

# **'To Stand against Israel is to Stand against God': Zionism, Trump and the US Christian Right**

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On 14 May 2018, the US Embassy in Israel was formally moved to Jerusalem. This had first been called for by Congress in 1995, but with the proviso that the President could issue a waiver every six months. Presidents Clinton, Bush and Obama had all repeatedly taken advantage of this on the grounds that such a move would seriously compromise the US position in the Middle East and effectively end any prospect for a peace settlement between Israel and the Palestinians.

On 6 December 2017, Donald Trump had announced that he was breaking with this recurring decision, because moving the Embassy had been a campaign promise. He took this decision in the face of the united opposition of the US foreign policy and security establishments. Both Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Defence Secretary James Mattis warned that 'all hell's going to break loose'.<sup>1</sup> According to Richard Mansbach, Trump made this 'reckless decision despite the advice of senior advisors and allied leaders' and it was 'condemned by overwhelming majorities in the UN Security Council and General Assembly'. Not only was the UN resolution vetoed by the Americans, but Trump threatened reprisals against those countries voting for it.<sup>2</sup> What prompted such a momentous decision? As Khaled Elgindy puts it, Trump had blithely overturned 'seventy years of official U.S. policy and international consensus'; in effect, deciding 'a weighty and consequential foreign policy matter almost entirely on the basis of domestic political considerations'.<sup>3</sup> The decision to move the Embassy was made in order to appease the US Christian

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<sup>1</sup> Vicky Ward, *Kushner Inc: Greed, Corruption, Ambition* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2019) p. 201

<sup>2</sup> Richard W Mansbach, 'America and the Middle East', in Richard W Mansbach and James M McCormick (eds), *Foreign Policy Issues for America: The Trump Years* (London: Routledge, 2019) p. 120

<sup>3</sup> Khaled Elgindy, *Blind Spot: America and the Palestinians from Balfour to Trump* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2019) p. 247

Right, to ensure their continued support both for Trump's Presidency and in the (then forthcoming) 2020 Presidential election.

Ralph Reed was one of the evangelical Christian delegation invited to attend the opening of the Embassy on 14 May 2018. It was, he recalled 'a celebratory affair'. An experienced political operator, he had initially been sceptical about Trump, but came to the conclusion that far from Trump's 'flaws and failures' disqualifying him from being President, they were

'the very things that made him yearn to do what was right . . . Perhaps Trump's desire to redeem an imperfect past instilled in him a yearning to keep his promises to the American people, provide bold leadership at a time of national testing, and reject conventional wisdom'.

According to Reed, 'if Trump's worldview could be summed up with the bumper-sticker slogan "America First" then "Israel Second" came next'. For the Christian Right, Trump was 'nothing less than an answer to prayer'.<sup>4</sup>

Among the others in attendance were Jay Sekulow, Paula White, John Hagee and Robert Jeffress, key figures from the US Christian Right. Ivanka Trump and Jared Kushner were also honoured guests at the celebration, both delivering speeches to mark the occasion. A number of Republican Senators were invited. As the then British Ambassador to Washington DC, Kim Darroch, somewhat wryly observed:

'Two of the cable news channels presented the event on a split screen: on one side, live coverage of the speeches marking the official opening; on the other the riots in Gaza that accompanied the ceremony.'

Trump was fulfilling his 'campaign promise to be the strongest supporter of Israel ever to sit behind the Resolute desk'.<sup>5</sup>

On the day the Embassy opened, 'at least sixty Palestinian protestors demonstrating at the Gaza border fence were killed by Israeli forces'. This, as Khaled Elgindy puts it, 'seemed to illustrate how far removed the administration was from the realities of the conflict'.<sup>6</sup> And while Palestinians were being shot down, Jared Kushner, Ivanka Trump and a number of US Senators, among them Ted Cruz and Lindsey Graham, were sitting down to

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<sup>4</sup> Ralph Reed, *For God and Country: The Christian Case for Trump* (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing, 2020) pp. 28, 30. Ralph Reed was one of the leaders of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition in the 1990s.

<sup>5</sup> Kim Darroch, *Collateral Damage: Britain, America and Europe in the Age of Trump* (London: William Collins, 2020) p. 211

<sup>6</sup> Elgindy (see note 3) p. 248

'one of those famous Israeli luncheons' in the King David Hotel.<sup>7</sup>

## **The Politics of the Christian Right**

The emergence of the Christian Right as a political force in the USA was very much a response to desegregation and to the later removal of tax exemption from the hundreds of whites only Christian schools, universities and colleges that had been set up in response to it.<sup>8</sup> Jerry Falwell, the pastor who founded the Moral Majority in June 1979, had been a staunch segregationist. He had condemned the civil rights movement as Communist-inspired, proclaimed that black Americans were 'cursed to be servants of the Jews and Gentiles', and that if segregation was ended 'God will punish us for it'. On one occasion, Falwell was actually confronted by a 'kneel-in' by black and white Christians at his church in Lynchburg, demanding that he allow black Christians to join his congregation. He called the police to evict them.<sup>9</sup> He was to later regret his support for segregation but always remained a strong advocate of apartheid South Africa, urging his followers to buy Krugerrands.

The racist origins of the Christian Right were subsequently written out of its own history. When we look at Falwell's 1980 'blueprint for America's moral rebirth', *Listen America!*, it has nothing to say about segregation. Instead it presents a new 'culture wars' agenda intended to mobilise white evangelical Christians behind the Republican Party, moving that Party to the right in the process. Homophobia, opposition to women's rights and to the right to abortion, the defence of 'family values', Christian schooling – indeed saving Christianity itself from liberal secularist assault – were to increasingly become the core of Christian Right politics.

The Moral Majority claimed to have registered some 3 million Christians to vote in its first year of existence and, at its height, had some 7 million supporters. When Ronald Reagan ran for the presidency against Jimmy Carter in 1980, he assiduously courted this new Christian Right with his platform committee meeting with the Moral Majority leadership in order to ensure their support. But while Falwell pretty much got what he wanted included in the

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<sup>7</sup> Doug Wead, *Inside Trump's White House: The Authorized Story* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2019) p. 225.

