

The “Promised Land” Claim in the Legitimacy of the Israeli Occupation: Examining the Relevance of Max Weber's Theory of Authority

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Abstract:

This study aims to examine the relevance of Weber's theory of authority in relation to the phenomenon of the Promised Land claim and its impact on the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation. The results and discussion in this study show that the Zionist political movement successfully utilised Jewish theological themes as the basis for the establishment of the state of Israel, in this case, the Promised Land claim becomes a doctrine that functions as a political aspiration and is believed to be rooted in divine and religious authority, revealing that Weberian tripartite classification of authority have limitations in explaining the form of legitimacy that comes from theological claims. The conclusion of this study is that the the Promised Land claim effectively functions as theological legitimacy in the Israeli occupation, offering a new form of authority distinct from Weberian tripartite classification of authority (traditional, charismatic, rational-legal).

Keywords: authority; israel; legitimacy; promised land; zionism.

INTRODUCTION

The Israeli occupation of Palestine is a complex political issue involving conflicting historical narratives and territorial claims (Pratama et al., 2023, p. 192). Within the dynamics of this conflict, various justifications have been put forward by the Israeli side to defend its political policies in the Palestinian territories, including the claim to the "promised land" (Amro & Yatiban, 2024, p. 297). The concept of the promised land holds deep theological significance for the Jewish people, which was then used by the Zionist movement as one of the most important bases for constructing a narrative of historical rights and the legitimacy of the establishment of the state of Israel in Palestinian land (Gündüz, 2024, p. 5). Although previous studies have touched on the promised land claim in this conflict (Rabinovich, 2022), a comprehensive analysis of how theological claims specifically function as a source of legitimacy distinct from existing (conventional) categories still requires further exploration. Therefore, this study aims to examine in more depth the role of

the promised land claim in the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation, while also testing the relevance of Max Weber's theory of authority in explaining this legitimacy phenomenon.

Previous research related to the claim to the Promised Land in legitimizing the Israeli occupation and critiques of Max Weber's theory has been conducted by a number of researchers, including Zreik, Raef (2023), "Zionism and Political Theology," *Political Theology*. This article identifies what is unique about Zionist political theology and explores the consequences of this uniqueness, particularly with regard to future Israeli-Palestinian decolonization projects. The conclusion of this article is that, in addition to the close relationship between religious nationalism and colonialism, there are five other factors contained in Zionism: first, Zionism is an Eastern European ethnic nationalism; second, Zionism uses—and relies heavily on—myths, symbols, rhetoric, and various other cultural expressions to unite the Jewish people in a single mission; third, Zionism is an ideological immigration and settlement with a national-religious character, which considers itself already part of the Palestinian people before occupying it; fourth, the main assumption of the 'negation of exile' has been formed and used to justify the rejection of life in the land of exile, formulating that the Jews as a people have no future without a "spiritual center" in the Land of Israel, and; fifth, The concept of non-Jews (Gentile/Goyim) became a ready-made instrument to expel the Palestinian population already established there. When all these factors are combined, the decolonization mission becomes more complex and requires careful operation. (Zreik, 2023). Then, the research of Gündüz, Şinasi (Gündüz, 2024), "The Critique of Zionism: The Fiction of Chosen People of God and the Promised Land, and the Occupation of Palestine," *Millel ve Nihal: İnanç, Kültür, ve Mitoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi*. This article explores the historical, religious, and political foundations of Zionism, as well as its impact on the ongoing occupation of Palestine. The study concludes that the occupation of Palestine is justified not only by the political, military, and economic interests of global powers in the context of colonialism and imperialism, but also by strong religious arguments in the context of the Jews as the chosen people of God and the doctrine of the promised land (Gündüz, 2024). As well as research by Hashimov, Akif (2025), "Max Weber's Bureaucratic Theory: Its Strengths and Weaknesses, and Adaptation to the Modern Era – A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis," *Acta Globalis Humanitatis et Linguarum*. This article presents a theoretical and empirical analysis of the positive and negative aspects of Max Weber's bureaucratic theory. The paper concludes that Weber's bureaucratic theory remains an irreplaceable framework for modern organizational governance, but its limitations in understanding contemporary realities are evident; where bureaucratic effectiveness depends on the quality of leadership, adherence to ethical principles, and the ability to adapt to changing demands (Hashimov, 2025). The results of previous and current research have similarities and differences. Both previous and current research discuss the political theology of Zionism, the claim of the promised land in the Israeli occupation of Palestine, and critiques of Max Weber's theory. The differences are that the previous research discusses the uniqueness of Zionism's political theology and its impact on Israel's decolonization project, theological critiques of Zionism regarding the claims of 'God's chosen people' and 'the promised land,' and the strengths and weaknesses of Max Weber's Bureaucratic Theory. This research focuses on how the claim of the promised land functions as a tool to legitimize the Israeli occupation and then examines the relevance of Max Weber's Theory of Authority (Rahman, 2021).

