

# **THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT IN AMERICAN POLITICS, AND SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL**

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy of the Australian National University

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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis is my own work, and to the best of my knowledge does not contain material previously written or published by any other person, except where due acknowledgment is made in the text or footnotes; nor does it contain material that has been accepted for the award of a degree or diploma at another university or other tertiary institution.

Adrian S. d'Hagé

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## **Abstract**

The Christian right in America, with a major constituency of conservative evangelicals, many of whom are strong supporters of Israel, reached a zenith of public influence in the Reagan era. In the last decade, however, many political analysts and commentators have dismissed the Christian right as lacking influence in politics in the United States. Some have gone further, arguing that the Christian right is a spent force and no longer relevant to the political process.

In the light of those arguments, the core aim of this research has been to determine whether or not the Christian right is still influential in American politics. A second major aim has been to determine the Christian right's attitudes to, and influence toward, U.S. foreign policy on Israel. The activities, strategies and position of the Christian right in American politics have been researched, including three case studies: an in-depth analysis of Pastor Hagee's 2.2 million-strong Christians United for Israel (CUFI); the Tea Party movement, which has a strong evangelical component; and a largely unnoticed but potentially powerful campaign to train Christian leaders and elect more Christians to Congress and state legislatures. Many Americans would be surprised to learn that the latter includes Christian political training camps for high school students.

With access to some of the most influential Christian right leaders in America today, together with interviews with distinguished political scientists, this research shows that far from being a spent force, the Christian right's influence on American politics is strengthening. Their concomitant policy demands relating to Israel are biblically based and as a result are largely inflexible, representing an impediment to a just and equitable solution to the Israeli/Palestinian peace process.

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# INTRODUCTION

'Few questions will be more important to the twenty-first century United States than whether renascent religion and its accompanying political hubris will be carried on the nation's books as an asset or as a liability.'<sup>1</sup>

- Kevin Phillips

The Christian right in America, with a major constituency of conservative evangelicals, many of whom are strong supporters of Israel, reached a zenith of public influence in the Reagan era. In 1980, Ronald Reagan – the divorced, re-married presidential candidate, who as Governor of California had signed an abortion bill into law – sought the evangelical vote. On 21 August, 1980, he famously told 15,000 Christian conservative leaders gathered in Dallas, 'I know you can't endorse me ... but I want you to know that I endorse you and what you are doing.'<sup>2</sup> Reagan expressed a belief that America needed to return to God in order to become a shining city on the hill, urging people to recognise that the Bible had the answers to all the questions and problems confronting the nation.<sup>3</sup> His remarks brought cheers from a sceptical audience, securing Reagan an unlikely bloc of support. Since then, for a variety of reasons, including sexual and financial scandals, and a lack of a 'Billy Graham-type' charismatic national leader, the Christian right has often been dismissed as lacking influence on the political process in the United States. In academic circles, essays such as those by Classen and Povtak in the *Journal of Politics*, question the reasons and effectiveness of political participation by evangelicals,<sup>4</sup> whilst in the wider arena, the debate takes place in publications like *The New Republic*, with Martin Peretz asking 'Just

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<sup>1</sup> Phillips, K., *American Theocracy*, Viking, New York, 2006, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Kaylor, B., *A 'Transformative Moment' in SBC Political Activity*, EthicsDaily.com, 20 August 2010, retrieved 2 July 2015, <<http://ethicsdaily.com/a-transformative-moment-in-sbc-political-activity-cms-16555>>.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Classen, R. L. and Povtak, A., *The Christian Right Thesis: Explaining Longitudinal Change in Participation among Evangelical Christians*, *The Journal of Politics*, Vol 72, No 1, January, 2010, pp 2-15.

How Influential Is The Christian Right?<sup>5</sup> Statements by the founder of Christians United for Israel (CUFI), Pastor Hagee, which sometimes border on the bizarre, have contributed to a loss of interest amongst the mainstream media and the general public. Hagee's assertion that 'Hitler was sent by God to ensure the Jews would return to Israel' for example, generated headlines such as 'The Loopy Christian Right.'<sup>6</sup> In addition, declining American support for Israel from a rising 'less religious than their parents' millennial generation; the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement; the Students for Justice in Palestine movement on university campuses; and the souring of relations between Obama on the one hand, and Netanyahu and the evangelical Christian Zionists on the other, have prompted many political analysts to go so far as to pronounce 'the End of the Christian right'<sup>7</sup> as an influence and power in American politics. Historian Michael Kazin, Professor of History at Georgetown University, asserts the movement is ageing and a fading force, not only in politics, but in American life.<sup>8</sup> Is this analysis correct? In the light of these arguments, the major aim of this research has been to determine whether or not the Christian right is still influential in the political process. The research has also sought to determine the Christian right's attitudes to, and influence toward, U.S. foreign policy on Israel.

The activities, strategies and position of the Christian right in American politics today have been researched, including the Christian right's current efforts to train and elect more Christian leaders to Congress and state legislatures. The research includes three case studies: Pastor Hagee's 2.2 million-strong Christians United for Israel (CUFI); the Tea Party movement, which has a strong evangelical component; and a largely unnoticed campaign

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<sup>5</sup> Peretz, M., *Just How Influential Is The Christian right?* The New Republic, 18 February, 2012, retrieved 2 July 2015, <<http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/100856/conservative-republican-religious-right>>.

<sup>6</sup> Stein, S., *McCain Backer Hagee Said Hitler Was Fulfilling God's Will (AUDIO)*, The Huffington Post, 29 October 2008, retrieved 2 July 2015, <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/05/21/mccain-backer-hagee-said\\_n\\_102892.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/05/21/mccain-backer-hagee-said_n_102892.html)>.

<sup>7</sup> Kazin, M., *The End of the Christian right*, The New Republic, 17 January, 2012, retrieved 2 July 2015, <<http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/99679/whose-afraid-the-christian-right-the-precipitous-political-decline-conservati>>.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

to elect more Christians to Congress and state legislatures. Many Americans would be surprised to learn that the latter campaign includes Christian political training camps for high school students, as well as being conducted at universities and in the adult community. This campaign is, in the main, occurring 'below the radar' of mainstream media and the American public.

### **The Importance of Religion in the U.S.**

As Walter Russell Mead, Professor of Foreign Policy at Yale University put it to the author, from the time of the Spanish, French, Dutch and British colonisation, religion has played a major role in shaping the identity and values of the American people; and since the time of President Truman, religion has, to varying degrees, shaped U.S. foreign policy toward Israel. In more recent times, the Christian right has also played a part in influencing the outcome of elections.<sup>9</sup>

Today, Americans, and particularly older Americans, remain religious and religion (and especially Christianity) continues to have a major influence over the conduct of both public and private life. That said, adherence to Christian beliefs and theology is changing, particularly amongst the young. The Pew Forum Religious Landscape Survey of 2008 showed that 'more than half of Americans rank the importance of religion very highly in their lives, attend religious services regularly and pray daily ... [and the survey confirmed] the close link between Americans' religious affiliation, beliefs and practices on the one hand, and their social and political attitudes, on the other.'<sup>10</sup> The results from a later, 2014 survey however, showed that America's religious landscape is changing with the Christian share of the U.S. population declining,

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with Professor Walter Russell Mead, James Clarke Chace Professor of Foreign Affairs and Humanities, Bard College and Professor of American Foreign Policy, Yale University, Washington, 16 January, 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *US Religious Landscape Survey*, 2008, retrieved 20 May 2015, < <http://www.pewforum.org/2008/02/01/u-s-religious-landscape-survey-religious-affiliation/>>.

particularly among young adults.’<sup>11</sup> But when we dig deeper, we find that evangelical Protestants, the Christian group which arguably has the most impact on U.S. policy toward Israel, has fallen far less precipitously ‘from 26.3% of the adult population to 25.4%.’<sup>12</sup> To add to the complexity of this issue, a September 2014 Pew survey entitled *The Public Sees Religion’s Influence Waning*,<sup>13</sup> revealed that nearly three quarters of the American public think religion is losing influence in public life. It would be wrong to conclude however, that this sector of the American public is happy with this state of affairs. On the contrary, the majority of those who are of that mind see this as a bad thing.<sup>14</sup>

The Christian share of the American population may have fallen, but the United States still stands in stark contrast to Europe and Israel. Recent research has shown that Europe is undergoing a process of secularisation. It’s complex, but in general terms and despite Muslim migration, religious identification in Europe and participation in church services is in steady decline.<sup>15</sup> The religiosity of Israel, America’s staunchest ally in the Middle East, is also complex, but Israel’s founding fathers saw Israel as a modern democratic state based on Jewish nationalism rather than the Jewish faith. Indeed, one of those founding fathers, Theodore Herzl, envisioned a secular state in which religion would have minimal influence. In his seminal *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State), which was published in 1896, Herzl wrote: ‘We shall keep our priests within the confines of their temples.’<sup>16</sup> In modern Israel, the ultra-Orthodox have often enjoyed power and influence far beyond their numbers by providing the votes needed to guarantee a majority in the

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<sup>11</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *America’s Changing Religious Landscape*, 2014, retrieved 20 May 2015, <<http://www.pewforum.org/2015/05/12/americas-changing-religious-landscape/>>.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *Public See Religion’s Influence Waning*, 2014, retrieved 27 September 2014, <<http://www.pewforum.org/2014/09/22/public-sees-religions-influence-waning-2/>>.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Haldane, J., *How Secular is Europe? A tale of two cultures*, ABC Religion and Ethics, retrieved 20 August 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2013/07/08/3798441.htm>> and McCrae, R., *Secularisation in Europe*, University College of London, retrieved 20 August 2014, <[http://www.ucl.ac.uk/european-institute/news-repository/2012-13/secular\\_europe](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/european-institute/news-repository/2012-13/secular_europe)>.

<sup>16</sup> Herzl, T., *Der Judenstaat (The Jewish State)*, American Zionist Emergency Council, New York, 1946, p 59, retrieved 20 August 2014, <<http://www.unisla.pt/arquivo/The%20Jewish%20State.pdf>>.

Knesset for Israeli Prime Ministers, but in general terms, the majority of Israelis are either secular or traditionalist rather than religious.<sup>17</sup>

### **The Influence of Religion on Elections in the U.S.**

John Green is one of America's pre-eminent scholars on religion and politics, and Green is of the view that religion 'is still a very important factor in American electoral politics, and it has been that way for most of American history, albeit there have been periods of greater prominence than others. Right now,' he says, 'it's still prominent.'<sup>18</sup>

Regardless of motivations on the part of the individual (be it, for example, domestic issues such as abortion or gay marriage, or foreign policy issues such as support for Israel and the agreement on Iranian nuclear capabilities), religious leaders and particularly evangelical leaders in the United States can, and have been used very effectively as a means of motivating Christians to get out and vote. Karl Rove, George W. Bush's chief political adviser, famously said 'that the key to this election [2004] was turning out four million evangelical Christians who did not vote in the year 2000.'<sup>19</sup> He was successful to the point where the 2004 National Election Pool exit poll indicated that Bush received 78% of the vote among white evangelicals, which was up by ten percent on 2000. Even more importantly, those white evangelicals constituted 36% of Bush voters.<sup>20</sup> Evangelicals make up some 23% of the voting population in the United States.<sup>21</sup> To put that in perspective, 235,248,000 Americans were eligible to vote in the 2012

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<sup>17</sup> Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Israel in Figures*, 2013, p. 16 retrieved 20 August 2014, <[http://www.cbs.gov.il/www/publications/isr\\_in\\_n13e.pdf](http://www.cbs.gov.il/www/publications/isr_in_n13e.pdf)>.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Professor John C. Green, Director, Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, University of Akron, Ohio, 24 July 2015,

<sup>19</sup> Egan, T., 'State of the Union: The Evangelical Vote', *BBC News*, 9 November 2004, retrieved 28 January, 2014 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3992067.stm>> .