Wead had worked for both George H W Bush and George W Bush. He is credited with managing George H W Bush's difficult relationship with the Christian Right. He subsequently fell out with the family after secretly taping phone calls with George W Bush.

<sup>8</sup> See Randall Balmer, *Bad Faith: Race and the Rise of the Religious Right* (New York: Eerdmans, 2021)

<sup>9</sup> John Newsinger, *Chosen By God: Donald Trump, The Christian Right and American Capitalism* (London: Bookmarks, 2020) p. 42

Republican platform, Reagan ignored him when it came to his choice for Vice President. Falwell favoured Senator Jesse Helms, a staunch segregationist and racist and a strong supporter of the Moral Majority.<sup>10</sup> Instead, Reagan chose George H W Bush. Interestingly, Reagan was not himself an evangelical Christian, although his acting skills extended to pretending to be one when required. In contrast Jimmy Carter, his Democrat opponent, was a devout evangelical who even taught Sunday School while he was in the White House. Carter, however, was a liberal.

Falwell laid out the Moral Majority's agenda in his *Listen America!* Here he celebrated capitalism as ordained by God:

'The free-enterprise system is clearly outlined in the Book of Proverbs in the Bible [. . .] Ownership of property is biblical. Competition in business is biblical. Ambitious and successful business management is clearly outlined as part of God's plan for His people'.

An inevitable corollary of this was hostility to welfare provision by the state. As far as Falwell was concerned, the state needed to shrink (he cites Milton Friedman) and education and welfare should become the responsibility primarily of the churches and charities. As he put it: 'When the government cares for its people, why should its people care for themselves?' Welfare destroyed 'initiative, skill, work habits, and productivity'. He goes on to make it clear that under his particular scheme of Christian charity, '(p)eople will not starve to death, although their standard of living may not be sustained'.

Falwell singled out Margaret Thatcher, who had just become Prime Minister in Britain, for particular praise. Having thus established his conservative credentials, he went on to address the 'culture wars' agenda with chapters attacking Feminism and the Equal Rights Amendment, ferociously condemning abortion, defending the Christian family and identifying homosexuality as 'the zenith of human indecency'. Indeed, 'the sin of homosexuality is so grievous, so abominable in the sight of God' that it is hastening America's downfall. He does rule out the death penalty, which is the Old Testament punishment for the sin, because this teaching has since been superceded by the New Testament. Nevertheless, homosexuality is still a sin and a threat to America. (Falwell was to later 'out' Tellytubby Tinky Winky as gay and a threat to children!) Predictably, in his chapter on sin and the music industry, he takes particular exception to the Village People, a band apparently formed as a gay response to the singer Anita Bryant's homophobic crusading.<sup>11</sup> He also objects to The Who,

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<sup>10</sup> In 1983 Helms staged a 16 day filibuster in the US Senate in an attempt to prevent Martin Luther King Day becoming a federal holiday.

<sup>11</sup> For which see Newsinger (see note 9) pp. 43-45.

the Rolling Stones, David Bowie and as for Alice Cooper . . . . But there is hope, because despite everything 'America has more God-fearing citizens per capita than any other nation on earth' and if they organise politically then they can save the country from God's Judgement. For Falwell, 'Morality' was the 'Deciding Factor'.

*Listen America!* inevitably warns against the threat of Communism, urging the need for a strong military. One of Falwell's objections to feminism is the way it is weakening the US Army. As far as he was concerned, however, the US had been disarming for years so that at the time of writing (1980) in a nuclear exchange, 'the Soviet Union would kill 135 million to 160 million Americans', while the US 'would kill only 3 to 5 per cent of the Soviets'. Given the Soviet Union's mythical military superiority, it was all the more important that the USA turns back to God because in the event of war 'God would miraculously protect America'. And then there is 'That Miracle Called Israel'. Falwell writes:

'One of the most encouraging things I see in the world today is God's continual blessing on the tiny nation of Israel [. . . .] Israel still stands as shining testimony to the faithfulness of God'.

Not only is Israel a bastion of pro-Western democracy in the Middle East, but the country also has a vital role to play in the unfolding of Biblical prophecy as described in the Book of Revelation. He condemns what he sees as 'some very distressing developments . . . in American-Israeli relations' with the US being blackmailed by 'the oil cartel', trading 'her allegiance to Israel for a petroleum "mess of pottage,"' even recognising the PLO 'as reputable and civilized'. The Jews might be 'spiritually blind', not having accepted Jesus, but they are still 'God's people'; and he concludes by insisting that 'in the world today Bible-believing Christians in America are the best friends the nation [of] Israel has. We must remain so'.<sup>12</sup> As far as Falwell was concerned: 'You can't belong to the Moral Majority without being a Zionist'. He was to later make clear that as far as he was concerned, being Jewish was a matter of race so that those Jews who converted 'are Hebrew Christians. Their racial identity never changes'.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the fact was that the establishment of the state of Israel was for evangelicals like him 'a constant testimony to the world that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is alive and well'. Israel was 'the focal point of history'.<sup>14</sup> Falwell, as we shall see, was to be very deliberately cultivated by the Israeli Right, Menachem Begin and his successors.

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<sup>12</sup> Jerry Falwell, *Listen America!* (New York: Doubleday, 1980) pp. 11, 12, 23, 67, 85, 92, 93, 98, 101, 157, 201, 213-214.

<sup>13</sup> Merrill Simon, *Jerry Falwell and the Jews* (New York: Jonathan David, 1984) pp. 43, 44

<sup>14</sup> Simon (see note 13) pp. 43, 47

One important aspect of the evangelical Christian Right's embrace of capitalism was its celebration of wealth as a blessing from God: the greater the wealth the greater the blessing. This was given expression in the 'prosperity gospel' which very conveniently sanctioned the accumulation of wealth by the pastors who advocated the doctrine. They generally extracted their personal wealth from their congregations by the exploitation of the crudest superstition and by straightforward fraud. And, while the superstition might look back to the Middle Ages, the methods used to exploit it were very up to date – with the various televangelists leading the way. Their congregations were promised miracles in return for donations, miracles that not only cured disease but also cured personal and financial problems. Some of these pastors had apparently even raised the dead and changed the direction of hurricanes through prayer. Evangelical Christianity had become big business.

