King attracted news coverage, telling King when requesting SCLC assistance at St. Augustine that only he could gain the necessary national attention (Oates 1982, p. 294). King's imprisonment at St. Augustine was his sixteenth, and news reports of his release told of his "looking tired and haggard" (ibid., p. 298; Garrow 1986, p. 331). King would be jailed three more times, the nineteenth being a five-day term in Birmingham in October 1967, during which he became ill and was ordered released a day early because, the judge said, "We don't want to work a hardship on anyone" (Oates 1982, p. 449).

It was also well known that King's leadership of the Black struggle placed his life in danger. The bombing of King's home in Montgomery, coming within two months of his becoming president of the MIA, was the first of many attempts on his life, nearly all highly publicized and many

resulting in emotional responses from his followers.³⁹

The Pattern of Expressive Activities

Proposition 13 - Followers demonstrate their belief in the charismatic leader by giving him respect, holding him in reverence, and subordinating their will to his.

The SCLC became involved in movements begun by others, and it assumed the leadership, whether by King himself or more frequently by his staff as his representatives.⁴⁰ The local people had already been subjected to considerable suffering, but they had such respect for King that they subordinated their own will, and their ambitions, to him and his staffers. The major campaigns discussed to this point illustrate this pattern. In the Atlanta sit-ins in 1960, SNCC leaders sought out King whose imprisonment probably influenced the presidential election that year (This chapter, page 397). The Albany misadventure of 1961-62 was initiated by local organizations and chapters of the NAACP and SNCC (Brooks 1974, p. 176). King began the Birmingham campaign in 1963 at the request of the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, the leader of the SCLC affiliated Alabama Christian Movement which had become involved in May 1962 when supporting a boycott of downtown stores begun by students of Miles College that March (Garrow 1986, p. 199). Before affiliating with the SCLC, Hayling and the Blacks of St. Augustine began their protest with support from the NAACP (Garrow 1986, p. 316).

Whereas respect for and subordination to King are

evident, reverence is not. In fact, not only does there appear to have been an absence of the awe and veneration inherent in displays of reverence, but the original leaders and even people who suffered at the hands of police and thugs often complained that King dominated the news coverage at their expense. In Atlanta there was an additional factor in that, according to Julian Bond, an organizer of the Atlanta sit-ins, "He was a hometown boy...so it was hard for us to look at him as Martin Luther King, Jr. We used to joke and call him The Lord" (Raines 1983, p. 102, emphasis in original). The SNCC appellation for King at Albany and later was the sarcastic "De Lawd," and at a large meeting in July 1962 SNCC workers "disputed with the Atlanta pastor the right of the SCLC to monopolize the Movement" (Carson 1981, p. 19).

In Birmingham, Shuttlesworth was enraged with King for accepting a settlement while Shuttlesworth was convalescing from injuries incurred during a demonstration (Garrow 1986, p. 256-58; Raines 1983, pp. 157-60). Shuttlesworth's later comments probably sums up the relationship of other leaders with King.

My feeling was that ["The Letter from Birmingham Jail"] should have been jointly signed by all of us...simply because we had agreed to do things together, you know. It wouldn't have taken anything for him to let me, but I guess as I look on it now...I think King deserves all the credit.... He was the spokesman.... One name has to characterize a movement, a time, a period. That doesn't bother me at all. You see, I think the role I played was so vital and so basic that King's name never would touch immortality had it not been for Birmingham (Raines 1983, p. 161,

emphasis added).

Ordinary Black demonstrators and their leaders also played vital and basic roles, but they needed a spokesman whose name characterized their movement and their cause. King was that individual, and he was retrospectively regarded as one who touching immortality because he held that position in a movement which altered the lives of Black Americans (and of White Americans also). In conclusion, King's followers respected him and subordinated their will to his, but they do not appear to have revered him.

Self-Importance

Proposition 14 - The followers' adoration and recognition may influence the charismatic leader to believe in his own importance and supernatural qualities, but he must display modesty and humility.

King had every reason to recognize his own importance. From the Montgomery boycott in 1956 until his death in 1968, King spoke to countless groups around the nation, giving 350 speeches in 1963 alone (Oates 1982, p. 279). He often addressed huge audiences, and received loud ovations, rave reviews, and honorary degrees and mementoes. In February 1957, while the SCLC was still being organized, Time magazine featured King's portrait on its cover and in a laudatory article summarized his success in Montgomery (Garrow 1986, p. 90; Oates 1982, p. 115). Time again placed his picture on its cover and featured his biography when it selected him as "Man of the Year" for 1963 (Garrow 1986,

p. 309). By 1964 he had been honored with the presentation of over 200 plaques, and that year received his most prestigious award: The Nobel Peace Prize (ibid., p. 334). On his way to the award ceremony, he addressed 4,000 people in the Cathedral of St. Paul in London, the first non-Anglican to speak from its pulpit in the church's 291-year history (Oates 1982, p. 319). When he returned from Stockholm, he was the guest of honor at a dinner in Atlanta attended by 1,500 people, including pillars of the white society and power structure (Warren 1965, p. 269; cf. Raines 1983, pp. 410-15). During his twelve years as the spokesmen for civil rights in America, he frequently met with national and international heads of state and their representatives, editors, university presidents and scholars, celebrities, and the foremost leaders of businesses, unions, religious, and civic organizations -- often at their request.

As noted above (page 409), King was a religious man and therefore probably ascribed some supernatural significance to his abilities for which he was being so highly recognized. Being humble and modest in one's relationships with God and with other humans is also a fundamental teaching of the Christian church. King, therefore, as a preacher obligated to set an example for believers, can be presumed to have made great effort to display these qualities.⁴¹

A Brief Summary: The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

Notwithstanding King's status as a minister or his Biblical references in speeches and writings, his followers do not appear to have believed that he was connected to their God. With respect to the propositions for which this connection is a necessary feature, the pattern of belief and its expression surrounding King included his being seen by his followers as extraordinary but not as possessing superhuman qualities (Proposition 9), as having a special mission but not one designated for him by the supernatural (Proposition 10), and as being respected but not revered (Proposition 13). Followers subordinated their will to his, including the leaders and participants who had begun protest campaigns (Proposition 13).

King's strategy for nonviolent, civil disobedience and his own behaviors during demonstrations provided the model for the civil rights movement (Proposition 11). His imprisonments and attempts on his life displayed his sacrifices in bearing the burdens and pain of his followers (Proposition 12). King was made aware of his stature by public awards and honors, and was influenced to remain modest and humble by his life-long religious training (Proposition 14).

Growth and Unification

From 1955 through 1965, the goals of the civil rights

movement expanded from desegregation of buses and the employment of Black bus drivers at Montgomery to demands for desegregation of all public accommodations and the right to vote. Its tactics evolved from the boycott of buses and merchants to sit-ins, and then to "'kneel-ins' in churches, 'sleep-ins' in motel lobbies, 'swim-ins' in pools, 'wade-ins' on restricted beaches, 'read-ins' in public libraries, 'play-ins' in parks, and even 'watch-ins' in movie theaters" (Sitkoff 1981, p. 81). Even modest successes in one part of the country encouraged protests in another (cf. Brooks 1974, p. 192). As the civil rights movement grew, so too did King's following and his stature as its symbol, reaching its zenith at Birmingham and recognized by the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

The protests in Selma (March to August 1965), which culminated in the 5-day, 54-mile march from Selma to the steps of the State Capitol in Montgomery, were the watershed of King's leadership of the civil rights movement.⁴² Propositions 15 through 19 are concerned with growth and unification of his movement, and the events up to Selma will be used to substantiate them. The events at Selma mark the end of his movement's growth and unification, but the deterioration of his movement also clarifies these propositions in that, as each is no longer fulfilled, the leader-follower relationship not only ceases to grow but also begins to diminish in size and unification.

Success and Growth

Proposition 15 - The charismatic leader usually has a modest beginning of his leadership, and he attracts increasing numbers of followers as he creates an image of success.

E. D. Nixon, the initiator of the Montgomery bus boycott, was probably correct when he told an interviewer, "If Mrs. Parks had got up and given that White man her seat, you'd never heard of Rev. King" (Raines 1983, p. 51). We also would not have heard of Martin Luther King, Jr. if the boycott had not succeeded. During that period, Blacks protested in other Southern cities, many copying Montgomery's boycott (Franklin 1967, pp. 613-14), but it was the Montgomery case which generated the Supreme Court's decision that state and local bus segregation laws were unconstitutional (Brooks 1974, p. 119). King not only emerged as the leader of the boycotters, but also as the personification of the boycott's success, and his following grew (Franklin 1967, p. 624).

King's image of success was diminished at Albany, Georgia. The national press emphasized that there had been no tangible gains, and some influential press (e.g., U. S. News, Newsweek, and the New York Times) declared the movement dead (Garrow 1986, p. 218; Raines 1983, p. 427). King's colleagues argued, probably correctly, that compared to before the demonstrations Blacks had more self-confidence, self-esteem, and commitment to equality, and less fear of the White man's jail (Garrow 1986,

p. 218). Followers, however, measured success in terms of removal of social barriers, but the barriers remained, perhaps stronger than before the protests. "Albany brought into the open doubts about King's leadership" (Sitkoff 1981, p. 128).

The favorable publicity at Birmingham reestablished King's image of being a successful leader (cf. Brooks 1974, pp. 209-12). His movement remained unified through Selma. King's protest strategy provided the spark for the "Bloody Sunday" confrontation, which in turn favorably influenced public opinion and the subsequent passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.⁴³ Many, however, were unwilling to give King credit for this victory. He had been in Atlanta on Bloody Sunday, and, when he'd led a follow-up march, he'd turned it around.⁴⁴ A number of veterans of the civil rights movement, especially SNCC workers, began to question his leadership and the viability of his strategy.

Even activists who still believed in the power of nonviolent direct action had begun to doubt whether the resulting reforms were worth the sacrifices. "We're only flesh," remarked [SNCC Chairman John] Lewis. "I could understand people not wanting to be beaten anymore" (Carson 1981, p. 161).

As the protests escalated, Blacks were indeed paying a higher and higher price for their advancements. In the face of continuing White racist violence, many in the coalition were becoming disenchanted with American society, reluctant to compromise, and disdainful of White support.⁴⁵ After Selma the various groups began to diverge, with SNCC, and

not SCLC, leading the way (Sitkoff 1981, p. 167).

King's successes had been with regard to improvements of social and political conditions -- desegregation of public schools and accommodations, and voting rights. By the summer of 1965, it became clear to Blacks, perhaps more to those in the Northern urban centers than in the South, that major economic changes were needed if they were to enjoy equality. During the early 1960s, Blacks generally assumed that their revolution would close the gap between themselves and Whites, but instead the economic differences increased (Franklin 1967, pp. 640-42).

In 1964 and increasingly in 1965, street violence and some riots had occurred in Northern cities (Brooks 1974, pp. 236-41). King recognized the need for economic improvements, and broadened his goals to the reformation of the fundamental causes of racism (Lewis 1982, p. 292). In early 1966 he and the SCLC organized protests in Chicago, demanding housing, jobs, and genuine public school segregation, and tangling with the city's hard-nosed Mayor Richard J. Daley. As King himself wrote later, his foray into the North was far from successful, and growth and unification suffered.

It evokes happy memories, to recall that our victories in the past decade were won with a broad coalition of organizations representing a wide variety of interests. But we deceive ourselves if we envision the same combination backing structural changes in the society. It did not come together for such a program and will not reassemble for it again (1967, p. 30).

Some of his early demonstrations were large, but participation then dwindled during the summer; "At times, there were more policemen on guard than marchers in the streets" (Brooks 1974, pp. 276-77). He gradually lost the support of many White allies who considered the Chicago activities inflammatory, counter productive, and at best premature. Many of his followers were disappointed with the "Summit Agreement" between King and Chicago's Mayor Daley. Young and militant Blacks were now openly contemptuous of King, and the federal government had begun to distance itself from his agenda.⁴⁶

With his image of success tarnished, his next campaign, the Poor People's March, engendered little momentum (Brooks 1974, p. 279). King remained a major figure for American Blacks, but his following was decreasing and what remained was no longer unified.

Gatherings with the Charismatic Leader

Proposition 16 - At public meetings, the charismatic leader's presence, at times symbolized by a designated representative, adds enthusiasm and affirmation to the group's unity.

Nearly every biographer or analyst of King comments on his ability to rouse emotions at mass gatherings. The following testimony of a Southern Black man is one of the most detailed (and probably the most colorful) descriptions of his effect on an audience.

This man! This man was different I tell you. I can't remember all of his name. He got a long name for a Negro. It's something like Luther

King. I was just passing by. I saw all the people gathered and so I decided to see what was going on. I had my overalls on so I slipped in the back door and stood near the side. I never seen so many of us out. They was all there. Even Uncle John -- chewing his tobacco. Of course, he couldn't spit nowhere, being it was the church. But I tell you, that young boy spoke. They said he's some kind of a doctor. He went up North and got it. That boy got music in his voice. I understand him. Most of them doctors I don't much bother with cause I can't understand them but this one spoke plain. He was simple. He said things I've been trying to say all my life. He said, "Don't hate the White man because that would do something to you." He say, it take too much time to hate. That hate ain't natural. He said, don't shoot and cut and kill. God is love. Then he went on and told a story about a man from across the water named Khandi or Condi -- something like that -- how he led a whole nation of them Indians against the British and won independence. He said this man didn't have a gun and wouldn't let his people carry guns or do harm to them British. Then he talked about Jesus and Moses and David. When he stopped speaking everybody got up. You know how we like to carry on. Folk hollering! "Yes, sir." "Tell it." "Glory!" "Keep on keeping on." Everybody was excited! I thought it was all over -- then, people started joining hands and linking arms. I got nervous because I was just off work. I was nasty, and sweaty. Before I could turn and slip out the way I come in, Mr. Clyde Brown, who ain't never been to church, grabbed my left arm and hooked it, and Mrs. Dolly Brown grabbed my right one. I looked up and saw the preacher smiling from the pulpit. Those sitting up there hooked their arms around each other and around him. Then it started. The singing started, I didn't get it all, but it was something about "overcoming," "Black and White," and "deep in my heart." People was crying and shouting. Miss Hattie Edwards threw her pocketbook in the air. I got scared. I never saw people carrying on like that, 'cept sometimes in Sunday morning church and revival meetings....

Funny things happen when he talks. I hope Luther King come back. He put into words what I feel and think. He's good! Never heard a man who sounds like I feel (Smith 1978, pp. 106-7).

King's preaching style was rooted in the Black church, but he set himself apart through the use of the traditional

Christian idiom to advocate unconventional political ideas (Carson 1987, p. 450). The result, even though he was introducing new ideas: "He put into words what I feel and think. He's good! Never heard a man who sounds like I feel."

After he became established as the leader of the civil rights movement, King was its symbol. His colleagues represented him, and his symbolism. After Albany, the SCLC emphasized planning and organization when it took over a protest, and SCLC staffers led the initial demonstrations as King's representatives.⁴⁷ King came in to support them, the "trump card" played when needed to force negotiations (cf. Lewis 1982, p. 283). In other words, King's representatives symbolized his presence and added enthusiasm and affirmation to unify the demonstrators. When representative presence was inadequate, King himself led the followers.

Sources of Opposition

Proposition 17 - The opposition to the charismatic leader almost always comes from the proponents of the status quo of the economic, political, social, and religious conditions.

External opposition to King came from segregationist Whites throughout his leadership, and from many Northern White liberals after Selma and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Internal opposition is discussed in the next Proposition.) Segregationist Whites wanted to preserve the structures which perpetuated White supremacy. After at least the formal structure was broken by legislation and

court decisions, liberal Whites who had supported King and civil rights movement saw the gains as the new status quo, withdrew their support, and discouraged further protests. Each of these groups will be discussed in turn.

Segregationist Whites. Into the 1950s, the major feature of Southern society had been the exclusion of Blacks from nearly all areas of mainstream social life. The status quo of White supremacy had been preserved by political structures, judicial procedures, law enforcement authorities, and violence by police and other Whites (This chapter, page 385ff). Generally, Southern Whites had believed that Blacks were lethargic and would not openly resist constituted authority, especially when resistance might incur the wrath of the police or White bands of terrorists. Whites were therefore shocked when King and other Black leaders openly expressed scorn for Jim Crow laws, planned and carried out public demonstrations calculated to violate such laws, and created social disorder (Thompson 1974, p. 7).

Moderate segregationist Whites opposed King until faced with intense economic and political pressures, and only then consented to negotiations (cf. Raines 1983, p. 145). Conservative Whites continued to resist even small changes in segregationist practices. When they came to recognize the tremendous courage and determination of Black protestors, these White leaders and spokesman mounted a systematic campaign to discredit King and condemn his

strategy of civil disobedience (Thompson 1974, p. 7). Some White federal officials also opposed King, the most notable being FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover whose surveillance of King was a continual source of harassment in the 1960s (cf. Garrow 1981).

Northern Liberal Whites. By the mid-1960s segregationist Whites had failed to maintain their status quo. Their violence at Selma resulted in the Voting Rights Act of 1965. That law, like other successes of the civil rights movement, and thus of King, involved federal legislation which had been strongly influenced by White liberals in the North. The gains became evident to the nation as a whole, and the apparent advances in the status and opportunities for Blacks became the definition of a new status quo. By the late 1960s the national mood with respect to continuing activity by the movement had turned to dismay. Pollsters William Brink and Louis Harris reported in a national study on race relations:

The Negro revolution was getting under the skin of millions of White people in America. Whites were beginning to realize that the surge of Negroes for freedom and equality was not a passing phase that could be appeased by a single generous or moral act and then would not be heard from again. By now...85 percent of all White people feel that the pace of civil-rights progress was too fast (1967, p. 120).

Moreover, as the struggle moved northward, moderates and public officials had only a shallow commitment to the ideal of justice they had seemed to applaud when the issue was to make southerners obey Federal court orders (Thelen

1987, p. 437). Blacks had generally been able to travel, eat, and vote like White American citizens outside the Deep South, but once the civil rights movement moved northward, so also did it expand its agenda to demands for jobs, open housing, citizen review of police and real estate boards, and economic boycott of racially unresponsive businesses. "King's civil rights movement suddenly developed from a regional drama centered on racial segregation into a crusade exposing socioeconomic imbalances in the national structure itself" (Lewis 1982, p. 293).

The major successes of the civil rights movement, and thus of King, involved federal laws passed in response to national pressure on legislators and presidents. Not only did formerly supportive Whites come to believe that enough had been done, but they soon realized that they too had to implement those laws. Educational desegregation is one example. The eleven Southern states of the former Confederacy learned by the 1965-66 school year how to satisfy federal requirements, continue to receive federal funds, and still preserve much of the old order. Meanwhile, schools in Boston, Chicago, New York City, and San Francisco had to answer charges of de facto segregation in federal courts, and constituencies pressed legislators to intervene to maintain their status quo (Franklin 1968, p. 644). In matters concerning political and economic as well as educational reforms, support for King and the civil rights movement turned to opposition.

Scapegoats

Proposition 18 - Worsening of conditions is always blamed on a variety of circumstances and never on the charismatic leader.

King's direct action tactics required worsening conditions, and then blaming those conditions on the instituted authorities. His prescriptions called for his followers to subject themselves to harassment, physical force, and imprisonment, and even to risk their lives. King and the SCLC selected target cities where it could rely on police frustration and overreaction and thereby attract national attention. They systematically provoked police into violence because that was the sort of action which appealed to the news values of the American media and would produce a reaction favorable to their goals among the American people⁴⁸ (Garrow 1978, p. 229).

During the Albany campaign, SCLC Field Director James Bevel told Newsweek, "In the movement you just set up a situation and wait for your adversary to make a mistake" (ibid., p. 216). Albany's authorities did not make mistakes, the media sided with the city's administration, and King was unable to blame others for worsened conditions. So negative was Albany's effect on growth and unification that King went through a period of questioning whether he should even continue as a leader (Raines 1983, p. 427).

Internal opposition to King was also a factor in the failure at Albany. SNCC had organized a voter registration

drive centered around high school and Albany State College students. The NAACP and the Criterion Club, an organization of Black professional men, had sought improved city services for the Black community. In November 1961, these and other local groups agreed to cooperate under the name of "The Albany Movement," but internal disagreements about goals and strategies remained (Brooks 1974, p. 176; Garrow 1986, pp. 173-77).

After a series of protests reaped only small success, William G. Anderson, the head of the Criterion Club and the spokesman for the Albany Movement, urged King to come to Albany and to join the movement. Before King's arrival on December 15, SNCC representatives were already questioning importing outside leaders (Garrow 1986, pp. 180-81). After being in Albany several weeks, King and his SCLC colleagues understood the issues and internal tensions that had predominated during the preceding six weeks, and later, as noted by Ralph Abernathy, determined their place in the civil rights movement relative to the other major organizations.

So we really were an organization that occupied the middle ground between the old and the young, the conservative and the radical. We were willing to use techniques and tactics that the NAACP would never try, but we were not irresponsible in our behavior, nor were we ever destructive, as the SNCC later was....

From all this we learned a great deal. In the years to come we remembered the problems we'd had with these organizations and plotted future actions accordingly (1989, p. 229).

Feeling that he had been drug into Albany, King learned

that the SCLC had to make their own plans rather than simply respond to the initiatives of others such as SNCC and CORE⁴⁹ (Garrow 1986, p. 229). In other words, King sought to lead movements in which there was a minimum of internal strife which would effect the emotional fervor of the community.

During the protests in Birmingham, St. Augustine, and Selma, conditions worsened severely, but followers and the media blamed the police, an arm of the structure which perpetuated racial segregation and discrimination.

"Demented White violence" made possible the jubilant celebration in 1965 on the steps of the Alabama State Capitol, capped by a speech by King before a cheering crowd of over 25,000 people and seen by millions more on television (Sitkoff 1981, p. 196).

After Selma, King had greater difficulty finding scapegoats. In his Chicago Freedom Movement in 1966, Mayor Richard Daley readily entered into negotiations and King found himself and the SCLC subjected to more criticism than was the city's hierarchy (Garrow 1986, pp. 490-516 passim). When James Meredith was shot during his pilgrimage from Memphis to Jackson, Mississippi, King and other civil rights leaders rushed to Memphis hoping to capitalize on the event to influence the passage of the 1966 Civil Rights Act.⁵⁰ There was one significant confrontation (state troopers used tear gas to disperse marchers in Canton, Mississippi), but the march and its press coverage were dominated by "Black Power" advocates interrupting public meetings (Brooks 1974,

pp. 273-74; cf. Carson 1981, pp. 207-9). King's movement ceased to grow and became increasingly less unified until his death on April 4, 1968.

New and/or Modified Prescriptions

Proposition 19 - The charismatic leader often issues new and/or modified prescriptions which he bases on the emotional fervor of the community of followers.

During the Montgomery bus boycott, King recognized that Blacks "had to be nonviolent and passive in order to resist successfully" (Lewis 1982, p. 279, emphasis in original), and from that recognition developed the strategy which governed the civil rights movement for the next decade. During that period, he issued prescriptions and took specific actions within that strategy to adjust to the emotional fervor of his followers. In Atlanta in 1960, convinced by SNCC leaders that he must go to jail to retain his leadership of the civil rights movement, he accepted imprisonment and may well have influenced the presidential election of that year (This chapter, page 397). Albany provided lessons which he applied at Birmingham (ibid., page 400). In Birmingham, when adults would not respond in sufficient numbers, he used waves of children to fill the jails (ibid., page 401). When a campaign went badly, he used staff members, particularly Andrew Young's ability to reconcile divergent views, to "find a way to save our face without necessarily completely capitulating."⁵¹

These are the most notable examples of King's singular

ability to mobilize Black community resources (cf. Carson 1987, p. 452). After Selma, this ability diminished, in large part because he seemed unable to grasp the emotions of Blacks, especially in the Northern cities. He modified his prescriptions to reflect a shift in his focus from the struggle to make Americans practice its ideals of freedom and justice to a struggle to change certain Americans ideals -- racism, economic exploitation, and militarism (Thelen 1987, p. 437). Owing to his inability to mobilize Chicago's Blacks, King's foray into the North was far from successful (Lewis 1982, p. 292).

King's march into the urban north was frustrating -- for the man and the movement. His works were both sung and sniped at. The Chicago agreement was termed a "sell-out," and militants carped at King's achievements. Local Black leaders resented the publicity and public veneration he received (Brooks 1974, p. 277).