<sup>20</sup> Pew Research, *Religion and the Presidential Vote*, 6 December 2004, retrieved 28 January, 2015, <<http://www.people-press.org/2004/12/06/religion-and-the-presidential-vote/>>.

<sup>21</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *How the Faithful Voted: 2012, Preliminary Analysis*, retrieved 20 August 2014, <<http://www.pewforum.org/2012/11/07/how-the-faithful-voted-2012-preliminary-exit-poll-analysis/>>.

presidential election, of whom only 129,085,403 (54.87%) actually voted.<sup>22</sup> Taking a figure of 23%, this means 54 million evangelical votes are potentially available, depending on whether they can be persuaded to go down to the voting booth on the first Tuesday in November. Not all evangelicals are going to vote Republican, but many evangelicals are from the conservative Christian right, which raises the question: in a country like the United States where voting is not compulsory, does the conservative evangelical voting bloc matter? Ralph Reed, Chairman of the Faith and Freedom Coalition, and former Chairman of the Georgia Republican Party and advisor to George W. Bush, who was interviewed for this thesis, thinks they do. 'Evangelicals have a higher turnout than other blocs, because their pastors can encourage them to vote.' he said.<sup>23</sup> In the 2014 U.S. midterms for example, a post-election survey conducted by Public Opinion Strategies found 'that nearly one-third of the total electorate in the 2014 midterms identified themselves as conservative Christians ... [and] faith-based voters proved to have an even greater impact on the election of key Republican Senator-elects and helped the GOP take control of the Senate for the first time since 2006.'<sup>24</sup> In Reed's view, 'the evangelical vote was critical in 2010, it was critical in 2012 ... [and] conservative voters of faith were the largest constituency in 2014.'<sup>25</sup>

## Support for Israel

Support for Israel has long been an issue during presidential elections in the United States. As recently as July 2015, for example, still 16 months out from the 2016 elections, the media has already been analysing what stance the likely Democratic candidate, Hillary Clinton, will take toward Israel. The American daily Jewish paper, *The Forward*, published a hand written note

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<sup>22</sup> The American Presidency Project, *Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections: 1828-2012*, retrieved 20 August 2014, < <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/data/turnout.php>>.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Ralph Reed, Chairman of the Faith and Freedom Coalition and former advisor to George W. Bush, Duluth, Atlanta, Georgia, 21 January, 2015.

<sup>24</sup> Smith, S., *Evangelical Vote Played Key Role in Republican Victories, Data Show*, Christian Post, 5 November 2014, retrieved 20 May 2015, <<http://www.christianpost.com/news/evangelical-vote-played-key-role-in-republican-victories-data-shows-129197/>>.

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Ralph Reed, op.cit.



from Clinton to a major Jewish donor, Haim Saban, describing the note as just one of several exchanges Clinton has had with Jewish donors, in which she takes a strong, unequivocal pro-Israel stance.<sup>26</sup> Nathan Guttman queried the balance required to please 'not only wealthy donors but also rank-and-file Democrats for whom automatic support for Israel and its policies are no longer a pre-requisite for a presidential nominee.'<sup>27</sup> To that view, one might well add a requirement for Clinton to win the votes of as many evangelicals as possible, for whom support for Israel *is* normally a pre-requisite for a presidential nominee. In 2011, Pew Research revealed that 'nearly two-thirds of white evangelical Protestants (64%) say helping to protect Israel should be a very important policy goal for the United States in the Middle East.'<sup>28</sup>

## Scope of the Thesis and Definitions

In seeking to determine whether or not the Christian right is still influential in American politics, it is important to begin with clear definitions and a clear scope, as there are myriad terms used in the debate on the influence of religion in the United States. Terms such as 'religious right', 'Christian Zionist', 'charismatic', 'fundamentalist', 'evangelical', 'born-again Christian', 'religious conservative' and 'conservative evangelical' are commonplace. A glossary of terms employed in this thesis is at Appendix A, but some of the key terms are dealt with below.

**Religion.** At the outset we need to clearly understand what is meant by *religion*, which can encompass a wide variety of faiths and beliefs. As the Pew research reports referred to above confirm, the major religious tradition in the United States is overwhelmingly Christian. Accordingly, this research

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<sup>26</sup> Guttman, N., *Can Hillary Clinton Please Both Pro-Israel Megadonors and Democratic Grassroots?* The Forward, 9 July 2015, retrieved 10 July 2015, <[http://forward.com/news/311668/hillary/?utm\\_content=daily\\_Newsletter\\_TopSpot\\_Title\\_Position-1&utm\\_source=Sailthru&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=The%20Forward%20Today%20%28Monday-Friday%29&utm\\_campaign=New%20Daily%202015-07-09](http://forward.com/news/311668/hillary/?utm_content=daily_Newsletter_TopSpot_Title_Position-1&utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_term=The%20Forward%20Today%20%28Monday-Friday%29&utm_campaign=New%20Daily%202015-07-09)>.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Pew Research Center, *Evangelical Support for Israel*, 6 April, 2011, retrieved 20 May 2015, <<http://www.pewresearch.org/daily-number/evangelical-support-for-israel/>>.

will be confined to an examination of the influence of the *Christian* religion on U.S. politics and policy toward Israel. For the purposes of this thesis, the

Christian religion means:

'A set of beliefs in a transcendent God, grounded in an authoritative sacred text, and expressed by a body of believers through the performance of certain rituals and adherence to a specific moral code.'<sup>29</sup>

The scope of this thesis has been narrowed even more specifically to the influence of the 'Christian right', of which 'evangelicals' make up a sizeable proportion, but if religion is a somewhat difficult concept to describe, 'evangelical' and the 'Christian right' are even more elusive and both defy a simple definition.

**Evangelical.** As Mark Amstutz, Professor of Political Science at Wheaton College explained, 'evangelical' is neither a defined sect with an established creed, nor a church, and it can be difficult to define precisely. Rather, it is a Protestant movement based on shared biblical beliefs that transcend any ecclesiastical differences.<sup>30</sup> The *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* defines evangelical(ism) as 'the movement in modern Christianity, transcending denominational and confessional boundaries, that emphasizes conformity to the basic tenets of the faith and a missionary outreach of compassion and urgency.' Evangelism is defined as 'the proclamation of the good news of salvation in Jesus Christ with a view to bringing about the reconciliation of the sinner to God the Father through the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit.'<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Lambert, F., *Religion in American Politics: A Short History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008, p. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Professor Mark Amstutz, Professor of Political Science, Wheaton College, Illinois, 11 May 2015.

<sup>31</sup> Elwell, W. A. (ed), *The Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, Baker Books, Michigan, 1984, p 379.

**The Christian Right.** As Lee Marsden points out, the Christian right movement 'is evangelical in both religious and political contexts, commissioned to evangelise and convert believers of other faiths or none, to a narrow version of Christianity in which a conversion experience, being born again, is the minimum requirement for entry.'<sup>32</sup> In this thesis, it should be noted that the terms 'Christian right' and 'religious right' are used interchangeably, the latter referring here to the Christian religious stream. Depending on the context and author, the term Christian right has been used to describe conservative Christian congregations and activists who are against domestic issues such as abortion, same-sex marriages, and stem-cell research. As Marsden notes, 'opinion poll surveys tend to regard white evangelicals as the core of the Christian right and Republican support, but this is potentially misleading and fails to account for the considerable differences and political volatility amongst evangelicals.'<sup>33</sup> Evangelicals within the Christian right come from across the spectrum: liberal and conservative, white and African American, or Hispanic, and they cross the sectarian divides. Some, like the evangelical Pentecostals, are differentiated from the mainstream Protestant groupings by their placing of significant emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit, a form of Christianity known as 'charismatic'. Charismatics might be liberal or conservative, with some of the latter fitting into the Christian right. Yet another sub-group of the Christian right is made up of fundamentalists who adhere to a narrow, literalist view of an infallible bible. Other members of the Christian right seek to have Christian prayer restored to public schools and have America recognised as a Christian nation, although regardless of sectarian persuasion there is a common denominator: most members of the Christian right are socially (and fiscally) conservative.

The Christian right can be further divided into two separate theological streams: Christian Zionism and Christian Nationalism, and this separation is arguably of greater significance than beliefs in the inerrancy of the bible, the

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<sup>32</sup> Marsden, L., *For God's Sake*, Zed Books, London, 2008, p 5.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

importance of the Holy Spirit to charismatics, or the need to spread the gospel.

**Christian Zionism.** Faith-based Christian Zionism (as distinct from its Zionist political counterpart) is a belief held by Christian Zionists that is firmly based on biblical prophecy. Those of this group, who seek to influence American policy toward Israel, fervently believe that Christ cannot return until biblical prophecies in books such as Zechariah, Daniel, and the Book of Revelation are fulfilled. Such prophecy includes the return of *all of the Promised Land* (including Gaza and the West Bank) to Israel. Many Christian Zionists believe we are now in the end times and awaiting the second coming of Christ. For them, 'the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, the conquest of the West Bank and the reunification of Jerusalem are considered signs that Christ's return is imminent.'<sup>34</sup> And here, Genesis 12:2-3 comes into play wherein God promises to make Israel a great nation and to bless those who bless Israel and to curse those who are against Israel, a verse that Pastor Hagee uses as the cornerstone of his ministry and televangelism in support of Israel. The corollary of this biblical tenet is that if America supports Israel, then God will support America. Thus for many evangelicals and Christian Zionists alike, 'US relations with Israel are seen as being the most important aspect of [US] foreign policy.'<sup>35</sup>

**Christian Nationalism.** As Michelle Goldberg points out, Christian Nationalism in America has its modern roots in the home schooling movement and Generation Joshua,<sup>36</sup> a campaign to elect more Christians to positions of political leadership in the United States which, along with other organisations, will be analysed in depth in the third case study. Launched in 2004, Generation Joshua is a program designed to 'involve homeschooled teenagers in politics, [with] children becoming Republican foot soldiers before they can

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<sup>34</sup> Marsden, op.cit., p. 9.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Goldberg, M., *Kingdom Coming: The Rise of Christian Nationalism*, Norton, New York, 2006, pp 1-3.

vote.<sup>37</sup> Goldberg describes Christian Nationalism as a total Christian ideology – a view of the world based on a conviction that ‘true Christianity must govern every aspect of public and private life, and that all – government, science, history, culture, and relationships – must be understood according to the dictates of scripture.’<sup>38</sup>

A key element of Christian Nationalism is Dominion theology – a theocracy based on Genesis 1:26-28, in which God assigns control of his creation to the human species, commanding humankind to ‘rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky and over every living creature that moves on the ground.’<sup>39</sup> The Tea Party movement, along with former presidential candidates Rick Perry (now withdrawn from the 2016 race) and Michele Bachmann, is linked to Dominion theology, with its dictum that only Christians are equipped to govern in accordance with God’s will. By extension, this spawns efforts to ensure that Christians are appointed to key positions in government. Non-Christians should, as far as possible, be excluded from leadership appointments. The Dominionists are not an homogenous grouping, and varying positions are held on domestic and foreign policy, but their beliefs (and particularly those of hardline Dominionists who seek Christian dominion over not just America but the world), like those of Christian Zionism, have implications for U.S. policy toward Israel.