"Claim" comes from the Latin word *clamare* or *clamo* which means "to shout." In the Contemporary Indonesian Dictionary, a claim is defined as "a demand for recognition that someone has the right to own something." Claiming or submitting a claim means demanding recognition of the truth that someone, an organization, a group, a country, and so on, has the right to something (Yasin, 2004, pp. 11, 17). "Promised land" is an important concept in Judaism, referring to the geographical area that God promised to Abraham and his descendants (Isaac, Jacob and his descendants) as an eternal inheritance (Troen, 2024, p. 4). At the very least, this geographical area encompasses the modern states of Israel and Palestine, including the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights (Aldrovandi, 2011, p. 115). Such a religious concept is contained in the Tanakh, aka the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) as the holy book of the Jewish people (Fatoohi, 2024, p. 3). Judaism, with its ethnocentric character, creates a reading of history that centers on the ethnic identity of the descendants of Israel, also known as Jacob. The doctrine that the Jews—later called the "nation of Israel" (in biblical terms, not citizens of modern Israel)—are God's chosen people, along with the idea of a promised land for this chosen people, later became one of the main doctrinal bases for Zionism's political agenda, namely the establishment of the state of Israel in the Palestinian territories (Gündüz, 2024). Thus, the "promised land claim" in this context can be interpreted as a demand for recognition that the Jewish people have the right to the land promised by God.

The theoretical basis for this research is Max Weber's Theory of Authority. Within Weber's framework, authority can be distinguished from what is known as power. While "power" can be understood as the ability to influence others, "authority" is the right to influence those others. In other words, authority is a specific form of power. Power encompasses the ability to enforce compliance, while authority is power that has received general recognition (Marbun, 1996, pp. 32–33). According to Weber, authority requires legitimacy (Chairi, 2019, p. 201). Legitimacy (validity) is the acceptance and recognition of authority and power by society (Hermawan, 2001, p. 5). Based on a study of Weber's theory of authority, it was found that there are at least three sources of legitimacy, namely traditional legitimacy, charismatic legitimacy, and rational legitimacy (Fauza, 2020, pp. 148–149). Each of these sources of legitimacy constitutes a distinct form of authority. Traditional authority is a form of authority held by a leader due to family ties to a previous leader, such as a child inheriting his father's throne (Nurrohman, 2023, p. 69). Charismatic authority is based on extraordinary qualities possessed by a person, such as prophets, healers, war heroes and so on (Marbun, 1996). Meanwhile, rational authority (can also be called the legal or formal type) refers to the legal system that applies in society, where a leader has official capacity based on mutually agreed rules (Shofi & Talkah, 2021, p. 149). This research will test the extent to which Weber's Theory of Authority is relevant in explaining the sources of legitimacy.