King's leadership rested on a constituency (Black and White) that followed him for reasons of ideology and strategy, with nonviolence central to both (Huggins 1987, p. 477). With the collapse of apartheid in the South after Selma, the young and refractory forces that SCLC's campaigns had helped unleash increasingly denounced the doctrine and ridiculed King. The rise of Black Power during the Meredith March showed that nonviolence had even played out in much of the South (ibid., p. 481). The August 1965 riots in Watts, and subsequent riots in other urban centers, revealed the great gap between King's optimism about nonviolence and the despair expressed in the random violence of American

ghettos⁵² (Cone 1987, p. 461).

As early as March 1965 King spoke out publicly against the Vietnam War, and stepped up his comments during July and August 1965. During 1966 he drew back in the face of harsh criticism, reluctant to weaken his effectiveness as the nation's leading civil rights spokesman nor of the movement itself (Garrow 1987, p. 445). The escalation of the war was causing a de-escalation of the President Johnson's War on Poverty, and in 1967 King became one of the severest critics of Johnson's domestic and foreign policies (Cone 1987, p. 463). King was in turn criticized for his attacks, often severely and even by his staff and confidants, but he continued speaking out against the administration's policies (Garrow 1987, p. 445). He found himself prescribing actions which were contrary to the national mood at the time.

A Brief Summary: Growth and Unification

King and the publicity surrounding him established an image of success at Montgomery, an image diminished at Albany but enhanced at Birmingham and Selma, during which his movement grew and became unified. The image faded after the mid-1960s and with it also growth and unification (Proposition 15). By his extraordinary abilities as a speaker and his being the symbol of the civil rights movement, King's presence enthused his followers and affirmed their commitment, and his representatives organized and led protests as his agent (Proposition 16). Two elements

of American society opposed King, both seeking to maintain their status quo: Segregationist Whites to preserve White supremacy and Northern Liberal Whites to preserve the racial balance in the North and to give priority to other issues which assumed greater interest after 1965 (Proposition 17). King's strategy depended upon worsening conditions and making White institutions the scapegoats. Through Selma, his followers blamed the police and governmental authorities, but later, former supporters began to blame him (Proposition 18). King developed his basic strategy at Montgomery, and effectively modified his doctrine in protests in the South through Selma. Events after 1965, especially the Vietnam War, had changed attitudes and priorities across the nation, and he could no longer gauge the emotional fervor of Southern, much less Northern, Black Americans (Proposition 19).

The Stabilization Stage

Normalization

The final unified act of the civil rights coalition was their gathering together before the Alabama State Capitol on March 26, 1965. Among the twenty-five thousand people who joined the 300 Selma to Montgomery marchers were nearly all the leaders -- Black and White -- of the civil rights movement, numerous dignitaries, and journalists whose pictures and accounts would be seen, heard, and read by millions.

There were rumblings of discontent during the Selma campaign, and within days after the singing and speech-making from the Capitol steps, the coalition fell apart. White liberals concentrated on anti-war activity (American aircraft had begun bombing North Vietnam on February 7), while the Black leadership broke into bickering pieces. In the short period of its existence, however, the civil rights movement had achieved stunning successes.

The strategies and successes of the civil rights movement are used to substantiate Proposition 20 since, as historian Clayborne Carson writes, King was seen "as the most prominent among many outstanding movement strategists, tacticians, ideologues, and institutional leaders" (1987, p. 449). In other words, into 1965 his strategies, tactics, and ideas dominated the civil rights movement, or, in terms of Proposition 20, King's "teachings" became "normalized into the social structure."

Proposition 20 - The charismatic leader's teachings, particularly his rules for behavior, become normalized into the social structure.

Nonviolent Protests. King developed the strategy of nonviolent civil disobedience during the Montgomery bus boycott, and it then became the primary strategy of the civil rights movement. Through the first half of the 1960s, it was refined into various forms of protest and conflict by King and his associates within the SCLC, and by local groups, SNCC, and CORE.

Whereas King came to recognize the limitations of his

strategy (e.g., at Chicago and during the Meredith March), its having been so greatly successful has stimulated many groups with a grievance to employ it since the civil rights movement.⁵³ To cite only a few examples, nuclear freeze, women's rights, gay rights, farmers, truck drivers, and pro-abortion and anti-abortion movements have variously sat, marched, and driven tractors and trucks en masse to enlist support for their causes. The thirteen year series of nonviolent protests against the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant have become a common feature of life in Southeastern New Hampshire. Just as King made going to jail a badge of honor for his followers, arrest has become regarded as a prestigious act for a cause in many contemporary groups.

Desegregation and Voting Rights. King's primary teachings with respect to goals for the movement involved the desegregation of transportation, schools, and public accommodations and at Selma voting rights for Blacks. Specific protests applied pressure on local officials and business to change laws and practices, often with the revision or removal of laws and the institution of new behaviors toward Blacks. In the months following Birmingham, several hundred boycotts, marches, and sit-ins took place in some two hundred cities and towns in the South with the following results.

According to the Justice Department, that summer there were 758 demonstrations in the nation and almost 14,000 arrests in the South alone. Barriers to desegregation began tumbling in the face of this onslaught. To provide some indication of the extent of change: before May 27,

1963, in 56 cities, 109 theaters had been desegregated. Four and one-half months later, by November 13, the number had jumped to 253. The count of desegregated restaurants in that same period went from 141 to 270, hotels and motels from 163 to 222; even lunch counters, which had been so widely challenged earlier, went from 204 desegregated to 304 in that same period (Bloom 1987, pp. 177-78).

King so effectively brought his teachings to national awareness that they were instituted in federal laws enacted soon after his major campaigns. Less than a year after the Montgomery bus boycott, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 became law. Perhaps more important than its provisions, which were weak, was the fact that it was the first civil rights act since 1875, the height of Reconstruction, "a remarkable and historic reversal of the federal policy of hands-off in matters involving civil rights"⁵⁴ (Franklin 1968, p. 622). Within a year after Birmingham and the August 1963 March on Washington, Congress passed more legislation with enforcement provisions than it had in the whole period since 1875 (Brooks 1974, p. 259). These laws included the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "the most far-reaching and comprehensive law in support of racial equality ever enacted by Congress" (Franklin 1968, p. 635).

After Selma, with its televised charging horsemen, murders, and spirited marches, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed and signed into law in a grandiose televised ceremony at the White House (Garrow 1978, p. 132).

The lock on the ballot box for Blacks had been broken. Following the arrival of the federal examiner in Selma, the percentage of voting-age Blacks registered rose in just two months from

less than 10 to more than 60 percent. The 24 percent of Alabama Blacks in 1964 became 57 percent in 1968. In Mississippi, the percentage of Black registrants leaped from 7 in 1964 to 59 percent in 1968. In those four years, the number of Southern Black voters increased from 1 million to 3.1 million (Sitkoff 1981, p. 197).

King's teaching had not only been normalized in law but in application and practice. As voters and then as candidates, Blacks created a new class of political leadership -- Black and White -- within the region (Bloom 1987, p. 221). Insofar as federal law could cope with racial desegregation of public schools, public accommodations, and voting rights, Congress completed its role with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1966 which legally destroyed the foundations of racism in America⁵⁵ (Brooks 1974, p. 260).

The "New Black American". Central to his success in organizing protests, King gave Blacks the self-image that by their actions they could remove the barriers to their participation in American political and economic life. He became justifiably associated with the new found feeling among Blacks that they should not only have access to the White world, but that they could succeed in it. This self-image was especially apparent among students, many of whom led and participated in numerous direct-action protests. From his interviews of students involved in the civil rights movement, Robert Penn Warren concludes,

As King gave to the Negroes of Montgomery the image that made unity and discipline and dignity possible in the face of violence, so he gave an image to a generation then just entering

adolescence and fumbling toward some sense of its role in the world (1965, pp. 371-72).

King offered not just a model for aggressive assertion but of public acceptance of Blacks into American society. King's successes -- in Montgomery, Atlanta, Birmingham, etc. -- came about by transforming that society. He at once converted the superior insiders -- Whites who modified their segregationist behaviors -- and the inferior outsiders -- the Blacks heretofore stranded on the fringe of American society but now involved in that social transformation. Southern Blacks were resocialized, not only by King's words but also by the sustained protest activity and community-organizing efforts which he symbolized; their values were profoundly and permanently transformed through thousands of mass meetings, workshops, citizenship classes, freedom schools, and informal discussion (Carson 1987, p. 453).

The notion of the Black as redeemer of American society became a cliché of the civil rights movement, an idea developed and emphasized by King, reinforced by other movement leaders, and accepted by many Blacks (cf. Warren 1965, pp. 374-76). It follows that those who think they redeemed a society will believe that they can succeed in the new social order. King led less than one protest a year, but his being associated with this self-image of success perhaps explains why he continues to be seen as the predominant leader of the overall civil rights movement.

Summary of Proposition 20 -- Normalization

King's strategy of nonviolent, passive resistance has become a common means by which groups with a variety of grievances attempt to achieve their goals. He was the recognized leader of the civil rights coalition which was responsible for causing the institutionalization in law and in practice of many forms of desegregation. Finally, he is generally credited with being the major figure who influenced Blacks to have gained a self-image of themselves as not only deserving a place in the larger society but also of being capable of filling the roles in that society.

Chapter Summary

King was an extraordinary leader, but, according to the comparative analysis described in this chapter, not a charismatic leader. In my definition, what is needed for a charismatic relationship, and what analysis has not turned up, is belief by the followers that he was attached to their conception of the divine. Specifically, the King-followers relationship does not fulfill Propositions 9 (being seen as possessing superhuman qualities), 10 (having a special mission designated by the supernatural, nor 13 (receiving reverence). In other words, the comparative analysis did not reveal evidence that King's followers did in fact believe him to be connected or inspired by the divine. King, himself a practicing Christian minister, probably believed it (see Proposition 10), and many may have thought

that he believed it.

Whereas the leader-follower relationships of Gandhi and Nasser essentially conformed to all propositions of the ideal type model, that of King, like Ben-Gurion, did not. The significance of these findings are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER NOTES

1. King was originally named after his father, Reverend Michael King. The senior King officially changed their names five years later, but continued to be called Mike (Oates 1982, p. 4).

2. King set out to overcome insurmountable odds -- an ethos of violence, racism, and aggression emphasized in American daily life against the weak and downtrodden in general which included, in addition to Black Americans, women, Appalachian Whites, and Native Americans. It is a tribute to his leadership that he succeeded in mobilizing segments of American society into the civil rights movement which produced long overdue federal laws.

His successes in the early phases of the civil rights struggle led to his incorporating lower class Whites as well as Blacks into his movement. A certain hypothesis has gained currency which regards his success in mobilizing lower class Whites as having threatened an elite which thrives on having an institutionalized, pauperized, permanent underclass. He thus became a danger to the national status quo and had to be gotten rid of. While this is an interesting hypothesis, it is not the only one. Because the focus here is on the leader-follower relationship during this movement, analysis of why he was assassinated is beyond the scope of this study.

3. Stories of King's childhood often emphasize that certain of his encounters with Whites left a lasting impression. It is difficult to determine, however, the true significance of early encounters (for example, his being subjected to name-calling, being forbidden to play with a White child, and observing beatings of Blacks by Whites) because the accounts come from his own remembrances, or those of his wife, all told after he become established as a leader (cf. King 1969; Oates 1982, p. 17; Garrow 1986, pp. 33, 35).

4. King was awarded a Ph.D. in June 1955. His dissertation, "an exceedingly academic piece of work," was a comparative study of the philosophies of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman (Garrow 1986, p. 50).

5. The NAACP was established on May 5, 1910, in New York City by prominent Blacks and a few Whites, "its object to be equal rights and opportunities for all" (Finch 1981, p. 11). The NAACP is generally regarded, more than any other private organization, as having made the civil rights movement of the 1960s possible. It is credited with

stimulating the Harlem Renaissance of the twenties, leading Blacks in depression-bred struggles of the thirties and forties, bringing about the integration of the armed forces, and winning the revolutionary Supreme Court decisions for the integration of public schools (ibid., p. viii).

6. During her twelve years as a secretary in the local NAACP chapter, Mrs. Parks had worked for E. D. Nixon, for many years a highly regarded leader of Blacks in Alabama (Brooks 1974, p. 95). After her arrest, Mrs. Parks called Nixon, who posted the bail bond, drove her to her home, and began planning to make her arrest the legal test case he had been waiting for (Warren 1965, p. 203; Oates 1982, p. 65).

Some immediate protest action seemed necessary, however, both to gain the attention of the White community and to direct the energies of the city's Blacks who were greatly upset by the arrest of the highly respected Mrs. Parks (Warren 1965, p. 203; Brooks 1974, p. 96). The idea of a bus boycott had been considered earlier, and Nixon seized this opportunity to organize one (Williams 1987, pp. 63, 66-69). On December 2, after gaining Abernathy's support, he called King for use of the "fashionable" Dexter Avenue Church for a meeting that evening. From forty to fifty ministers and civic leaders attended the meeting and enthusiastically supported a one-day boycott (Brooks 1974, pp. 96-97; Oates 1982, p. 65).

7. Apparently Nixon had informally canvassed the leaders of the boycott, and had found them favorable to the suggestion of King's presidency. The reasons for their ready acceptance of King are not clear, however. See Brooks 1974, p. 99; Sitkoff 1981, p. 45; and Oates 1982, p. 68.

8. The beginning of the bus boycott by the people themselves, with community leaders then scrambling to find ideologies, policies, and structures for the movement, appears similar to the remarkable and extraordinary events in the fall of 1989 in Eastern Europe. While King and his followers sought changes from the established political structure, Eastern Europeans overthrew their governments. Yet, the process in terms of a mass movement is essentially the same. The Montgomery bus boycott might, therefore, serve as a model for analysis of Eastern Europe.

9. See Finch 1981, Chapters XVI-XXI for a detailed description of Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Davis vs. County School Board of Prince Edward County, and related cases.

10. Opposition had reached major proportions before the Court's implementing order. Meeting in the summer of 1954, a few months after Brown, Southern governors promised "not to comply voluntarily with the Supreme Court's decision

against the racial segregation in the public schools" (Bloom 1987, p. 97). Marvin Griffin had pledged, "Come hell or high water, races will not be mixed in Georgia schools," and was nominated for governor. Virginia's Governor, after initially promising to work for a plan for desegregation, reversed himself, announcing, "I shall use every legal means at my command to continue segregated schools." During the year after the Court's decision, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina were openly defiant, even threatening to abolish their public schools (ibid., pp. 104-5).

11. During the summer of 1955, there had been a marked increase in violence against and murders of Blacks by Whites. According to sociologist Jack M. Bloom,

...the most spectacular and infamous of these killings was...an out-and-out lynching whose only purpose was to terrorize. Emmett Till, a fourteen-year-old boy from Chicago, was accused of having "wolf-whistled" at a White woman. He was kidnapped from his grandfather's home "in the middle of the night, pistol-whipped, stripped naked, shot through the head with a .45 caliber Colt automatic, barb-wired to a 74 pound cotton gin fan, and dumped into twenty feet of water in the Tallahatchie River." The Till case became a cause celebre... (1987, p. 101).

12. King was fined \$500 plus \$500 court costs, or could choose 386 days at hard labor in the Montgomery county jail. King's attorneys announced that they would appeal, he was freed on \$1,000 bond, and the prosecution deferred the other cases pending review by higher courts (Brooks 1974, p. 117; Garrow 1986, p. 74).

13. For a description of King's activities during this period, see Garrow 1986, pp. 99-125. The organizations with whom King had to coordinate the efforts of the SCLC, and who at times initiated actions without him, included the NAACP (see Finch 1981), the Congress of Racial Equality (see Bell 1968), and other groups with local grievances.

14. After the Montgomery boycott, King traveled widely, spoke to a variety of groups (cf. Garrow 1986, p. 90-91), and met with national Black leaders to organize the Prayer Pilgrimage. On May 17, 1956 the anniversary of the Brown decision, thirty-seven thousand people from thirty-three states, "a representative crowd of the civil rights forces of the day," gathered before the Lincoln Memorial to hear a host of speakers (Brooks 1974, p. 133). King spoke for only ten minutes at the end of the afternoon-long pilgrimage, but his peroration -- "Give us the ballot" -- supplied the headlines for the rally (Garrow 1986, p. 93). King was now

truly a national leader, his new national stature particularly evident in accounts of the Black news media. Ebony magazine pronounced that King "emerged from the Pilgrimage as the No. 1 Negro leader of men" (Garrow 1986, pp. 93-94). The Amsterdam News called King "the number one leader of sixteen million Negroes in the United States.... At this point in his career, the people will follow him anywhere" (Brooks 1974, p. 134).

Six days later, King and Abernathy visited Vice President Nixon and Secretary of Labor James Mitchell to press for action on pending civil rights legislation (Brooks 1974, p. 135). Watered-down civil rights legislation had passed the House, and Senator Lyndon Johnson became a national figure when he successfully pressed for its passage, over President Eisenhower's and Nixon's objections. Despite its weaknesses, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was of great importance in that it was the first legislation passed by Congress in eighty-two years, and it laid the legislative groundwork for subsequent national laws (Brooks 1974, pp. 136-37).

15. In his October 1957 annual report to the Dexter congregation, to whom he had preached only thirty Sundays in twelve months, King admitted that his many speeches, meetings, writings, and interviews had left him with the "feeling that in the midst of so many things to do I am not doing anything well" (Garrow 1986, p. 99). He continued to be preoccupied with speaking, writing, SCLC organizational matters, and conferences with other activist groups until after he and his family moved to Atlanta in February, 1960.

16. On February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, four college students began a sit-in of a lunch counter at a local Woolworth's "five and dime" store, a widely publicized protest which set off a wave of similar actions throughout the South against the segregation of lunch counters and public facilities (Brooks 1974, pp. 147-48; Carson 1981, pp. 9-11; Sitkoff 1981, p. 69-73; cf. Raines 1983, pp. 75-82). King and other SCLC leaders agreed that any organization of the lunch counter protests should be youth centered, and gave speeches of encouragement, but were otherwise unsure about how to become involved (Garrow 1986, p. 131).

From February 17 to May 28, King was preoccupied with an indictment from the state of Alabama, and trial, for two counts of perjury, a felony, for falsely swearing to the accuracy of his state tax returns (ibid., pp. 129-30, 136-137; King 1969, p. 185-87). Ella Baker, the SCLC's outgoing executive director, had taken an immediate interest in the sit-in protests, and, with \$800 provided by the SCLC but little other support, organized an April 15-17 conference attended by 120 student leaders from twelve Southern states and the District of Columbia at her alma

mater, Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina (Garrow 1986, pp. 131-33; Carson 1981, p. 20). King was invited to speak to the students on Saturday, but "left no real impression, except that this was Martin Luther King" and left the conference that evening (Raines 1983, p. 102; Garrow 1986, p. 133). Julian Bond, who became one of SNCC's leaders in Atlanta (and later nationally), recalls that the established civil rights groups pressed the students to become youth chapters of their organizations, but "we resisted and set up our own little group" (Raines 1983, p. 102). The conferees formed a "temporary" Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which became permanently, though still loosely, organized in October 1960 (Brooks 1974, p. 153).

17. After moving to Atlanta, King had neglected to obtain a Georgia driver's license within the statutory time. In September in neighboring Dekalb County, he had been booked by a state trooper for driving with his "expired" Alabama license, and placed on probation (Brooks 1974, p. 155).

18. See Franklin 1974, p. 626 and Brooks 1974, p. 156 and 156n for a description of the voting pattern in the 1960 election, and for the argument that the Black vote won the Presidency for Kennedy.

19. For a description of King's attempts to stay in jail, and Prichett's tactics to release him and cause him great embarrassment, see Brooks 1974, pp. 176-83; Lewis 1982, pp. 280-84; Garrow 1986, pp. 1184-212; and an interview of Prichett in Raines 1983, pp. 161-66.

20. King chose Birmingham at the behest of Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a long time associate and the founder of the SCLC's largest affiliate. For a description of racial conditions in Birmingham, see Brooks 1974, pp. 200-1; Raines 1983, pp. 139-41, 147, and 167-72; and Lewis 1978, pp. 171-73.

21. After the May 2 confrontation, demonstrators daily thronged the streets, and a total of 2600 were arrested and crammed into city jails. The police repeatedly used hoses, dogs, and clubs to drive Blacks back into their section of the city, and Blacks retaliated with jeers, taunts, and in many instances rocks and bricks. While negotiating Whites were calling for a truce, Connor requested state troopers from Governor Wallace. Virtually the whole state highway patrol encamped on the outskirts of the city, and over 500 entered the city "itching for a bloody showdown" (Brooks 1974, p. 207; Garrow 1986, pp. 250-55; Oates 1982, pp. 234-40).

22. Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story (King 1958) was an autobiographical account of the bus boycott (Garrow 1986, p. 102). Strength of Love (King 1963) was collection of his sermons (ibid., p. 280). Why We Can't Wait was an account of the Birmingham protests and described his view of America's domestic needs (ibid., pp. 238-39). Before his assassination, King published two other books (1967 and 1968).

23. Historians and biographers tend to give great importance to a leader's documents, but seldom indicate the impact of those documents on the followers during the movement. For example, biographer Stephen Oates (1982, pp. 223-30), after quoting the "Letter" in its entirety, writes that it "became a classic in protest literature, the most eloquent and learned expression of the goals and philosophy of the nonviolent movement ever written." He notes the extensive distribution of the document, but gives no indication of the extent to which the Black masses read it much less reacted to it. It appears that the "Letter" became a classic to those who studied the literature of the time -- other leaders, scholars, and some politicians -- but they were not King's followers.

24. In May 1963 King appeared in Los Angeles, St. Louis, Chicago, and Louisville, and "over \$50,000 was raised in one day in Los Angeles alone" (Garrow 1986, p. 264). Wyatt Tee Walker, then Executive Director of the SCLC, told Robert Penn Warren that through his appearances King raised more than \$400,000 for his organization in 1963 alone (1965, p. 231).

25. During the summer of 1963, while Congress was debating a major civil rights bill, all the major civil rights groups were joined by many religious, labor, and civic groups in planning the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" (Franklin 1967, p. 632). On August 28, 1963, over 200,000 people, mostly Black Americans but twenty to thirty percent White Americans, poured into the city, assembled at the Washington Monument, and marched to the Lincoln Memorial for a long afternoon of speeches (Brooks 1974, p. 226).

26. Justice Department figures provide an example of the numerous protests which occurred from mid-May through September 1963: Each month during that period, about fifty or more southern or border states desegregated theaters, restaurants, hotels, and lunch counters. During the five years from June 1963 to May 1968, some 1,117,600 Americans participated in 369 civil rights demonstrations; 15,379 were arrested, 389 injured, and 23 died (Brooks 1974, p. 192). Some of the most important, both in influencing popular opinion and encouraging additional protests, were SNCC's

lunch counter sit-ins, CORE's "Freedom Rides," James Meredith's entrance into the University of Mississippi, and Black students entering the University of Alabama (cf. Franklin 1967, pp. 623-29).

27. Late in July 1963, a Newsweek poll revealed that 88 percent of the ordinary Blacks interviewed regarded King as their most successful spokesman, and 95 percent of America's civil rights leaders concurred (Lewis 1978, p. 231).

28. In contrast with the tradition of King's Black Baptist church was the cult of Father Divine in Harlem in the 1930s. Hundreds, even thousands, believed and exclaimed that "Father Divine is God." The Kingdom was a society in microcosm, but one which so greatly conflicted with the real world that believers could not function in both (cf. Cantril and Sherif 1971, pp. 175-93).

In the religious tradition of the Black church, their ministers were not God, and as leaders of the community they provided guidance and programs to enable members to operate in the larger society. Indeed, for King the choice was presenting an image of a militant civil rights leader with a deep and private religious faith, or of a spiritual leader with a concern for civil rights. He chose the former, and, according to minister and scholar Joseph R. Washington, Jr. writing in 1964, "The religious dimension of his cry for 'freedom now' is in the background rather than the foreground" (p. 13).

29. From a 1964 nationwide survey of metropolitan areas, including Birmingham, Gary L. Marx found that

...for those who belong to the more conventional churches, the greater the religious involvement, whether measured in terms of ritual activity, orthodoxy of religious belief, subjective importance of religion, or the three taken together, the lower the degree of militancy (1970, p. 390).