### **Apocalypse soon**

**A**n essential part of the theology of the Christian Right was their embrace of prophecy, the foretelling of the End of Days, of the coming Rapture. A veritable industry developed, plundering the Bible for evidence with which to terrify congregations and to keep the contributions coming in. One of the most successful of these 'prophets' was Hal Lindsey, whose *The Late Great Planet Earth*, was first published in 1970. It was the best-selling non-fiction book in the US in the 1970s and had sold some 30 million copies by the end of the twentieth century. In it he made clear that the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 was the unfolding of prophecy, the first step to be followed by the repossession of 'old Jerusalem and the sacred sites' and then the Jews 'would rebuild their ancient temple of worship upon its historic site'. This was 'the most important prophetic sign' of Christ's return. The Six Day War of June 1967 had accomplished the second step, with the Jews 'unwittingly . . . [setting] up the stage for their final hour of trial and conversion'. Now all that remained was the destruction of the Dome of the Rock and the rebuilding of the Temple for the final struggle, 'World War 3', to begin.

But before their conversion, the Jews are going to conclude 'Israel's Treaty with Hell', inaugurating a period of immense suffering for the Jewish people, all apparently foretold and necessary for evangelical Christians to be saved and to go to Heaven. The Russians will invade the Middle East, the European Common Market is the new Roman Empire, and of course, he did not forget 'The Yellow Peril'. All this prepares the way for the triumphant return of the Messiah, Jesus Christ, who will proceed to destroy the armies of the Antichrist at Armageddon. Lindsey quotes the prophet Zechariah on how '(t)heir flesh shall consume away', arguing that 'this is exactly what happens to those who are in a

thermonuclear blast'. And this bloodbath ushers in a thousand years of Jesus ruling over the world. This Jesus was not a long-haired do-gooder, but a vengeful genocidal warrior, who showed no mercy, inflicting eternal torture on billions of people, in his fulfilment of the Christian Right's fantasies.<sup>15</sup> Not only did *The Late Great Planet Earth* sell millions of copies, it was made into a documentary film, narrated by Orson Welles and Hal Lindsey himself, that went on general release in 1978.<sup>16</sup>

Lindsey believed all of this was imminent over many years and published numerous updates, as well as commentating on the unfolding of Biblical prophecy on his own TV shows. At one time, he 'had three books on the *New York Times* best seller list simultaneously'.<sup>17</sup> He was even invited into the Reagan White House to talk on security matters on a number of occasions. As Paul Boyer has argued, Lindsey's writing and broadcasting had 'relentlessly turned the Bible into a manual of atomic-age combat'. He went through the Book of Revelations 'mechanically transcribing every phrase and image into the vocabulary of Pentagon strategists'.<sup>18</sup> It has been argued that Reagan, who claimed to be an admirer of *The Late Great Planet Earth*, was actually influenced by these prophecies while he was in office. On one occasion he wrote in his diary 'Sometimes I wonder if we are destined to witness Armageddon' and on another 'I swear I believe Armageddon is near'.<sup>19</sup> However, this was not something that Reagan looked forward to but was rather something he was determined to try and prevent. As far as domestic policy was concerned, he gave the Christian Right 'kind words' but little else.<sup>20</sup> Of his thirty-one cabinet appointments during his two terms, only four were members of the Christian right-wing of the Republican Party.

Even more influential than Lindsey was Tim LaHaye, a former John Birch Society activist and a successful evangelical pastor in San Diego. His ministry ran twelve Christian schools, the Christian Heritage College to train teachers

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<sup>15</sup> Hal Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (London: Marshall Morgan and Scott, 1988) pp. 55-57, 151, 175

<sup>16</sup> See <<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0079445/>>.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen Sizer, *Christian Zionism: Road Map to Armageddon* (Westmont, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004) p. 93

<sup>18</sup> Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992)

<sup>19</sup> Matthew Avery Sutton, *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press, 2014) pp. 335-356

<sup>20</sup> David John Marley, *Pat Robertson: An American Life* (Washington, DC: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007) p. 69

and the Institute for Creation Research, which, among other things, produced teaching materials. He went on to become the joint author with Jerry Jenkins, of the tremendously successful *Left Behind* novels.<sup>21</sup> Together with Falwell, LeHaye was one of the founders of the Moral Majority. In 1981 he also founded the influential Council for National Policy (CNP), a forum bringing together leading figures from the Christian Right, Republican politicians and strategists and various Christian billionaires, committed to pursuing 'a theocratic agenda'.<sup>22</sup> Trump's Vice President, Mike Pence, described the CNP as 'the most influential gathering of conservatives in America'.<sup>23</sup> LaHaye, together with his wife Beverly, was also the author of the most successful Christian sex manuals, *The Act of Marriage* and *The Act of Marriage After 40*, both extremely explicit and only to be read by married, or soon to be married, couples. The first volume sold over 2 million copies. He was also a vicious homophobe and in his book, *The Unhappy Gays*, actually wondered whether 'Old Testament capital punishment' for homosexuality was not for the best, both for gays themselves and for society.<sup>24</sup> He was pretty certain that the Antichrist would be gay.

Even before the publication of the *Left Behind* novels, LaHaye was a major figure on the Christian Right, but with their publication he became a very powerful cultural influence in the USA as well. Beginning with the first volume in 1995, the *Left Behind* novels preached the End Time prophecies as exciting apocalyptic fiction, reaching an enormous audience – but one that was almost completely confined to the USA. The novels were also a useful vehicle for the peddling of the Christian Right's hostility to women's rights, gays and abortion. As well as the sixteen novels in the main series, there are some twenty children's novels, forty graphic novels, a number of video games, and four feature films – one, released in 2014, starring Nicholas Cage. The books have sold more than 80 million copies. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the ninth book in the main series, *Desecration: Antichrist Takes the Throne*, was the bestselling book in the USA, and, according to Victoria Clark, in the world.<sup>25</sup> Support for Israel is inevitably a theme but in LaHaye's fictional

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<sup>21</sup> <<https://www.tyndale.com/sites/leftbehind/>>

<sup>22</sup> Clifford A. Kiracofe, *Dark Crusade: Christian Zionism and US Foreign Policy* (London: I B Tauris, 2009) p. 148

<sup>23</sup> Susan George, *Hijacking America* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2008) pp. 119-120

<sup>24</sup> Newsinger (see note 9) pp. 60-61.