The main problem of this research is the claim of the promised land in the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation to test the relevance of Max Weber's theory of authority. The formulation of this research problem is how the claim of the promised land in the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation can test the relevance of Max Weber's theory of authority. This research aims to test the relevance of Max Weber's theory of authority based on the phenomenon of the claim of the promised land in the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation. Theoretically, this research is useful as an insight into the relevance of Max Weber's theory of authority to the claim of the promised land in the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation. Practically, this research is useful as a reading resource for researchers and academics, especially in the fields of social, political, and religious studies, to evaluate the extent to which the validity and relevance of Max Weber's theory of authority can be applied in the contemporary era.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach by applying analytical descriptive methods (Darmalaksana, 2020). Descriptive analysis is needed to provide a systematic, objective, and critical explanation and overview of the promised land claim in the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation and its relationship to Max Weber's theory of authority. Primary data sources include literature on the promised land claim in the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation and studies on Max Weber's theory of authority. Secondary data sources are drawn from various references related to the topic, such as articles, books, and other documents. Data collection techniques are carried out through documentation. Data analysis techniques include data inventory, data classification, and data interpretation (UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2023).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Beginnings of Zionism

Zionism is a political ideology that aspires to a Jewish state in Palestine (Greschinov, 2024, p. 32). The term "Zionism" comes from the word 'Zion/Zion' which refers to Mount Zion to the south of Jerusalem (شليبي, 1988). Mount Zion is mentioned 152 times in the Old Testament, and is a holy hill that occupies an important position in Jewish religious tradition. Later, Zion became the name for Jerusalem itself and Eretz Israel (Land of Israel) as a whole (Sabry, 2010, pp. 20–21). In further developments, Zionism became a political movement related to the return or repatriation of the Jewish people to Zion or Jerusalem, the promised land (Zwick, 2015, p. 1).

As a political movement, Zionism was initiated in the late 19th century by Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), an Austro-Hungarian Jewish journalist (Greschinov, 2024). Zionism is essentially linked to Herzl's 1896 book, *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State), which outlined a concept for a Jewish nation-state with geographical and physical dimensions in the "ancient homeland", namely Zion/Sion or Eretz Israel (Zwick, 2015). Herzl wrote *Der Judenstaat* as anti-Semitism and oppression of Jews in Europe increased, in which he proposed the need to establish a Jewish state to end their suffering (Mubarok & Meidina, 2024, p. 239). The First Zionist Congress was held in Basel, Switzerland, on August 29-31, 1897 (Epstein, 1989, p. 98).

At first, the idea of establishing a Jewish state was actually foreign to most Jews at that time. In fact, there are quite a few Jewish religious circles who reject or even oppose this "crazy" idea (Zreik, 2023). Although Zionism was well received by some Jews, others were quite content to live in the diaspora and some even held the view that a Jewish state should not be established until the coming of the Messiah (Troen, 2024). Herzl later wrote a utopian novel, *Atneuland* (New Ancient Homeland), as a critique of the role of Jewish religious leaders who relied solely on God's will for their nation's salvation. In this novel, Herzl also took Jewish theological themes and transformed them into a political program, serving as one of the founding texts of Zionism (Zreik, 2023, pp. 6–8).

Another interesting fact is that when the idea of establishing a Jewish state first emerged, Herzl didn't yet know exactly where he would establish it. Through *Der Judenstaat*, he left Argentina open as an alternative option. In correspondence between the Zionists and the British, Kenya was also considered as an additional option (Greschinov, 2024). Britain also offered Uganda as an alternative. Ultimately, the Zionist movement still wanted Palestine for historical and religious reasons, and Britain agreed for political and strategic reasons (Sabry, 2010).