Marx also found that many militant people were nevertheless religious, but in a more "temporal" than the "otherworldly" sense of conventional theology. Other scholars, including the Nelsens (1975) and the Hunts (1977), took issue with his arguments. In any case, neither Marx's findings nor the reexaminations of his data support a conclusion that, although King was himself a minister and his movement was, at least initially, centered around churches, his followers believed him to be imbued with superhuman qualities. See also, Warren 1965, p. 61.

30. Appearances of gospel singers at rallies for civil and political (i.e., secular) functions coincide with the

place of their performances in the Black tradition. Outside the church, as well as within it, "they represent or symbolize the attempt of the Negro to utilize his religious heritage in order to come to terms with...the problems of the world of which he is a part" (Frazier 1966, p. 75).

31. The Black Baptist tradition grew out of mainline Protestantism in which a divinely prescribed "vocation" or "calling" is a central theme. King and the other ministers who made up the SCLC leadership might have shared this theme as well, and therefore believed that they and their congregations all had been "designated by the supernatural for a special mission." If this were the case, King would fulfill Proposition 10, but would not be set apart from his followers. Yet, an extensive literature of books and articles which describe the Black church revealed no mention of the concept of the vocation or calling.

32. This lack of evidence may be due to the tendency of biographers and analyst to focus on King. As noted in Chapter 1 (page 28), this leader-centered documentation and analysis occurs in the writings about all the leaders examined for this study, and is methodologically troublesome in that it leaves unclear what followers believed about their leader, and this belief is a key factor in assessing whether the leader-follower relationship is charismatic.

33. A notable example is King's famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail" written in reply to a public letter signed by eight Christian and Jewish clergymen of Alabama deploring the protests and the involvement of "outsiders" (King 1963, pp. 77-100). Sensing the historic opportunity to defend the movement with profound symbolic import (Oates 1982, p. 222), King mixed Christian and secular symbols to support the movement's civil and political strategies and goals: It is necessary "to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront" its legal and social barriers to racial justice (King 1964, p. 81). In the eight page document, King refers to "the prophets of the eighth century B.C.," the Apostle Paul, St. Augustine, various Old Testament prophets, Jesus Christ, and God, but also to the Supreme Court, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Lincoln, Jefferson, Socrates, Gandhi, and historically based resentments and frustrations with economic and political conditions.

34. In October and November 1963, the SCLC supported local organizations in Danville, where city officials had refused to grant any of the demands of the Black community (Garrow 1986, p. 301). King and the SCLC, involved with Birmingham and other locations and with the situation in Danville still unsettled, withdrew their support after

President Kennedy was assassinated on November 22 (*ibid.*, p. 307).

35. See Bloom 1987, pp. 143-54 for an analysis of the "New Negro" in the South from the Montgomery bus boycott through the end of the 1950s.

36. A small tourist town on Florida's northern Atlantic, St. Augustine was viciously racist. The Sheriff employed an auxiliary force of over a hundred deputies, many of them prominent Klansmen, to "keep the niggers in line." The Klan and Klan-like groups patrolled the county with Confederate flags on their antennas, harassed Blacks at will, and boasted that they "beat and killed niggers" (Oates 1982, p. 293). The Klan's local Exalted Cyclops later recounted, "We all worked with the city police and the sheriff's department.... It was just like everybody here was working together -- the mayor, the city police, sheriff's department, [and the] Ancient City Hunting Club," the public name for the St. Augustine Klan (Garrow 1986, p. 327).

37. While King was in St. Augustine's jail, the U. S. Senate voted cloture of the southern filibuster of pending civil rights legislation (Oates 1982, p. 298). It could be argued that, in addition to wanting to bring changes to St. Augustine, King wanted to continue the nationally publicized demonstrations to influence passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and perhaps the upcoming presidential nomination conventions (*cf.* Oates 1982, p. 300).

38. One of the men with King was Hosea Williams, a veteran of conflicts with White mobs who was jailed ninety-six times during his career as a civil rights activist (Raines 1983, p. 436).

Hosea Williams...wanted to "get the hell out of here." But King restrained him. "I'm not going to run, Hosea." With the ruffians encircling them and shouting, "Hey coons," King led his party quietly to their cars. "I was scared they were going to jump us," recalled a young White staffer. "But King was so calm. His eyes -- I don't know how to describe eyes like that. You could just look at them and think, well, if he can do it, somehow nothing will happen to me" (Oates 1982, p. 299).

39. In January 1957, a month after the conclusion of the Montgomery boycott, a bomb exploded near enough to King's vacant parsonage to crush the front part of the house, and twelve sticks of dynamite were later found on the front porch, its fuse having gone out (Branch 1988,

p. 201). Several days later, a Black reporter asked King if renewed violence in Montgomery made him fearful, and distributed King's reply: "My cause, my race, is worth dying for" (Garrow 1986, p. 84). In October 1958 in Harlem, a Black woman stabbed King with a seven-inch letter opener, and doctors did not declare him out of danger for six days. So great was the deluge of telegrams, phone calls, and letters, many containing unsolicited contributions, that the SCLC set up a temporary office in Harlem Hospital (*ibid.*, pp. 109-10; Oates 1982, pp. 138-40). In September 1962 in Birmingham, a White male attacked King while he was addressing an SCLC convention, landing several blows before being restrained (Garrow 1986, p. 221). In January 1963 in Chicago, the same individual approached King with five companions, but police intervened (*ibid.*, p. 232). In October 1963 a young racist attacked King on an airplane until pulled off him by flight attendants (*ibid.*, p. 306).

40. According to Andrew Young, the SCLC in Atlanta did not decide on initiating any of the demonstrations in which it and King became involved: "In every case it was the local people getting into difficulty and coming to us to help 'em out" (Raines 1983, p. 425).

41. While specific accounts of King's displays of humility and modesty were not found in this study, it seems reasonable to assume that he conformed to the teaching of his religion. Indeed, not only is humility a basic teaching of Christianity, but, according to Bhagavan Das (1939/1966, p. 356) in his classic The Essential Unity of All Religions, "The Crowning Virtue of Humility" is a very important teaching of all religions. Das integrates Christian teachings with those of other religious ideas on pages 356-73.

42. See Garrow 1978 for a complete description and analysis of the Selma campaign, and Oates 1982, pp. 325-83 and Garrow 1986, pp. 369-413 for descriptions of the events at Selma. See Raines 1983, pp. 197-203 and 215 for interviews of Wilson Baker, Selma's Director of Public Safety; pp. 373-84 for interviews of newsmen who covered Selma; and pp. 385-86 for an interview of the CBS news correspondent whose crew took the television pictures of the police rampage on Bloody Sunday.

43. On Sunday, March 7, thousands of singing demonstrators marched across Selma's Pettus Bridge. Television cameras recorded mounted state troopers and county sheriff deputies as they tear gassed the crowd and then chased Blacks back to their section of town savagely striking and running over men, women, and children. There were other marches and incidents, but the triumph for the civil rights movement had occurred on Bloody Sunday. Note

the following anecdote of Wilson Baker, Selma's director of public safety at the time of the campaign and later the county sheriff.

I remember asking Mr. [Nicholas] Katzenbach after he got to be attorney general..., "What do you expect if the Voter Rights Bill passes?"

He said, "What do you mean if it passes. You people passed that on that bridge. You people passed that on that bridge that Sunday.... You can be sure it will pass, and because of that, if nothing else." (Raines 1983, p. 215, emphasis in original).

44. Arriving from Atlanta the day after "Bloody Sunday," King promised to lead a second march to Montgomery. Volunteers came to Selma in all colors, classes, and faiths from every section of the country to march with King. On March 10 SCLC attorneys asked a federal judge to enjoin Selma officials from interfering; instead, he enjoined both sides from activities. King had never before disobeyed a federal court order, but had previously exhorted his followers, "We've gone too far to turn back now." He therefore led a huge procession the next day. When he and the head of the column had crossed the bridge, King knelt and led the procession in prayer, then rose and led them back into Selma. State troopers were present, but appeared to have left the road open. Many, particularly SNCC militants, saw the turn-around as a great waste of morale and opportunity, and when a rumor spread of a deal between King and President Johnson's emissary, dismay turned to outrage.

On Sunday, March 21, three hundred people began a five-day, 54 mile march from Selma to Montgomery. King led them for four days and gave an inspiring speech on the steps of the State Capitol, but the lingering memory of King's involvement was his turning around on the Pettus Bridge.

45. In addition to the SCLC and its many, largely clerical-led groups, the "civil rights movement" included SNCC, a relatively small group with over 200 devoted and dedicated so-called members; The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), very active and medium in size; the Urban League, a specialized profession social work organization centered in some cities; the NAACP with chapters in 1,600 cities in all fifty states; and countless local groups (Brooks 1974, p. 273).

46. For a description of the Chicago campaign, see Lewis 1978, Chapter 11; Oates 1982, pp. 387-95, 405-16; and Garrow 1986, Chapters 8 and 9 passim.

47. Not only were many SCLC staffers involved in

organizing, training, and motivating demonstrators, but even the leadership role was delegated to staff members in King's absence. In Birmingham, for example, the first four demonstrations were led by SCLC staffers with many arrested, and the fifth on April 7, during which Bull Connor first turned dogs upon the marchers, was led by A. D. King, Martin's brother. Martin King was in and out of town during this period, and returned and was arrested on April 11 (Garrow 1986, pp. 239-42). SCLC field director Hosea Williams led the first marches in St. Augustine and the Selma march on Bloody Sunday (*ibid.*, p. 325; Brooks 1974, p. 255).

48. Even though King and his SCLC colleagues clearly set out to provoke violence in a way that drew national media attention, only rarely did reporters or commentators suggest that the leadership was attempting to manipulate the portrayal of events (Garrow 1978, pp. 229-30).

49. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was founded in Chicago in 1942 committed to applying Gandhi's technique of nonviolent resistance to American race relations, and had had some successes in Northern and Southern cities during the 1940s and 1950s (Bell 1968, pp. 8-9). It emerged as a major civil rights force in 1961 with the "Freedom Rides" in which integrated groups of passengers rode commercial buses through the South, applying the nonviolent philosophy as an instrument to pressure for broader changes than previous protests had sought (Brooks 1974, pp. 159-60). King spoke at their rallies, but his primary role, and that of the SCLC, was to give CORE moral and financial support (Lewis 1982, p. 280).

50. On June 5, 1966, James Meredith, the first Black graduate of the University of Mississippi, set out with several friends to walk across that state to dramatize the fear that dominated day-to-day life of Black Americans, especially in Mississippi. On the second day he was shot, seventy-five shotgun pellets superficially striking much of his body.

51. The quote is from Howell Raines' (1983, p. 447) interview of Randolph Blackwell, who joined the SCLC as Program Director in 1964 (Garrow 1986, p. 345).

52. The Watts area of Los Angeles exploded into violence on August 11, 1965. After the week of looting and burning, stopped by the police assisted by the California National Guard, the human toll had reached 34 dead, 1,032 injured, 3,952 arrested, and property damage was estimated at \$40 million (Franklin 1967, pp. 642-43). Arriving in Watts immediately after peace had been restored, King was surprised that many Blacks there had never heard of him, and

even more astonished when several told him, "We won because we made them pay attention to us" (Cone 1987, p. 461).

53. After Selma, civil rights groups and other groups with various causes have encountered one or both of two barriers. The first is that of the media, too little or too much news coverage. With too little press coverage, the groups grievances and their severity are not communicated to those who can influence their improvement. With too much, the actions of the demonstrators become seen as excessive and therefore the response of legitimate authorities as appropriate. The second revolves around the kinds of values concerning the protestors which are conveyed to the audience. The protestors must convince influential people that their position is "good," "right," "just," based on generally accepted beliefs of morality, and that their opponents are "bad," "wrong," and "unjust" (cf. Garrow 1978, pp. 232-33).

54. The NAACP was primarily responsible for the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (Finch 1981, p. 201), but the publicity of the increasing protest activity had some influence. In May 1960, Congress passed another civil rights bill which strengthened the Commission on Civil Rights established by the 1957 act (Franklin 1968, p. 624).

55. The Civil Rights Act of 1966 prohibited threat of injury to persons engaged in the exercise of their constitutional rights, assured the selection of state and federal juries without regard to race, and banned racial and religious discrimination in the sale, rental and financing of roughly 80 percent of all housing in the United States. Thereafter, federal legislation might refine or reinforce civil rights but the fundamental guarantees were assured by law (Brooks 1974, p. 260).

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION: THEORIES AND FURTHER RESEARCH

In early Christianity, charisma meant a favor, talent or grace granted by God, and it was applied to human beings regarded as being attached to the divine. In the early 1900s, Weber used the concept of charisma to explain a particular form of authority, one in which an individual is presumed to have this divinely ordained "gift of grace," and is then treated as if he indeed possessed it (1947, pp. 328, 358). Over the past several decades, however, journalists, the general public, and even many social scientists have made charisma a "vogue word," one of those "expressions that suddenly and inexplicably crop up repeatedly...and soon become debased by overuse" (Morse and Morse 1985, p. 611).

Yet, I have remained, like Bryan Wilson, "far from persuaded that the concept of charisma ought to be abandoned" (1975, p. 13). I therefore set out to develop a comprehensive theory of charismatic relationships in the leader's presumed divine attachment was the central ingredient. That theory, presented in this chapter, seeks to explain charismatic leadership and to provide criteria with which analysts can distinguish between charismatic and non-charismatic relationships.

The foundation for the construction of my theory was found in the writings of Rabbi Elimelech of Lyzhansk

(1787/1977), an eighteenth century Hasidic leader who described, in theological and idealized form, the actions of the zaddik and the interactions between the zaddik and his followers. The central feature of my definition of charisma is that the followers believe their leader to be attached to the divine. Consistent with that notion, the essential feature of Rabbi Elimelech's zaddik-follower relationship is that the Hasidim regarded the zaddik as being attached to their God, and certain propositions reflect that attachment.

Theory development began with an ideal type model which was organized into a framework of preparation, dynamic, and stabilization stages (Chapter I), formulated from the writings of Rabbi Elimelech (Chapter II), and constructed with twenty propositions (Chapters III, IV, and V and summarized in Appendix D).

To develop a theory with an empirical basis, four twentieth century leader-follower relationships were analyzed. The comparative analyses revealed that the relationships of Gandhi and Indians (Chapter VI) and of Nasser and Egyptians (Chapter VII) conformed to the first nineteen propositions, which indicated that charisma as attachment to the divine can exist in at least some secular mass movements in modern times.¹ Because the relationships of Ben-Gurion and Palestinian Jews (Chapter VIII) and of King and Black Americans (Chapter IX) lacked the followers' belief in their attachment to the divine, it can be

concluded that belief in divine attachment distinguishes charismatic relationships from relationships in which the leader is regarded as merely extraordinary.

Although specific beliefs and actions are distinct characteristics of charismatic relationships, achievement of goals does not appear to be a distinguishing feature. In all four analyses, only some of each leader's teachings were normalized into his respective social structure (Proposition 20). Because the goals and rules for behavior of both charismatic and merely extraordinary leaders may or may not become a part of the normalized social pattern, the form of the leader-follower relationship does not seem to influence the extent to which a movement affects social change.

Based on the findings of the comparative analyses, the theoretical model is discussed in the first section of this chapter. In the second section, implications for further research of leader-follower relationships are suggested. Because this study has shown the usefulness of Hoffer's organizational framework in analyzing social movements, his framework is retained in the discussion of the theoretical model, and is discussed in the final section.

A Theory of Charismatic Relationships

Each proposition of the theory of charismatic relationships is discussed in sequence below. Each section begins with the proposition from the ideal type model, followed by a summary of the findings from the comparative

analyses. Certain propositions are modified as indicated by the analyses of Gandhi and Nasser, and the end product, a comprehensive theory of charismatic relationships, is summarized in Appendix E. (References will be cited only for information not included in previous chapters.)

The Preparation Stage

In the preparation stage, the charismatic leader establishes his movement's initial goals and strategies based largely on ideas developed and spread by people of words who have recognized the social displacement and deprivation of potential followers and who have placed the blame for those conditions upon the social structure (Chapter I, page 13). While these ideas are being debated within the society at large, the future charismatic leader and the potential followers undergo a process on the social periphery² in which the leader formulates a doctrine and the followers become predisposed for attachment to a charismatic leader.

This process is described in the first four propositions. Because these were met by all four relationships analyzed above, they appear applicable to mass movements in general as well as to charismatic movements in particular.

Seeking Modification of Conditions

Proposition 1 - The charismatic leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their

conditions.

Even though this proposition was substantiated as written for all four movements, a refinement appears necessary to indicate the leaders's transition to activity, individually or in a group, on the social periphery. After twenty years in South Africa, Gandhi returned to his native India unsure of his place in it, lived in an ashram, and traveled. Nasser participated in underground organizations beginning in secondary school. Ben-Gurion, who grew up in a home where Zionists frequently met, worked in Zionist organizations beginning in his early teenage years in Poland and continued active in such organizations in Palestine. King's exposure to the blatant White supremacy of Montgomery caused him to join groups of social activists. The proposition is therefore modified with the underlined words added.

Proposition 1 - The charismatic leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their conditions by activities outside the social mainstream.

While the leaders' earlier experiences probably have some influence later, the distinct step which prepares them for their future leadership occurs when they begin to act on the fringe or margin of their society. Three of the leaders examined in this study attained some degree of success in the mainstream of their respective societies. Gandhi was a prosperous lawyer in South Africa, Nasser a highly regarded Army officer, and King a Ph.D. and the pastor of a

prosperous church. Whatever the later influence of these and other experiences, however, a distinctive feature of their preparation was that they began some activity on the social periphery. Ben-Gurion participated in the socially peripheral Zionist movement from childhood.

Assumes Leadership Roles

Proposition 2 - The charismatic leader (1) proposes and/or supports a revision of the moral, ethical, and spiritual precepts of society and (2) gathers a small network of followers.

The wording of this proposition, and the actions of the respective leaders which substantiate it, imply a breaking away from the social mainstream. Every leader analyzed called for a revision of fundamental precepts, and they gathered a small network of followers in groups which operated on the social periphery.

Gandhi saw the prevailing social order, especially British rule, as responsible for the disenfranchisement of the common Indian. He called for revision of the Indian social order, and at Benares created an uproar when he demanded that the maharajahs give their money to the poor and that the British government leave the country. Some of those who heard him speak joined his ashram (communal retreat). Ben-Gurion, after a three year exile from Ottoman territories, returned to Palestine in 1918 as a member of the Jewish Legion, a part of the British Army. After World War I, he called for the replacement of Ottoman rule in Palestine, not with the British mandate or British rule, but

with a new socialist Jewish society, and he had some colleagues and followers in that cause. Nasser supported a revision of the fundamental precepts of Egyptian society as an organizer and the leader of the clandestine Free Officers. King was unexpectedly elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, quickly became the boycotters' primary spokesman, and proposed and pursued an end to institutionalized segregation. The boycotters rejected municipal buses in favor of their own means of transportation, and constituted his initial network of followers.

Preparation of Followers

Proposition 3 - When the social conditions in a society are such that (1) many people are displaced and deprived of what is considered the normal pursuit of life, and (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of a charismatic leader to address them.

Both components of this proposition were strongly substantiated in all the comparative analyses. First, all had a long history of social displacement and deprivation. Indians and Egyptians were among the poorest peoples in the world and were ruled for extended periods as part of the British Empire. The Jews of Eastern Europe and Black Americans were not only excluded from the normal pursuit of life in their respective societies, but they were also oppressed and persecuted groups.

Secondly, all these groups became frustrated when they

had some reason to expect enormous improvement in their conditions but then experienced severe disappointment. Indians expected independence after World War I, but within four months of the armistice the Rowlatt Act reimposed war-time restrictions. Egyptians were promised social and economic reforms after the Free Officers' July 1952 coup, but two years later there had been very little progress and instead an increase in the frequency of violence. Jews immigrated to Palestine seeking escape from intolerable conditions in their countries of origin, and immigration increased after the Balfour Declaration appeared to promise British support for Jewish settlement. Instead they found themselves still impoverished, the subjects of the British Mandatory government, and fighting with Arabs. For Southern Blacks, Supreme Court rulings indicated that many forms of segregation would soon end, but strict segregation continued in Montgomery and the Jim Crow treatment on city buses was a continual reminder of their subservience and oppression.

In summary, preparation of followers appears to involve their being subjected to an extended period of social displacement and deprivation plus some event which they perceive will soon end their severe conditions. The social setting which invites the emergence of a leader, whether charismatic or not, is one in which a large number of people have had their hopes raised and then dashed.

Repudiation of Present, Tie to the Past

Proposition 4 - The charismatic leader issues

a doctrine which (1) promises an idealized future society, (2) repudiates much of the existing social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of the group.

Charismatic leaders acquire many of their ideas over many years, but they formulate and spread them during the period when their future followers become intensely disappointed and frustrated. During and immediately after World War I, Gandhi promised Indians an idealized future in an independent India, repudiated British rule, and, in his strategy of civil disobedience and the use of a vrata (sacred vow) with fasting as the sacrificial observance, advocated, promoted, and reinforced those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of India's historical ideals and aspirations. Nasser, as the head of a new government which had overthrown foreign rule (thereby repudiating the previous social order), promised Egyptians an idealized Arab oriented society in 1955, and advocated, promoted, and reinforced Pan-Arab values, ideals, and sentiments which were part of Egypt's historical ideals and aspirations.

Inherent in Ben-Gurion's 1920s portrayal of an independent, socialist Jewish Homeland as an ideal new society was the repudiation of the existing British Mandate government. In prescribing the development of kibbutz-like settlements, he advocated, promoted, and reinforced the values, ideals, and sentiments of Jewish history and the aspirations of the Jewish immigrants to Palestine. Several months into the Montgomery bus boycott, King expanded its

goals to end institutionalized forms of segregation, thus promising his followers an idealized future society while repudiating the existing social order in the South. His strategy of nonviolence was in keeping with the values, ideals, and sentiments of the traditions of Black culture.

The Charismatic Leader Emerges

In the preparation stage large numbers of people have developed an intense dissatisfaction with things the way they are, and many have become eager to follow and obey someone. The potential charismatic leader has repudiated the foundation of the existing order, promised an idealized future, and formulated a strategy to bring it about. There may be several, perhaps many, other individuals with similar messages. The dynamic stage of a mass movement begins when large numbers of people choose one message, and thus one messenger who fulfills what anthropologist Weston LeBarre calls their "prepotent unconscious wishes" (1980, p. 29).

The followers identification with the charismatic leader's message is one of four propositions which deal with his emergence and the early period of his movement's dynamic stage. The propositions are worded for charismatic movements, but also apply to mass movements in general in that all four movements analyzed fully conformed.

Attachment to the Charismatic Leader

Proposition 5 - The followers attach themselves to the charismatic leader when they identify with his portrayal of their dislocated

position in society and accept many of his prescriptions as means to attain their perceived rightful place in society.

Over some period of time -- months for Gandhi, Nasser, and King and years for Ben-Gurion -- followers increasingly identify with the leader's portrayal of their social dislocation. Their mass attachment, however, becomes evident in a matter of days when they display acceptance of many of his prescriptions. This mass display marks the emergence of the charismatic leader.

As news had spread of Gandhi's victories at Champaran and Ahmedabad 1917-1918, Indians began to identify with his portrayal of their dislocated position in their own society, and he emerged as a charismatic leader when Indian masses answered his call for a general strike in 1919 as a means to attain independence. Nasser, through his widely publicized opposition to the Baghdad Pact and foreign policy in early 1955, made known his portrayal of Egyptians as Arabs first. In June 1955 he returned from the Bandung Conference as the foremost Arab leader, and Egyptians publicly demonstrated hailing him as the "Champion of Africa and Asia."

There is evidence that at least some number of Jewish workers identified with Ben-Gurion when they elected him to high office in the Histadrut for five years in the mid-1920s. He emerged as the foremost labor leader of the Jewish settlers in Palestine in 1927 when he headed a merger of various parties into the Mapai. As the principal spokesman of the bus boycott, Montgomery's Blacks apparently

identified with King's portrayal of their social dislocation. After his home was bombed in January 1955 and in February and March he was jailed, tried, and convicted for leading them, they accepted his prescriptions of nonviolent civil disobedience as a means to attain their rightful place in American society.