### **The Israeli/Palestinian Problem**

Ever since the first Prime Minister of Israel, David Ben Gurion, read out the proclamation which inaugurated the State of Israel on 14 May 1948 – the day the British Mandate over Palestine expired – the region has been in a state of conflict, at times heightened and intensified, but always simmering. In the nearly seven decades since then, myriad attempts have been made to achieve peace. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the complexities of

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<sup>37</sup> *ibid*, p 3.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>39</sup> Holy Bible, New International Version, Genesis Chapter 1, Verse 28.

the Israeli/Palestinian problem per se, but it is useful to keep in mind some of the major areas of disagreement, as Christian right organisations often take inflexible policy positions on precisely these issues. As we will see, their biblically based attitudes toward Jerusalem, settlements, right of return and borders, for example, are detrimental to finding a solution. As a result of the perceived decline of the Christian right, many journal analyses of the religious right and the Middle East peace process are now dated, but as the foreign policies of the candidates for the 2016 presidential election become better known, that may change. In November, 2015, for example, Jack Jenkins argued that the 'American religious right is making the Middle East peace process impossible.'<sup>40</sup> Jenkins's arguments centre on Israel's expansion of settlements and he singles out presidential candidates like Senator Ted Cruz and former Arkansas Governor, Mike Huckabee, both of whom are linked to the Christian right. Huckabee has described the occupied West Bank as a fundamental part of Israel and he maintains a close relationship with Netanyahu and his right wing government.<sup>41</sup> As Jenkins points out, 'with the blessing of conservative politicians ... right-wing Christian and Jewish groups in the United States have consistently offered financial assistance for the construction and maintenance of settlements in the West Bank that international law says are illegal.'<sup>42</sup> As will be elucidated later in this thesis, CUFI's influential pastor, John Hagee, campaigns relentlessly against the Palestinian cause, including any of the 'promised land' being allocated to other than Israelis, and any suggestion that al Quds or East Jerusalem be assigned as the Palestinian capital.

In terms of a right of return, according to the United Nations, there are 5.1 million Palestinians refugees registered with the UNRWA (United Nations

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<sup>40</sup> Jenkins, J., *How The American Religious Right Is Making The Middle East Peace Process Impossible*, Thinkprogress, 10 November, 2015, retrieved 15 November, 2015, < <http://thinkprogress.org/world/2015/11/10/3720765/religious-right-israeli-settlements/>>.

<sup>41</sup> Gallagher, A., *US Christian charities bankroll Israeli settlements*, Aljazeera, 26 August 2015, retrieved 1 September 2015, < <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/08/christian-charities-bankroll-israeli-settlements-150824105924531.html>>.

<sup>42</sup> Jenkins, J., op.cit.

Relief and Works Agency).<sup>43</sup> Those opposed to any return argue that it would dilute the Jewish character of the state. In terms of borders, U.S. Secretary of State, John Kerry has, as recently as July 2013, reportedly argued for the pre-1967 “green line” – the 1949 armistice line drawn at the end of the first Arab/Israeli war – to be used as a basis for talks and recognition of the Jewish state.<sup>44</sup> As Yigal Allon and many other commentators have pointed out, it does not take a military expert to easily identify the critical defects of the 1949 armistice line. The threat to Israel on her eastern boundary is clear:

‘where the entire width of the coastal plain varies between 10 and 15 miles, where the main centers of Israel's population, including Tel Aviv and its suburbs, are situated, and where the situation of Jerusalem is especially perilous [and where] a single successful first strike by the Arab armies would be sufficient to dissect Israel at more than one point.’<sup>45</sup>

As the research into CUFİ will reveal, Hagee provides rock solid support to the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who in return, addresses the CUFİ Washington summit and provides Hagee access whenever the latter visits Israel. It can be argued, however, that Netanyahu’s policies represent an impediment to resolution of the conflict. George Joffé, Visiting Professor at King’s College, is one who is critical of the Israeli position – a position that is strongly supported by Hagee and other leaders of the Christian right.

‘Israel has progressively annexed more and more territory, for the large part ignoring any provocations on the part of the settlers. Settler and Israeli Defense Force activities on the West Bank have undermined both the authority of Mahmoud Abbas and the peace process itself, although Netanyahu’s approach has been partly due to the nature of his coalition government. He has not only had to rely on religious parties

<sup>43</sup> UNHCR, *Facts and Figures about Refugees*, retrieved 10 May 2015, < <http://www.unhcr.org.uk/about-us/key-facts-and-figures.html>>.

<sup>44</sup> Deitch, I., *U.S. promised Israel's pre-1967 borders as basis for peace negotiations*, *Palestinian officials say*, National Post, 20 July 2013, retrieved < <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/world/israel-middle-east/u-s-promised-israels-pre-1967-borders-as-basis-for-peace-negotiations-palestinian-officials-say>>.

<sup>45</sup> Allon, Y., *Israel: The Cast For Defensible Borders*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 5, October 1976, retrieved 10 May 2015, < <https://www.foreignaffairs.org/articles/israel/1976-10-01/israel-case-defensible-borders>>.

who oppose any concessions to the Palestinians, but there is now greater scepticism amongst ordinary Israelis as to the viability of the peace process and there has been a shift to the right in Israeli politics generally.<sup>46</sup>

The seemingly intractable Israeli/Palestinian peace process, along with the complexities of the threats posed by Iran, Hamas and Hezbollah, have occupied politicians and diplomats for decades, and as we will see, they become issues of even greater inflexibility when viewed through the biblical prism of the Christian right. In the view of Fawaz Gerges, 'in the past twenty years, the religious right has been able to fertilise and transform the Republican Party so that they are much more vocal and aggressive in supporting the Jewish state. The religious right has played a critical role in the transformation of the Republican Party platform on Israel.'<sup>47</sup>

## **Methodology**

Early in the methodology process, it was decided that a quantitative survey on religion was fraught with difficulties including ethical issues, a possible reluctance of those surveyed to answer formal questions on religion and Israel, and a possible low response rate. It was therefore determined that a qualitative approach would have a higher chance of eliciting primary source material.

In order to obtain interviews with the Executive Director of CUFI, David Brog, other leaders of Christian right groups such as ex-presidential candidate, Gary Bauer and George W. Bush's advisor, Ralph Reed, along with distinguished academics such as Avi Shlaim, Walter Russell Mead, George Joffé and Fawez Gerges, the author travelled widely, including to Washington; San Antonio, Texas; Atlanta, Georgia; London and Oxford. The complete list of interviewees is included with the bibliography.

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<sup>46</sup> Interview with Professor George Joffé, Visiting Professor, King's College London University, 20 February, 2015.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Professor Fawaz Gerges, Professor of International Relations, London School of Economics, London, 17 February, 2015.



A thesis involving religion is not without its sensitivities. The leadership group of CUFI, for example, has received considerable negative media, although the negative media reports are often generated internally by statements made by CUFI's founder, Pastor Hagee. Some of these statements, like the previously mentioned 'Hitler was God's agent to get the Jews to return to Israel,' can be classified as offensive. As a result, CUFI rarely grants interviews to journalists and others outside of the Christian right circle and initial requests for interviews with David Brog and CUFI board member, Gary Bauer, for example, were refused by CUFI's PR Director, Ari Morgenstern. To resolve this, I met with our Ambassador to the United States, the Hon Kim Beazley, who assisted me in gaining access to these and other Christian right leaders, but the interview with Brog was only granted on condition that I did not reveal the location of CUFI's headquarters. As Hagee has been the subject of several death threats, that request was not unreasonable. In addition to their operations in the wider community, CUFI also maintains a substantial (and growing) presence at universities, and as part of this research, access was also granted to David Walker, the National Director of CUFI on Campus. These and other extensive interviews elicited substantial primary source material that not only provides a clear picture of current Christian right lobby group activities and strategies, but it reveals programs (such as the political training of Christian high school students) that have not previously been analysed or reported on in any depth.

## **Literature Review**

The methodology for this thesis included an exhaustive literature review. In general terms, from the time of Reagan through to the middle of the last decade, analysis of the Christian right has appeared in myriad books, journal articles and the mainstream media. As noted previously, however, interest has waned and over the past ten years the volume of contributions to academic journals and other serious analysis has dropped off markedly – a

gap to which this research aims to contribute. As the literature review failed to elicit some of what the research uncovered, it is reasonable to assume that some results of this research may not be widely known, and may well be unique. Key areas of the literature review, together with notable contributions, are contained in Appendix B.

## Outline Structure

Given the importance of the Christian religion in the United States, and the complexity of the religious right, the first chapter of this thesis provides a background to facilitate an understanding of the foundations of this research. Given the power of the Office of President, it is pertinent to examine whether or not a president's faith played any role in shaping U.S. policy toward Israel. Accordingly, the second background chapter analyses the faith of the presidents from Truman to Obama. The next three chapters contain the results of the research in the three case studies, and the final chapter contains the conclusions.

**Chapter One.** This chapter examines the *place* of religion in the United States. In 2006, Walter Russell Mead published a seminal essay in *Foreign Affairs* entitled *God's Country: Evangelicals and Foreign Policy*. As Mead observes, 'religion has always been a major force in U.S. politics, policy, identity and culture. Religion shapes the nation's character, helps form Americans' ideas about the world, and influences the ways Americans respond to events beyond their borders.'<sup>48</sup> So to understand the influence of religion on U.S. foreign policy, it is necessary to understand the importance of religion in the United States. A brief examination of whether America's founding fathers intended there be a separation of Church and State, and the implications of the influence of religion on elections is followed by an in-depth analysis of the Christian right and the various actors contained therein.

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<sup>48</sup> Mead, W. R., *God's Country: Evangelicals and Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 85:5 September/October 2006, p 24.

**Chapter Two.** Chapter Two contains an analysis of the influence religion has had on the occupants of the Oval Office, and particularly in relation to what effect that faith might have had in formulating policy toward Israel. For example, when the pro-Israeli President Harry Truman assumed power, the State Department immediately sent him a memo cautioning him to seek advice before making any decisions on Palestine, pointing out that it was a highly complex issue that involved 'questions which go far beyond the plight of the Jews in Europe.'<sup>49</sup> As the analysis of Truman's faith reveals, opinion is divided on whether that faith influenced him to recognise Israel, although there is no doubt Truman was his own man. In his words, he felt that 'as long as I was President, I would see to it that *I* made policy.'<sup>50</sup> The chapter analyses the faith of the occupants of the White House from President Truman through to President Obama.

**Chapter Three.** This chapter deals with the first case study: Christians United for Israel (CUFI). In February, 2006, some 400 Christian leaders from across the United States met with Pastor John Hagee to discuss responses to threats to Israel from countries like Iran and organisations like Hamas and Hezbollah. CUFI, a national grassroots Christian movement focusing on support for Israel and the Jewish people was the result. 'Since that date, Christians United for Israel has grown to become the largest pro-Israel movement in the United States and one of the leading Christian grassroots movements in the world.'<sup>51</sup> One of CUFI's key objectives is to mobilise CUFI members 'at critical junctures throughout the year to generate millions of phone calls and emails requesting support for Israel from the Administration and Congress.'<sup>52</sup> On 20 June 2015, CUFI (UK) opened in London with a major focus on combatting the rise of anti-Semitism in the UK and Europe.