<sup>25</sup> Victoria Clark, *Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2007) p. 170. With considerable justification, Clark describes LaHaye as the man who 'can lay claim to the title "Father of the Modern Religious Right"'. (p. 172)



reworking of the End Time prophecies it is, once again, absolutely clear that the role of Israel and of the Jews is to serve the purpose of evangelical Christianity. LaHaye was the author of some ninety books with total sales of over 120 million copies.

The part assigned to the Jews in the prophecies of the Christian Right is obviously important. They are essential to the working out of the Bible's message, but they and their suffering are really for the benefit of evangelical Christians; and all those Jews who do not in the end convert will inevitably burn in Hell. The Jews, after all, rejected Jesus, calling for him to be crucified and, even though they are God's Chosen People, they have been chosen to play an essential role in the fulfilling of God's promise to evangelical Christians. There was often a strong anti-Semitic dimension to the evangelical attitude to the Jews, but this was generally – although not always subsumed – in the support for the state of Israel that grew dramatically after the Six Day War. According to Lindsey, for example, the worldwide dispersal of the Jews and their persecution across many countries was 'their divine discipline' for their 'infidelity' to God. Nevertheless, they were still his Chosen People no matter 'how despicably' they had treated him, refusing to recognise Jesus as the Messiah. The Six Day War had demonstrated that. Lindsey looked forward to the End Times when, according to his reading of the Bible, God would create '144,000 Jewish Billy Grahams', would 'redeem 144,000 literal Jews and ordain them His evangelists'. These redeemed Jews would be saved.<sup>26</sup> There were many other American prophets producing books of prophecy.

### **Israel and the Christian Right**

The increasing influence and importance of the Christian Right within Republican politics attracted the attention of the Israeli government. Menachem Begin was the first Israeli Prime Minister to begin the systematic cultivation of the Christian Right, but the process had been begun by David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister when the state of Israel was first established. He had welcomed Oral Roberts on a visit to the country in 1959 and in 1961 had supported the World Conference of Pentacostal Churches meeting in Jerusalem. The Israeli government 'had a State medal minted for each of the 2,589 delegates'.<sup>27</sup> In 1971, although no longer Prime Minister, Ben Gurion had hosted and addressed a conference of 1,500 evangelical Christians on Biblical Prophecy in Jerusalem, with Anita Bryant singing the Israeli national anthem.

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<sup>26</sup> Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *The Politics of the Apocalypse: The History and Influence of Christian Zionism* (London: Oneworld, 2006) pp. 153-154

<sup>27</sup> Stephen Spector, *Evangelicals and Israel: The Story of American Christian Zionism* (Oxford University Press, 2009) p. 144

The conference was a response to the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem in the Six Day War and the excitement it had occasioned among many evangelicals as the working out of Biblical prophecy. As Zev Chafets observes, by the time the conference assembled, the USA was already 'being swept by a strange new book full of Christian Zionist predictions, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, by Hal Lindsey'. Indeed, when Ben-Gurion eventually died in 1973, 'Lindsey's book was on a reading table in his cottage at Kibbutz Sde Boker'.<sup>28</sup>

But it was Menachem Begin, the leader of the right-wing Likud Party, who set about establishing an alliance between the Israeli government and the US Christian Right. He first became Prime Minister in 1977 and soon his government was making overtures to the Christian Right – in particular to Jerry Falwell. This represented not just an acknowledgement of the powerful influence that the Christian Right was to establish within the Republican Party, but also recognition of the fact that American Jews were overwhelmingly liberal, supported the Democratic Party and had little sympathy for the Zionist Right's expansionist ambitions. Falwell was eager to respond, both by establishing close ties with leading figures within Likud and by the encouraging tourism. As Clifford Kiracofe puts it, Falwell 'wanted to strengthen pro-Israel sentiment in the USA via expansion of tourism to Israel by Christian groups'. This opened the door for other Christian Right pastors to also develop 'lucrative tourism projects'.<sup>29</sup> Whereas in 1963 Israel had attracted over 200,000 tourists, in the aftermath of the Six Day War the number increased to 400,000 in 1968, which, a decade later, had risen to over a million visitors a year. Evangelical Christians were a vital part of that increase. By the 1980s 'more than 70 percent of Israel's tourism revenue came from Christian tourists'.<sup>30</sup> Among those leading tours of the 'Holy Land' was Hal Lindsey.

After the election of his hard-line, right-wing Likud government in May 1977, Begin set about establishing the alliance between the Zionist Right in Israel and the Christian Right in the USA that continues today. He invited Falwell to Israel on an official visit in 1978, and in November 1980 Falwell became the first non-Jew to receive the prestigious Jabotinsky Award and had a newly planted wood named in his honour. According to some accounts, the Israelis even rewarded Falwell for his support with the gift of a Windstream jet.

The best demonstration of the importance of the Christian Right to the Israeli government, however, was when the Israelis bombed the Iraqi nuclear

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<sup>28</sup> Zev Chafets, *A Match Made In Heaven* (London: Harper Collins, 2008) pp. 37-38

<sup>29</sup> Kiracofe (see note 22) pp. 149-150

<sup>30</sup> Angela Lahr, *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares: The Cold War Origins of Political Evangelicalism* (Oxford: OUP, 2007) p. 156

plant at Osirak on 7 June 1981. Begin phoned his friend Jerry Falwell to tell him of the forthcoming raid and to enlist his support before he rang the Reagan government. (It disapproved of warplanes it had supplied being used in this way.) The Christian Right rallied round the Israelis. A deal had been struck which Begin on one occasion made absolutely explicit: 'I tell you, if the Christian fundamentalists support us in Congress today, I will support them when the Messiah comes tomorrow.'<sup>31</sup> Falwell, of course, was in full support of Begin's settlement programme and, moreover, was a strong advocate of an aggressively expansionist policy of conquest and displacement way beyond anything even the Israeli Right contemplated at this time. This was all part of Biblical prophecy. In February 1983, Falwell told a Texas newspaper that he favoured Israel 'taking portions of present day Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan and all of Lebanon, Jordan and Kuwait'.<sup>32</sup>