Identification with Lower Statuses

Proposition 6 - The charismatic leader exhibits behaviors by which he becomes identified with those in the lower social positions of his society, and these behaviors show evidence of his unusual understanding and of their worthiness to follow him.

Individuals recognized as charismatic are conceptually elevated. The greater the elevation, the wider the gap between them and their followers. People will hesitate to elevate a leader, especially to a level of divine attachment, without some assurance that they are worthy of being a follower. Charismatic leaders provide this assurance through behaviors by which they can be identified with the lower statuses of their society. Everyone, that is people of all statuses, are thus assured of worthiness.

These behaviors take a wide variety of forms. Gandhi identified himself with even the poorest of his people by self-imposed poverty displayed by wearing the native dhoti, establishing an ashram, and traveling third class on trains. While few agreed with his appeals for the integration of untouchables into mainstream Indian society, he became recognized as their champion and thus as the

figure who would help everyone regardless of their social position. Nasser established a new constitution which included a council representing "the whole people," and also began to dress as a civilian and to speak in the Arabic dialect of the common people. Ben-Gurion identified with Jewish manual workers by dressing like them, by emphasizing programs for the unemployed, and, most importantly, by giving laborers the central role in the potential creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. King was a preacher, a status regarded as filled by individuals concerned for and about the common person.

Difficulty of Prescriptions

Proposition 7 - In order to carry out the charismatic leader's doctrine the followers adhere to new prescriptions, some being difficult and requiring great sacrifice, but they believe their adherence to even these difficult prescriptions is possible.

Charismatic movements, being a particular form of mass movements, attempt to bring about change in more than one social institution. They seek to transform at least a major portion of the society, and usually something fundamental about it. Charismatic movements develop because previous attempts to change conditions had failed (Proposition 3), and many of the institutionalized forces in society will continue to resist them (Proposition 17). To bring about fundamental changes, especially in the face of this resistance, charismatic leaders must call upon their followers to take difficult, and at times dangerous,

actions.

Gandhi's prescriptions for his khadi movement required Indians to cease the use of British manufactured cloth, to spin their own, to burn foreign cloth, and to give money to compensate merchants for the destroyed cloth and clothes. These required large sacrifices of a poor people, but they complied. Egyptians cheered Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal despite its attendant threat of military attack. They incurred heavy losses but also an almost complete victory for Egypt. Ben-Gurion's followers, already living under severe economic and political hardships, complied with his prescriptions for physical work, picketing, strikes, and demonstrations against the British government. King confirmed in Albany, Georgia, that civil disobedience was effective only when authorities reacted violently. He prescribed actions which provoked violent reaction -- to draw the attention of the mass media and to arouse the conscience of White Americans. During their compliance, his followers were subjected to arrest and imprisonment, beatings by police and civilians, attacks by dogs, and high pressure fire hoses.

For followers to carry out these prescriptions, they must have both a willingness to make sacrifices and sufficient belief in their own abilities. As indicated by the summaries of the comparative analyses, the willingness to sacrifice is more obvious than is the followers' belief in themselves.

Arguments and Symbols

Proposition 8 - The charismatic leader articulates his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and with symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas become ingrained in the minds of followers.

While all four comparative analyses substantiated the essential elements of this proposition, it appears that symbolic images were more important in the relationships of Gandhi and Nasser than for Ben-Gurion and King. Gandhi established slogans ("spin and weave"), objects as symbols (for example, the dhoti, khadi, and the spinning wheel), and designed a flag which represented purity, Muslims, and Hindus. Finally, by his dress and actions, Gandhi himself became a symbol. While Nasser refused to have his likeness depicted in statues or on coins, he used parades, the Egyptian flag, its air force and navy, the memory of Egyptian history, and finally himself as symbols. Ben-Gurion also had slogans (e.g., "from class to nation"), and symbolically used only the Hebrew language, but most often sought to convince followers by logical arguments in numerous speeches and articles. King's "I Have a Dream" became a slogan for the civil rights movement, but he too relied principally on his speeches to communicate his ideas.

As will be shown in the next section, Gandhi's and Nasser's leader-follower relationships conform to those propositions which involve a divine connection while Ben-Gurion's and King's do not. It appears likely that

symbolism is more important in charismatic relationships than in non-charismatic relationships, a matter for further research discussed in the next main section.

The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

Above all else, followers believe the charismatic leader to be somehow connected to the supernatural forces from which he gains the powers to bring about the new society he promised them. They see the charismatic leader as an intermediary between humanity and the divine; they are attached to him and he to the ultimate, fundamental, and supreme powers.

The propositions which distinguish leadership in charismatic movements from that of mass movements in general relate to this belief that charismatic figures are somehow attached to the followers' conception of God or Gods. Gaining their powers from some divine source, charismatic leaders are regarded as divine-like in that they are imbued with superhuman qualities (Proposition 9); their special mission has divine sanction (Proposition 10); and, more than respected and honored, they are revered and paid homage (Propositions 13 and 14).

Imbued with Superhuman Qualities

Proposition 9 - The followers believe their charismatic leader to be imbued with superhuman qualities which he applies for their benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being.

Their respective followers regarded Gandhi and Nasser

as nearly divine, and Ben-Gurion and King as merely extraordinary. Indians entitled Gandhi the "Mahatma" ("great-souled one") to signify his divine association. Mobs greeted him wherever he appeared. Many Indians traveled long distances and risked personal injury to receive his darshan ("blessing"). Egyptians had traditionally almost deified their rulers, and, particularly after the Suez crisis, looked upon Nasser as almost a deity. At that time, Arabs in the Middle East tended to think of Nasser as like a savior, as one sent by the divine to unite them into a Pan-Arab republic and to free from Western colonialism.

Ben-Gurion's followers, on the the other hand, recognized his extraordinary political and organizational skills, but do not appear to have regarded these qualities as superhuman. Notwithstanding King's status as a minister or his Biblical references in speeches and writings, his followers do not appear to have believed that he was attached to their God.

Charismatic leaders are also perceived as using their superhuman qualities for the good of their followers. All societies, in fact, have some number of people who are regarded as having superhuman qualities, but their activities are usually confined to the religious sphere, whether by their religion or by the society at large.³ Thus restricted, they cannot provide economic and political benefits and prosperity or physical well-being.

All the leaders analyzed applied their qualities, whether regarded as superhuman or merely extraordinary, for their followers' benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being. For charismatic leaders Gandhi and Nasser, their followers' spiritual well-being came in part from belief in their embodiment of superhuman qualities and in part from their satisfying Indians' and Egyptians' nationalistic yearnings. Even though neither Ben-Gurion nor King were imputed to have superhuman qualities, they provided spiritual well-being through their followers' belief that they would satisfy longings for, respectively, a Jewish homeland and the ordinary rights of American citizenship.

A Special Mission

Proposition 10 - Both the charismatic leader and the followers believe him to be designated by the supernatural for a special mission to fulfill and to convey to his followers.

All the analyzed leaders had a sense of mission and were intensely dedicated to their cause. One factor which distinguished Gandhi and Nasser from Ben-Gurion and King was their followers' belief that their respective missions were divinely ordained, a belief which relates to their elevation by followers to a level with the supernatural forces. Indians saw Gandhi as a saint, the "Mahatma," a numinous being whose purpose was to end British rule and to provide them with a new promised land on earth, an independent India. Nasser's special mission was Arab unity, a

combination of nationalism and religion in Sunni Muslim Egypt and the Arab countries beyond.

Ben-Gurion and his followers were halutziyyut (pioneering) Zionists who dedicated themselves to the special mission of reestablishing a Jewish homeland, but their ideology did not include divine designation for their mission. King was viewed as intensely dedicated to securing for Blacks their rights as ordinary American citizens, but his followers apparently did not consider him as divinely ordained for that mission.

The individual leader's own perception of his designation is a feature of charismatic leadership, but probably not a distinguishing feature. While neither Gandhi nor Nasser proclaimed himself to be divinely designated, they clearly attributed to supernatural forces certain ideas and their leadership positions. King, being a religious man, probably regarded himself as singled out by his God for his mission. The comparative analysis of Ben-Gurion did not reveal that he believed in his own supernatural designation prior to the establishment of the state of Israel.

The Ideal Type

Proposition 11 - The charismatic leader's behaviors are the model for the behaviors of the followers.

In all the relationships studied, followers looked to their leader as the model for their own actions. It is therefore a feature of charismatic leadership, but not a

distinguishing feature. Gandhi wore khadi, which became the virtual uniform for his followers. Indians spun and distributed homespun cloth in emulation of his widely known behaviors, and copied his actions in numerous other protests against the British. Egyptians saw Nasser as the Egyptian-Arab model to which they aspired to fulfill their Egyptian, Arabic, and Islamic heritage. Ben-Gurion exemplified halutziiyyut and Zionist ideals and thus served as a model for the behavior of Jewish immigrants in Palestine. King's strategy for nonviolent, civil disobedience and his own actions "in the streets" during demonstrations provided the model for his followers in the civil rights movement.

Bearing Burdens and Pain

Proposition 12 - It is believed that the charismatic leader bears the spiritual and emotional burdens and pain of his people at great sacrifice to himself.

In addition to the burdens and pains brought on by the forces resisting their movements, charismatic leaders may impose restrictions upon themselves, such as fasting or other privations, and thereby display bearing of the burdens, making sacrifices, and serving penance. These acts rouse the followers to emotionality and action.

Gandhi's self-imposed poverty and fasting and his many imprisonments were well known instances of his personal sacrifice for Indians and their independence. His 24 day, 240 mile Salt March in 1930, at the age of sixty-one,

stimulated Indians to boycott government-provided salt and to break the Salt Laws by gathering and distributing it themselves. Because Egyptians had traditionally looked to the head of their government to bear their burdens, they transferred their burdens to Nasser. They recognized his task as so immense that his bearing of their burdens required great personal sacrifice.

Ben-Gurion's and King's relationships also conformed to this Proposition, thus indicating that it is not a distinctive feature of charismatic leadership, but is a feature of leadership in mass movements in general. Ben-Gurion's followers were aware of the suffering caused him by his frequent and lengthy absences from his family, his lack of adequate finances, and his resignation from the Histadrut to hold office in the World Zionist Organization. They came to believe that he made these sacrifices to bear the burdens and pain of their being a people without an established homeland. King's imprisonments and the attempts on his life displayed his sacrifices in bearing the burdens and pain of Black Americans. The burdens and pain of Ben-Gurion and King also had a spiritual component in that they suffered to satisfy long held aspirations for, respectively, Zionist Jews and Black Americans.

The Pattern of Expressive Activities

Proposition 13 - Followers demonstrate their belief in the charismatic leader by giving him respect, holding him in reverence, and subordinating their will to his.

The charismatic leader can be distinguished from the less than charismatic leader by the nature and intensity of the followers' feelings about the individual and their expression of those feelings. The differing intensities are reflected in the meanings of two pairs of words: (1) Respect and honor and (2) reverence and homage. Respect and honor allude to almost awed admiration for a person's views, accomplishments, or behavior, and to courteous treatment (Hayakawa 1968, p. 508). Reverence implies feelings greater than respect: profound respect and honor, awe, devotion, love, and veneration, "the object of which is looked on as exalted or inviolable" (ibid., p. 509). Reverence is the root for Reverend, the title for a minister of religion, and thus consistent with the notion that followers elevate a human being to a connection with the divine.⁴ Homage refers to worship and submission, and to pay homage to reverential worship and submission with reverential regard (Cousins, 1980). Followers honor one whom they respect, but venerate, glorify, worship, and pay homage to a revered individual. To make this distinction explicit in Proposition 13, it is reworded as follows.

Proposition 13 - Followers demonstrate their belief in the charismatic leader by holding him in reverence, paying him homage, and subordinating their will to his.

Gandhi and Nasser were revered and venerated; Ben-Gurion and King were respected and honored. Indians lined the routes of Gandhi's trains to get even a glimpse of

him, and thousands, many having traveled long distances, gathered in huge crowds for his darshan. Indeed, they gathered in such huge crowds and so intensely sought to see and touch him that Gandhi became fearful for his own safety. Thousands also traveled to see Nasser, enormous crowds gathered for his appearances, and millions sat by radios to hear his long speeches. When he announced his resignation from the Presidency in 1967, thousands of Egyptians demonstrated in the streets and in front of his house pleading with him to remain their leader.

Jews and American Blacks also gathered to hear Ben-Gurion and King, but not only were their numbers in the hundreds but their demonstrations of affection were much less intense than those for Gandhi and Nasser. Ben-Gurion's and King's followers respected and honored them; Gandhi's and Nasser's followers revered and venerated and paid homage to them.

Commemoration of leaders at their funerals further justify the reverence-respect, homage-honor distinction. Millions attended the funerals of Gandhi and Nasser, and common people traveled great distances, interrupted funeral processions, and en masse displayed agony, anguish, and despair. Jews and Americans displayed grief, sadness and sorrow at the funerals of Ben-Gurion and King, but not the mass hysteria and intense grief exhibited at those of Gandhi and Nasser.⁵

It is likely that charismatic and less than charismatic

relationships also differ in the levels to which followers subordinate their will to the leader. This difference, however, is extremely difficult to determine from a content analysis. One might postulate that the followers of a charismatic leader surrender themselves to their leader while others merely subordinate their will. But what kinds of actions constitute surrender and what others only subordination? Indians complied with Gandhi's calls for various forms of civil disobedience which subjected them to beatings and severe injury, but so also did Black Americans in response to King. To adhere to Nasser's prescriptions, Egyptians suffered through wars, but so too did Palestinian Jews in the struggle headed by Ben-Gurion for an independent state. In summary, subordination of the followers' will to their leader appears to describe both charismatic and non-charismatic relationships.

Self-Importance

Proposition 14 - The followers' adoration and recognition may influence the charismatic leader to believe in his own importance and superhuman qualities, but he must display modesty and humility.

To be consistent with prior propositions, particularly the revised Proposition 13, Proposition 14 should be reworded. That is, it should reflect the followers' belief in their charismatic leader and their feelings of reverence for him and its expression as homage. The revised Proposition 14 reads as follows.

Proposition 14 - The followers' displays of homage and veneration may influence the charismatic leader to believe he is connected with the divine and embodies superhuman qualities, but he must display humility and modesty.

Proposition 6, as part of the description of the charismatic leader's emergence, states that he will exhibit behaviors by which he is identified with the lower statuses so that others can see themselves as being worthy of following him. Followers must feel worthy of attachment throughout the charismatic relationship. If the charismatic leader accepts the followers' notions of his elevation and greatness, and his belief becomes apparent to followers, they may feel so distanced from him that they feel unworthy of attachment to him. In his behavior, therefore, he must display humility and modesty.

Indians frequently demonstrated their reverence for Gandhi and his divine connection. Yet humility and modesty characterized his words and actions. Egyptians' displays of homage and veneration influenced Nasser to believe in his own omnipotence, which at times led Egypt into costly foreign ventures, but to Egyptians he responded with modesty and humility. By the elections in 1933 and 1935, Ben-Gurion had become the most important of all Zionists, and he displayed modesty and humility by initially refusing posts in the Zionist and Jewish Agency Executives. He did not, however, have reason to believe in his having superhuman qualities. King was made aware of his stature by public awards and honors, and was influenced to remain modest and

humble by his life-long religious training.

The charismatic leader's displays of humility and modesty make him appear even more majestic and extraordinary. Their perception is much like Rabbi Elimelech's description of the zaddik as one who "has a grasp on the Holy Name when in his greatness as well as in his katnut, his smallness or modesty" (#58, Appendix C).

Growth and Unification

The next five propositions describe the process during the dynamic stage by which growth and unification occur in charismatic movements. Because all the movements studied conformed to these propositions, they apply to mass movements in general.

Success and Growth

Proposition 15 - The charismatic leader usually has a modest beginning of his leadership and he attracts increasing numbers of followers as he creates an image of success.

A charismatic movement begins small, the followers bound together by their attachment to their charismatic leader. Followers and potential followers see the charismatic leader as successful if his actions indicate some progress toward the new society he promised. With this image of success attributed to him, additional people attach themselves to his supernuman qualities which are confirmed for existing followers. The greater the image of success surrounding the charismatic leader, the greater its effect

on growth and unification.

Those few who joined Gandhi immediately upon his return to India had been his followers in South Africa. His Indian following began modestly with the peasants at Champaran, and grew with the millworkers at Ahmedabad. The image of success created by those events attracted others, and his following continued to grow and become unified with general strikes, the khadi movement, and other protests which succeeded in applying pressure on the British. Many Egyptians attached themselves to Nasser after his success at Bandung, and he enlarged the image of success and attracted increasing numbers of followers with the withdrawal of British troops and the political and economic benefits from the Suez War.

Ben-Gurion's following began modestly with small numbers of Zionist pioneers, and it grew and became unified as he created images of success as the head of the Histadrut, then the Mapai, and finally the World Zionist Organization. The publicity surrounding King and the Montgomery bus boycott established perceptions of success and propelled him into the leadership of the civil rights movement. The image diminished at Albany, but was restored and enlarged at Birmingham and Selma during which his movement grew and became unified. The image faded after 1965, and growth and unification of his following deteriorated.

Gatherings with the Leader.

Proposition 16 - At public meetings, the

charismatic leader's presence , at times symbolized by a designated representative, adds enthusiasm and affirmation to the groups' unity.

It appears that the underlined portion of this proposition should be deleted. While constructing the ideal type, I postulated that followers would respond to the leader's representatives as if he were present. Based on Rabbi Elimelech's writings, the zaddik has great, superhuman qualities which include the power to confer some of that power to a representative (Chapter 5, page 129). Beyond the fact that representatives in nearly every organization speak and act for and in the name of their leader, it was expected that recognized associates of a charismatic leader would represent the charisma believed to exist in the leader himself.

The findings of the comparative analyses, however, were mixed. Gandhi's representatives at times unified his followers; examples include organizing bonfires and leading salt marches and the distribution of salt. King's representatives organized and lead protests as his agent. For Nasser, on the other hand, there was no evidence of designated representatives that would symbolize his presence. Ben-Gurion's followers saw his associates as representatives their own political organizations as well as the coalition he headed. Proposition 16 is therefore reworded with reference to the leaders's representatives deleted.

Proposition 16 - At public meetings, the charismatic leader's presence adds enthusiasm and

affirmation to the groups' unity.

Public gatherings effectively maintain the followers' shared attachment to the charismatic leader which thus unifies them. The followers have constructed a body of beliefs surrounding the charismatic leader -- a connection with the sacred realm, the embodiment of superhuman qualities, divine designation for a special mission -- and then reverently paid homage to their own construction. In a process of reification, they have elevated a human figure to at least near sacredness, attached themselves to him, and then reverently and responded to the figure as if he was in fact connected to their gods and goddesses. Gandhi initiated collective actions by leading large public gatherings in protest, two notable examples being bonfires of foreign cloth and the Salt March. Unified by his presence, Indians by the thousands burned cloth and made and distributed salt in his absence. Huge crowds cheered Nasser at his public appearances which affirmed their attachment to him.

Message and style are also factors which influence growth and unification in charismatic movements, and in mass movements in general. The leader's message almost always somehow relates to his promise of a wonderful new world in which followers would receive their rightful benefits, prosperity, and well-being. In charismatic relationships, this message is so attractive that it can be called a holy cause.

The leader's style and manner must coincide with the attitudes, values, and mood of the followers. Gandhi traveled from village to village wearing a white khadi dhoti, thus displaying "his voluntary poverty, his humility, and his simple, saintly life" (Mehta 1976, pp. 142-43), and he spoke "in a clear, carefully enunciated voice" (Payne 1968, p. 296). Nasser explained governmental affairs in uncomplicated language and humor, and Egyptians listened enraptured over radios and televisions and paid him homage at rallies. At meetings in Palestine and at international conferences, Ben-Gurion's speeches, given with a strong and moderate voice, and with small words and occasional cutting quips, enthused and unified his followers. King, with his highly developed skills as a Baptist preacher, frequently used public meetings to attract additional followers and to unify Black Americans for direct action protests.

Sources of Opposition

In the development of the ideal type model (Chapter V), this Proposition addressed external opposition to the charismatic leader and Proposition 19 incorporated the effects of internal opposition. For clarity, this Proposition is reworded with "External opposition" replacing "The opposition."

Proposition 17 - External opposition to the charismatic leader almost always comes from the proponents of the status quo of the economic, political, social, and religious conditions.

The charismatic leader promised his followers a new society and prescribed actions to bring it about. The followers' compliance with these prescriptions disrupt the social order. The potential changes and disruptions are resisted by those with a vested interest in retaining things as they are, and they direct their opposition to the charismatic leader.

Gandhi was opposed by the British authorities, Indians tied to the British, and certain minorities, all of whom had an interest in retaining British rule. Landowners, bureaucrats, and local religious leaders opposed Nasser. Ben-Gurion was opposed by General Zionists, the British, Palestinian Arabs, and religiously orthodox parties, all of whom sought to maintain their perception of the status quo. Two elements of American society opposed King, both seeking to maintain things as they existed: Segregationist Whites to preserve White supremacy, and Northern Liberal Whites to preserve the racial balance in their communities and to give priority to other issues which assumed greater interest after 1965.

Scapegoats

Proposition 18 - Worsening of conditions is always blamed on a variety of circumstances and never on the charismatic leader.

Charismatic leaders are fanatics in that they pursue their goals with a single-minded and often irrational dedication. Fanatics make mistakes, occasionally blunders,

which adversely effect followers who already are displaced and deprived of the normal benefits of their society. Charismatic leaders, however, are believed to be attached to the divine source of power; they are the intermediaries between followers and that source. Believers cannot bring themselves to blame such beings, and therefore must find others, scapegoats, on whom to place the fault. Conversely, if followers do blame a charismatic leader for worsened conditions, it indicates that belief in his divine connection, and thus his charisma, is waning.

When conditions worsened, particularly when the British used police and military force or arrested Gandhi, the followers blamed the British government and not Gandhi. Rather than blame Nasser for military defeats, Egyptians blamed officers of the armed forces and even themselves.

The blaming of worsening condition on others appears to apply to non-charismatic relationships as well. Ben-Gurion's followers blamed the worsening of political conditions -- decreases in immigration rates, restrictions on settlement and land purchases, and continued occupation by the British -- on the British government rather than on him. King's strategy, in fact, depended upon worsening of conditions and making White institutions the scapegoats. The comparative analysis of King also showed the necessity for transferring blame to others. Through Selma, his followers blamed the police and governmental authorities, but later former supporters began to blame him and the

growth and unification of his movement diminished.

New and/or Modified Prescriptions

Proposition 19 - The charismatic leader often issues new and/or modified prescriptions which he bases on the emotional fervor of the community of followers.

Pragmatism characterizes the four leaders examined in this study. The following comment concerning Gandhi also applies to Nasser, Ben-Gurion, and King: "He said what the occasion demanded rather than what was harmonious with former statements. Hence he was often caught in denying on one occasion what he had affirmed on another, but this did not bother him" (Organ 1974, p. 164, emphasis added). "What the occasion demanded" included the emotional fervor of the community of followers. Because of this fervor and the followers' unquestioned belief in their leader, they accept his modified prescriptions, even if they seem to contradict earlier proclamations and directions.

For his Indian followers, the use of British force and his arrests confirmed the need for Gandhi's prescriptions to attain Indian self-rule. He issued new prescriptions, such as the Salt March, or modified prescriptions, such as additional forms of civil disobedience, in ways which took advantage of the emotional fervor of his followers. Nasser issued new or modified prescriptions to counter political groups and to improve economic conditions, often relying on Islamic leaders to stimulate emotional fervor in the Egyptian community. Ben-Gurion made proposals for new or

modified political strategies within international Zionism when new conditions demanded a change, and he modified them to fit the emotional fervor of his followers in Palestine.

The comparative analysis of King provides an illustration of how growth and unification are positively affected when this proposition is fulfilled, and adversely affected when it is not. King developed his basic strategy at Montgomery, and the civil rights movement grew and became unified around him as he effectively modified his doctrine in protests throughout the South. After 1965, however, attitudes and priorities had changed across the nation, and he failed to gauge the emotional fervor of Southern much less Northern Blacks. His movement then not only ceased to grow but decreased in size, and he could no longer hold together the various factions of the civil rights movement.