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<sup>49</sup> Merkley, P., *The Politics of Christian Zionism*, Routledge, London, 1998, p 167.

<sup>50</sup> Beschloss, M., *The Conquerors: Roosevelt, Truman and the Destruction of Hitler's Germany, 1941-1945*, Simon and Shuster, New York, p 224.

<sup>51</sup> Christians United for Israel Website, *Core Statement*, retrieved 24 January, 2014<[http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about\\_AboutCUFI](http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about_AboutCUFI)> .

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*

**Chapter Four.** This chapter covers the second case study, the Tea Party. The Tea Party is not actually a party, but a movement composed of groups that share conservative views on both domestic and foreign policies. The domestic policies are outside the purview of this thesis, but they include issues such as smaller government and a reduction in taxes ('TEA' equating to 'taxed enough already'). In terms of foreign policy, the groups that make up the Tea Party include substantial numbers of evangelicals who seek to ensure continued strong U.S. support for Israel. The Tea Party domestic foci of this movement have been widely written about and reported on, but the Tea Party's foreign policy and the strong evangelical/Christian right element which helps drive it, have had less attention from academics and from the mainstream media. This chapter addresses that gap.

**Chapter Five.** The final case study analyses Christian right activities, some of which the mainstream media and the general public appear to be largely unaware: a quiet, but extensive campaign to not only promote support for Israel, but to train future Christian leaders. The campaign is being conducted at three levels: high school, university and post graduate/community level, albeit that those running the Christian political training camps for high school students, for example, are not linked to what is happening at the other two levels and vice versa. Executive directors at every level were interviewed and the results are illuminating. In the case of the employment of 14 to 18 year-old Christian high school students, as political 'foot soldiers', door-knocking and manning phones, some might find the results of the research disturbing.

**Chapter Six.** This chapter lays out all of the conclusions reached from this research.

# CHAPTER ONE

## THE INFLUENCE AND PLACE OF RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

'The cause we serve is right, because it is the cause of all mankind. The momentum of freedom in our world is unmistakable – and it is not carried forward by our power alone. We can trust in that greater power who guides the unfolding of the years. And in all that is to come, we can know that His purposes are just and true. May God continue to bless America.'

- President George W Bush, State of the Union Address, 20 January, 2004.<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

This chapter commences with an overview of the place of religion in the United States, because to understand the *influence* of religion on U.S. politics, elections and foreign policy, it is necessary to understand the *importance* of religion in America, including whether or not the founding fathers of the United States intended there be a separation of Church and State. This is followed by a brief history and background to the rise of the Christian right, and finally, an examination of the influence of religion on elections.

### The Influence and 'Place' of Religion in the United States

As indicated earlier, the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life has now carried out two extensive surveys (2008 and 2014) on the religious landscape in the United States, interviewing over 35,000 Americans of voting age in each case. As can be seen from Fig 1 (following page), in 2008, 78.4% of adults in the United States considered themselves to be Christian.<sup>2</sup> The results from the 2014 survey however, showed that America's religious

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<sup>1</sup> Bush, G. W., *State of the Union Address, 2004*, Presidential Papers, retrieved 22 January, 2011 < <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29646&st=&st1=#axzz1KEPbr5i4> >.

<sup>2</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *US Religious Landscape Survey*, 2008, op.cit.

landscape is changing and as Fig 2 (following page) shows, between 2007 and 2014, the Christian share of the population fell from 78.4% to 70.6<sup>3</sup> That said, 'the United States remains home to more Christians than any other country in the world, and a large majority of Americans – roughly seven-in-ten continue to identify with some branch of the Christian faith.'<sup>4</sup>

Fig 1<sup>5</sup>

| Major Religious Traditions in the U.S. |             |
|----------------------------------------|-------------|
| Among all adults...                    |             |
|                                        | %           |
| <b>Christian</b>                       | <b>78.4</b> |
| Protestant                             | 51.3        |
| Evangelical churches                   | 26.3        |
| Mainline churches                      | 18.1        |
| Hist. black churches                   | 6.9         |
| Catholic                               | 23.9        |
| Mormon                                 | 1.7         |
| Jehovah's Witness                      | 0.7         |
| Orthodox                               | 0.6         |
| Greek Orthodox                         | <0.3        |
| Russian Orthodox                       | <0.3        |
| Other                                  | <0.3        |
| Other Christian                        | 0.3         |
| <b>Other Religions</b>                 | <b>4.7</b>  |
| Jewish                                 | 1.7         |
| Reform                                 | 0.7         |
| Conservative                           | 0.5         |
| Orthodox                               | <0.3        |
| Other                                  | 0.3         |
| Buddhist                               | 0.7         |
| Zen Buddhist                           | <0.3        |
| Theravada Buddhist                     | <0.3        |
| Tibetan Buddhist                       | <0.3        |
| Other                                  | 0.3         |
| Muslim*                                | 0.6         |
| Sunni                                  | 0.3         |
| Shia                                   | <0.3        |
| Other                                  | <0.3        |
| Hindu                                  | 0.4         |
| Other world rel.                       | <0.3        |
| Other faiths                           | 1.2         |
| Unitarians and other liberal faiths    | 0.7         |
| New Age                                | 0.4         |
| Native American rel.                   | <0.3        |
| <b>Unaffiliated</b>                    | <b>16.1</b> |
| Atheist                                | 1.6         |
| Agnostic                               | 2.4         |
| Nothing in particular                  | 12.1        |
| Secular unaffiliated                   | 6.3         |
| Religious unaffiliated                 | 5.8         |
| <b>Don't Know/Refused</b>              | <b>0.8</b>  |
|                                        | <b>100</b>  |

Due to rounding, figures may not add to 100 and nested figures may not add to the subtotal indicated.

\* From "Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream," Pew Research Center, 2007

In terms of younger Americans, as the millennial generation enters adulthood, its members display much lower levels of religious affiliation, including less connection with Christian churches than older generations. 'Fully 36% of young Millennials (those between the ages of 18 and 24) are religiously unaffiliated, as are 34% of older Millennials (ages 25-33). And fewer than six-in-ten Millennials identify with any branch of Christianity, compared with seven-in-ten or more among older generations, including Baby Boomers and Gen-Xers.'<sup>6</sup> Of those who identify with the Christian faith, as shown in Fig 2 on the following page, some 25.4% consider themselves to be *Born Again* or *Evangelical* Christians (noting the figures vary slightly in the polls, with 23% quoted earlier), and as we shall see, it is this group that have had the most impact on foreign policy and on which this thesis will concentrate. United States society is multifaceted, and 'it would be hard to understand

American politics today without knowing something about American religion.

<sup>3</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *America's Changing Religious Landscape*, 2014, op.cit.

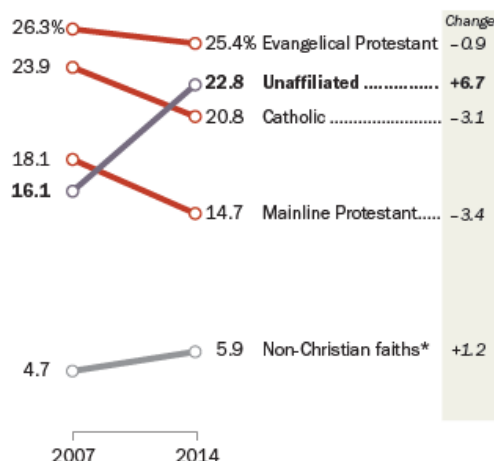
<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

### Changing U.S. Religious Landscape

*Between 2007 and 2014, the Christian share of the population fell from 78.4% to 70.6%, driven mainly by declines among mainline Protestants and Catholics. The unaffiliated experienced the most growth, and the share of Americans who belong to non-Christian faiths also increased.*



It would be equally difficult to understand either without a sense of history, a sense of how the interplay among religion, politics and culture has shaped the story of the United States.<sup>7</sup> For this reason, it is pertinent that we briefly examine that history and the Puritan and conservative influences embodied within it, that have carried through to influence America and Americans today.

Fig 2<sup>8</sup>

### The Roots of Religion in the United States

The religious tradition of the United States was born out of the sixteenth-century reformations of England and Scotland. The English and Scottish reformations and the separation of the Church in England from Papal authority are complex, and beyond the scope of this thesis, but the settlement of North America by Protestant England was in part, 'an act of religiously inspired nationalism designed to counteract the colonial presence of Roman Catholic Spain and France.'<sup>9</sup> It was mainly from both these traditions, Protestantism and Catholicism, that the religious underpinning of American life began.

The first Protestant religious group arrived under the auspices of King James and the London Company, establishing a settlement at Jamestown in 1607. To varying degrees, by the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Church of England was

<sup>7</sup> Fowler, R. B., Hertzke, A. D., Olsen L. R., and Den Dulk, K. R., *Religion and Politics in America, Third Edition*, Westview, Colorado, 2004, p 5.

<sup>8</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *America's Changing Religious Landscape*, 2014, op.cit.

<sup>9</sup> Carrol, B. E., *The Routledge Historical Atlas of Religion in America*, Routledge, New York, 2000, p 30.

established in all of the southern colonies: Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, Georgia and the counties of New York.<sup>10</sup> By the time of the revolution against British rule, 'patriot ministers reminded Americans that God was sovereign over the new republic.'<sup>11</sup> One such minister, the Reverend Samuel Sherwood of New York claimed that 'this American quarter of the globe seemed to be reserved in providence, as a fixed and settled habitation for God's church.'<sup>12</sup> For Sherwood, the United States was the New Israel, Americans were God's chosen people and government policy should be conducted in accordance with God's will. This is an early example of Dominion Theology at work in America, but at this stage in the history of the United States, Sherwood's views were not in the majority and the American Revolution was far from kind to the fledgling Church, creating nationwide suspicions, 'for Anglican clergy were suspected of loyalism.'<sup>13</sup> During the American Revolution, the Church of England was dis-established. It survived, but only after it was renamed the *Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, and only after the Mother Church in England agreed to consecrate American bishops, thus in turn, enabling the consecration of American-born clergy on (U.S.) home soil.

The Puritans and the Congregational Separatists (another form of Puritanism), who broke from the Church of England, included the fabled Pilgrims. Both had an early impact on American religious culture. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Church of England had split into two groups: 'the Anglican, which was in power; and the Puritan, which was agitating for supremacy.'<sup>14</sup> To the Puritans' annoyance, Queen Elizabeth I had maintained 'a liturgy borrowed from medieval Roman Catholicism.'<sup>15</sup> For the Puritans, a greater purity was required in both doctrine and worship practices. In addition, the

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid*, p 32.

<sup>11</sup> Lambert, *op.cit.*, p 14.

<sup>12</sup> Sherwood, S., *A Sermon Containing Scriptural Instructions to Civil Rulers, and All Freeborn Subjects*, New Haven, 1774, in Lambert, *ibid*, p 14.

<sup>13</sup> Carrol, B. E., *op. cit.* p 33.