Falwell's Moral Majority was disbanded in 1989, partly as a result of evangelical disappointment with Reagan's administration which had promised them much but delivered little so far as returning America to God was concerned. Reagan had used them. So great was the disappointment that in 1988, televangelist Pat Robertson had mounted a challenge for the Republican nomination for President, determined to stop Reagan's Vice President, George H W Bush. He was soundly beaten but his campaign prepared the way for a successor to the Moral Majority. In September 1989, Robertson founded the Christian Coalition with hardly any money and only 2,000 members. By 1997, it was claiming nearly 2 million members and had a budget of \$27 million. However, Robertson had a somewhat stormy relationship with the Israeli Right. He was, as Zev Chafets puts it, sometimes 'too pro-Israel, even for Israelis'. When Israel withdrew from Gaza, on 4 January 2006 Robertson explained on his '700 Club' TV show to millions of viewers, citing the prophet Joel, that Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's subsequent stroke was God's punishment for giving up land God had promised to Israel. As far as Robertson was concerned Sharon 'was dividing God's land. And I would say, "Woe unto any prime minister of Israel who takes a similar course to appease the EU, the United Nations or the United States of America"'. He went on to make clear that Sharon was not the first Israeli leader to suffer for defying God's will. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin had been assassinated on 4 November 1995 and, as far

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<sup>31</sup> Caitlin Carenen, *The Fervent Embrace: Liberal Protestants, Evangelicals and Israel* (New York: New York University Press, 2012) p. 202

<sup>32</sup> Grace Halsell, *Prophecy and Politics: The Secret Alliance Between Israel and the US Christian Right* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1989), p. 141. Halsell heard Falwell thank Moshe Arens, the Israeli Minister of Defence, for the Windstream jet at a banquet in Israel in 1983. (p. 12) Others deny any such gift.

as Robertson was concerned, this was God using the assassin 'to kill Rabin for signing the Oslo Accords . . . and for shaking Arafat's hand'. He later apologised for his comments.<sup>33</sup> At much the same time Robertson was also publicly calling for the assassination of Hugo Chavez!

Along with the rest of the Christian Right, Robertson was determined to portray evangelical Christians as an oppressed minority in the United States, comparing them to the Jews in Nazi Germany! In September 1993, he proclaimed:

'Just like what Nazi Germany did to the Jews, so liberal America is now doing to the evangelical Christians. It's no different. It's the same thing. It is happening all over again.'

According to Robertson, at that time evangelical Christians were undergoing a persecution that was '(m)ore terrible than anything suffered by any minority in our history'. And it was all the work of the Democrats, the liberal media and the homosexuals.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, liberal Jews were among those persecuting evangelical Christians, preparing the way for another Holocaust.<sup>35</sup> For the great majority of American Jews such comments were appalling, making the very idea of some sort of alliance with the Christian Right completely unthinkable. But Robertson was very useful to the Israeli Right, not just for the pressure he could bring to bear in Washington, but for his assistance in the Lebanon.

Just before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, Robertson had begun broadcasting his '700 Club' show via a TV station in South Lebanon, helping rally Lebanese Christians to the Israeli cause. When the station was bombed the following year, he 'relocated his operation inside the army compound of Israel's mercenary fighters, the Southern Lebanese Army'.<sup>36</sup> Zev Chafets summed up the thinking of the Israeli Right:

'The simple fact is that, nuts or not, Robertson is a man with his own university, an army of lawyers, and a million viewers a day. In short, he's a good man to have on your side.'

He went further, actually praising the tortured eschatology of the Christian Right for exposing and confronting Islamic radicalism: 'There is something to

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<sup>33</sup> Chafets (see note 28) p. 74; Spector (see note 27) p. 151

<sup>34</sup> Robert Boston, *The Most Dangerous Man in America? Pat Robertson and the Rise of the Christian Coalition* (London: Prometheus Books, 1996) p. 161

<sup>35</sup> Amy Kaplan, *Our American Israel: The Story of an Entangled Alliance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018) p. 223

<sup>36</sup> Sara Diamond, *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990) p. 18

be said for ideology that produces this kind of clarity and courage’!<sup>37</sup>

The Israeli leader who was to become the idol of the Christian Right was Benjamin Netanyahu, who was first elected Prime Minister in June 1996. As far as the Christian Right were concerned, he was the ‘Ronald Reagan of Israel’.<sup>38</sup> He was to make full use of their adulation in order to put pressure on any US administration that did not give full support to Israeli policy regarding the Palestinians and the Middle East more generally. In January 1998, for example, Netanyahu was effectively summoned to Washington DC to meet President Clinton who was pressurising the Israelis to halt settlement expansion. Netanyahu contacted Jerry Falwell who arranged for him to speak to a meeting of 1,500 evangelicals at the Mayflower Hotel on his arrival. Falwell further promised him that ‘he would mobilise 200,000 conservative Christian pastors across the United States to oppose handing any part of the West Bank over to the Palestinians’.<sup>39</sup> This was intended as a warning to Clinton, who at the time was becoming embroiled in the scandal that led up to his eventual impeachment. Leading the way in demanding Clinton’s removal from office was the Christian Right, adamant that no one who engaged in immoral behaviour was fit to hold public office. Indeed for many evangelical Christians, Clinton was at the very least an ally of the Antichrist, if he was not the Antichrist himself.

### **Christians United For Israel**

**P**at Robertson’s Christian Coalition went into decline at the end of the 1990s but the Christian Right remained a major force in the Republican Party. Instead of there being one powerful umbrella organisation leading the way in mobilising evangelicals for the Right, however, there were a number of parachurch<sup>40</sup> organisations, such as James Dobson’s Focus on the Family and Beverly LaHaye’s Concerned Women for America, that exercised considerable influence.<sup>41</sup> Among these parachurch organisations that made up the Christian

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<sup>37</sup> Chafets (see note 28) pp. 75, 76

<sup>38</sup> Madeleine Albright, *The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006) p. 137

<sup>39</sup> Spector (see note 27) p. 148

<sup>40</sup> A Christian organization which engages in social welfare and evangelism without restricting itself to a special religious denomination. <<https://www.definitions.net/definition/parachurch>>

<sup>41</sup> Focus on the Family was set up by James Dobson whose ‘books have sold more than 12 million copies and the Focus on the Family newsletter reaches more than 3 million donors . . . [his] radio program called Focus on the Family, reaches an audience estimated to exceed 5 million listeners a week’. Jennifer S Butler, *Born Again: The Christian Right Globalized* (London: Pluto Press, 2006) p. 110. And it was Dobson who outed SpongeBob Squarepants as gay!