The Stabilization Stage and Normalization

The purpose of this study is to develop a theory which would (1) explain charismatic relationships based on the original meaning of the term charisma, (2) would apply to civil and political as well as religious movements, and (3) would provide a model with which analysts could categorize leader-follower relationship in a variety of cultures. The first nineteen propositions fulfill all three purposes. For Proposition 20, the comparative analyses indicated that some teachings became a normative social pattern in all four relationships. Because the modified proposition applies to

non-charismatic as well as charismatic relationships, it contributes to the understanding of both, but cannot serve as a criterion for the latter. "Some of" as been added to the original proposition which implied that all teachings were normalized into the social structure.

Proposition 20 - Some of the charismatic leader's teachings, particularly his rules for behaviors, become normalized into the social structure.

The ideal type model was based on Hasidism, and part of the pattern which became normalized by Rabbi Elimelech and his contemporaries was the succession from one zaddik to another who continued the dynasty (Chapter 5, page 143). Following Weber's typology of charismatic leadership, the zaddik is a mystagogue, an individual recognized as having personal charisma and a special congregation around him. While this form of succession frequently occurs in religious movements,⁶ the leader during the dynamic stage of a mass movement is usually replaced by a practical person of action.

The charismatic leader promises followers a grand, new society, and during the dynamic stage they repeatedly disrupt the existing social order. To have the new society normalized into a stable social pattern, the chaos must end. The fanatical leader, however, rarely stabilizes the movement. Indeed, as revealed by the comparative analyses, practical people of action usually replace the leader, whether charismatic or not.

In this study, Ben-Gurion was the only exception, and his relationship did not meet the propositions which distinguish charismatic relationships. In his case, he headed the Jewish Executive during the dynamic stage, and that organization constituted a quasi-government of the Jews in Palestine before independence. During the War of Independence, he made the transition from propounding a Zionist-centered doctrine to instituting state-centered policies. In other words, Ben-Gurion was himself the practical man of action who stabilized his movement, modifying his teachings and rules for behavior to meet the practical requirements of state- and nation-building.

Nasser was also the head of his government, but it had been organized to ensure political security. External events caused him to keep his movement in the dynamic stage until his death, when he was replaced by Anwar Sadat. Nasser is said to have given Egyptians a sense of dignity and national pride, to have transformed them into independent citizens who believed that they finally had a stake in their own soil and labor. He established a foundation for a modern, industrial society with an Arab nationalist foreign policy and a Pan-Arab socialist domestic policy. Under Sadat, Egyptian nationalism and a market economy were integrated into the economic system.

Neither Gandhi nor King headed governments or quasi-governments, but some of their teachings were normalized into the structure of their respective

societies. Gandhi was replaced by practical people of action during the negotiations for Indian independence. Of the four main parts of Gandhi's doctrine, only his cause of Indian self-rule became normalized into the Indian social structure, and then less Pakistan. King relied on the institutional political structure to pass and enforce laws which forbade many forms of desegregation. His strategy of nonviolent, passive resistance became a common means by which various contemporary groups attempt to achieve their goals. He is generally credited with being the major figure who influenced Blacks Americans to have gained a self-image of themselves as not only deserving a place in the larger society but also of being capable of filling the mainstream roles in that society.

Recommendations for Further Research

The twenty propositions presented above constitute a theory of charismatic relationships developed by comparative analyses of four secular mass movements with respect to an ideal type model. The theory, summarized in Appendix E, can be a basis for research which focuses on one or a combination of the following.

Research on Charismatic Relationships
Comparative Analyses of Additional Leaders
Influences of Religion
Particular Areas of Focus
Research on Mass Movements
A Theory for Non-Charismatic Mass Movements
The Three Stage Framework

These areas of research are discussed in turn below.

To enable analysts to prepare their research designs adequately, they should consider a methodological difficulty encountered in this study: The scarcity of sociologically pertinent information. Biographers, analysts, and even annalists tend to focus on the words, actions, and behaviors of the leader. While these data directly pertain to some propositions, other propositions, particularly those which distinguish charismatic relationships, involve the beliefs and actions of followers with respect to the leader. Authors rarely report the responses of followers in sufficient detail to form a clear picture of the leader-follower relationship. So dominant is the psycho-historical orientation, in both primary and secondary sources, that researchers should plan on using numerous sources to compile data which constitute manifest content.

Research of Charismatic Relationships

Comparative Analyses of Additional Leaders. The propositions of this theory should be tested by comparative analyses of other leader-follower relationships. Possibilities from a variety of cultures, each with differing goals and leadership styles, include Lenin and the Russians, Hitler and the Germans, Degaulle and the French, Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese, Juan and Eva Peron and the Argentinians, Khomeni and the Iranians, and Ronald Reagan and the Americans. Studies of these relationships, or others, whether or not charismatic, should clarify the

theory. They could also clarify particular research questions discussed below.

Influences of Religion. While the Gandhian and Nasserite relationships conformed to all propositions, those of Ben-Gurion and King did not conform to those which related to the followers' belief in their leader being attached to the divine. Such a belief and the ways by which followers express it are essentially religious activities. The place of religion in the respective cultures might explain the differing probabilities of the formation of charismatic relationships.

All the leaders examined in this study were, beyond all else, politicians. They promised a new social order in political and civil terms and referred to religious teachings to reinforce their methods to achieve secular goals. Their prescriptions pressured the political institutions to bring political and economic benefits to their followers.

The charismatic leaders Gandhi and Nasser, however, led people inclined, perhaps predisposed, to endow humans with divinity. Hindus tend to describe deities anthropomorphically, and to see highly spiritual human beings as manifesting divinity (Cohn 1987, p. 4). Similarly, they designated Gandhi as the Mahatma (great souled one), clamored for his darshan (blessing), and responded to his fasts as a sacrifice in the religious ritual of the vrata. With respect to Nasser and the

Egyptians, part of the Islamic religious tradition is the Sharia, the Law, and this law covers both private and public life; "there is no line drawn between religion and the desirable polity in which Muslims wish to live" (Smart 1987, p. 223). Egyptians, therefore, regarded Nasser as the Mahdi and as one who followed in the footsteps of the prophet and the "Just Caliphs."

During the design of this study, it was assumed that the Ben-Gurion and King leader-follower relationships would conform to the ideal type model. Many Jews saw the establishment of the State of Israel as the realization of a two thousand year dream of their people, and Ben-Gurion was credited with the realization of that dream. Yet only in retrospect was he regarded as a prophet. King was a Baptist preacher who organized his movement through meetings in churches, but the study revealed no evidence that followers perceived him as attached to their God. The religions of their respective cultures might explain their not being elevated to charismatic status in that Jews and Christians tend to separate religious from secular life. In contrast with Hinduism and Islam, modern Judaism and Christianity bestow sainthood posthumously based on evidence of moral quality.⁷

The religious differences of the four cultures indicate that Proposition 3 might be revised with the addition of a third condition.

Proposition 3 - When the social conditions in a society are such that (1) many people are

displaced and deprived of what is considered the normal pursuit of life, (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, and (3) have a proclivity for attributing divinity to living human beings, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of a charismatic leader to address them.

The testing of this proposition requires research beyond the scope of this study because other cultural differences might exist which explain why charismatic relationships tend to occur in some societies and not in others. Sociologist Bryan R. Wilson, for example, in his study of charisma in pre-modern versus modern societies, concluded that the likelihood of a charismatic leader emerging at the political level in the modern West is greatly diminished. In modern cultures, characterized by rationality and machine technology, people "rely on role performances and duly certified competences, rather than on the innate -- much less on the divinely endowed -- qualities of individuals" (1975, pp. 107-8). In summary, further research should examine all aspects of various cultures to determine which cultural factors influence inclinations for charismatic leadership, and the extent to which each factor contributes to the attribution of charisma.

Particular Areas of Focus. The findings of this study indicate possibilities for further research in particular areas of interest to social scientists. The very process whereby a community raises one of its members to a level of divinity very likely indicates certain features of that culture and perhaps of human behavior in general.

Such research might compare over a variety of cultures the types of symbols and their meanings. Findings of this study indicates that symbolism is more important in charismatic relationships than in non-charismatic relationships.⁸ Gandhi and Nasser not only made greater use of symbols than did Ben-Gurion and King, but they were themselves symbols and seen as living saints (cf. Proposition 8, page 472).

The roles of men and women are another example. It is well known, and widely studied, that males dominate nearly all contemporary societies. My inability to find a female leader of secular movements for this study reflects male dominance.⁹ If a female charismatic leader could be found, gender roles in that society could then be compared to others.

Another possible area of research is the influence of childhood on later life. As has been noted, many biographers and analysts emphasize a leader's childhood experiences and imply that it has an influence on his leadership as an adult. For example, many biographers of Gandhi and King emphasize their childhood experiences as shaping their future activities while ignoring the fact that both set out, through education and in their initial careers, to attain upper-middle class positions in their respective societies.

A study of childhood influence should include others who had similar childhood experiences but never approached

charismatic status. It should assess the relative influences of adult experiences; in this study the leaders' only emerged well into adulthood.¹⁰ Another factor is the body of myth which soon surrounds charismatic leaders and includes their actual and presumed activities and propensities as children.

Indeed, myths themselves might be a specific area of research. Myths, as the term is used here, are stories of divine or sacred significance (cf. Smart 1983, p. 79). Because myths and charisma are inextricably intertwined (cf. Dekmejian 1971, p. 56), a detailed study of myths about charismatic leaders might add to the understanding of charismatic relationships. Also, the values, sentiments, heroic acts, and life lessons contained in the mythology not only indicate the elevation of the charismatic leader but also reveal which cultural ideas are of particular importance.¹¹

Research of Mass Movements

A Theory of Non-Charismatic Mass Movements. The theory of charismatic relationships described in the first section of this chapter is one devoted to a particular form of a mass movement, that is, social movements which organize collective action to create change in more than one social institution. When the features specific to charismatic relationships are removed from the propositions, the result is a theory for leader-follower relationships in mass

movements. The propositions of this theory are summarized in Appendix F. Charismatic has been deleted and Propositions 5, 9, 10, 13, and 14 restated to indicate that the leader is seen as extraordinary but without attachment to the divine.

It is hoped that others will test the propositions of this theory of mass movements. It would also be useful to compare it to the writings of others who have made notable contributions to the study of leadership in religion, politics, and business organizations.¹²

The Three Stage Framework. The theories developed in this study incorporate an organizational framework which divides mass movements into preparation, dynamic, and stabilization stages.¹³ All four leader-follower relationships analyzed went through the three stages, whether led by charismatic leaders Gandhi and Nasser or by non-charismatic leaders Ben-Gurion and King. An analyst interested in what occurred at any one time should consider all the stages, and very likely all the propositions, to appreciate what went on before that time and to assess later effects. For example, a complete analysis of any period in the dynamic stage should consider the conditions of the followers in the preparation stage, and the extent to which teachings were normalized in the stabilization stage.

Epilogue

In this study I have developed a comprehensive theory of relationships based on charisma as defined in its

original meaning: The leader is believed to be attached to the divine (Appendix E). A socially displaced and deprived people, awakened by the ideas of people of words, ascribe divine connectedness to some individual who has become greatly concerned about their conditions. Followers then treat him, and he behaves toward them, as if he actually possessed the characteristics implied in that connection. A body of belief surrounds the charismatic leader, and followers express that belief by a variety of activities, all of which demonstrate their reverence toward him. As the following grows and becomes unified it forms a charismatic movement which disrupts the social order. The movement is stabilized, and some of the charismatic leader's teachings normalized, by practical people of action, or, rarely, by the leader himself.

Wherever and whenever charismatic relationships occur, they result in social change. The followers are affected, usually greatly, and so also are non-followers. Based on the findings of the charismatic movements analyzed here, including Hasidism, the actual changes usually vary from those promised by the charismatic leader.

The theory for charismatic relationships was developed by comparison of secular mass movements to an ideal type constructed from a religious leader's writings. The propositions, even though clarified above with respect to secular charismatic relationships at the level of a society, also apply to religious charismatic relationships and to

movements within a society. In other words, the theory describes a distinct social phenomenon which occurs within various segments of a society as well as in a society at large.

Because charismatic movements are a particular form of mass movements, a by-product of the study has been the development of a theory for the latter (Appendix F). Both theories describe and explain social relationships and processes which are of sociological interest in and of themselves. Moreover, because they have social consequences, often profound, the theories deserve further study by social scientists.

Chapter Notes

1. The movements were secular in that they aimed to bring about civic and political changes (cf. Chapter Note 2, page 30). Mass movements, a designation from Hoffer (1951), are very large collective actions over a considerable period of time and across more than one institution (cf. Chapter I, page 13).

2. The concept of social periphery is from Shils (1961) and discussed in Chapter Note 6, page 90.

3. The influences of certain cultural features, including religion, on the likelihood for development of charismatic relationships are discussed below, page 495.

4. King was an ordained minister and thus referred to as the Reverend Martin Luther King. In today's Protestant churches, the title usually connotes honor, but not reverence. In King's particular case, he was also often referred to as Dr. King, his Ph.D. thus being considered at least as important as his religious honorific (cf. Warren 1965; Raines 1983).

5. For accounts of mourners' displays of intense grief after Gandhi's death, see Payne 1968, pp. 594-99 and Mehta 1976, pp. 172-74, and for Nasser, Chapter VII, page 222. For a description of the funeral services of Ben-Gurion and King, during which followers showed honor but not homage, see respectively Smith 1988 and Bigart 1988.

Followers commemorate their leader months or years after his (or her) death, but their actions cannot be taken as an accurate indicator of the type of leader-follower relationship which might have existed. Groups often attempt to have a past leader commemorated to justify and draw attention to their current cause. One contemporary example is the recent issuance of the Susan B. Anthony silver dollar to elevate retrospectively a past leader of the women's movement and thereby recognize the struggle of today's women for equal rights. During her lifetime, Anthony was highly respected and honored, the "incomparable organizer, who gave [the women's suffrage movement] force and direction" (Flexner 1975 p. 85), but not revered or paid homage (cf. French 1985, pp. 209-13).

Similarly, a deceased figure's birth date may be designated a holiday to recognize some group as much as to honor their leader from the past, a contemporary example being the debates surrounding King birth date (January 15) as a holiday. The naming of public buildings or facilities denotes respect, but such acts of commemoration are

insufficient to serve as evidence of reverence during the period of leadership. Schools and other public buildings are named after Ben-Gurion and King, but also after many lesser figures. The main national airport in Israel is named after Ben-Gurion, but in the United States after John Foster Dulles, a former Secretary of State.

6. Weber likens the personal charisma of the mystagogue to that of the magician or the prophet, but distinguishes it from the priest's charisma of office. Whereas the charisma of the prophet comes from divine revelation, the charisma of the mystagogue is largely dependent on the belief that he has magical powers. As examples of dynasties of mystagogues, Weber noted the guru in India and the hierarch of Taoists in China (Weber 1968, pp. 446-47; cf. Sharot 1980, p. 328). The Hasidic zaddikim are another example.

7. Although classical rabbinical Judaism revered many exemplary figures, the rabbis of the Talmud disapproved of the veneration of human beings alive or dead. Mystical groups, such as the Hasidim, have lionized their founders (Cohn 1987, pp. 3-4), but Ben-Gurion's followers were not mystics. Christianity has traditionally stressed the miraculous elements in the lives of its saints: "Saints healed, exorcised, prophesied, and mastered the elements of nature" (ibid., p. 2). On the whole, Protestant Christianity follows the lead of Martin Luther who attacked the Catholic cult of saints and denied their intercessor efficacy.

8. Symbolism has also become a major factor in American national election campaigns. Researchers of federal elections might also examine the ways in which speaking style has come to determine whether a candidate has "charisma" (the use of the term in such a context being further evidence of its overuse and abuse). Preparing for the 1988 campaign, Dukakis's aides incorrectly concluded that "Voters had had enough charisma after eight years of Ronald Reagan" (Hershey 1988, p. 78). Instead, the media went to great lengths to assess each candidate's appearance and mannerisms.

...media commentary after the three debates centered on which candidate seemed the most relaxed, the most likable, with the best one-liners, as though the election were to result in the selection of a dinner guest, not a President. Networks and wire services asked debate coaches to judge the candidates on style and presentation. It was a landmark in the development of politics as a spectator sport. Media values had almost completely supplanted the values of governing (ibid., p. 98; cf. Germond

and Witcover 1989, pp. 3-16, 424-47).

In popular usage, a "charismatic" speaker is one whose delivery is smooth and lively. Halting, dull speakers are criticized for their so-called lack of charisma.

9. Having recognized that I might not identify potential female leaders for this study because I am a male, I asked female colleagues, several of whom are active feminists, for assistance. Eva Peron was their only suggestion, but I had already determined that her followers could not be separated from those of her husband, Juan Peron.

10. Gandhi's preparation began during his twenty year stay in South Africa (1894-1914) and intensified after his return to an unfamiliar India when he traveled for several years throughout India. He emerged as a charismatic leader in 1919 at the age of forty-nine. Nasser and Ben-Gurion began activities which led to their later leadership while still adolescents, but Nasser assumed leadership of his movement at the age of thirty-seven and Ben-Gurion when about thirty-six. King was the twenty-six year old pastor of a "rich people's church" when he found himself the spokesman for a committee conducting a bus boycott, and within a matter of months became the recognized leader of Montgomery's Black community and then throughout the Southern United States.

11. Hasidism has a rich body of mythology surrounding the zaddikim which has been extensively documented and analyzed. A researcher who sets out to explore myths in any particular culture might examine the following sources for comparison and perhaps a theoretical framework: Band 1978, Buber 1947 and 1948, Dubnow 1918, Green 1982, Heschel 1985, Levin 1931, Mindel 1969, Mintz 1968, Poll 1962, Rabinowicz 1960, Shaffir 1974, and Wiesel 1972.

12. The literature on leadership is very large, but several sources are so frequently cited by others that they deserve special notice: Shils 1958 and 1968, Tucker 1968, Rustow 1970, Wilson 1975, House 1977, Bass 1981 and 1985, Wallis 1982, and Willner 1984. Several recently published books are also noteworthy: Conger et al. 1988, Conger 1989, and Kets de Vries 1989.

13. In my view, the stages of the organizational framework are one of the strengths of the theories developed in this study. Hoffer was a popular rather than an academic writer, but my review of the academic literature revealed no better framework. The following discussion in the text provides some possible uses of the longitudinal structure of the theories.

Additional aspects of Hoffer's work are also, in my view, noteworthy. As has been shown in the comparative analyses above, the notion that different kinds of people are dominant at each stage -- people of words, fanatics, and practical people of action (1951, pp. 119-37) -- is useful to explain not only the development, the active phase, and the normalization of a mass movement but also the role of the recognized leader. Hoffer's description of the potential converts to a mass movement deserves testing (cf. pp. 29-56). (The scope and focus of this study precluded analysis here, but I was tempted.) My sections on "Growth and Unification" came from Hoffer, particularly his "Part Three. United Action and Self-sacrifice" (pp. 57-118). I used only some of this material, but it too deserves further consideration in the study of mass movements. Finally, when I have assigned The True Believer in college courses, students found Hoffer's discussion of "Good and Bad Mass Movements" enlightening (cf. pp. 138-51).

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APPENDIX A

GAZETTEER

Towns and Regions of Eastern Europe

From Chapters II through V

Spellings of locations vary by language and historical periods. The Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971) is the standard for the following entries and in the text. Alternative spellings are noted and are retained in the text for direct quotations. Consistent with the form of a gazetteer, letters indicate direction: N = north or northern, W = west or western, NW = northwest, etc.

Galicia (Pol. Galicja; Ger. Galizien; Rus. Galitsiya) - Historic region in SE Poland and NW Ukrainian S.S.R. Bordered S by Czechoslovakia, it extends from the Carpathian Mountains into the Vistula Valley to the north. The principle cities are Cracow, Tarnow, Rzeszow, Przemysl, and Nowy Sacz, in Poland, and Lvov, Stanislav, Drohobych, Borislav, Stryy, and Kolomiya, in Ukrainian S.S.R. Originally the Russian Duchy of Galich (Pol. Halicz), it passed to Poland in the 14th century and passed to the Austrian Empire in 1772 (Seltzer 1952, p. 656; Davies 1982, p. 512).

Lithuania (Lith. Lietuva; Pol. Litwa; Rus. Litva) - Historic region now in Lithuanian S.S.R. and White Russian S.S.R. (since 1940). During the 16th to 18th centuries it formed a part of the greater Kingdom of Poland (Seltzer 1952, p. 1063).

Lyzhansk - Small town in 18th century Galicia (See above), in which Rabbi Elimelech of Lyzhansk established his residence and court. Today the town is called Lezajsk (1939 pop. about 5,000), and is in SE Poland, approximately 150 miles SSE of Warsaw and 24 miles NE of Rzeszow at 50° 16' N, 22° 26' E (Seltzer 1952, p. 1048; Times 1965, p. 477).

Medzibezh (Rus. Medzhibozh; Pol. Miedzyborz; Yid. Mezhibezh) - Town in Podolia (See below), Kingdom of Poland until 1793 and then in Russian Empire, in which the Baal Shem Tov established his residence and court. Today Medzhibozh (1926 pop. 111,600) in Ukrainian S.S.R. at 49° 29' N, 27° 26' E (Seltzer 1952, p. 1178; Times 1965, p. 536).

Mezhirech (Rus. Mezririchi; Pol. Miedzyrzecz, also spelled Mezritch, Mesritz, Mesritch, Mezerritch) - Village in

Volhynia (See below) in which the Great Maggid established his residence and court. Today Mezhirich (1931 pop. 2,380) in Ukrainian S.S.R. at 49° 37' N, 31° 25' E (Seltzer 1952, p. 1194; Times 1965, p. 543).

Podolia (Rus. Poloye; Pol. Podole) - Historic region, now in SW Ukrainian S.S.R., between the Dniester and Southern Bug rivers in the center of the Volyn-Podolian Upland. Formerly a region in SE Poland annexed by Russia in 1793. In the 16th, 17th, and most of the 18th centuries, Podolia was a border territory between the Kingdom of Poland and the Ottoman Empire (Seltzer 1952, p. 1489; Slutsky 1971d, col. 667)

Volhynia (Rus. Volyn and Pol. Wolyn) - Historic region now in SW White Russian S.S.R. and NW Ukrainian S.S.R. In 1569 it became a quasi-autonomous Polish province until it was annexed by the Russian Empire in the second (1793) and third (1795) partitions of Poland (Seltzer 1952, p. 2044; Ettinger 1971b, cols. 206, 210)

Towns and Regions in India -- Chapter VI

Consistent with the form of a gazetteer, letters indicate direction: N = north or northern, W = west or western, NW = northwest, etc.

Ahmedabad (Ahmadabad) - A large industrial city (1941 pop. 591,267) in the state of Gujarat in W India 275 miles north of Bombay at 23° 2' N, 72° 38' E. A commercial center and one of the largest cotton milling centers in India (Seltzer 1952, p. 22; Munro 1988, p. 7, Times 1981, plate 29).

Amritsar - City in NW India (1941 pop. 391,010) at 31° 38' N, 74° 52' E. The center of the Sikh religion (Seltzer 1952, p. 64; Munro 1988, p. 21).

Benares (Since 1948, officially Banares; in ancient times Varanasi) - A city (1941 pop. 263,100) in N India on the River Ganges at 25° 20' N, 83° 00' E. One of the seven most sacred Hindu centers in India, and a holy city to Buddhists and Jains. Benares Hindu University in the extreme southern part of the city opened in 1921 (Seltzer 1952, p. 195; Munro 1988, p. 684; Times 1965, p. 82).

Bombay - India's second largest city (1941 pop. 1,489,883); in W India on the Arabian Sea 740 miles SSW of Delhi and 1,020 miles WSW of Calcutta at 18° 56' N, 72° 50' E. With the best harbor in India and with West India's only natural deep water port, Bombay rivals Calcutta in the amount of total trade and shipping (Seltzer 1952, p. 243; Munro 1988, p. 83).

Calcutta - India's second largest city (1941 pop. 2,070,619) and chief port of East India. Located eighty miles from the Bay of Bengal in the Ganges River Delta 800 miles SE of New Delhi at 22° 30' N, 80° 20' E (Seltzer 1952, p. 308; Munro 1988, p. 106).

Champan - A district in the state of Bihar in Northeastern India bounded N by Nepal and W by the Gandek River (Seltzer 1952, p. 367; Times 1981, plate 30).