<sup>14</sup> Olmstead, C. E., *History of Religion in the United States*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1960, p 62.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid*, p 63



Congregational form of Puritanism, 'a collection of sovereign congregations loosely knit together as a federation,'<sup>16</sup> demanded the right for a local congregation to appoint their ministers in accordance with local doctrinal ideas of worship. Authority came, not through an hierarchical structure, but directly from God. Realising their hopes for a pure church, separated from state and government, were unachievable in England, and persecuted by the government itself, many Puritans fled to Holland. Life in Holland, however, was very different to that in England, and when reports reached them of the colonisation of America, they began to agitate for land. King James I, who had by this time succeeded Queen Elizabeth I, reluctantly granted approval, and on 6 September, 1620, the Mayflower departed Southampton for Plymouth, Massachusetts. On board were 102 separatists, or Pilgrims as they famously became known. Between 1628 and 1640, some twenty thousand colonists settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and although they were not all Puritans, the latter included among their number several influential and prominent men, and the Puritans gained control of the colony. The great migration of Puritans to Massachusetts Bay in the 1630s 'set the tone of New England religious life for at least a century, and had a lasting impact on American culture.'<sup>17</sup>

Although it would take over 300 years before Americans would elect their first Catholic President (John F. Kennedy, 1961-1963), the American Catholic church was initially established in Maryland where, in 1634, a settlement was established at St. Mary's on the Potomac River. Pennsylvania, one of the more tolerant of the new states, also attracted a substantial number of (particularly Irish) Catholics. The Catholic Church grew through immigration, and although it was made up of a substantial ethnic mosaic, 'the fundamental characteristics of American Catholicism, as it was taught, preached, and practiced [sic] were Irish.'<sup>18</sup> As the Irish began to dominate English and

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<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Carrol, B. E., *op. cit.* p 34.

<sup>18</sup> Finke, R., and Stark, R., *The Churching of America 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, Rutgers University Press, New Jersey, 2008, p 143.

French Catholics on U.S. soil, it was they who set the approach of the Catholic Church in the United States. Just as in Ireland at that time, American Irish Catholics held both the church and the clergy in high esteem. In Ireland they had turned to the church to protect them from English Protestants, and in the U.S., they turned to the church to protect them against exploitation in the workplace. 'Church officials in turn readily supported political figures who assisted their people.'<sup>19</sup> The Irish Catholic political dynasties in cities like Boston and New York are cases in point.

In addition to immigration, the 'Great Awakenings are perhaps the most dominant theme in general histories of American religion.'<sup>20</sup> In essence, they refer to a suggestion that America has, from time to time, been subject to outbreaks of public piety. The prominent U.S. religious historian, William G. McLoughlin, maintained that the Great Awakenings were akin to cultural transformations which affected all Americans, with a genesis in 'periods of cultural distortion and grave personal stress, when we lose faith in the legitimacy of our norms, the viability of our institutions, and the authority of our leaders in church and state.'<sup>21</sup> It is perhaps interesting to contrast the impact of the Great Awakenings with other periods of 'grave personal stress', such as the impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the spiritual lives of Americans. Following the devastating attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York, the Barna Group, a major American research company which focuses on faith and religious behavior, conducted a study into how the attacks might have affected the spiritual lives of Americans. The study examined data from nine national surveys that involved some 8,000 adults, and which were conducted before and after the attacks. 'The study shows that despite an intense surge in religious activity and expression in the weeks immediately following 9/11, the faith of Americans is virtually

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<sup>19</sup> Butler, J., Wacker, G., and Balmer, R., *Religion in American Life: A Short History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008, p 249.

<sup>20</sup> Finke, R., and Stark, R., op. cit., p 87.

<sup>21</sup> McLoughlin, W. G., *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1978, in *ibid*, p 88.

indistinguishable today compared to pre-attack conditions.'<sup>22</sup> Yet, in the case of the Great Awakenings and the revivals, 'if the revivals subsided, their effects did not ... the Awakenings profoundly and lastingly shaped the religious and cultural life of the young nation.'<sup>23</sup>

Two other mainline denominations which have had a significant effect on American culture are the Methodists and the Baptists, the latter providing a wellspring for many of the evangelicals and the religious right which are the focus of this research. The Methodists were able to capitalise on the second Great Awakening with camp meetings in the West and urban revivals in the East, 'but equally important was ... the circuit system [operational by the 1790s] that allowed a small number of itinerant ministers to serve the vast spaces of the Western frontier.'<sup>24</sup> Over time, the Western settlements grew into congregations, and although there was some opposition to the authority of the bishops and discrimination against African-Americans, the expansion of the Methodist Church from 'fewer than 65,000 adherents in 1800 to more than 1 million by 1850 made it twice the size of any other American denomination.'<sup>25</sup> The Baptist growth too, was spectacular, although their beginnings were not propitious.

Calvinist Baptists arrived in New England with their Puritan cousins, but 'they were unwelcome there from the start.'<sup>26</sup> This resulted in a migration to the middle colonies, and particularly Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, where there was greater toleration and an absence of other religious establishments. By the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, 'the region became a focus of Baptist strength.'<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Barna Group, *Five Years Later: 9/11 Attacks Show No Lasting Influence on Americans' Faith*, 2006, retrieved 28 October 2012, < <http://www.barna.org/culture-articles/148-five-years-later-911-attacks-show-no-lasting-influence-on-americans-faith>>.

<sup>23</sup> Carroll, B. E., op.cit, p 63.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid*, p 64.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid*, p 42.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid*.

## Religion in America Today

As we have previously noted, Walter Russell Mead believes that religion is an important part of the American psyche, one that explains 'both Americans' sense of themselves as a chosen people and their belief that they have a duty to spread their values throughout the world.'<sup>28</sup> In debates on important issues in the United States, participants regularly appeal to religious principles to support their views. Yet it is the 'balance of power' amongst religions that is pertinent here. In the middle years of the twentieth century, it was liberal Protestantism which dominated the country, but in the last three decades or so of the same century, that influence has weakened. It has been replaced by more conservative strains within American Protestantism, and 'this shift has already changed US foreign policy in profound ways.'<sup>29</sup> This raises the question as to why, when concentrating on religion and foreign affairs, the focus should be on Protestantism, and especially the fundamentalist and evangelical streams. In part, it is because 'Protestantism has shaped much of the country's identity and remains today the majority faith in the United States ... moreover, the changes in Catholicism [the second-largest faith] present a more mixed picture with fewer foreign policy implications.'<sup>30</sup> The remaining groups have significantly less influence on foreign policy.

## Protestantism in America Today

Protestants in the U.S. today (as at 2014) account for 46.5% of the adult population (some 114 million people) and 65% of Christians in the United States,<sup>31</sup> but Protestantism is diverse, with over a dozen major denominations, including Baptists, Pentecostals and Methodists, with some denominations merging. On 25 June 1957, for example, the Congregationalists, after protracted court battles, merged with the

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<sup>28</sup> Mead, W. R., *God's Country*, op.cit., p 24.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, p 25.

<sup>31</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *America's Changing Religious Landscape*, 2014, op. cit.

'Evangelical and Reformed Church' to become the United Church of Christ. Mead, while acknowledging that it would be wrong to read too much precision into 'labels', divides Protestantism into three groups, 'a strict tradition that can be called fundamentalists, a progressive and ethical tradition known as liberal Christianity, and a broader evangelical tradition.'<sup>32</sup> Each of these three streams contains very different ideas on foreign policy.

The first stream, the fundamentalists, holds to the literal truth of the bible. They believe there is a very large gap between believers and unbelievers, and are pessimistic about the prospects of the secular world changing its misguided ways. But if they are pessimistic about social reform, they are 'downright hostile to the idea of a world order based on secular morality and on global institutions such as the United Nations.'<sup>33</sup> Their attitude to foreign policy toward Israel is driven by their interpretation of biblical prophecy: that there will be an apocalyptic end to the world. Ezekiel describes attacks on Israel by the armies of Gog and Magog,<sup>34</sup> and these attacks are interpreted variously by many fundamentalists as attacks on Israel by Russia, Iran and Arab nations, as a prelude to the final Armageddon prophesied in Revelation. Many fundamentalists find their place in the Christian right, the background to which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Liberal Christians form the second stream. 'Liberal Christianity finds the core of Christianity in its ethical teachings rather than in its classical doctrines ... [and] leaders such as Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dean Acheson, Dwight Eisenhower, and John Foster Dulles were, like most American elites at the time, steeped in this tradition.'<sup>35</sup> Although this sector of mainline Protestantism dominated U.S. politics during World War II and the Cold War, the numbers of liberal Christians who actually attend church are shrinking, as they increasingly get more involved in the secular activities of

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<sup>32</sup> Mead, W. R., *God's Country*, op. cit., p 26.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, p 29.

<sup>34</sup> Holy Bible, New International Version, Ezekiel, 38-39.

<sup>35</sup> Mead, W. R., *God's Country*, op. cit., pp 30-31.

environmentalism and human rights. In addition, they are increasingly 'alienated from the Jews by their decreasing support for Israel.'<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, they are much less influential on U.S. policy toward Israel than their fundamentalist and evangelical colleagues.

The evangelicals form the third stream. The largest sub-group in the evangelical court is Baptist. 'Members of Baptist churches account for 60% of the evangelical protestant tradition, and 15% of the adult population, down from 17% in 2007.'<sup>37</sup> Like their fundamentalist colleagues, the evangelicals place great importance on Christian doctrine that is anchored in the Bible. Many of them also share the 'apocalyptic end times' views of the fundamentalists and to that end, are passionate in their support for the state of Israel. 'Rising evangelical power has deepened U.S. support for the Jewish state, even as the liberal Christian establishment has distanced itself from Jerusalem.'<sup>38</sup> Like the fundamentalists, the evangelicals also fit into the Christian right and accordingly, this group and the efficacy of their support for Israel will be examined in detail.

### **Catholicism in America Today**

Catholics make up nearly 21% of the adult population of the United States.<sup>39</sup> In terms of the Vatican's foreign policy toward Israel, the Vatican both recognises Israel's right to exist, and the formation of a Palestinian state. Yet the relationship between the Vatican and Israel is often an uneasy one. 'In early 2009, a senior Vatican official characterised Israel's December 2008-January 2009 campaign in the Gaza Strip as a 'big concentration camp,' drawing sharp criticism from Israel.'<sup>40</sup> The relationship was further strained

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, p 32.

<sup>37</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *America's Changing Religious Landscape*, op.cit.

<sup>38</sup> Mead, W. R., *God's Country*, op. cit., p 37.

<sup>39</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, *America's Changing Religious Landscape*, op.cit.

<sup>40</sup> Johnson, L., and Teslik, L. H., *US-Vatican Relations*, Council On Foreign Relations, 14 July 2009, retrieved 22 April, 2011, < <http://www.cfr.org/religion/us-vatican-relations/p9751>>.



**Pope Francis meets with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas in the Vatican**

when, on 16 May, 2015, Pope Francis met with Mahmoud Abbas, the President of the State of Palestine. By 2014, Palestine had been recognised by 135 of the 193 member states of the UN, but not including the United States, Israel, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Canada or Australia. In a treaty finalised in the Vatican in May, 2015, Pope Francis announced the Vatican would also recognise the State of Palestine, prompting a furious response in Israel. An opinion piece in *The Jerusalem Post*, headlined 'Pope Francis is aligning himself against Israel' was typical. 'This outrageous step is a severe blow to Catholic-Jewish relations ... Pope Francis needs to realize that by recognizing the fictitious "State of Palestine" he is aligning himself against Israel, the Jewish people and the bible itself.'<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Freund, M., *Pope Francis is aligning himself against Israel*, Jerusalem Post, 18 May 2015, retrieved 20 May 2015, < <http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Pope-Francis-is-aligning-himself-against-Israel-403460>>.