Right into the new century, there was Christians United for Israel, founded by John Hagee in February 2006. Writing in 2009, Max Blumenthal describes how Hagee delivered weekly sermons from his mega Cornerstone Church in San Antonio, congregation 20,000, which are

'beamed out over the hundreds of stations owned by evangelical mega-network Salem Communications [. . . .] Hagee routinely assures members of his flock that their terminal diseases, credit card debts, and interpersonal troubles will all be wiped away if only they lavish generous cash donations upon him [. . . .] making him one of the world's wealthiest preachers.'<sup>42</sup>

As for people on welfare, Hagee would 'let them starve until their belly grew to their backbone before I gave them a dime'.<sup>43</sup> He boasted that he had 'a television and radio audience of 99 million homes' worldwide.<sup>44</sup> He was the author of such classics of evangelical theology as *Mastering Your Money* (2003) and *Financial Armageddon: We Are in a Battle for Our Very Survival* (2008). It was this man, in many ways the archetypal prosperity preacher, who founded the largest and most influential of America's Christian Zionist organisations, Christians United for Israel.

Previous to that, on 10 September 1981, Hagee had launched his annual 'A Night to Honor Israel' festival at his San Antonio church. This was initially as a show of support for the Israeli bombing of the Osirak (an Iraqi nuclear reactor), that had taken place in June of that year. The event in 1982 had other churches in Fort Worth, Tulsa and Houston joining in – with the festival growing each year, celebrating Zionism and raising money for Zionist causes. Between 1981 and 2013, the festival raised 'more than \$80 million'.<sup>45</sup> Almost twenty-five years of that continued success was without doubt what prompted the establishment of Christians United for Israel, on 7 February 2006.

At the launch of the organisation, with four US Senators and the Israeli Ambassador present, Hagee called for the United States to join with Israel in a pre-emptive attack on Iran. He told his audience that this would 'fulfil God's plan for both Israel and the West . . . a biblically prophesied end-time confrontation with Iran, which will lead to the Rapture, Tribulation and Second

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<sup>42</sup> Max Blumenthal, *Republican Gomorrah* (New York: Nation Books, 2009) pp. 267-268

<sup>43</sup> Sarah Posner, *God's Profits: Faith, Fraud and the Republican Crusade for Values Voters* (San Francisco: PoliPoint Press, 2008) p. 83

<sup>44</sup> Carlo Aldrovandi, *Apocalyptic Movements in Contemporary Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) p. 175

<sup>45</sup> Daniel G Hummel, *Covenant Brothers: Evangelicals, Jews, and US-Israeli Relations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019) p. 209

Coming of Christ'.<sup>46</sup> President George W Bush sent a recorded greeting. To accompany the launch, Hagee had also published his own work of apocalyptic prophecy, *Jerusalem Countdown: A Warning to the World*. In it he claimed that World War 3 had already begun, that Islamo-Fascism was more dangerous than the Nazis, that terrorist nuclear attacks in the United States were imminent, and calling for an attack on Iran.<sup>47</sup> The book sold 750,000 copies and was made into a feature film in 2011, starring Lee Majors and Stacey Keach.

Christians United for Israel soon became a national organisation with chapters in every state, many major cities and on numerous campuses. It was involved in raising money to finance Jewish emigration to Israel and to support illegal settlement expansion, actually twinning individual churches with illegal settlements. Christians United for Israel was also on hand to mobilise the Christian Right in support of Israel whenever a US government was considered to be in contravention of God's will. By 2016, it claimed 'over 2.7 million members and the successful hosting of over 2,500 Pro-Israel events'. It also said that it had an important effect on legislation 'through thousands of phone calls, emails, and meetings with elected officials'.<sup>48</sup>

However, there were problems. When the Republican John McCain was planning his run for the Presidency in 2007, he met with Hagee in order to secure his endorsement, but soon found his support an embarrassment. Hagee was revealed to have condemned the Catholic Church in ferociously sectarian terms; to have blamed Hurricane Katrina on a gay pride march; to have

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<sup>46</sup> Stephen Sizer, *Zion's Christian Soldiers: The Bible, Israel and the Church* (Westmont, IL, Intervarsity Press 2007) p. 142

<sup>47</sup> See John Hagee, *Jerusalem Countdown: A Warning to the World* (Frontline, 2006). He is the author or co-author of a number of other Apocalyptic books among them *Beginning of the End: The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and the Coming Antichrist* (1996); *Day of Deception: Separating Truth From Falsehood in These Last Days* (1997); *From Daniel to Doomsday: The Countdown Has Begun* (2000); *Earth's Final Moments: Powerful Insight and Understanding of the Prophetic Signs that Surround Us* (2011); the best-selling *Four Blood Moons: Something is About to Change* (2013), which sold over 400,000 copies in six months and was also made into a docudrama that went straight to DVD and sold massively; *The Three Heavens: Angels, Demons and What Lies Ahead* (2015); and *Earth's Last Empire: The Final Game of Thrones* (2018). He most recent, *The End of the Age: The Countdown Has Begun*, was published in December 2021. Hagee's son, Matt Hagee, himself an ordained preacher, has also written the foreword to Colonel David Giammona and Troy Anderson's *The Military Guide to Armageddon: Battle-Tested Strategies to Prepare Your Life and Soul for The End Times* (2021). This is a spiritual warfare survivalist manual that among other things recommends that its Christian readers equip themselves with a rifle, a shotgun and a pistol so as to be ready.