Dandi - A village near the Gulf of Cambay 16 miles NW of Surat which serves as a small port for coastal smacks (Seltzer 1952, p. 486). Also a shore line NW of Surat named for a lighthouse, the only building on a long strip of beach, pools, and mud flats on which the sea water evaporates leaving a layer of salt (Ashe 1968, pp. 286-87).

Delhi - A city (1941 pop. 521,849) in N-central India 740 miles NNE of Bombay and 800 miles NW of Calcutta at 28° 40' N, 77° 15' E. Adjoins New Delhi, the capital of India to the SSW (Seltzer 1952, p. 500; Munro 1988, p. 167).

Dharasana - A salt processing facility and depot near Dandi (Ashe 1968, p. 291).

Gujarat - A state in W India, bounded N by what is now Pakistan, and SW, S, and SE by the Arabian Sea (Munro 1988, p. 251).

New Delhi - A city (1941 pop. 93,733) and capital of India 740 miles NNE of Bombay and 800 miles NW of Calcutta at 28° 37' N, 77° 13' E. Predominantly an administrative center, it was constructed in 1912-29 (inaugurated 1931) on a previously unoccupied site SSW of Delhi city to replace Calcutta as the capital of India (Seltzer 1952, p. 1308).

Poona - A city (1941 pop. 237,500) 75 miles SE of Bombay at 18° 31' N, 73° 51' E. Used by the British as an administrative and military training center, and favorite residence (Seltzer 1952, p. 1499; Munro 1988, p. 524).

Porbander - A small city (1941 pop. 48,493) on the Arabian Sea in the state of Gujarat at 21° 40' N, 69° 40' E. From 1785 to 1948 the capital of the former princely state of Porbander (Seltzer 1952, p. 1500; Times 1965, p. 674; Munro 1988, map 85).

Surat - A city (1941 pop. 171,443) and port on the Gulf of Cambay, 150 miles N of Bombay at 21° 10' N, 72° 54' E. (Seltzer 1952, p. 1847; Times 1965, p. 819).

Yeravda Central Prison - The main British prison in Poona (See above) (Ashe 1968, p. 234).

Towns and Regions in Egypt and Sinai -- Chapter VII

Consistent with the form of a gazetteer, letters indicate direction: N = north or northern, W = west or western, NW = northwest, etc.

Alexandria (Arabic, Al-Iskandariyah) - Egypt's second largest city (1976 population, 2.3 million) and main port, located on the Mediterranean coast 110 miles NW of Cairo at 31° 12' N, 29° 54' E (Seltzer 1952, p. 41; Munro 1988, p. 14).

Aswan High Dam - A dam built between 1960 and 1970, with financial and technical assistance of the Soviet Union, for irrigation, flood control, improved navigation of the southern Nile, and electric power (Hefney 1989, p. 137).

Cairo (Arabic, El Kahirah, or Al-Qahirah (the victorious), Masr or Misr (capital)) - Capital of Egypt located at the head and on the W bank of the Nile River, 110 miles SE of Alexandria and 80 miles W of Suez at 30° 31' N, 31° 15' E. The largest city in Africa (1947 pop. 2,100,506; estimated 1984 population, 9.5 million) (Seltzer 1952, p. 305; Munro 1988, p. 106).

Faluja - A village in W Israel at the N end of the Negev desert, 30 miles S of Tel Aviv and 25 miles N of Beersheba at 31° 33' N, 34° 45' E. On a road connecting N and S Israel, it was strategically important during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War (Seltzer 1952, p. 602; Times 1965, p. 259; Pearlman 1971, cols. 327-28).

Gaza (Gaza Strip) - A 135 square mile area of land along the Mediterranean Sea named for the chief town (Arabic, Ghazze). Designated as Arab in the U.N.'s 1947 partition of Palestine and in 1948 occupied by Egypt, it has been since 1967 an Israeli-occupied district under military administration (Seltzer 1952, p. 667; Munro 1988, p. 222).

Iraq al-Manshiyya - A fortress on a road connecting N and S Israel, which was strategically important during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War (cf. Pearlman 1971, cols. 327-8).

Mecca (Arabic, Makkah) - A city (estimated 1952 pop. 90,000) in Saudi Arabia at 21° 25' N, 39° 49' E. The foremost sacred city of Islam; the birthplace of Mohammed (570 AD), the site of the Kasba, and the chief shrine of Muslim Pilgrimage (Seltzer 1952, p. 1174; Munro 1988, p. 385).

Nile River - The longest river in Africa, and measured from its remotest headstream the longest river in the world, the Nile flows north from Sudan through the desert of Egypt to the east Mediterranean where it forms a delta 100 miles N-S

and 150 miles E-W. Throughout its course in Egypt it irrigates the desert on either side (Seltzer 1952, p. 1325; Munro 1988, p. 459).

Port Said - A Mediterranean seaport (1947 pop. with outlying districts 178,432; 1976 population, 262,760) at N entrance to the Suez Canal, 105 miles NE of Cairo at $31^{\circ} 17'$ N, $32^{\circ} 18'$ E (Seltzer 1952, p. 1507; Munro 1988, p. 516).

Sinai - A 60,174 sqkm triangular peninsula and governate of Egypt, bordered N by the Mediterranean, E by Israel and the gulf of Aqaba, and W by the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Suez. The eastern third is now under Israel Military Administration (Munro 1988, p. 592; Times 1981, plate 86).

Suez Canal - A 107 mile long canal connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas (Seltzer 1952, p. 1338; Munro 1988, p. 618).

Towns in Palestine, Israel and Poland -- Chapter VIII

Consistent with the form of a gazetteer, letters indicate direction: N = north or northern, W = west or western, NW = northwest, etc.

Haifa - Industrial city (1946 est. pop. 145,430) and chief seaport in NW Israel on a peninsula which juts into the Mediterranean Sea; 55 miles NNW of Tel Aviv at 32° 49' N, 35° 00' E (Seltzer 1952, p. 745; Munro 1988, p. 254).

Jaffa - See "Tel Aviv and Jaffa."

Jerusalem (Heb. Yerushalayim; Arabic, El Quds esh Sherif or El Kuds; ancient, Hierosolyma) - Capital city of Palestine 1920-1948 (1946 est. pop. 164,440), and the state of Israel after 1950, 35 miles ESE of Tel Aviv-Jaffa at 31° 47' N, 35° 13' E. The holy city of Judaism and Christianity, and with numerous Moslem shrines, Jerusalem is often called Zion in Jewish and Christian literature (Seltzer 1952, p. 878; Munro 1988, p. 308).

Plonsk - Town (1946 pop. 7,758) in E central Poland 40 miles NW of Warsaw (Seltzer 1952, p. 1486).

Tel Aviv and Jaffa - Twin cities and Israel's largest conurbation (1950 est. pop. 310,000, 1982 pop. 325,700) and commercial port on Mediterranean coast; 35 miles WNW of Jerusalem at 32° 5' N, 34° 46' E (Seltzer 1952, p. 1889; Munro 1988, p. 639).

Warsaw (Pol. Warszawa; Rus. Varshava; Ger. Warschau) - The capital and largest city of Poland (1939 est. pop. 1,239,000) at 52° 15' N, 21° 00' E. From 1850 until World War I, the capital of the Russian-held kingdom of central Poland (Seltzer 1952, p. 2062; Munro 1988, p. 702).

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY

Hebrew -- Chapters II through V

The spellings of some Hebrew terms vary in English. The Encyclopaedia Judaica is the standard for the following entries and for spelling in the text. Important alternative spellings are noted below and are retained in the text in direct quotations.

Devekut - Literally, "cleaving." Both the noun devekut and its verb davok have several theological and mystical meanings in kabbalistic literature. The most usual meaning is "communion with God," which is achieved mainly during prayer through the use of prayer and meditation using the right mystical interpretations and meanings given to the words of prayer. Devekut is usually described as the highest step on the spiritual ladder, which one reaches after mastery of the attitudes of fear of God, love of God, etc. (Dan 1971, col. 1598).

In the Hasidic Movement, devekut became not only the supreme achievement of religious life but also its starting point; that is, in Hasidism devekut should be the believer's constant state of mind, even while he is dealing with everyday necessities of life and not only during the high points of prayer and religious activity (ibid., col. 1599). In Rabbi Elimelech's writings, only the zaddik is capable of this level of devekut.

Galut - Literally, "exile." The concept of galut essentially applies to the history and the historical consciousness of the Jewish people from the destruction of the Second Temple to the re-creation of the State of Israel, a period of almost 2000 years. "Only the loss of a political-ethnic center and the feeling of uprootedness turns Diaspora (Dispersion) into galut (Exile)" (Umansky 1987, pp. 219-20). The sense of galut has reflected the Jews' separation from the land of Israel, the Torah by which God commanded them to live, from God himself, and from the non-Jew and the non-Jewish world in general. It is expressed by the feeling of alienation in the countries of Diaspora, the yearning for the national and political past, and persistent questioning of the causes, meaning, and purpose of the exile (Ben-Sasson 1971a, col. 275).

Gaon - Literally, "excellence" (Buber 1947, p. 329) or "grandeur" (Poll 1962, p. 283). An honorific to signify a

great scholar (Mintz 1968, p. 446).

Hasid (pl. Hasidim) - Literally, fervent, pious. A believer in Hasidism. According to Elie Wiesel, one who acts out of love, with tenderness. Derived from hesed, grace, one of God's attributes complementing din, strict justice. God's grace calls forth the fervor, the piety of man, his love for God, and all his creatures (1972, p. 262).

Hasidism - The "common appellation of a Jewish pietistic movement that developed in eastern Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century, became, before the end of that century, a major force in modern Judaism, and has remained as such into the twentieth century" (Dan 1987, p. 203; cf. Smart 1984, pp. 327-28).

Kabbalah - The traditional and most commonly used term for the esoteric teachings of Judaism and Jewish mysticism, especially the forms which it assumed in the Middle Ages from the 12th century onward (Scholem 1971b, col. 489).

Kahal (Also, kohl) - Literally, a Jewish congregation or the people of the community. It has also come to mean the communal government, at times to designate the communal council (Levilets, 1971, col. 810; Davies 1982, p. 443) or, as in this dissertation, the political organization of the Jewish community made up of the council and the courts (Shaffir 1974, pp. 3, 238; Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1984, p. 13).

Maggid (pl. maggidim) - Literally, "one who relates." The term has developed two connotations: (1) A popular, and often itinerant preacher, and (2) an angel or supermundane spirit which conveys teachings to scholars worthy of such communications in mysterious ways (Ben-Sasson 1971b, col. 698). Both meanings are combined in Hasidism: "The maggidim were partly itinerant preachers, partly regularly appointed community preachers; some of the latter at times served as wandering preachers. The term also refers to a spirit that appears to the select and reveals to them secrets of the teachings and the future" (Buber 1947, p. 331).

Mitnaggadim (sing. mitnagged. Also spelled mitnagedim, misnagedim, or misnagdim) - Literally, "opponents" or "antagonists." A designation for the opponents of the Hasidic movement (Buber 1947 p. 332). In anthologies of Hasidic tales (e.g., Buber, 1947 and 1948; Mintz, 1968) the story tellers appear to mean merely the non-Hasidim.

Nitzot (sing. nitzot) - Literally, "holy sparks." In the Kabbalah, each main soul has many parts, and each part a "spark." Each spark can serve as a soul or as a life in the human body (Scholem 1971a, col. 576). In Hasidism, the holy sparks are waiting to be redeemed or rescued for sanctity

through humans serving God (Jacobs 1971, col. 1405).

Pentateuch - The so-called "Law of Moses" divided into five books, which are also the first five books of the Christian Bible (with varying translations). Containing the history of Israel from its beginning to the death of Moses, the Pentateuch has always been considered the prime religious-literary creation of ancient Israel (Weinfeld 1971, col. 233).

Sparks - See "Nitzozot" above.

Zohar - "[The Book of] Splendor," the central work in the literature of the Kabbalah. A complete body of literature which has been included under an inclusive title (Scholem 1971c, col. 1194). An esoteric commentary on the Pentateuch (Wiesel 1972, p. 268).

India -- Chapter VI

Ahimsa - An ancient Hindu ideal of nonviolence to all living beings (Nielsen et al. 1983, p. 148).

Ashram - A retreat for communal living. In the ancient Hindu tradition, a retreat where a group of devout people lived, meditated, and mortified the flesh, waiting to free themselves from the body, the bondage of human existence (Mehta 1976, p. 132).

Bapu - Literally, "Father." An honorific given to Gandhi by his disciples and the residents of his ashram (Mehta 1976, p. 216).

Chaddar - A shawl, usual homespun. The usually garment worn by Indian peasants against cold weather (Payne 1969, p. 652).

Darshan - Sight or view, generally of a holy man (Brown 1972, p. 361); the vision of sanctity (Payne 1969, p. 652).

Dharma - In Hindu thought, a person's allotted role in life (Brown 1972, p. 361).

Dhoti - The long cloth worn by Indians as a loin cloth.

Harijans - Literally, "Children of God." The label Gandhi assigned to the untouchables, by birth the social and religious outcasts of India and Hinduism. See the description of Mehta in Chapter VI, page 184.

Hartal - Literally, "strike;" generally used to indicate mourning or protest (Brown 1972, p. 361).

Himalayan Miscalculation - Gandhi's characterization of his decision to launch the April 1919 hartal (cf. Gandhi 1927, pp. 356-58).

Hind Swaraj - In English, Indian Home Rule. A sixty-page book written by Gandhi in 1909, and which he considered even forty years later as a blueprint for the Indian Republic (Payne 1969, p. 221).

ji - Suffix suggesting affection, thus "Gandhiji," "Panditji" (Payne 1969, p. 652). (Pandit means "scholar")

Karma - In Hindu thought, fate or destiny resulting from actions committed in successive states of existence (Brown 1972, p. 361).

Khadi - Handspun, handwoven cloth (Payne 1969, p. 652).

Ki jai - Literally, "to him victory" (Payne 1969, p. 349).

Thus, "Gandhi ki jai" means "Victory to Gandhi."

Mahatma - Literally, "great-souled one." An honorific given to one recognized as having saintly qualities. (Hopkins 1971, p. 138).

Vrata - Literally, "vowed." A Hindu religious observance undertaken as a result of a vow. It is the means whereby a believer draws the attention of the deity to his or her desires, and is accompanied by a promise to the deity that he or she will make some sacrifice in return for the desired favor (Walker 1968, p. 581).

Arabic and Egypt -- Chapter VII

Arabic is written in script, but there is an inconsistency in transliteration and pronunciation by different authors (Mortimer 1982, p. 25). In this dissertation, the form of particular words are those which appear most often, and where possible based on the American Heritage Dictionary. For example, I have used the spelling "Nasser" to designate the charismatic leader in Chapter VII even though "Nasir" is technically correct (cf. Gunther 1959, p. 81; Dekmejian, 1971).

Arab Socialist Union - The single political party in Egypt after 1962 (cf. Dekmejian 1971m pp. 144-66).

Al-Dubbat al-Ahrar - Free Officers; a group of Egyptian Army officers organized by Nasser, who was considered its rank and file leader and later elected chairman of its conspiratorial committee in 1950 (Butter 1988, p. 319; Lacouture 1970, p. 92). In a coup on July 23, 1952, the Free Officers took over the government.

Arab Unity Nationalism - See "Pan-Arabism" below.

Caliph - Literally, successor. A successor to Muhammad as religious and political leader of the Muslims (Hutchinson 1981, p. 534).

Copts - Native Egyptian Christians who adhere to the monophysite doctrine, that is, a "single nature" creed that denies Christ's humanity and sees him as totally divine (Smart 1984, p. 366).

Fedayeen - From the Arabic root for "sacrifice," those who sacrifice themselves or embark on a suicidal mission. The name given in the twelfth century to those selected to assassinate the enemies of the Isma'ili sect, and in 1955 to commando volunteers organized and dispatched by Egyptian authorities for subversive mission in Israel (Nutting 1972, p. 51; Laffin, 1973, pp. x-xi).

Feddan - A unit of Egyptian measure of land area. One U.S. acre equals approximately 1.04 feddan (Hofstadter 1973a, p. 13).

Fellahin (sing. fellah) - Literally, those who break up the soil. "Share-croppers" in Egypt where they live in villages, make up the largest identifiable social class, and have an unbroken historical continuity through the ages (Vatikiotis 1986, p. 4; Anderson et al. 1982, p. 286).

Imam - Literally, the "one who stands before" the people and leads them in common worship, as did the prophet himself in his mosque-house in Medina (Nielsen 1983, p. 609). In

general terms, the imam is a spiritual leader who, depending on context, can be simply the prayer-leader of Friday prayers (imam jum'a), or the holder of supreme religious and political authority in succession to Muhammad (Mortimer 1982, p. 22). The imam may not be a priest or clergyman as such, but may preach a sermon (Hutchinson 1981, p. 404).

Ishtirakiyya - Literally, "to share," "to become a partner with." In modern usage, it means socialism and has moral overtones (Bill and Leider 1974, p. 306n).

Mahdi - Literally, "the expected one," or "the guided one;" the divinely guided leader who would come again and would set the world right (Hutchinson 1981, p. 413; Mortimer 1982, p. 22). The popular Sunni belief system includes the notion that "the guided one" will come to save the Islamic community from non-Islamic, foreign occupiers (Dekmajian 1987, p. 95; cf. Voll 1972).

Pan-Arabism - An ideology which calls for all Arabic-speaking countries to be united into a single state. Often referred to in this dissertation, following Dekmajian (1971), as "Arab Unity nationalism." Even though it is closely associated with Islam, Pan-Arabism bases itself on Arab culture and not specifically on religious tradition (which would be Pan-Islamism).

Rais - Correctly, "Ra'is;" literally, "the chief." A political leader who is also seen as a moral leader. An honorific given to Nasser by his Egyptian followers (Hudson 1977, p. 242).

Sharia - The Way prescribed for Muslims by God; hence the divine law (Mortimer 1982, p. 23). The whole body of Islamic religious law which is conceived to have authority over all human life, individual and social (Hutchinson 1981, p. 540).

Sunnis - Properly Ahl al-sunnah wa-l-jama'ah, "people of the custom and the community." That majority of Muslims who accept the authority of the whole first generation of Muslims and the validity of the historical community (in contrast to the Kharijis and the Shiites). As an adjective, "sunni" refers to the doctrinal position, and as a noun to an adherent of the position. Sunniism is sometimes referred to as the "orthodoxy" (Hodgson 1974, p. 453; cf. Smart 1984, pp. 414-16).

Palestine and Israel -- Chapter VIII

Transliteration of Hebrew terms follows the Encyclopaedia Judaica. The notable exception is "Eretz Israel" which is the form generally used by English writers, perhaps because it is more phonetically similar to the Hebrew than "Erez Israel" used in the Encyclopaedia Judaica.

Achdut ha-Avodah - Literally, United Labor. A Zionist Socialist Party founded in 1919 as an autonomous body at a conference of 1,871 workers in Palestine (Ben-Gurion 1971a, cols. 456-57). It formed as a union of the Palestine Po'alei Zion with all other labor bodies except Ha-Po'el ha-Za'ir (Tevesh 1987, p. 925). With Ha-Po'el ha-Za'ir it established the Histadrut in 1920, and in 1930 the two parties merged to form Mapai (Ben-Gurion 1971a, col. 457).

Agudat Israel - A world organization of orthodox Jews founded in 1912. Anti-Zionist for many years, it became more cooperative with Zionism after the Holocaust (Avi-hai 1974, p. 337).

Aliyah (pl. aliyot) - Literally, going up, ascent (Avi-hai 1974, p. 337). Denotes (1) being called to the Reading of the Law in synagogue; (2) immigration to Eretz Israel; (3) one of the waves of immigration to Eretz Israel from the early 1880s (Glossary of Encyclopaedia Judaica).

Ashkenazim (sing. Ashkenazi) - German or West-, Central-, or East-European Jews. Contrasted with Sephardim (sing. Sephardi), Jews of Spain and Portugal and their descendents who, particularly those exiled from Spain in 1492, settled all along the North African coast and throughout the Ottoman Empire (Nielsen, et.al 1983, p. 456).

Diaspora - Term of Greek origin which denotes (1) the dispersion of the Jews ever since the Babylonian Exile of 586 B.C., and (2) the Jewish communities so dispersed (Patai 1971d, p. 254). See "Galut" below.

Eretz Israel (Pron. "Eretz Yisrael") - Hebrew name of the Land of Israel, Palestine. ("Erez Israel" in Glossary of Encyclopaedia Judaica).

Galut - Literally, "exile." The condition and feelings of the Jewish people in dispersion (Diaspora). The term is essentially applied to the history and the historical consciousness of the Jewish people from the destruction of the Second Temple to the creation of the State of Israel. "Only the loss of a political-ethnic center and the feeling of uprootedness turns Diaspora (Dispersion) into galut (Exile)" Ben-Sasson 1971a, col. 275).

Ha'avara - A transfer agreement between Germany and Zionists

by which, between August 1933 and September 1939, large sums of money were transferred from Nazi Germany to Palestine (Pinner 1971, cols. 1012-13). Ha'avara also refers to the banking company set up to manage the funds for Germans who wished to immigrate to Palestine. See Brenner, 1983; Feilchenfeld, 1971; and Pinner, 1971.

Ha-Po'el ha-Za'ir - Literally, "young worker." A non-socialist Palestinian Zionist labor party formed in 1906 which was an arch rival of Po'alei Zion and Achdut ha-Avodah until, in 1930, it merged with Achdut ha-Avodah to form Mapai (Teveth 1987, p. 925; Ben-Gurion 1971a, col. 457).

Haganah - Literally, "defense." A clandestine Jewish organization for armed self-defense in Palestine formed in 1920 for the purpose of protecting Jewish life and property against attacks by Arabs, and the precursor of the Israel Defense Forces founded in May 1948 (Avi-hai 1974, p. 338; Teveth 1987, p. 925; Abramov 1971c, p. 445).

Halutzim (sing. halutz) - Literally, "pioneers," especially in agriculture, in Eretz Israel (Glossary of Encyclopaedia Judaica). See "Haluziyyut."

Haluziyyut - Literally, "pioneering." The term evolved in the wake of the arrival of Halutzim starting with the Third Aliyah, and was used thereafter until the outbreak of World War II in 1939. It implied (1) broadly, a return to the Jewish Homeland with the aim of pioneering in the settlement on the land, reclaiming the land, and farming it; (2) the renunciation of material ambitions and of attractive opportunities of self-advancement in favor of hard physical labor with little expectations of material reward; and (3) selfless dedication to reestablishment of the Jewish Homeland and identification of personal happiness with the attainment of that ideal (Abramov 1971a, p. 455).

Hevrat ovedim - Worker's society (Slutsky 1971a, p. 507).

Hibbat Zion - Literally, "Lovers of Zion" (Avi-hai 1974, p. 339). The ideology and 19th century movement whose aim was the national rebirth of the Jews and their return to Eretz Israel and which flourished mainly in the large Jewish communities of Eastern Europe (Russia-Poland, Rumania) (Ettinger 1971c, col. 1037).

Histadrut - Abbreviation of Heb. Ha-Histadrut ha-Kelatit shed ha-Ovedim ha-Ivriyyum be-Eretz Israel; in English, The General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine (Bar-Yaacov and Aderba'k 1971, col. 534). Histadrut was formed in December 1920 as a compromise between two workers organizations. Soon a third organization dissolved and a fourth joined it to create a single unified federation of Jewish workers (Kolatt 1971b, cols. 848-49).

Jewish Agency (Heb. Ha-Sokhenut ha-Yehudit le-Eretz Israel) - An international, non-governmental body recognized under the British Mandate in Palestine whose aim was to assist and encourage Jews throughout the world to help in the development and settlement of Eretz Israel. From the enlargement of the Agency in August 1929 until the establishment of the State of Israel, this body played the principal role in the relations between the National Home and world Jewry on the one hand and the Mandatory and other powers on the other (Stock 1971 col. 26).

Kibbutz (pl. kibbutzim) - Large-size commune constituting a settlement in Palestine, and later Israel, based mainly on agriculture but engaging also in industry (Glossary of Encyclopaedia Judaica).

Mapai - Abbreviation of Heb. Mifleget Po'alei Eretz Israel; in English, the Party of Workers of the Land of Israel and usually shortened to Palestine -- later Israel -- Workers Party (Louvish 1971, col. 912). For many years, the Mapai was the ruling party in the World Zionist Organization and in the yishuv, and later in the State of Israel (Avi-hai 1974, p. 24; Teveth 1987, p. 926).