### How the 114th Congress Compares With the General Public

| Religion               | Number in Congress | % Congress | % American adults |
|------------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Christian              | 491                | 91.8%      | 73%               |
| Protestant             | 306                | 57.2       | 49                |
| Baptist                | 79                 | 14.8       | 17                |
| Methodist              | 45                 | 8.4        | 6                 |
| Anglican/Episcopal     | 41                 | 7.7        | 2                 |
| Presbyterian           | 36                 | 6.7        | 3                 |
| Lutheran               | 27                 | 5.0        | 5                 |
| Congregationalist      | 4                  | 0.7        | 1                 |
| Nondenom. Protestant   | 4                  | 0.7        | 5                 |
| Pentecostal            | 3                  | 0.6        | 4                 |
| Restorationist         | 3                  | 0.6        | 2                 |
| Adventist              | 2                  | 0.4        | <1                |
| Christian Scientist    | 2                  | 0.4        | <1                |
| Holiness               | 1                  | 0.2        | 1                 |
| Reformed               | 1                  | 0.2        | <1                |
| Anabaptist             | 0                  | 0          | <1                |
| Friends/Quakers        | 0                  | 0          | <1                |
| Pietist                | 0                  | 0          | <1                |
| Unspecified/other      | 58                 | 10.8       | 5                 |
| Catholic               | 164                | 30.7       | 22                |
| Mormon                 | 16                 | 3.0        | 2                 |
| Orthodox Christian     | 5                  | 0.9        | 1                 |
| Jewish                 | 28                 | 5.2        | 2                 |
| Buddhist               | 2                  | 0.4        | 1                 |
| Muslim                 | 2                  | 0.4        | 1                 |
| Hindu                  | 1                  | 0.2        | <1                |
| Unitarian Universalist | 1                  | 0.2        | <1                |
| Unaffiliated           | 1                  | 0.2        | 20                |
| Other                  | 0                  | 0          | 2                 |
| Don't know/refused     | 9                  | 1.7        | 2                 |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>535</b>         | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>        |

Sources: Figures for Congress based on data collected by Q&Q Roll Call and the Pew Research Center, reflecting members of Congress to be sworn in on Jan. 6, 2015. Includes Rep. Michael G. Grimm, R-N.Y., who recently announced his intention to resign effective Jan. 5. Figures for American adults from aggregated data from surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2013, except for figures for Protestant subgroups, which are from the Pew Research Center's "U.S. Religious Landscape Survey," conducted in 2007. Because they come from different data sources, the nested figures for Protestant subgroups do not add to the Protestant total. Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

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During the Cold War, in line with a fierce Vatican stance against Communism, Catholic Congressmen and women were often strongly supportive of U.S. foreign policy against the Soviet Union, but in the past they, and American Catholics in general, have not been especially vocal on U.S. foreign policy toward Israel. Now, although the population may be tending to be less religious (Fig 3 at left), the Congress is maintaining its strong religious ties. The 114<sup>th</sup> Congress was sworn in on 6 January, 2015, and for the first time since 2005-2006, Republicans controlled both chambers. This Congress (as in the past) is overwhelmingly Christian of which some three-in-ten (31%)

members <sup>42</sup> are Catholic. Of the 535 members of Congress, 491 (92%) are Christian, and as the chart at Fig 3 shows, the biggest difference between Congress and the general public is the one member (Rep. Kyrsten Sinema, D-Ariz) who has declared herself as religiously unaffiliated, compared to 20% of the general population.<sup>43</sup> As we shall see in an analysis of the faith of the presidents in the following chapter, it is highly unlikely that an atheist would ever be elected as President.

<sup>42</sup> Pew Research Center, *Faith on the Hill*, 5 January, 2015, retrieved 20 April, 2015, <<http://www.pewforum.org/2015/01/05/faith-on-the-hill/>>.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*



## Separation of Church and State

The First Amendment to the American Constitution states that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.'<sup>44</sup> Since the rise of the religious right, battle lines have been drawn over what the American founding fathers' intentions were with regard to the separation of church and state, and there continues to be a 'well-funded, sustained attack on church-state separation.'<sup>45</sup> For example, David Barton, a conservative Christian political activist has founded 'Wallbuilders', a Texas-based organisation with a goal to educate the nation on the Godly foundation of the country; encourage public policies which reflect Biblical values; and encourage Christians to get involved in the civic arena.<sup>46</sup> The name 'Wallbuilders' is a reference to the Old Testament Book of Nehemiah in which the nation of Israel rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem to restore the future of the city, and Barton argues that any thought of separation of church and state in the Constitution is a myth. In Barton's view, the 'separation' phrase so frequently invoked today was rarely mentioned by any of the Founders. Barton maintains that even Jefferson's explanation of his phrase is diametrically opposed to the manner in which courts apply it today. For Barton, 'separation of church and state' currently means almost exactly the opposite of what it originally meant.<sup>47</sup>

So what did the founding fathers intend? Those founding fathers who played 'the greatest role in shaping the American understanding of the appropriate relationship between church and state were Thomas Jefferson and James

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<sup>44</sup> The First Amendment to the American Constitution, Legal Information Institute, Cornell University Law School, retrieved 20 April, 2015, < [https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/first\\_amendment](https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/first_amendment)>.

<sup>45</sup> Boston, R., *Why the Religious Right Is Wrong about Separation of Church and State*, Prometheus Books, New York, 2003, p 21.

<sup>46</sup> Barton, D., *The Separation of Church and State*, Wallbuilders, January, 2001, retrieved 20 April, 2015, <<http://www.wallbuilders.com/libissuesarticles.asp?id=123>>.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid*.

Maddison.<sup>48</sup> Influenced by both the British philosopher, John Locke, and the French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, both men were concerned to preserve Americans' rights to life, liberty and property. They took the view that because 'one of these rights is freedom of conscience, of which freedom of religion is a prime example, government should have no role in regulating religion.'<sup>49</sup> Indeed, the Constitution, as first un-amended, was secular in nature, with the framers aware of the threat to unity which religion could pose. During the colonial period, one religion (usually the Church of England) was often favoured over other groups and denominations, but by the time of the revolution 'the quest for political liberty was often accompanied and bolstered by a desire for religious liberty.'<sup>50</sup> In accordance with the founding fathers' determination to separate religion and government, the original Constitution document is almost devoid of any reference to God, with one reference to 'nature's God' (rather than the biblical, Christian God), and another reference to Sundays not counting in the ten-day period allowed for a President to veto legislation. 'The only other mention of religion in the original document, before the addition of the Bill of Rights, is found in Article VI, which states that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."<sup>51</sup>

The draft Constitution was not without opposition, with the absence of a Bill of Rights arousing fear amongst the states of the imposition of central power. The deliberate secular nature of the Constitution also aroused fears, particularly amongst protestant Christians, with ministers complaining about the lack of acknowledgement of the 'one true God.' During the ratification process, a New Hampshire delegate observed that, 'without a religious test, "a Turk, a Jew, a Roman Catholic ... may be President of the United States."<sup>52</sup> Despite those complaints, the Bill of Rights, which was made up of the first

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<sup>48</sup> Martin, W., *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*, Broadway Books, New York, 2005, p 372.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid*, p 373.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid*, p 372.

<sup>51</sup> *ibid*, p 375.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid*, p 372

ten amendments to the Constitution, was guided through the first Congress by James Madison, and it placated much of the opposition, with ratification of the amendments occurring in 1791. Given Jefferson's convictions that religion should be voluntary, it is not surprising that the First Amendment, quoted above, dealt with freedom of religion.

Notwithstanding previous and current attacks from the religious right against any separation of church and state, and although it is not explicitly stated in the Constitution, there is strong evidence that the founding fathers did indeed intend such a separation. In 1802, in the second year of his presidency, Thomas Jefferson responded to a letter from the Danbury Baptist Association in Connecticut. The Danbury Baptists, who were traditionally against any form of establishment and a religious minority in Connecticut, had complained that in the State of Connecticut, religious liberties were not immutable rights, but rather 'favors' granted by the legislature of the day. Jefferson, a man of deep religious conviction, nevertheless considered religion to be a private matter between the individual and God, and not a matter for government.<sup>53</sup> Although the President could not intervene in state law, Jefferson's reply was sympathetic, stating that 'I contemplate with solemn reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should "make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," thus building a wall of separation between Church and State'.<sup>54</sup> Jefferson was also convinced of the need for religious freedom: 'Let every man speak freely without fear; maintain the principles that he believes, worship according to his own faith, either one God, three Gods, no God, or twenty Gods: and let government protect him in so doing.'<sup>55</sup> Jefferson's political opponents seized on such a statement as proof that he was either a polytheist or an atheist, but his supporters were just as vehement in their defence and branded these attacks as nothing less than the politicisation of

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<sup>53</sup> Lambert, op.cit., p 35.

<sup>54</sup> Martin, op.cit., page 376.

<sup>55</sup> Butterfield, L. H., *Elder John Leland*, American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts, 1953, pp 198-199.

religion. One supporter, Tunis Wortman, a New York lawyer, viewed such attacks as a violation of the constitutional separation of church and state. 'He warned his fellow Americans not to commingle the two, arguing that "the church will corrupt the state, and the state pollute the church."'”<sup>56</sup>

However compelling the evidence might be that the founding fathers of the United States intended separation, it is important to recognise that separation of church and state does not mean a separation of *politics* from religion. 'The former focuses on how institutions of government interact with religion through public policy, while the latter focuses on how religious believers and faith-based organisations engage the political process.'<sup>57</sup> This is very different from postulating that a 'wall of separation of church and state' should in any way impede voters from casting a ballot based on their religion, religious beliefs, or policies of the government that may or may not appeal to those voters who hold a strong faith and/or religious beliefs. This brings us to the important issue of the Christian right and how religion in America can directly influence, or be employed to influence the result of an election, and by extension, American policy toward Israel.

### **A Brief Background to the Christian Right**

Kennedy's assassination, and Johnson's success at the ballot box in 1964 had an indirect effect on the rise of the Christian right. In 1964, a young political activist, Morton Blackwell, was the youngest elected delegate to the Republican National Convention, and an ardent supporter of Barry Goldwater's bid for the Presidency. Having watched President Lyndon Johnson defeat Goldwater in one of the largest landslides in U.S. history (Goldwater only carried his home state and five deep south states), Blackwell concluded that the Republicans needed to recruit many more new Republican voters. As he explained thirty years later, "If you can identify some segment

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<sup>56</sup> Lambert, op.cit., p 36.

<sup>57</sup> Smidt, C., et al., *The Disappearing God Gap: Religion in the 2008 Election*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2010, p 28.

of the population which is not active and can be activated ... you're going to change things dramatically."<sup>58</sup> The group he regarded as most promising were fundamentalist evangelical Christians, whom he characterised as the greatest tract of virgin timber on the political landscape. It was a group, albeit by now politically active, that George W. Bush's advisor, Karl Rove, would later focus on for Bush's candidacy in both the 2000, and 2004 elections.

### **Jerry Falwell And The Moral Majority**

Just as the conservative movement had yet to reshape the Republican Party in the 1970s, the Christian right did not start to exercise real power until Reagan gained the White House in 1980. The 1970s did, however, see a political awakening of evangelicals in response to profound social changes especially around issues of homosexual civil rights, women's equality and reproductive choice.<sup>59</sup> One of the early Christian evangelical leaders who carried the fight into the political arena was Pastor Jerry Falwell.