<sup>48</sup> Sean Durbin, *Righteous Gentiles: Religion, Identity and Myth in John Hagee's Christians United for Israel* (Boston: Brill, 2019) p. 54

claimed that Hitler was a 'half-breed Jew' and a homosexual and that the Antichrist would be the same; and that the persecution the Jews had suffered throughout history, including the Holocaust, was a result of their defying God's will. McCain repudiated Hagee's endorsement.<sup>49</sup> One other problem that Hagee had was that, when dealing with his Israeli allies, he felt obliged to play down his eschatology and focus on the shared strategic and political interests of Israel and the USA. However, to keep his evangelical base mobilised, he had to preach the End Times, emphasising that Israel's importance derived from the part it would play in the fulfilment of Christian prophecy – with those Jews who failed to convert suffering the consequences. At a Christians United for Israel meeting in Washington DC on 16 July 2007, when Max Blumenthal tried to probe this contradiction, he was removed from the premises by Hagee's security guards. Despite all this, as far as Benjamin Netanyahu was concerned, Christians United for Israel was 'a vital part of Israel's national security' and the organisation was regarded by the Trump administration as their 'preferred pro-Israel lobby group'.<sup>50</sup> And Hagee was one of the evangelical pastors chosen to preach at the opening of the US Embassy in Jerusalem.

### **Trump, the Christian Right and Israel**

Donald Trump was only elected to the Presidency in 2016 because of the support he received from the great majority of white evangelical Christians. Eight out of every ten white evangelicals voted for him, making up a third of his total vote. Moreover, they would argue that their God was fully behind him because he miraculously still became President even though he lost the popular vote by 3 million. Trump claimed that he had won the popular vote but had been denied this victory by massive electoral fraud, prefiguring his response to his defeat in 2020. Tens of thousands of white evangelicals canvassed for him, fasted and prayed for his victory and embraced him as their Saviour. Trump would roll back the relentless liberal secular juggernaut that was intent on destroying Christian America. Of course, supporting Trump involved the Christian Right in giving their support to the least-Christian Presidential candidate of modern times. In 2000, John Hagee declared George W Bush as the moral born again candidate, urging Christians to 'Vote Like Jesus Would', absolutely insisting that 'there is no reason to tolerate adulterers or liars or crooks in our governmental offices'. How did John Hagee square this

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<sup>49</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, *The Evangelicals: The Struggle to Shape America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2017) p. 577

<sup>50</sup> James Roberts and Martyn Whittock, *Trump and the Puritans* (London: Biteback, 2020), p. 232; Hummel (see note 42) p. 209



with supporting Trump? <sup>51</sup> Times had changed. As far as the Christian Right were concerned, the persecution they perceived Christians as having suffered during Barack Obama's two terms as President was so dire that Trump's promises to reverse the tide overrode any concerns about his moral character. Many of them believed that Obama was a secret Muslim, even the founder of ISIS. Trump promised to deliver them from the danger that they believed threatened the very survival of Christian America. He would pack the federal judiciary up to the Supreme Court with Christian judges and to fill his administration with born again Christians. To rally evangelicals behind him, prophecies were invented and he was proclaimed the new Cyrus. He might not be born again, but he was God's chosen instrument, just as Cyrus the Great had been.<sup>52</sup> His choice of Vice President, Mike Pence, a staunch member of the Christian Right, was a guarantee of his commitment to their cause.

As for Trump himself, he seems to have been very appreciative of the adoration of the Christian Right, even though he regarded them and their beliefs with contempt. Michael Cohen, Trump's personal counsel, describes one occasion when evangelical pastors crowded round 'the amoral Trump' to lay their hands on him and bless him. These were people who as far as Cohen was concerned had succeeded 'in blending or conflating wealth and Jesus in a way that somehow found the Son of God was all about the bling'. Trump 'closed his eyes, faking piety, and gave the appearance of feeling God's presence'. Everything 'he was telling them about himself was absolutely untrue' and Cohen was incredulous at how readily they fell for it. To be fair though, as Cohen acknowledges, Trump had a 'rat-like cunning', successfully parroting their 'core beliefs. Anti-abortion laws, Supreme Court justices, opposition to gay marriage and civil rights, and the cultural war-like rhetoric aimed at godless liberals'. After the pastors had gone, Trump observed: 'Can you believe that bullshit? [. . .] Can you believe people believe that bullshit?'<sup>53</sup> He went on to pack the Supreme Court as he had promised he would and his was to be a fiercely pro-Israeli administration, at last moving the US Embassy to Jerusalem. Evangelical Christians were given even more access to the White House and, as far as they were concerned, got action rather than warm words.

While Trump's pro-Israel stance seems to have been a product of his need to keep the support of the Christian Right, within his administration, Jared Kushner, his son-in-law, was a committed hard-line Zionist; indeed Netanyahu

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<sup>51</sup> John Hagee, *God's Candidate for America* (Rudkin, 2000) p. 194

<sup>52</sup> <<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/cyrus-the-great>>

<sup>53</sup> Michael Cohen, *Disloyal: A Personal Memoir* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2020) pp. 125-129, 133

was a family friend. Kushner was one of a number of rich American Jews who rallied to Trump and urged full support for the Netanyahu government. But the great majority of American Jews remained hostile – hostile to Netanyahu, to the Christian Right and to Trump. Certainly they supported Israel, but they were against expanding the settlements in the Occupied Territories, wanted peace with the Palestinians – although very much on Israel’s terms – and were against more wars in the Middle East. Not only that, the great majority of American Jews were liberal in sympathy, supported the Democrats and regarded the Christian Right as reactionary bigots tainted with anti-Semitism. In 2008, Obama received 78% of the Jewish vote although it fell to 69% in 2012; and in 2016, Hillary Clinton received 71% of the Jewish vote when running against Trump. He received only 24% of the Jewish vote. Throughout Trump’s presidency, Jewish voters consistently gave him the lowest ratings. In the 2020 Presidential election Biden received 76% of the Jewish vote, while Trump’s proportion fell to 22%.<sup>54</sup> This was a decisive repudiation of both Trump and the Christian Right.