The Promised Land in Judaism

The Jewish scriptures mention several covenants that God made with humans, including God's promise to Abraham to make his descendants his chosen people (Gündüz, 2024). This promise was first mentioned when God commanded Abraham to leave Haran (southeastern Türkiye) and go to Canaan (now Palestine), which He would give to his descendants (Fatoohi, 2024). Since then, the promise of land is mentioned repeatedly, as in the following verse: "I will make you very fruitful; I will make you into nations, and from you will come kings. I will make a covenant between Me and you and your descendants from generation to generation into an everlasting covenant, so that I will be your God and the God of your descendants. To you and to your descendants I will give this land which you inhabit as foreigners, that is, I will give all the land of Canaan as yours forever; and I will be their God." (Kejadian 17:6-9)

The editorial that followed explained that only the descendants of Abraham through his son Isaac, and his grandson Jacob, who were then called Israel, were chosen by God as His people and given the land: God said to him: "Your name is Jacob; from now on your name will no longer be Jacob, but Israel, that will be your name." So God named him Israel. Again God said to him: "I am the Almighty God. Be fruitful and multiply; a nation, even a group of nations, will come from you and kings will come from you. And this land which I gave to Abraham and to Isaac, I will give to you and also to your descendants." (Kejadian 35:10-12)

Rashi aka Rabi Shlomo Itzhaki (1040-1105 M), a French rabbi and author of commentaries (Einhorn, 2020, p. 335), wrote a classic text that captures the historical perception of the Jewish relationship with Canaan/Palestine (Troen, 2024). Rashi states that it was the Creator who divided the earth and gave it to the claimants to receive certain portions (Kellner, 2010, pp. 23–24). In this case, the Jews received God's legitimacy to "seize" the land of Canaan: If the nations of the world said to Israel, "You are robbers because you have taken by force the land of the seven nations (namely Canaan)," they (Israel) could reply: "The whole world belongs to the Holy One, Blessed be He. He created it and gave it to whoever is righteous in His eyes. Of His own will, He gave it to them, and gave it to us." (Yalkut Rashi, Keluaran 12:2)

However, it is important to note that in Jewish belief, this promised land was God's gift to the descendants of Israel on the condition that they fulfill their covenant with God (Časni, 2021, p. 65). If they do not fulfill their divine commitment, their rights to the land may be temporarily revoked. The traditional belief expressed is that the destruction of the First and Second Temples as well as the exile/exile/expulsion of the Jewish people from the holy land was caused by their own failure to fulfill their covenant with God (Troen, 2024: 4, 111): And the nations shall know that for their iniquity the house of Israel went into exile, and because they betrayed me, I hid my face from them, and delivered them into the hand of their adversaries, and they all fell by the sword (Yehezkiel 39:23)

Some rabbinic texts describe exile as punishment for sin (Schoenfeld, 2014, p. 31). Although interpreters may differ on the exact cause of the expulsion of the Jews from the promised land, generally the Midrash literature (one method of interpreting the Hebrew Bible) agrees on what is explained in the scriptures: that the exile was a punishment for disobedience to God (Porton, 1997, p. 263). In the Middle Ages, exile was internalized as an existential condition and a fundamental doctrine in Jewish theology. Jews developed various explanations that attributed religious significance to exile, such as atonement on behalf

of all humanity, repentance, soteriology (salvation), and the mission to spread knowledge of God (Heschel, 2023, p. 18): "God exiled the Israelites so that they might gather souls" (Pesachim 87b)

In short, it can be understood that the Promised Land is an important theological concept in Judaism. However, the Promised Land was not simply a gift from God, but rather a conditional covenant between God and the Israelites, requiring the Israelites to carry out God's commands in order for Him to fulfill the promise of the land. The Israelites' expulsion from the land was the result of their negligence in carrying out God's commands. They interpreted their exile as a rebuke from God that must be atoned for through religious actions.

The Promised Land in the Israeli Occupation Project

Jewish claims to the Promised Land vary in their boundaries, but are certain in principle. The debate among religious Jews is not about whether the Jews will actually return to the land, but about when and how their return will be achieved (Troen, 2024). Basically, they held fast to the belief that God's promise of their connection to the promised land would one day be fulfilled (Karahani, 2024, p. 108).