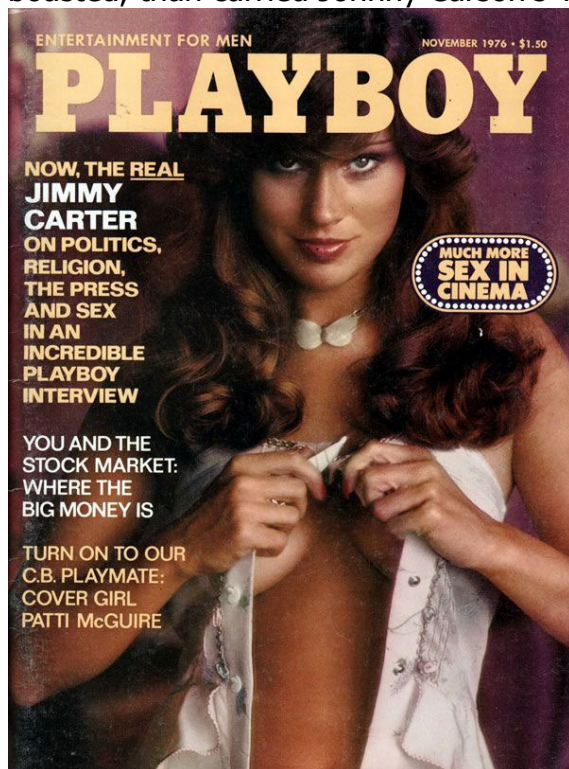
In 1956, Falwell founded the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, and later in 1971, the private Christian Liberty University. Falwell died in 2007, and was succeeded by his son, Jerry Falwell, Jr., leaving a congregation in excess of 24,000. The Thomas Road Baptist Church now rates as a 'mega-church' and the church includes a marketing arm which offers, inter alia, 'smartphone apps' that allow the user to stay in touch with sermons and other

**Time Magazine Cover 2 September 1985**

<sup>58</sup> Martin, op.cit., p 191.

<sup>59</sup> Diamond, S., *Roads to Dominion*, Guilford Press, New York, 1995, p 161.

resources, 24 hours a day. By the late 1970s, when Blackwell was recruiting, Falwell was already known as an inveterate 'door knocker', visiting a hundred homes a day.<sup>60</sup> Falwell had also approached a local radio station, WBRG, in Lynchburg, Virginia and convinced them to allow him to start an early morning religious radio program. Not lacking in either religious fervour or energy, by the end of 1956, Falwell had a contract with Lynchburg's local television station, WLVA, for a half- hour program every Sunday, during which time he would invite people along to the evening service. In his autobiography, Falwell observed that 'no other preachers were on television ... people were fascinated that they could see me and [then] hear me preach that same night in person.'<sup>61</sup> By the time he was identified as a potential national evangelical leader, Falwell's weekly *Old Time Gospel Hour* program was being broadcast 'on 373 stations across the country – more stations he boasted, than carried Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show*.'<sup>62</sup> His direct mail and



Playboy Cover November 1976

on-air appeals raised more money than the Democratic National Committee, and he used his private jet to crisscross the country on myriad speaking tours, the content of which was heralding a greater involvement in politics.

In 1976, Falwell chastised Jimmy Carter for his controversial *Playboy Interview*. In an extraordinarily candid interview with Robert Sheer, entitled 'The Real Jimmy Carter on Politics, Religion, the Press and Sex',

<sup>60</sup> Winters, M. S., *God's Right Hand: How Jerry Falwell Made God a Republican and Baptized the American Right*, New York, Harper Collins, 2012, p 50.

<sup>61</sup> Applebome, P., *Jerry Falwell, Leading Religious Conservative, Dies*, New York Times: Obituaries, 15 May 2007, retrieved 22 May 2014 < <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/15/obituaries/15cnd-falwell.html?pagewanted=all>>.

<sup>62</sup> Williams, D., *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian right*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010, p 171.

the Georgia Governor caused a storm when he admitted that he had committed adultery in his heart. The Sunday school preacher based his answer on the Bible:

'Christ said, "I tell you that anyone who looks on a woman with lust has in his heart already committed adultery." I've looked on a lot of women with lust. I've committed adultery in my heart many times. This is something that God recognizes I will do – and I have done it – and God forgives me for it. But that doesn't mean that I condemn someone who not only looks on a woman with lust but who leaves his wife and shacks up with somebody out of wedlock. Christ says, don't consider yourself better than someone else because one guy screws a whole bunch of women while the other guy is loyal to his wife. The guy who's loyal to his wife ought not to be condescending or proud because of the relative degree of sinfulness.'<sup>63</sup>

In a further sign that Falwell was becoming more engaged with politics, he publicly endorsed Gerald Ford, and toured the country with his Lynchburg Baptist College choir, taking them to the steps of the state capitols for the bicentennial 'I love America' commemorations. At each rally, the preacher offered a hint of a political agenda when he told audiences that God was calling America to collective repentance in order to receive the blessings of forgiveness.<sup>64</sup> But if Falwell was becoming more involved politically, he was reluctant to cooperate with those outside his own religious circle, one which he designated as 'fundamentalist' rather than the wider 'evangelical' circle. Falwell would take some persuading before he would agree to form 'The Moral Majority', the first of the new major Christian right organisations that would influence American domestic and foreign policies from the late 1970s. In the end, it fell to Ed McAteer, a devout evangelical, lay missionary and member of the board of the Wycliffe Bible Translators, to bring Falwell in to the tent. After many phone calls, a marathon nine-hour meeting was convened between Falwell and McAteer and other influential members of the new Christian right, including Paul Weyrich, a prominent Christian

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<sup>63</sup> Carter, J., quoted in Sheer, R., *The Real Jimmy Carter on Politics, Religion, the Press and Sex*, Playboy Magazine, November 1976.

<sup>64</sup> Williams, op.cit., p 172.

conservative political activist. Weyrich told Falwell that he had a key role to play, and that 'there was a moral majority of Americans who would vote for the conservative cause if Falwell could reach them with the New Right message.'<sup>65</sup>

Falwell was finally convinced, and with the aim of bringing the country back to morality, he committed himself to using his radio and television broadcasts, and to expanding the reach of his ministry, to convince Christians to register to vote and capture Congress and the White House. In September 1979, appealing to American exceptionalism, he launched the Moral Majority PAC – a political action committee dedicated to raising funds for Christian congressional candidates. In Falwell's view, 'the United States played a special role in the Lord's plan for world history – not least by defending against communism – and if it [America] was in decline, the solution was to return to the God who had blessed America in former times.'<sup>66</sup>

In 1980, Israeli Prime Minister Menachim Begin fêted Falwell with a dinner in New York and the Israeli government presented Falwell with a Lear jet in recognition of his efforts on behalf of Israel, but success in the wider arena was limited. Many in the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant communities thought Falwell was an extremist, and Falwell found it hard to get his message across to other than conservative Baptists. 'Falwell's audience of 1.5 million comprised only a small fraction of the 20 million Americans who regularly watched religious television, and even they were reluctant to join the Moral Majority ... yet despite its small constituency, the Moral Majority did more than any other organisation to launch the Christian right.'<sup>67</sup> Only a few years earlier, Falwell had been a small-town Baptist preacher, but by the end of 1980, the Republican Party hierarchy recognised him as a lobbyist of some significance. More importantly they saw him as capable of influencing an important swing constituency.

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<sup>65</sup> *ibid*, p 174.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid*, p 176.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid*, p 178.



## The Religious Roundtable

Prior to convincing Falwell to form the Moral Majority, in 1976, Ed McAteer had already founded 'The Religious Roundtable', a group focused on domestic



**Ed McAteer**

moral issues such as abortion and pornography.

On the foreign policy front, in its early years, the Religious Roundtable was staunchly anti-

Communism. Together with other conservative

Christian groups, McAteer's Roundtable was

considered to be influential in both Reagan's

election in 1980, and in forging a bond between

the Republican Party and the religious right – by

then, arguably the most powerful grassroots

component of the Republican Party. McAteer had

long held an interest in conservative politics, and

in 1984 he ran unsuccessfully for the United States Senate seat vacated by the majority leader, Howard H. Baker Jr., losing to Al Gore. In his later years, the now-deceased McAteer (he died in 2004) switched his foreign policy focus from anti-Communism to one of support for Israel.

In May 2002, during the presidency of George W. Bush, journalists Ken Silverstein and Michael Scherer covered a prayer breakfast at the Israeli Embassy in Washington. In commenting on McAteer's attendance, they noted that 'no subject excites the 76-year-old born-again Baptist more than his unequivocal love for the Jewish people and the state of Israel, [amidst] his increasingly influential role as one of the nation's leading "Christian Zionists."' <sup>68</sup> The breakfast was organised by the Israeli embassy's Office of Interreligious Affairs, that section of the embassy charged with, inter alia, hosting monthly briefings for evangelicals and welcoming church bus tours.

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<sup>68</sup> Silverstein, K., and Scherer, M., *Born-Again Zionists*, Mother Jones, Sep/Oct 2002, retrieved 18 June 2014, < <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2002/09/born-again-zionists?page=1>>.

This is an indication of the importance with which Israel views support from the Christian right in the U.S., and as we will see from an analysis of Hagee's CUI, that alignment continues today. At the end of the breakfast, McAteer commented on Israel and the Palestinians, making clear that the land occupied by Israel since the 1967 Six Day War should never be returned to the Palestinians. This is an example of the inflexible, biblically-based foreign policy which is characteristic of those in the Christian right who view the world through a biblical prism. McAteer and other evangelical leaders held to the view that Arabs and Muslims could be traced back to Ishmael, the unfavoured son of Abraham, who, when promised untold resources by God, was never satisfied. In McAteer's words, Muslims 'will never know spiritual peace ... [because] the Muslim has got fever in his soul.'<sup>69</sup> McAteer was in the very engine-room of this new political-religious machinery – powered by a grassroots belief that politics was ultimately directed by God, a view exemplified by one of the participants, Sharon Lindsay. Lindsay said she looked 'for divine intervention when she watches the evening news. "When I see that the president [sic] of Saudi Arabia has come to make a peace plan and then has to leave because his brother has had a stroke, I wonder, is that the hand of God? And I am praying, not for my ideas of what should be, but for God's will to triumph."<sup>70</sup>

### **Reagan and the Rise of the Christian Right**

For evangelicals, the 1980 Presidential election was arguably one of the most important religio-political periods in modern U.S. history. As indicated earlier, Carter, a committed Christian, was running against Reagan – a divorced, re-married man who, as Governor of California, had signed into law a bill legalising abortion. On the surface, Carter's support from the Christian right should have been a given, yet many evangelicals were angry and disaffected with the man they had enthusiastically voted into the White House in 1976.