The contrast with Israeli Jews could not be sharper: in late 2020 a poll showed 77% hoping for a Trump victory over Biden.<sup>55</sup> As for Trump, he was predictably outraged at the ingratitude shown by American Jews after all he had done for Israel, but his greatest ‘wrath fell on Bibi Netanyahu’ for congratulating Biden on his victory. This was ‘an ultimate betrayal’.<sup>56</sup>

## **Allies**

**T**he problem was not new, however. As long ago as 1982, in their *The Real Anti-Semitism in America*, Nathan and Ruth Ann Perlmutter had complained of the way that liberal and left-wing Jews were putting their political loyalties before their support for Israel. A good case can be made that this volume

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<sup>54</sup> Gilbert N Kahn, ‘Orthodox Jews and Trump’ in Steven F Windmueller ed., *The Impact of the Presidency of Donald Trump on American Jewry and Israel* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2021) p. 150. This volume also contains two contrasting chapters: one (Michael Berenbaum, ‘Donald Trump and the Jews: Bad for America, Dangerous for the Jews, Wonderful for the Netanyahu-Led Government of Israel and Potentially dangerous to Israel Future’) blames Trump’s enabling of the US Far Right for increasing anti-Semitism in the US; and another (Morton A Klein and Elizabeth A Berney, ‘Trump: Friend Extraordinaire to Israel and the Jewish People’) that – incredibly – completely exonerates Trump from this and even praises his response to Charlottesville! They repudiate the criticisms that Anti-Defamation League (ADL) made of his appalling response. After all the ADL is now headed by ‘a former Obama administration official’. (p. 59)

<sup>55</sup> Ehud Eiran, ‘Seeing Mar-A-Lago from Jerusalem: Perceptions of President Trump in Israel’ in Steven F Windmueller (see note 51) p. 166

<sup>56</sup> Michael Wolff, *Landslide: The Final Days of the Trump Presidency* (New York: Henry Holt, 2021) p. 129

effectively initiated the proposition that anti-Zionism was the new anti-Semitism; that contemporary anti-Semitism was consequently a prejudice located mainly on the Left and that American Jews had to look to the right for allies. There was, they argued, a 'clearly visible and burgeoning danger from the Left' so that the 'preference Jews have manifested for the political Left over the Right requires reconsideration'. They were even worried that 'nowadays war is getting a bad name and peace too favourable a press'! More particularly, any problems that Jews might have with the Christian Right were easily outweighed by their support for Israel which 'impacts us far more meaningfully'. Issues like abortion and women's rights when 'weighed against our agreement on the prerequisites for the physical security of Israel, they simply do not balance the scale. Jews can live with restricted abortions.' As for evangelical eschatology, they gave this short shrift: 'If the Messiah comes, on that very day we'll consider the options. Meanwhile, let's praise the Lord and pass the ammunition'. American Jews had to recognise that the Christian Right 'are comrades-in-arms'. Even allegations of evangelical anti-Semitism were summarily dismissed when balanced against 'the security of the Jewish state'. They 'weigh less'.<sup>57</sup> The great majority of American Jews were not convinced then and they are not now.

During the Trump Presidency we have seen a number of voices raised urging American Jews to support Trump and embrace the Christian Right as allies. Josh Reinstein, a Canadian-American settler in Israel, has written condemning anti-Zionism as the 'newest brand of anti-Semitism, and the most prevalent', comparing the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions campaign to the Nazis, and accusing anti-Zionists of 'resuscitating medieval anti-Semitic rhetoric'. Reinstein believes there is in America today a 'coming together of Sharia law and American liberalism', an 'unholy alliance between radical Islam and extreme liberals and atheists'. Thankfully though, there is in the United States 'a well-established political party backed by Bible-believing Christians who believe that God has given them a duty to support Israel'. Reinstein finds time to praise Boris Johnson and to condemn Jeremy Corbyn, but his focus is on his hero, Donald Trump. Trump, we are told, 'signed an executive order saying that anti-Zionism is a manifestation of anti-Semitism', his policies towards Israel have followed 'fundamental biblical principles' and indeed 'are part of a series of biblical prophecies'. Liberal Jews are too far removed from

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<sup>57</sup> Nathan Perlmutter and Ruth Ann Perlmutter, *The Real Anti-Semitism in America* (New York: Arbor House, 1982) pp. 81, 113, 116, 170, 172, 177. Nathan Perlmutter was the executive director of the US Anti-Defamation League from 1979 until 1987.

the Bible so that they 'irrationally reject the policies of President Trump' and actually 'fight against Israel'.<sup>58</sup>

Even more ferocious are the various works of David Rubin, an American settler and Zionist propagandist. His most recent book, *Confronting Radicals: What America Can Learn From Israel*, published in April 2021. This focuses on the imminent threat of Communist revolution in the USA, which is already underway, spearheaded by the Democrats. Once again, the Left are condemned as the most dangerous anti-Semites, financed inevitably by George Soros who is condemned as a 'JINO' (Jew In Name Only). Presumably, though, this label would also apply to the overwhelming majority of American Jews. As for Trump, he only succeeded in slowing down the Leftist takeover and transformation of America; although to be fair he did move the US Embassy to Jerusalem, pull out of the Iran nuclear deal, recognise Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights, close the PLO Embassy in Washington DC and give his support to Israeli settlements. Perhaps more important though, is that while the USA has become more liberal and secular, Israel has been moving in the opposite direction, has 'moved closer to religion and conservatism . . . . These trends actually bring Israel's value structure closer in sync with the half of America whose values have been under attack'.<sup>59</sup> Rubin essentially acknowledges here that contemporary Israel has more in common with the US Christian Right than it has with the great majority of American Jews! How long this alliance between the Israeli Zionist Right and the US Christian Right continues very much depends on the state of US politics: on whether the Republican Party continues to be held hostage by the Far Right and on whether Trump continues to hold sway over that Far Right.

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*Donald Trump, the Christian Right and American Capitalism,*

published by Bookmarks. <<https://bookmarksbookshop.co.uk/>>

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<sup>58</sup> Josh Reinstein, *Titus, Trump and the Triumph of Israel: The Power of Faith-Based Diplomacy* (New York: Gefen Publishing, 2020) pp. 69, 83, 102-103, 204, 228, 232, 238

<sup>59</sup> David Rubin, *Confronting Radicals: What America Can Learn from Israel* (Boca Raton, FL: Shiloh Israel press, 2021) pp. 59, 191. See my review of this book and discussion of his earlier works at <<https://www.lobster-magazine.co.uk/free/lobster82/lob82-confronting-radicals.pdf>>.