By exploiting this religious tradition, the Zionists transformed it into the context of modern nationalism and antisemitism (Troen, 2024). They successfully developed a narrative that suggested the time had come for the Israelites to return to the Promised Land, thus attracting more and more Jews to support the movement. However, in its early days, religious leaders and Jewish community leaders in Germany issued statements opposing Zionism (Zreik, 2023). This is also what caused the congress which was originally going to be held in Munich to have to be moved to Basel (Greschinov, 2024).

In 1902, Herzl published his utopian novel, *Altneuland*, which expanded on his vision of restoring the Jews to the land of Israel (Gohar, 2020, p. 62). In the novel, Herzl expresses his distrust of the clergy through the character of the architect Mr. Steinbeck, who criticizes the role of the rabbis in Jewish salvation and their return to Zion to build a 'new ancient homeland' (Zreik, 2023). Steinbeck speaks of Rabbi Geyer, who is portrayed as a fanatic – representing the traditional religious Jews who pray for a return but never take concrete action with their own hands: [...] he reads of Zion in the prayer books, but he tells the listening sheep that Zion is not Zion. It is anywhere but here, anywhere in the world but not Zion.... where was your Geyer then? The same Geyer who incited you [...] was one of the protesting rabbis (Herzl, *Altneuland*, 108)

Herzl visualized Jerusalem through the inner experience and spiritual turning point of Friedrich Loewenberg, whose latent awareness of faith began to awaken after meeting the Littwak family (Malach, 2019, p. 3): "I will study, with God's help. Then I will go to the Land of Israel with my parents and Miriam." "To Palestine?" asked Friedrich, surprised. "What will you do there?" "That is our country. There we can be happy."

These words are a kind of epic prophecy of events to come. This is the starting point of Friedrich's evolution of his faith consciousness (Malach, 2019). Later, on Friedrich's first visit to Palestine (when the country was still barren), his journey to Jerusalem was described as follows: "Jerusalem!" Friedrich cried in a low, trembling voice. He did not understand why the sight of this strange city had affected him so strongly. Was it the memory of words he had heard in childhood? In the prayers his father had said? [...] One of the few Hebrew phrases he still remembered echoed in his ears: "Leshana Ha-baa be Yerushalayim,"—"Next Year in Jerusalem!" Suddenly he saw himself as a small child going to synagogue with his father." (Herzl, *Altneuland*, 33)

As a literary work published by Herzl towards the end of his life, the novel *Altneuland* can be considered an important reference that can reveal the extent of Herzl's relationship with the core concepts of Jewish teaching, which later became part of his political philosophy. Several recent careful studies of *Altneuland* have emphasized Herzl's efforts to build a new Jewish identity on a secular national basis (Malach, 2019). When Herzl envisioned Jerusalem after the establishment of the Jewish state, he clearly entertained the idea of building a Third Temple. Although the novel is broadly a critique of the role of religious figures, Herzl concludes by focusing on God as the central character in the entire drama (Zreik, 2023). This shows the religious side of the author's life as well as showing his interpretation of Jewish theological themes that play an important role in this vision.

After the state of Israel was truly established in 1948, in its Declaration of Independence, the second paragraph recounts how the Jewish people faithfully maintained the fundamental tenets of their belief in the return of the land (Troen, 2024): After being forcibly exiled from their land, the people remained loyal

to the land throughout the period of exile and never stopped praying and hoping to return to the land and to restore their political freedom (Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, 14 May 1948, second paragraph).

Later Zionist leaders continued to use religion as a source of legitimacy for land ownership. David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, used the Bible as his primary interpretive framework and viewed himself in biblical terms. His conquest of Palestine was analogous to Joshua's conquest of Canaan. Ben-Gurion's messianic approach was not only a tactical tool for mass recruitment but also a secular political theology aimed at reforming the sovereign purpose of the Israeli state. (Zreik, 2023): " "During two thousand years of exile, we did not completely lose our creativity, but the luster of the Bible faded in exile, as did the luster of the Jewish people. Only with the renewal of the homeland and the independence of the Hebrew people can we reappraise the Bible in its true and full light," wrote Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, in 1953 (Shapira, *The Bible and Israeli Identity*, 11).