Mizrachi - A religious movement founded in 1902 as a religious faction of the World Zionist Organization. In 1922, young elements of Mizrachi founded the Ha-Po'el ha-Mizrachi Party to organize the religious pioneering and labor movement in Eretz Israel (Avi-hai 1974, pp. 338, 340).

Moshavim (sing., moshav) - Small cooperative agricultural settlements in Israel (Avi-hai 1974, p. 340).

Olim (fem. olat; sing. oleh, olah) - Immigrants to Eretz Israel (Louvish 1971b, col. 633). Literally, olah means that which goes up as in a burnt offering (Rothkoff 1971b, col. 601). Olim when applied to immigrants to Erez Israel, means those who have thereby "ascended," that is, the olim are the "ascenders" in a spiritual sense.

Po'alei Zion - Literally, "Workers of Zion." Begun in Russia toward the end of the 19th century as a movement based upon the Jewish proletariat whose ideology consisted of a combination of Zionism and socialism (Avi-hai 1974, p. 340). Later, countrywide Po'alei Zion parties were established in many nations including Russia, the United States, and Palestine (Kolatt 1971a, col. 656). The Po'alei Zion ideology placed a heavy emphasis on Jewish Labor as the ultimately determining factor in the nature and complexion of the Jewish State (Patai 1971c, p. 1265).

World Zionist Organization (WZO) - A representative political body established by Theodor Herzl in 1897 to provide a means to regain a Jewish Homeland through political channels (Patai 1971a, p. 1264).

Yoredim (sing. Yored) - Emigrants from Eretz Israel and later the State of Israel. In contrast to olim, immigrants to Eretz Israel and the State of Israel considered to be "ascenders," yoredim were "descenders" (Patai 1971c, p. 540).

Yishuv - Literally, "settlement." More specifically, the Jewish colonial community in Eretz Israel in the pre-State period (Glossary of Encyclopaedia Judaica).

Zion - Very early in Jewish history "Zion" became a synonym for Jerusalem, the Jewish holy city (Kressel 1971, p. 1034).

Zionist Congress - Regular world-wide conferences of representatives of the World Zionist Organization (Avi-hai 1974, p. 341).

Zionist Organization - Short for "World Zionist Organization," defined above.

APPENDIX C

NO'AM ELIMELECH PRINCIPLES

From Chapters III, IV, and V

Note: The pages of the No'am Elimelech are consecutively numbered, and each has two columns, designated "a" and "b." At the end of each translated statement below, the page and column of the original is indicated in parenthesis ().

1. There is a kind of zaddik who is not always attached to the upper worlds because he must still improve his character through fear and humility; and, thus, he must detach himself in order to improve. But in his inner self he remains steadfast and will not stumble into sin during the descent from his high position. (col. 30a)

2. The zaddik elevates himself constantly from one position to another as he becomes established in his service of God in truthfulness and completeness, at that time he can also come to understanding in such a position that he can hear without ears and he can see without eyes and, when he is in that elevated position, whatever he does in his service of God it will appear to himself as he is doing less and less. (col. 32a)

3. The perfect zaddik, the one who serves God in truth, looks constantly at God's greatness and glory, blessed be He, and unifies himself in his thoughts to elevate himself from one level to the next until he attains the highest level. Also, he sees himself in humiliation as he remembers the sin of his youth.... (col. 18a)

4. The zaddik sees holiness on earth which his soul desires to elevate. And God reaches out His hand and fulfills the will of the zaddik. (col. 4b)

5. The zaddik rules over his evil inclination and [thereby] rules over God as has been stated by the sages "who is ruling over me?" [said the Lord, and the answer is] the zaddik. There are no evil shells in the upper worlds. These are found only in the lower world and the zaddik must remove the evil shells from there. (col. 11b)

6. The zaddik who emanates the blessing must concentrate all his intentions only for the good of the people of Israel. He should not consider himself as if he were not in this world. God, blessed be His Name, is watching over the zaddik and blesses him within the people of Israel. (col. 10b)

7. There is a need for awakening in the lower world with which the zaddik will be able to emanate blessing to the world. If there was no awakening in the lower worlds it will be impossible to bring blessing into the universe even if the thoughts and holiness of the zaddik are with God. (col. 13b)
8. The zaddik is obligated to open up the hearts of the people to fear God. (col. 14b)
9. The way of the zaddik is to draw awakening and the fear of God from the upper worlds upon every person. (col. 13b)
10. The real zaddik who goes by the name Israel, he can bind himself, or can attach himself, in the upper world; the zaddik who is not in that level of Israel has the attachment of Yakov [Jacob] which is in a lower level. (col. 31a)
11. There is a kind of zaddik who influences the continuity of blessings and the flow of goodness into this world; this is the on-going zaddik who goes on and on from elevation to elevation. (col. 43a)
12. The zaddik walks on his heels supervising the continuous flow of blessing for the world. (col. 30a)
13. "And Moses went up unto God." The great zaddik is like Moses because he has a more elevated position than other zaddikim who are arising into the upper worlds. (col. 42a)
14. The holy Torah teaches us how to behave in this bitter Exile in which we are under the hand of the nations, and we must accept this Exile with love until God will have mercy upon us and will redeem us to an everlasting deliverance in our days. (col. 16a)
15. Even under this burden of this bitter Exile, the Spirit of God is among us and we have the strength to attach ourselves to the Spirit of God. (col. 26b)
16. Punishment is for man's own good because suffering in this world will bring him reward in the world to come. (col. 25a)
17. The zaddik, through his devotion to learning Torah, can transform misfortune into splendor. (col. 3b)
18. When the zaddik performs miracles, the holy spirit of God rests upon him and everyone can understand that all comes from God. (col. 36b)
19. In this terrible and bitter Exile, even the Holy Spirit of God is in Exile with us and is wandering all over the earth. It desires to find living quarters and, if it finds

rest in a pure place, a place that is pure from sins and evil, that will become its living quarters. (col. 21a)

20. The zaddik must worship God constantly. He must bind together the worldliness, such as eating, drinking, and other worldly activities, with the spiritual. He must bring them into the upper heavens and unify them into an elevated position. (col. 23a)

21. In the world to come there is no food and no drink. This exists only in this world. The zaddik can improve and elevate the food and drink by bringing out the holy sparks in them. This zaddik, who conducts himself in holiness with the Torah as well as with eating and drinking and all other actions, is the one who emanates the flow of loving kindness to the world. (col. 10b)

22. In his worship the zaddik must improve three worlds which are symbolized in the body of a person. The head of a person symbolizes the throne and the chariots [of God in heaven]. The middle section symbolizes the food from which the zaddik elevates the holy sparks. The lower part of the body symbolizes the debris which the zaddik repels and rejects as [evil] trash. (col. 4a)

23. "Joseph brought evil reports to his father" means the zaddik, who is called Joseph, brings the corrupt actions of men before the Father of heaven to have them nullified. (col. 20b)

24. Every zaddik must go in the footsteps of his forefathers. (col. 23b)

25. The splitting of the Dead Sea came through spiritual awakening of the zaddik; when the sea saw the coffin of Joseph the sea divided itself. (col. 40b)

26. The Holy Torah is hidden in every person. Before a person comes to this world he is taught the whole Torah and at birth an angel comes and slaps his mouth and he forgets the Torah. Why all this? Because the power of God's Torah should be hidden in man and, when he learns the Torah for its own sake, he will comprehend the truth that is registered in it. (col. 11b)

27. On the Holy Sabbath the upper worlds elevate themselves to the position that existed before the commission of sin, the world of emendation. The zaddik too must be in his high elevated position and not moved from his upper place on the Sabbath. (col. 20b)

28. The zaddik must have a prototype of the redemption, because an image of all that will happen during redemption must be with the zaddik now. (col. 41a)

29. The zaddik attaches himself to his roots in the upper elevations as he connects his soul in solitude with the upper worlds and draws the flow of blessing down into this world. (col. 16b)
30. To the one who cleaves to God's attributes, the zaddik, will the Lord give all the goodness and the flow of blessing which the zaddik will emanate to the people. (col. 11b)
31. The zaddikim are close to the upper worlds and can take the flow of blessing into their hands. They live in the holy court of the upper worlds and take from there the flow of blessing and emanate it to us. (col. 8b)
32. All that God is doing for us, miracles and great happenings, come through the zaddik because the zaddikim are those who can change the justice or judgement to mercy. (col. 39b)
33. The zaddik implants holiness and God-fearingness into the hearts of the people, as if he gave them life. (col. 13a)
34. Who is like unto Thee, O God, who brings forth the flow of cure and blessing? The sages said, "There is no one like unto Thee" in the whole world among all people. But there is among Israel the zaddik who is like unto Thee who too can revive the dead. (col. 14b)
35. The zaddik can hold onto one's soul and elevate it into holiness. (col. 78b)
36. The zaddik with his holy Torah creates new heavens and the reason the zaddik can annul the harsh sentences of God is because a sentence was given in a particular world and the zaddik makes a new world in which that particular sentence did not yet exist. (col. 15b)
37. The zaddik can elevate into the holiness, that is, the zaddik is called "man and his household" because he can awaken the innermost part of himself in such a manner that his innermost part will be incorporated into the holiness, thus it means he and his household. (col. 30)
38. The zaddik controls the fear of God. And who controls God? The zaddik. As the zaddik makes a ruling, that is the way that God is going to fulfill it. (col. 41a)
39. God placed the kingdom upon this earth; that is he placed the kingdom to the zaddikim so that the zaddik should be like a king to reign over God-fearingness [Godliness, the religious realm]. (col. 41a)
40. The zaddik decrees as if he commands God and God fulfills his words. (col. 81b)

41. The zaddik decrees and God fulfills it. (col. 23b)
42. The zaddik abrogates the [harsh] judgments [of God] by elevating them to their roots where they are erased. (col. 3b)
43. The zaddik with his holy Torah creates new heavens. The reason the zaddik can annul the harsh sentences of God is because a sentence was given in a particular world and the zaddik makes a new world in which that particular sentence did not yet exist. (col. 15b)
44. God longs for the prayers of the zaddikim. Sometimes God will decree a [harsh] judgement only because He wants the zaddik to pray for its annulment. (col. 36a)
45. The zaddik can reverse justice to mercy. Even when a death decree has been placed upon an individual, the zaddik can annul this decree and reverse it to life. The zaddik has this power because in his prayers he ascends into the upper worlds where everything is full of mercy without the intermingling of justice. In these upper worlds that decree has not been given, and thus he can draw life from there to the individual. (col. 60a)
46. A gift was given to the zaddik to rule over God; God decrees and the zaddik annuls. (col. 81b)
47. God gives the zaddik the power of might and enormity to annul decrees. (col. 81b)
48. Even here in Exile, through walking in the pathway of God and in His holy Torah, meaning in the pathway of the zaddikim, one can acquire holiness and reach Godliness. (col. 26b)
49. The zaddik's real prayer is for the Holy Spirit which is in pain because it too is in Exile. (col. 27a)
50. The zaddik is constantly attached to the upper worlds that have no limits and, since this world has limits, the zaddik must attach the entire world onto the limitless God, blessed be He. (col. 30)
51. The zaddik who sacrifices and purifies himself is himself a blessing; that is, he causes the upper blessings to flow upon all. Those who would like to receive the flow of blessing through the zaddik must agree with him. But it is impossible for the zaddik to bring forth the flow of blessing for those who do not agree with him. (col. 5a)
52. The poor is that person who is impoverished with intellect and cannot concentrate in his prayers. The remedy for this is to attach himself to the complete zaddik who can

concentrate in his prayer and elevate the prayer of the impoverished with his own pure prayers because the prayer of the poor remains without a soul and the zaddik places into it life and through this his prayers will ascend. (col. 84b)

53. The people of Israel must lean and rely upon the zaddik to pray for them, to emanate the flow of blessing upon them, and to have the fulfillment of each and everyone's basic needs continued. (col. 88b)

54. The zaddik emanates the flow of blessing for children, life, and sustenance to the people. In order for him to emanate this flow of blessing, the zaddik must come down somewhat from his attachment to God and bend down in order to see the needs of the world. (col. 9a)

55. When greatly attached to God, the zaddik finds it impossible to detach himself from God to cause the emanation of the flow of blessing. (col. 9a)

56. The zaddik who wants to emanate blessing to the world must come down from his elevated position to the lowest rung. (col. 13a)

57. The zaddik must assume katnut, a character of smallness or modesty, for sake of the world. As the zaddik grasps unto the Lord he elevates himself and returns to his upper holiness and thereby elevates the people with him. (col. 28a)

58. The zaddik has a grasp on the Holy Name when in his greatness as well as in his katnut, his smallness or modesty. (col. 28a)

59. The principle of the emanation of the flow of blessing goes through the great zaddikim. When the zaddik is so far removed from this world and constantly attached to the upper worlds, he may not know the needs of this world at all and he may not know what blessings to emanate. Therefore, it is necessary for the zaddik to have an involvement and an enjoyment in this world in order for him to understand the earthly needs. (col. 10b)

60. The zaddik is generating this flow of blessing from his own will which he is receiving from above and he must lower himself or he must make himself small or he must become humble himself. After that, when the flow of blessing is coming to the world, he spreads himself in a way that he can have the flow of blessing come to the world as a person who spreads himself in his room and in his house to bring in, to fill them, with all sorts of goods. (col. 35b)

61. The zaddikim who have an attachment with the entire people of Israel cause the flow of blessing for all their

needs. (col. 15b)

62. The zaddik who is engaged in charitable work is also engaged in the Torah; that zaddik who occupies himself with Torah and charity is capable of helping everybody. (col. 22b)

63. The zaddik instructs the humble, those people associated in the worship of God, to constantly assess themselves and repent. (col. 88b)

64. The holy zaddik who studies Torah for God's sake is created of two hundred and forty-eight spiritual organs. It is within the power of this zaddik to elevate the Torah and the commandments for a person who does not study Torah for God's sake. He has the power to draw into the Torah the soul of that person who is made only of a physical body. (col. 84b)

65. When the zaddik sees great miracles and performances of God, or he hears from a colleague, a zaddik, holy things, then he is becoming enthralled in the worship of God. It is the other way when an evil person sees the greatness of God or when a zaddik speaks to him once, then he will return for a time being but that will not remain in himself. (col. 35a)

66. God's flow of blessing is very great. The flow of blessing of God is received only through the zaddik; the zaddik who receives it from the upper worlds. He transmits this to everybody, even to those who are not worthy of it, but they also receive it despite the fact they are not worthy of it, and they receive the flow of blessing through the zaddik and this is considered as a form of benevolence [welfare, alms] for the whole world. When the zaddik receives the flow of blessing from above and distributes that to all, basically all this flow of blessing comes from the Lord. (col. 35a)

67. The zaddik is called Sabbath, because he has a soul during the weekdays that everyone else has on the Sabbath, and on the Sabbath he has an additional holiness with which he delights the Lord. (col. 30a)

68. When the zaddik is in a low level he can elevate himself into the holiness. (col. 30b)

69. This is a great principle: When the zaddik wants to do a good deed for a person, it is essential that the receiver of the favor have complete belief that this zaddik can do the favor. (col. 39a)

70. There is a fear which precedes love because there is love that comes from fear; and there is an elevated fear [awe] that comes from love. (col. 12b)

71. It is possible for every individual, even if he is not a zaddik, to come and see the glory of God through his association and unification with zaddikim. (col. 36b)

72. In the zaddik there is a mixture of all sorts of holiness, love, fear of God, grandeur for the Torah, prayers, righteousness, repentance, charity, kindness, and others.... The zaddik is pleasant, agreeable, and sweetened with every sort of sweets. Everyone who is attached to the zaddik, their light is ignited by him, their soul becomes filled with love, and God-fearingness. Through the zaddik God does kindness for the world in all forms of flow of blessings. (col. 52a)

73. The sacrifice needs attention in order to create an awakening in the lower worlds; the sacrifice was performed with great devotion and holy and elevated concentration and the attention paid to it was to create an awakening in the lower world. (col. 13b)

74. When the zaddik speaks he makes an impact upon the whole world. (col. 41a)

75. There are many branches on a tree, and every branch is attached to the main tree. The same is true with all the commandments. They all have their roots and principles in the upper tree. A person must understand and recognize the root of each commandment. (col. 6a)

76. If asked, "Why did the Lord, blessed be He, give 613 commandments to perform? Why not let us worship Him in awe and let us look upon His greatness since this is the basis of God's service?" If a person would look constantly upon the glory of God without any pause, this constant state of being would nullify the reality and great fear and trepidation would overwhelm him; therefore, God, in His great mercy, gave the 613 commandments so that individuals could become physically engaged in the Lord's service with which to help them become attached to God. (col. 19a)

77. The principle of reward from God is based on the fact that He placed in man an evil inclination to entice him every moment to do evil. But man can stand up against against the evil inclination and its power by self-mortification and suffering. Through these acts the Lord sanctifies and purifies the individual and considers them as the performance of the Lord's command. (col. 27b)

78. The words that come out of the mouth of the zaddik create angels; thus his pure body helps these angels ascend to heaven. (col. 16a)

79. The words of the zaddik are called angels. (col. 17b)

80. The letters combine with one another [to provide meaning] only through the zaddik who loves all. (col. 18a)
81. The zaddik's prayer is answered when he prays for a sick person. God created the letters and they remain in their full power and strength before the Lord. The zaddik can interchange the letters. When the zaddik prays he interchanges these letters [thereby the person will be healed as these letters provide new meanings]. (col. 17b)
82. I heard that from my great Master that the Seraphim are standing on top of him means that the zaddikim are called Seraphim because of their spiritual fire from heaven and their attachment in heaven and they must walk constantly from one elevated position to another; therefore, it means that the Seraphim are standing meaning that the zaddikim are who are standing in this kind of position. (col. 39a)
83. In order for the zaddik to accomplish something, he must give a metaphor relating to the problem at hand, and the metaphor will implicitly solve the problem. (col. 22a)
84. The zaddik attaches himself to the high heavens of eternal life. Even during his earthly existence he attains the happiness of the upper world of eternal life because all his activities are in holiness, purity, devotion, happiness, and awe. (col. 1a)
85. The perfect zaddik is constantly bound up with the upper worlds. (col. 2b)
86. The Lord, blessed be He, gives the zaddik a gift whereby the zaddik gives life to the whole world through this power of Godliness that is within him. (col. 24a)
87. A person must attach himself with perfect zaddikim in their holiness and in their illumination, and God will help him and serve him in truth. (col. 10b)
88. The Hasidim are becoming aroused through the zaddikim who attract mercy into this world. (col. 11a)
89. With his deep attachment to God the zaddik provides the community with all goods. (col. 1a)
90. The zaddik through his holy actions draws the Creator, blessed be His Name, into this world; the zaddik, thereby, performs a favor for his generation by causing God's presence to be with them. (col. 3a)
91. The perfect zaddik, who walks constantly with God, causes the flow of goodness and blessing upon the people. (col. 3a)
92. The zaddik must draw mercy [from Heaven] for the people

of Israel in order that their livelihood shall be secured in abundance. (col. 23a)

93. Through his pure prayer, the zaddik draws the Creator, blessed be He and His Name, into this world. The principal greatness of God is in the heavens; His honor and His greatness are in all the worlds. However, as the zaddik draws the Creator into this world, the earth becomes filled with loving kindness, blessings, and goodness. (col. 27)

94. The zaddik can accomplish everything, and can cause the coming of the Messiah. (col. 46b)

95. The blessing flows out of the zaddik due to his attachment to God. This perpetual flow of blessing from the zaddik comes by itself without any effort. But in order to prevent the Satan from complaining, the zaddik performs some acts, either good deeds, or learns Torah, or engages in prayer. Through these activities the flow of blessing continues and the Satan will have no room to complain. (col. 84a)

96. The zaddik sweetens and turns everything into loving kindness for God's sake. (col. 25b)

97. The zaddik constantly longs and desires for the fulfillment and satisfaction of the people of Israel. The Lord places these desires into the heart of the zaddik in order for the zaddik to pray to the Lord who longs for his prayers. (col. 28a)

98. The calling of the zaddik is always to elevate the holy spirit of God. (col. 12b)

99. The real purpose in life is not in the worldly.... The zaddik who elevates the spiritual sparks to the upper sea [upper world] is the principal purpose. (col. 1a)

100. Man is permitted to enjoy the earthly pleasures, such as eating and drinking, so that the zaddik sweetens and extracts the sparks of holiness from them and transmits the sparks into the realm of the holy. (col. 25b)

101. A sick person is helped when the zaddik prays over him, because God longs for the prayers of the zaddikim. Through his prayers, the zaddik attaches to God which pleases the Lord. (col. 27a)

102. The perfect zaddik who walks always in the upper worlds must improve everyone through his own holy actions. (col. 4b)

103. It is the great honor of the zaddik that he extends his soul or draws his soul above and receives the flow of holiness. (col. 38b)

104. The zaddik who is able to emanate the flow of blessing into the world must emanate this flow of blessing through other zaddikim by associating with them. If he feeds the zaddikim in holiness, the flow of blessing will emanate through him. (col. 8b)
105. Individuals become strengthened in their service of the Creator when they come into close association with other fellows and zaddikim in order to learn from their holy activities. (col. 73b)
106. Even the great or outstanding zaddikim must associate with lesser zaddikim, because from them and through them they may reach an even higher level of holiness. (col. 81a)
107. The world must have two types of zaddikim: one zaddik constantly thinks in the upper worlds, unifies himself with God, and increases the lights in the upper worlds; the other zaddik must think of the needs of the world, its sustenance, life, and blessings. Through these two types of zaddikim the universe is sustained. (col. 28b)
108. There are two kinds of zaddikim: One kind of zaddik does not oversee the world; all his work concentrates on improving his soul and raising it to its roots, the original source of the soul. The other kind of zaddik is holy and pure and is constantly concerned and anguishes about the mishaps of the people of Israel; he concentrates all his utterances and his thoughts on the continuous flow of blessing. (col. 30)
109. The zaddikim have love, brotherhood, and unity with one another. (col. 23b)
110. The gathering of the zaddikim is [good for them and good for the world.] It is good for them, as they draw the flow of blessing into the world which is good for the world, as they become unified with God. (col. 29)
111. A person may be a zaddik because his father was a zaddik, or because he was always among other zaddikim. It is important that he should not rely on these. A zaddik who is the son of a zaddik should not rely on his father's merits in his spiritual performance. A zaddik should have strength and courage in service to God. The zaddik who is not the son of a zaddik should not despair in his service of God. He should know that anyone who comes to purify himself will be helped from heaven. (col. 5a)
112. There are many types of zaddikim; each one is unique in that each has a certain hold in one world of the seven elevated positions. (col. 24b)
113. The world cannot exist without the zaddikim because

they must elevate the spiritual sparks [into the upper worlds]. (col. 1a)

114. When God created His world He consulted with the souls of the zaddikim. (col. 36b)

115. The zaddikim will be called in the name of God and will also be one as they will become unified. (col. 42a)

116. The true zaddik, who is separated from everything [worldly] and is constantly attached to the upper worlds, is as if he was not in this world at all. (col. 2b)

117. As the zaddik improves himself and attaches himself to God in the upper world, he too will experience only daylight and will be above the element of time. (col. 12a)

118. The zaddik's whole devotion is based on his attachment to God, blessed be He, and to attach his soul beneath the heavenly throne, which is the place of his original root. When the zaddik purifies himself from all the physical desires, even his physical body is attached to God. (col. 16b)

119. The zaddik, isolated from all worldliness and not involved in any worldly things, can reach superior perceptions when either asleep or awake. (col. 23b)

120. The zaddik must be in complete unity with the upper worlds. (col. 3b)

121. The zaddik's will is to walk in the path of God [exactly] as God commanded. As God spoke in holiness, purity, and devotion, so does the zaddik who observes the Lord's commandments. (col. 6a)

122. When the zaddik receives a blessing from God he is very much concerned that God's mercy [toward him] may diminish. He thus strengthens himself more in the worship of God [building up merits]. (col. 5b)

123. The zaddik who behaves in utmost holiness in all his ways, in eating and drinking and similar activities, brings everything into holiness. (col. 11b)

124. The Torah commands the reading of the Shema (the declaration of the oneness of God) in the morning and the evening. By this, all will become unified with God in as much as they contemplate giving their lives to the Lord. This is the usual behavior of the zaddikim. (col. 28b)