Legendary military leader Moshe Dayan, like Ben-Gurion, also offered his own interpretation of the Bible along with the history of the State of Israel (Zreik, 2023). Dayan delivered his speech during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war: "We have returned to the Mount (of Olives), the cradle of our nation, the legacy of our ancestors. The land of the judges and the stronghold of the Kingdom of David." Said Moshe Dayan on the occasion of the burial of the victims of the Old City of Jerusalem (Bar-On, *Moshe Dayan Israel's Controversial Hero*, 144).

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu today used the Bible to refute claims that Israel is a colonial state, and proudly asserted the Jewish right to the land of Israel, drawing applause from members of Congress: "They call Israel a colonial state?! Don't they know that the Land of Israel is the land where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob prayed, where Isaiah and Jeremiah preached, where David and Solomon reigned? For nearly 4,000 years, the Land of Israel has been the homeland of the Jewish people. It has always been our home, and it will always be our home!" said Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in his fourth address to the U.S. Congress in 2024 (Anash.org, 2024).

These Zionist leaders consciously argue that the right to land is exclusively given by God to the Jewish people, citing the Bible. This means that religious narratives are consistently used in the context of the Israeli occupation and have been monopolized to justify ownership, expulsion, and even warfare. Jewish theological concepts, originally interpreted and confronted through religious actions, have become inseparable from the pursuit of political interests. This makes the Israeli case unique within the discourse of modern colonialism.

Zionism in Theological-Political Review

Political theology is a concept that attempts to explain how religion and politics should relate (Naselli, 2023). The modern discourse on this topic was started by Carl Schmitt through his work entitled *Politische Theologie* (Ohana, 2009, p. xiii). There is a diverse spectrum of views in political theology, including the view that states that government must be secular while religion does not influence the political system (Naselli, 2023). However, some scholars have also proposed readings that challenge this view, including those in terms of modernity, liberalism, secularism, nationalism, and colonialism. Donald Akenson, for example, when studying the unique case of Zionism, sees similarities with the case of Protestant (English) colonialism in Ireland, showing that even in secular colonialism and nationalism, the Bible continues to play a significant role in defining the settlers' understanding of themselves, guiding their interpretive frameworks, and influencing their practices (Akenson, 1992).

Religion has always been used in the context of colonialism, and has been used to justify ownership, sovereignty over nations, conquest, and even slavery (Zreik, 2023). In the case of Zionism, we can see that the movement's ideas draw on key concepts of traditional Jewish teaching. Although today there are ultra-Orthodox Jews who reject and oppose the establishment of the state of Israel for theological reasons (Troen, 2024), Herzl and his Zionism succeeded in forming a new Jewish identity that believed the occupation of Israel was justified by divine revelation as contained in the Bible (Malach, 2019). Therefore, from its inception, Zionism has been inseparable from Judaism, or at least from a specific interpretation of Jewish teachings. If Zionism were a purely secular project that disregarded the role of religion in its implementation, there would have been no reason for the early Zionists to accept other territories such as Argentina, Kenya, and Uganda as their homeland; thus, the claim to the promised land guided them to maintain their interest and continue their efforts to achieve Palestine as their goal.

From an international relations perspective, the claim to the promised land can also be analyzed through constructivism theory. Constructivism, popularized by Alexander Wendt, can fundamentally change the way we view social and political reality (Juliana, 2023, p. 36), including the identity, values, meaning and interests of political actors (Broome, 2013, p. 193). Constructivism argues that reality is not objective, but is formed or constructed through social interactions, culture, and the language used (Agius, 2022, pp. 6–10). This theory can analyze how Zionism shaped a new Jewish identity, in which the Promised Land was no longer seen as a conditional divine promise, but was constructed as a historical-religious right that had to be won by human effort; while the expulsion (diaspora) was no longer seen as divine punishment for disobedience, but was constructed as a historical injustice that had to be redressed through political-military action. This understanding helps explain how ideas, even theological ones such as the Promised Land, became a material force that motivated and justified the occupation.

According to Raef Zreik (Zreik, 2023), the more the Israeli occupation of Palestine continues, the greater the need for justification mechanisms that refer to religious texts as ready-made formulas for the purposes of the occupation (Zreik, 2023). In the current context, the goals of the occupation have evolved beyond mere maintaining the existence of the state of Israel, but also fighting and expelling the Palestinian Arab population (Maram et al., 2024, p. 19). By understanding how theology, politics, and constructivism Zionists at work, we can finally shed some light on why there is something about Zionism that invites violence to its ends, even though Judaism itself forbids murder (Barmaki, 2013, p. 162). Armed with the immunity of victims in Europe, Zionists felt justified in creating a Jewish state in the midst of lands already inhabited by other peoples; from the moment this end seemed justified, all means leading to it also seemed justified, including the use of religious narratives as a basis for legitimacy (Zreik, 2023).

Testing Weber's Theory of Authority: Theology-Based Legitimacy

An analysis of the claim to the Promised Land in legitimizing the Israeli occupation presents significant challenges to the comprehensiveness of Weber's theory of authority. While Weber's theory of authority remains a key foundation for interpreting various forms of legitimacy, it tends to under-accept legitimacy derived from scripture or theological concepts. Weber's traditional authority refers more to family relationships that have been trusted by society for generations, while the legitimacy of the Zionist Israeli occupation is not based on such traditions. Weber's charismatic authority also describes unique individual traits, such as prophetic miracles, supernatural powers, or natural talents that are not possessed by others—all of which Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, and subsequent Israeli leaders lacked. Rational authority may come closest to understanding this phenomenon, but it emphasizes a mutually agreed-upon legal system, a distinct difference from legal agreements derived from scripture.

The findings of this study indicate a unique form of legitimacy that can be called theological legitimacy: legitimacy based on religious concepts or sacred texts. This form of legitimacy arises when a claim believed to originate from a divine source, such as revelation, is reinterpreted and packaged in such a way as to justify certain political actions. Its power to mobilize support and justify violent acts such as occupation and expulsion suggests a different type of legitimacy than traditional, charismatic, or rational-legal authority. Therefore, the claim to the Promised Land in the context of the Israeli occupation not only illustrates the complexity of political legitimacy but also highlights the need to expand or adapt Weber's theoretical framework of authority to explain the phenomenon where religious narratives actively become the authority to which their adherents adhere.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the claim to the promised land actually functions as theological legitimacy in the Israeli occupation, offering a new form of authority that differs from Weber's three classifications of authority (traditional, charismatic, rational-legal). The results and discussion of this study indicate that the Zionist political movement successfully utilized Jewish theological themes as the basis for the establishment of the Israeli state, in this case the claim to the promised land became a doctrine that functions as a political aspiration and is believed to be rooted in the authority of God and religion, revealing that Weber's three classifications of authority have limitations in explaining the form of legitimacy that originates from theological claims. Theoretically, this study is useful as an insight into the relevance of Weber's theory of authority to the claim to the promised land in the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation. Practically, this study is useful as a reading resource for researchers and academics, especially in the fields of social, political,

and religious studies, to evaluate the extent to which Weber's theory of authority can be applied in the contemporary era. This study has limitations because it does not discuss other theological concepts that may contribute to the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation, such as the 'chosen people,' the 'God of Israel,' the concept of 'Goyim (non-Jews)' and so on. This study recommends that future researchers examine more deeply and comprehensively the Jewish teachings that also function as theological legitimacy in the contemporary conflict of the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

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