125. Every day one must be concerned about the next day that he should not fall, God forbid, from holiness. Worshipping God is like mountains that hang on a single strand of hair. If one is not careful and is deficient in his worship by as

much as a string of hair, the Satan comes to lure him, God forbid, and makes him fall from his high position. Therefore, strength is needed in one's prayers and supplications day and night that the Lord should help him and not leave him. Only when the zaddik achieves this high position is he qualified to admonish others. (col. 8b)

126. The zaddik does not even think of women, but, when he utters some words in vain, the Evil rules over him and persuades him to sin during the night; he must have great care protection. (col. 12a)

127. It is a basic principle that a person should learn from the actions of the zaddik. One should see and meticulously observe his holy activities. Through this a person's innermost heart will become illuminated with holiness enabling him to start in the service of God. (col. 53a)

128. The zaddikim, who are safeguarded from sinning, sometimes sin for Heaven's sake as we find that a person is permitted to utter words of misinformation for the sake of peace. (col. 12a)

129. There are zaddikim who commit a sin for Heaven's own sake.... The great zaddik sometimes will commit a sin for Heaven's sake because of his overwhelming righteousness. (col. 12a)

130. The zaddik must descend from his high elevated position and, to break the human foolishness, he has to do a sin for heaven's sake. For example, for a person who is accustomed to speak falsehoods or to lie, the zaddik must also break him in similar areas, and for certain falsehoods, God forbid, the zaddik will say lies, but we find that the sages allowed for changing certain truths. Similarly, when the zaddik will say of himself that he is not a zaddik, obviously this is a lie because he is a zaddik, but he is doing a sin for heaven's sake in order to break the strength of the liar. (col. 34b)

131. The zaddik, even in a most elevated position, must be very careful of the evil inclinations that might cause him to sin. (col. 6a)

132. The zaddik hears the evil inclination tell him that he does not have to serve [God] any longer because he is already well accomplished, but he must be very strong against that evil. (col. 11b)

133. The zaddik may at times waver and thus may fall from his high elevated position. This is for his good because through this wavering he strengthens himself and becomes more careful than before in his worship of God. Also, this will bring him to a feeling of humility and the avoidance of aggrandizement. (col. 20a)

134. The rabbis explained that it is good for that generation whose leader sins...because God, in His great mercy, sends a certain sin in the path of the zaddik in order for him to strengthen and elevate himself to holiness, thereby lifting the whole world with him. (col. 27b)

135. The lives of the zaddikim begin with suffering and end in tranquility. (col. 12a)

136. This is the way of the true zaddik: He has no thoughts and no [physical] desire, not even for his wife. Even during close relationship with his wife, the zaddik must think of the upper worlds. (col. 2a)

137. The zaddik's whole devotion is based on his attachment to God, blessed be He, and to attach his soul beneath the heavenly throne, which is the place of his original root. When the zaddik purifies himself from all the physical desires, even his physical body is attached to God. (col. 16b)

138. There are many zaddikim who put themselves through a tremendous amount of suffering and self-denial for many years in order to reach the level of Hasidism. And there are people who do not punish themselves to that extent and still reach the level of Hasidism. Those who do not punish themselves reach the level of Hasidism through the zaddikim who punished themselves because their self-denial removed all obstacles and made a road in the service to God, and thereby made it easy for others to enter the road leading to the way of God. (col. 11a)

139. The zaddik who is to influence God by his words and prayers must remove himself from all pleasures and desires of this world. He must relinquish his entire body and abandon all earthliness, at which time he can influence the flow of blessing. (col. 28b-29a)

140. The zaddik must be involved in the worship of God constantly the same way as it was at the creation of the world, because at the beginning of the world and after the reparation of the world and all that was created in a spiritual way without any stoppage or hindrance must be a beginning of his service; in the beginning of his service he was involved in self-flagellation, and self-deprivation and fasting because the beginning was with pain and the end was pain and suffering with his holy activities and all his limbs and his body and his spirit and his soul came into the worship and the world, and through that he improved the world. That means that everything the zaddik does has an impact on and repairs the activities of the world. (col. 37)

141. There are three characteristics with which the zaddik

must serve God: fear, love, and glory. That is, God's actions, majesty, and grandeur must be glorified. (col. 8b)

142. The Lord God, blessed be His Name, is called Merciful, Compassionate, and Righteous. Whichever attribute of God a person worships, the same attribute will be awakened in the upper worlds and God will be called by that name. A person must serve God with all attributes in order that those attributes may be energized above. And as a person energizes the attribute which is called righteous, God, who is also called Righteous, will arouse (or excite) and rekindle the utmost mercy upon the whole world, and all the [harsh] judgements will be transformed to mercy through this zaddik. (col. 7b)

143. The zaddik who worships God in truthfulness can bring out holiness from the shells and elevates it to the Lord. (col. 14b)

144. The zaddik must be the servant of God and he must serve Him with deep love, must serve Him with songs and praises; that is the meaning of Israel and he can cause the flow of blessing to come upon the world with the three needs which are children, life, and sustenance. (col. 31a)

145. Even in this bitter Exile, by self-improvement, repentance, and sacredizing his body, by eating only permitted food and not allowing forbidden food to enter his body; and by sacredizing himself in every other possible way, one can reach Godliness. (col. 26b)

146. When one's heart burns with ecstasy, he should not think of himself as big. On the contrary, he should wonder, "How is it possible that a lowly person like I merited such a feeling?" He should consider himself humble and realize it is God that gave him this emotional excitement. (col. 32b)

147. One should constantly narrate about the great zaddikim and enumerate their upright characteristics. (col. 36b)

148. The zaddik must sanctify himself so much so that he has to recognize the miracles and the greatness of the Creator, blessed be He, until he comes to such an elevated position that seeing miracles will not surprise him.... (col. 9a)

149. Those zaddikim starting anew, when they are doing holy things, may have an arrogance set ablaze within them. They might think that they have already reached the limit of their true worship but, even though they are zaddikim, they fall into the sin of arrogance. (col. 29)

150. The great zaddik must always be careful not to fall into conceit or pride by thinking himself good and doing good for others. A remedy for this is for the zaddik to

consider all his virtues worthless because they have not prevented him from sinning even once. (col. 28b)

151. The perfect zaddik who is elevated to higher and higher positions must think of himself as if he himself has not accomplished anything because everything comes from the Lord, blessed be His Name. (col. 14a)

152. When the great zaddik, one well established in his righteousness for a long time and continuing to perform great things and lot of righteousness, does not become arrogant. On the contrary, he finds in himself shortcomings, saying that he is not yet fully accomplished in the service of God and is distressed over this. (col. 29)

153. In the zaddik even the bad and evil inclination turns to good because one must worship God with two inclinations, the good inclination and the bad one. But still the person should not carelessly believe in himself; he must be constantly concerned about and control his evil inclination. (col. 32a)

154. There are three types of zaddikim: 1) The zaddik whose soul is inflamed to serve God, but he cannot elevate himself in his worship due to some impediments; 2) The zaddik who serves God in learning Torah and in praying, but he knows this and is aware of this fact; and 3) The zaddik who worships God in truth and considers himself as if he had done no service at all.... God chooses him and holds him near. (col. 8a)

155. The zaddik must elevate the lower worlds from the lower level to the upper level to their very roots. (col. 16b)

156. The zaddik who is aware that he is able to bring forth the flow of blessing may at times be tempted to bring this flow of blessing to his relatives and his students. But, in all truthfulness, the will of God is that it should not enter the thoughts of the zaddik at all that he brings forth the blessing of God. He should only serve the Lord with perfection and the flow of blessing will come by itself. (col. 5b)

157. All that God is doing for us, miracles and great happenings, come through the zaddik because the zaddikim are those who change the justice or judgement to mercy. (col. 39b)

158. God, blessed be His Name, wants the service of the zaddikim because it is they who elevate those [holy] sparks [into the upper worlds]. (col. 1a)

159. The zaddik becomes great and extended and his honor will become greatly extended during the time when the flow

of kindness is coming to the world, because this is his help, because when the people are full and satisfied with all sorts of goods, this is a greatness of the spirit of God. (col. 35b)

160. The people of Israel must attach and unify themselves with the zaddik because through their attachment the zaddik will be advanced in his power to annul the decrees from upon them and cause for them the flow of blessings. (col. 87b)

161. One great capability of the zaddik is his ability to light the upper worlds, even to the point of illuminating the upper worlds. (col. 27a)

162. The zaddik arouses and excites the upper worlds and emanates the flow of blessing with holiness and purity. (col. 8b)

163. The perfect zaddik wills to fulfill the commandments of God in accordance to his righteousness with a desire full of inspiration and excitement and with the fire of God burning in him. (col. 10a)

164. Everything done for the sake of God has a hold in this world in an elevated position...[and] the looks of the zaddikim have a light on their face that shines before the eyes of all people. (col. 23b)

165. The zaddik who attaches and unifies himself with God has the power to soften the decrees with his holy mouth through his learning and preoccupation with the Torah for God's sake. (col. 89b)

166. The holy words that the zaddik speaks are bonded or adhered to his mouth, they flow and ascend into the upper worlds. They do not leave his mouth at all; they are attached to his holy mouth. (col. 86a)

167. The Evil Inclination blinds the eyes of the people from seeing the truth.... But when the zaddik performs an act with love and God fearingness, all who indeed see him will testify that the performance constitutes a great meritorious deed that they must emulate. (col. 84b)

168. When the zaddik speaks in holiness to other zaddikim, his words impact and create unification in the upper worlds, but when he speaks to plain people, as it is known, the blessings of the zaddikim multiply the goodness. (col. 42b)

169. When the zaddik is accompanying his friend, attaching himself with his friend in his holiness, and they become like one person and his holiness of that zaddik who is involved in learning in the Torah in his own house, he is watching over his friend as if he himself would have learned the Torah because of his unification with him. (col. 38b)

170. The holy zaddik who studies Torah for God's sake is created of two hundred and forty-eight spiritual organs. It is within the power of this zaddik to elevate the Torah and the commandments for a person who does not study Torah for God's sake. He has the power to draw a soul into the Torah of that person who is made only of a physical body. (col. 84b)

171. Those who come to learn from the actions of the zaddik, help them. They will tell of your beautiful activities; the fear and love of God will enter into their hearts towards worshipping God and accepting Godliness. (col. 63b)

172. There are individuals who have been awakened to God-fearingness by the zaddik. After the God-fearingness leaves them because they were not persevering and steadfast in God's ways, they might now think that they are more perfect and God-fearing than the zaddikim who serve God in truth. (col. 13, a)

173. No nation or tongue can harm or rule over the zaddik because the perfect zaddik serves God completely with his whole heart. (col. 17b)

174. There is no zaddik on earth who always does good and sinneth not; hence the Satan might have the power to indict them. But, as the Satan sees the actions of the real evil doers, he cannot accuse the zaddik. Thus, the heavenly rewards for the zaddik are based on the apparent contrast between his actions and those of the evil doers. (col. 99b)

175. There are three characteristics with which the zaddik must serve God: fear, love, and glory. That is, God's actions, majesty, and grandeur must be glorified.

176. The great zaddik has no sin whatsoever except the original sin of the first man. In his own eyes the zaddik considers that he sinned because, in all truthfulness, the sin came to him inadvertently in as much as God placed it into his path. (col. 76b)

177. God does not allow the zaddik to commit an error that will bring him down from his elevated position. (col. 7a)

178. Even an accomplished zaddik should constantly recognize that sometimes a bad thought will come to his mind. The zaddik can push these thoughts away and distance them from his mind and not hang onto them at all. (col. 9a)

179. The way of the zaddik is that if even a shade of sin befalls him, he admonishes himself and speaks to himself very delicately. (col. 54b)

180. The zaddik carries his sin into the upper worlds; as

the Rabbis said, "Sins transform into virtues." (col. 54b)

181. This kind of elevated position is given to the zaddik because he becomes happy that through his holy words continues the punishment and the bad things upon the evil man, and this is what is meant that your face and your tongue is continued of the zaddik because from God himself bad things are not coming out. (col. 36a)

182. Because the zaddik ascends in holiness into high heavens, without a moments interruption, with his righteousness he is able to weaken the Satan from causing man to sin. But when the zaddik leaves his high position, God forbid, even for one second, the Satan becomes strong like a man to overpower and to corrupt. (col. 75b)

183. In order to keep Satan from provoking God to anger, the zaddik must hide his words and prayers so the Satan will not understand them. If it were not for Satan, the zaddik could openly express everything he wants. Only because of Satan must he conceal his words under his tongue and under his lips. (col. 29b)

184. If a sin has befallen upon a zaddik, God forbid, he descends from his elevated position and, as he repents, he restores the whole world with him in repentance. (col. 78a)

185. The zaddik must be on such a level that he should be able to have the flow of blessing and to nullify from them all the bad things and all the degraded things. (col. 31b)

186. The continuous punishment and wickedness that befall the peoples and the world is also through the zaddik because from the mouth of the Most High malice does not come. (col. 35b)

187. When the upper worlds are elevated and accessible to the emanation of the flow of blessings to the lower worlds, the zaddik desires to be God-like to have the [upper] worlds give their flow of blessings. (col. 25b)

188. It is the great elevation of the zaddik, the real zaddik and the great zaddik, to spend a lot of time in prayers during the time when the time is ready before God for prayers, and who is greater than Moses himself because he knew exactly the time when it was ripe for receiving the prayers. (col. 40a)

189. The zaddik has the power of Godliness through which he gives life to the world, and, therefore, the heavenly bodies subordinate themselves before him. And since he gives life and the flow of blessing to the upper worlds, the upper worlds provide him with the blessing of earthliness. (col. 24a)

190. There are several kinds of zaddikim. One zaddik worships God from fear but his heart becomes haughty and he does not contain enough humility; his fear of God will not last. There is another zaddik who contains humility all the time and who walks constantly with a humbled (bowed) head and lowers himself. Another zaddikim has the capacity to nullify the judgements and make them powerless. Still another zaddik, who worships God from love, has the capacity to reverse the judgements to complete mercy. (col. 42b)

191. When the zaddik wants to have the flow of blessing for livelihood or for other needs for which mercy is required, the zaddik must attach the soul of a person to his soul and take his request to the world designated for it. (col. 24a)

192. The zaddik responds (appeals) to the attribute of mercy. (col. 11b)

APPENDIX D

PROPOSITIONS OF THE IDEAL TYPE MODEL

Chapter III - The Charismatic Leader Emerges

Proposition 1 - Seeking Modification of Conditions. The charismatic leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their conditions.

Proposition 2 - Assumes Leadership Roles. The charismatic leader (1) proposes and supports revisions of the moral, ethical, and spiritual precepts of society and (2) gathers a small network of followers.

Proposition 3 - Preparation of Followers. When the social conditions in a society are such that (1) many people are displaced and deprived of what is considered the normal pursuit of life, and (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of a charismatic leader to address them.

Proposition 4 - Repudiation of Present, Tie to the Past. The charismatic leader issues a doctrine which (1) promises an idealized future society, (2) repudiates much of the existing social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of the group.

Proposition 5 - Attachment to the Charismatic Leader. The followers attach themselves to the charismatic leader when they identify with his portrayal of their dislocated position in society and accept many of his prescriptions as means to attain their rightful place in society.

Proposition 6 - Identification with Lower Statuses. The charismatic leader exhibits behaviors by which he becomes identified with those in the lower social positions of his society, and these behaviors show evidence of his unusual understanding and of their worthiness to follow him.

Proposition 7 - Difficulty of Prescriptions. In order to carry out the charismatic leader's doctrine the followers adhere to new prescriptions, some being difficult and requiring great sacrifice, but they believe their adherence to even these difficult prescriptions is possible.

Proposition 8 - Arguments and Symbols. The charismatic leader articulates his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and with symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas become ingrained in the minds of followers.

Chapter IV - The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

Proposition 9 - Imbued with Superhuman Qualities. The followers believe their charismatic leader to be imbued with superhuman qualities which he applies for their benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being.

Proposition 10 - A Special Mission. Both the charismatic leader and the followers believe him to be designated by the supernatural for a special mission to fulfill and to convey to his followers.

Proposition 11 - The Ideal Type. The charismatic leader's behaviors are the model for the behaviors of the followers.

Proposition 12 - Bearing Burdens and Pain. It is believed that the charismatic leader bears the spiritual and emotional burdens and pain of his people at great sacrifice to himself.

Proposition 13 - The Pattern of Expressive Activities. Followers demonstrate their belief in the charismatic leader by giving him respect, holding him in reverence, and subordinating their will to his.

Proposition 14 - Self-Importance. The followers' adoration and recognition may influence the charismatic leader to believe in his own importance and superhuman qualities, but he must display modesty and humility.

Chapter V - Growth, Unification, and Normalization

Proposition 15 - Success and Growth. The charismatic leader usually has a modest beginning of his leadership, and he attracts increasing numbers of followers as he creates an image of success.

Proposition 16 - Gatherings with the Leader. At public meetings, the charismatic leader's presence, at times symbolized by a designated representative, adds enthusiasm and affirmation to the groups' unity.

Proposition 17 - Sources of Opposition. The opposition to the charismatic leader almost always comes from the proponents of the status quo of the economic, political, social, and religious conditions.

Proposition 18 - Scapegoats. Worsening of conditions is always blamed on a variety of circumstances and never on the charismatic leader.

Proposition 19 - New and/or Modified Prescriptions. The charismatic leader often issues new and/or modified prescriptions which he bases on the emotional fervor of the community of followers.

Proposition 20 - Normalization. The charismatic leader's teachings, particularly his rules for behavior, become normalized into the social structure.

APPENDIX E

THE THEORY OF CHARISMATIC RELATIONSHIPS

(From Chapter X)

The Preparation Stage

Proposition 1 - Seeking Modification of Conditions. The charismatic leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their conditions by activities outside the social mainstream.

Proposition 2 - Assumes Leadership Roles. The charismatic leader (1) proposes and supports revisions of the moral, ethical, and spiritual precepts of society and (2) gathers a small network of followers.

Proposition 3 - Preparation of Followers. When the social conditions in a society are such that (1) many people are displaced and deprived of what is considered the normal pursuit of life, and (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of an charismatic leader to address them.

Proposition 4 - Repudiation of Present, Tie to the Past. The charismatic leader issues a doctrine which (1) promises an idealized future society, (2) repudiates much of the existing social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of the group.

The Charismatic Leader Emerges

Proposition 5 - Attachment to the Charismatic Leader. The followers attach themselves to the charismatic leader when they identify with his portrayal of their dislocated position in society and accept many of his prescriptions as means to attain their rightful place in society.

Proposition 6 - Identification with Lower Statuses. The charismatic leader exhibits behaviors by which he becomes identified with those in the lower social positions of his society, and these behaviors show evidence of his unusual understanding and of their worthiness to follow him.

Proposition 7 - Difficulty of Prescriptions. In order to carry out the charismatic leader's doctrine the followers adhere to new prescriptions, some being difficult and requiring great sacrifice, but they believe their adherence to even these difficult prescriptions is possible.

Proposition 8 - Arguments and Symbols. The charismatic leader articulates his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and with symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas become ingrained in the minds of followers.

The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

Proposition 9 - Imbued with Superhuman Qualities. The followers believe their charismatic leader to be imbued with superhuman qualities which he applies for their benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being.

Proposition 10 - A Special Mission. Both the charismatic leader and the followers believe him to be designated by the supernatural for a special mission to fulfill and to convey to his followers.

Proposition 11 - The Ideal Type. The charismatic leader's behaviors are the model for the behaviors of the followers.

Proposition 12 - Bearing Burdens and Pain. It is believed that the charismatic leader bears the spiritual and emotional burdens and pain of his people at great sacrifice to himself.

Proposition 13 - The Pattern of Expressive Activities. Followers demonstrate their belief in the charismatic leader by holding him in reverence, paying him homage, and subordinating their will to his.

Proposition 14 - Self-Importance. The followers' displays of homage and veneration may influence the charismatic leader to believe he is connected with the divine and embodies superhuman qualities, but he must display humility and modesty.

Growth and Unification

Proposition 15 - Success and Growth. The charismatic leader usually has a modest beginning of his leadership, and he attracts increasing numbers of followers as he creates an image of success.

Proposition 16 - Gatherings with the Leader. At public meetings, the charismatic leader's presence adds enthusiasm and affirmation to the groups' unity.

Proposition 17 - Sources of Opposition. External opposition to the charismatic leader almost always comes from the proponents of the status quo of the economic, political, social, and religious conditions.

Proposition 18 - Scapegoats. Worsening of conditions is always blamed on a variety of circumstances and never on the charismatic leader.

Proposition 19 - New and/or Modified Prescriptions. The charismatic leader often issues new and/or modified prescriptions which he bases on the emotional fervor of the community of followers.

The Stabilization Stage

Proposition 20 - Normalization. Some of the charismatic leader's teachings, particularly his rules for behavior, become normalized into the social structure.

APPENDIX F

A THEORY OF LEADER-FOLLOWER RELATIONSHIPS IN MASS MOVEMENTS

(From Chapter X)

The Preparation Stage

Proposition 1 - Seeking Modification of Conditions. The leader finds the living conditions of certain people objectionable and seeks modification of their conditions by activities outside the social mainstream.

Proposition 2 - Assumes Leadership Roles. The leader (1) proposes and supports revisions of the moral, ethical, and spiritual precepts of society and (2) gathers a small network of followers.

Proposition 3 - Preparation of Followers. When the social conditions in a society are such that (1) many people are displaced and deprived of what is considered the normal pursuit of life, and (2) are frustrated that they cannot improve their situation, a social setting exists which invites the emergence of a leader to address them.

Proposition 4 - Repudiation of Present, Tie to the Past. The leader issues a doctrine which (1) promises an idealized future society, (2) repudiates much of the existing social order, and (3) advocates, promotes, and reinforces those values, ideals, and sentiments that were part of the historical ideals and aspirations of the group.

The Leader Emerges

Proposition 5 - Dedication to the Leader. The followers dedicate themselves to the leader when they identify with his portrayal of their dislocated position in society and accept many of his prescriptions as means to attain their rightful place in society.

Proposition 6 - Identification with Lower Statuses. The leader exhibits behaviors by which he becomes identified with those in the lower social positions of his society, and these behaviors show evidence of his unusual understanding and of their worthiness to follow him.

Proposition 7 - Difficulty of Prescriptions. In order to carry out the leader's doctrine the followers adhere to new prescriptions, some being difficult and requiring great sacrifice, but they believe their adherence to even these difficult prescriptions is possible.

Proposition 8 - Arguments and Symbols. The leader articulates his doctrine with lengthy and detailed arguments and with symbolic images so that its most appealing ideas become ingrained in the minds of followers.

The Pattern of Belief and Its Expression

Proposition 9 - Imbued with Superhuman Qualities. The followers believe their leader to possess extraordinary qualities which he applies for their benefit, prosperity, and physical and spiritual well-being.

Proposition 10 - A Special Mission. The followers believe him to be dedicated to a special mission to fulfill and to convey to his followers.

Proposition 11 - The Ideal Type. The leader's behaviors are the model for the behaviors of the followers.

Proposition 12 - Bearing Burdens and Pain. It is believed that the leader bears the spiritual and emotional burdens and pain of his people at great sacrifice to himself.

Proposition 13 - The Pattern of Expressive Activities. Followers demonstrate their belief in the leader by showing him respect and honor, and subordinating their will to his.

Proposition 14 - Self-Importance. The followers' displays of respect and honor may influence the leader to believe he is connected with the divine and embodies superhuman qualities, but he must display humility and modesty.

Growth and Unification

Proposition 15 - Success and Growth. The leader usually has a modest beginning of his leadership, and he attracts increasing numbers of followers as he creates an image of success.

Proposition 16 - Gatherings with the Leader. At public meetings, the leader's presence adds enthusiasm and affirmation to the groups' unity.

Proposition 17 - Sources of Opposition. External opposition to the leader almost always comes from the proponents of the status quo of the economic, political, social, and religious conditions.

Proposition 18 - Scapegoats. Worsening of conditions is always blamed on a variety of circumstances and never on the leader.

Proposition 19 - New and/or Modified Prescriptions. The leader often issues new and/or modified prescriptions which he bases on the emotional fervor of the community of followers.

The Stabilization Stage

Proposition 20 - Normalization. Some of the leader's teachings, particularly his rules for behavior, become normalized into the social structure.