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<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *ibid.*

Why? The answer to that intriguing question has its genesis at a meeting in a Dallas Hotel in September 1979. Billy Graham, Pat Robertson (later, a presidential candidate and covered below), Bill Bright, founder of Campus Crusade for Christ, the Texan evangelist, James Robison and several more Christian leaders were all concerned about the direction of the country under Carter, and they met to discuss the issues with some strong views being expressed. Carter had been vague on abortion, had no evangelicals to speak of in his administration and was a supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution – an amendment that conservatives viewed as threatening the traditional family roles of women. Billy Graham said “I believe that God has shown me that unless we have a change in America, we have a thousand days as a free nation ... three years.” Bill Bright was even more pessimistic. He did not believe America would survive those three years as a free nation, and Pat Robertson supported him.<sup>71</sup>

Like so many similar dire warnings from Christian and other religious leaders in the past, no such loss of freedom occurred, but that is not the issue. What is at stake here is the extraordinary influence these leaders wielded among their constituents in the lead up to the 1980 presidential election, an influence that later extended to foreign policy toward Israel. In the early years of the rise of the Christian right, domestic issues such as abortion and school prayer were factors, but by the time of the 1980 election, Christians were also outraged by Carter’s failure to intervene in the 1978 Internal Revenue Service proposal to withdraw tax exempt status for any school that, based on their local communities, ‘did not contain an “adequate” percentage of minority students.’<sup>72</sup> Evangelicals were of the view that Christian schools were there for Christian students and such a proposal threatened to put a large percentage of the Christian school movement out of business. Evangelicals were switching sides, and Carter had to go. An important conclusion to be drawn here is that any president who pursues policies which are contrary to

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<sup>71</sup> Martin, op.cit., pp 206 – 207.

<sup>72</sup> Dugan, R. P., *Winning the New Civil War*, 1991, retrieved 21 March, 2014, <<http://www.ccel.us/winning.toc.html>>.

the wishes of the Christian right, risks alienating this important voting bloc, even if the opponent has a past that contains antitheses to evangelical core principles.

The Iran hostage crisis had also damaged Carter, and on 4 November 1980, he lost in a landslide. In the electoral college, Reagan received 489 votes to Carter's 49, while Carter only managed to carry his home state of Georgia, along with West Virginia, Maryland and Minnesota. Reagan gained 51 percent of the popular vote, to Carter's 43 percent, with the independent, John Anderson, taking 7 percent (percentages are rounded up), and for the first time since 1954, the Republicans regained control of the Senate.<sup>73</sup> But what influence did the emerging Christian right have on that election?

In the aftermath of Carter's defeat, many in the media attributed Reagan's victory and the Republican's surprise capture of the Senate to the influence of the Christian right and *Time* speculated that as much as two-thirds of Reagan's margin had come from a shift in political attitudes among white fundamentalists.<sup>74</sup> Others, like the University of Michigan Survey Research Centre's Arthur Miller, who oversaw interviews with 10,000 voters, felt this was exaggerated.<sup>75</sup> Seymour Lipset and Earl Raab, in a widely read article, also took the view that, notwithstanding the enormous resources of Christian right groups and their ability to galvanise congregations to get out and vote, it was important not to overstate the effect. They pointed out that a *New York Times/CBS* election-day poll of voters as they left the booths showed that while Reagan had won the votes of 61 percent of born-again white Protestants, he had also won the votes of 63 percent of other white Protestants.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections, *1980 Presidential General Election Results*, retrieved 21 March, 2014, <<http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/national.php?year=1980>>.

<sup>74</sup> Reichley, A. J., *Faith in Politics*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington, 2002, p 300.

<sup>75</sup> Miller, A., in Lipset, S. M., and Raab, E., *The Election & the Evangelicals*, Commentary Magazine, Vol 71, No 3, March, 1981, p 30.

<sup>76</sup> *ibid*, p 29.

However, Clyde Wilcox, from Georgetown University, who has written extensively on religion and American politics, maintains there is some evidence to suggest that in 1980, Falwell's Moral Majority in particular, had an impact on voting trends. 'Among those who had seldom or never voted in the past ... Moral Majority supporters voted at a higher rate ... [and] there is also evidence that the Moral Majority produced changes in vote choice among its followers. Moral Majority supporters were more likely than other whites to vote for Reagan in both 1980 and 1984.'<sup>77</sup> According to Wilcox, when comparing Moral Majority voters with other voters who switched from Carter in 1976 to Reagan in 1980, more than one-fifth of the former changed, compared to one-sixth of the latter. A three and a half percentage point difference between the two is not huge, but nevertheless provides an indication of the early influence of the Christian right on voting and American politics in general; but what of foreign policy and concern for Israel in particular?

The Director of the Jewish Virtual Library, Mitchell Bard, takes the view that 'Ronald Reagan will be fondly remembered as perhaps the most pro-Israel president in history ... [albeit that] his administration also engaged in the most public rebukes of Israel.'<sup>78</sup> Noting that it's not possible to be precise on how foreign policy positions on Israel might have influenced voters from the Christian right, it's not Reagan's legacy we're concerned with here, but the issue of Israel in the lead-up to the 1980 election. It is complex, but what *is* clear, is that Reagan was a staunch supporter of Israel from his very early days. In Reagan's own words: 'I've believed many things in my life, but no conviction I've ever held has been more stronger [sic] than my belief that the United States must ensure the survival of Israel.'<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Wilcox, C., *God's Warriors: The Christian right in Twentieth-Century America*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1992, p 117.

<sup>78</sup> Bard, M., *Reagan's Legacy on Israel*, Jewish Virtual Library, retrieved 3 June 2014, <<http://www.mitchellbard.com/articles/reagan.html>>.

<sup>79</sup> Reagan, R., *An American Life*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1990, p 410.

As early as 1948, Reagan had resigned from the Los Angeles Lakeside Country Club because it would not allow Jews membership. As Governor of California, he supported a law that authorised banks to invest in State of Israel bonds, and in the mid-1970s, he wrote a weekly column for the *Jewish Press*. Throughout the 1980 presidential campaign, Reagan left the Christian right and the rest of American voters in no doubt that he was pro-Israel, denouncing the PLO as a terrorist organisation and describing Israel 'as a "strategic asset", a "stabilizing force", and a military offset to Soviet influence.'<sup>80</sup> Reagan made a point of differentiating his policies and views from those of Carter, whose decision to sell advanced military weapons and technology to Egypt and Saudi Arabia caused significant concern amongst Jewish voters and the Christian right alike (noting that Reagan supported the sale after he assumed office). Reagan publicly disagreed with Carter's characterisation of the West Bank settlements as illegal, and he was strongly critical of the Carter administration's abstention (rather than veto) on a UN resolution condemning Israel's proclamation of Jerusalem as its capital. "Jerusalem is now, and should continue to be undivided," declared Reagan. "An undivided city of Jerusalem means sovereignty of Israel over the city."<sup>81</sup> In terms of the Jewish vote, in the 1980 election '40 percent of the Jews who voted chose Reagan, another 40 percent voted for the incumbent President Jimmy Carter, the lowest percentage for a Democrat in the past 80 years, and 20 percent for John Anderson.'<sup>82</sup> It was an indication that the Democrats could no longer take the Jewish vote for granted.

In 1984, when Reagan was up against the Democrat's nominee, Walter Mondale, the Christian right was able to build on their relationship with Reagan, described by Steven Miller as 'more an evangelical's president than

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<sup>80</sup> Dalin, D., *President Ronald Reagan and the Jews*, Jewish Ledger: Connecticut Edition, 16 February, 2011, retrieved 3 June 2014, < <http://www.jewishledger.com/2011/02/president-ronald-reagan-and-the-jews/>>.

<sup>81</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> The Jewish Virtual Library, *Ronald Reagan*, retrieved 7 June 2014 < <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/RonaldReagan.html>>.

an evangelical president.<sup>83</sup> Reagan might have lacked Jimmy Carter's Sunday school piety, but he was quite comfortable in his born-again skin (among many other skins). And it was Reagan, not Carter, who initiated what scholars David Domke and Kevin Coe have called the 'God Strategy' in American politics, a characterisation based in part on Reagan's persistent use of "God Bless America" in his speeches.<sup>84</sup>

### **Pat Robertson, the 700 Club and the Christian Coalition**

Prior to the election of Reagan, Pat Robertson was one of the most influential conservative Christians in the United States and he has provided much of the impetus behind the rise of the Christian right. Given his tendency to make outrageous statements – in 2006 he asserted Israeli Prime Minister Sharon's stroke was God's retribution for Sharon giving Gaza back to the Palestinians and dividing God's land – it is legitimate to ask why any space should be given to a Christian right leader viewed by many as somewhat unhinged. The fact remains that Robertson, despite scandals and outrageous statements, still reaches over a million Americans every day through his television broadcasts. He maintains a presence in American politics and is a strong advocate for a favourable U.S. policy toward Israel.

Born in Lexington, Virginia, after military service and completion of a law degree at Yale, he failed the New York bar exam, and in his own words:

'things just didn't seem to be adding up. My father, as U.S. Senator from Virginia and Chairman of the Banking Currency Committee, was one of the most powerful men in the nation. I had a proud Southern heritage – honor grad from military prep school, Golden Gloves boxer, Phi Beta Kappa at Washington and Lee, Marine combat officer in Korea, law degree from Yale

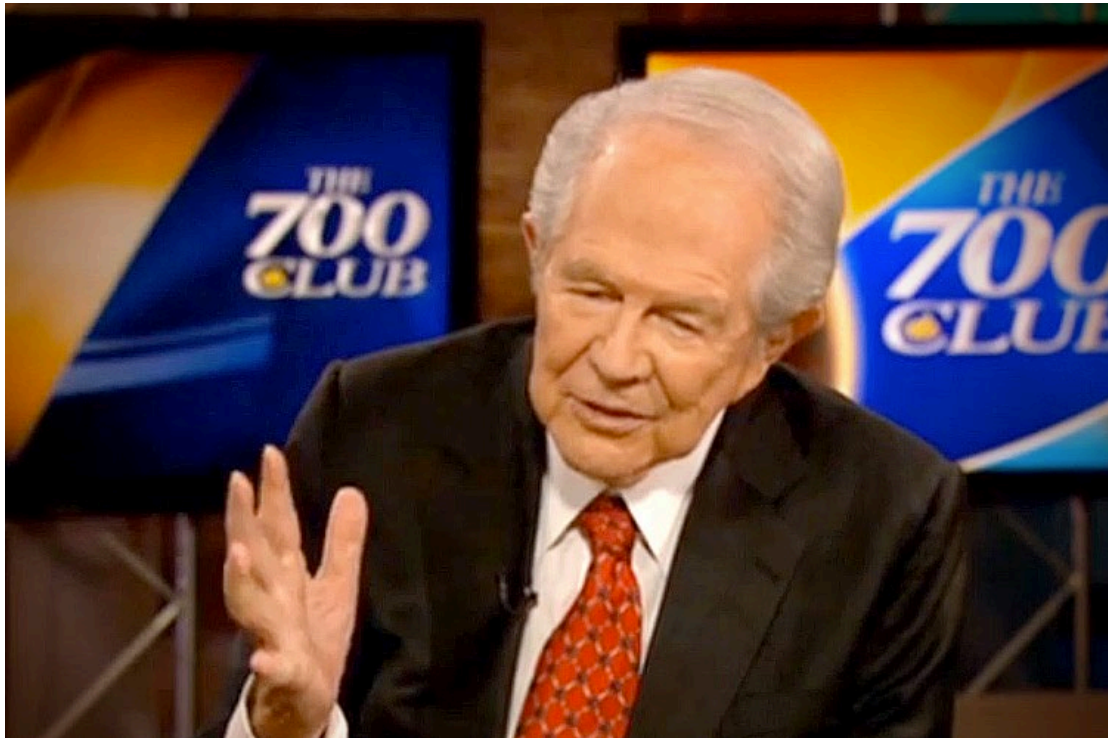
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<sup>83</sup> Miller, S. P., *The Age of Evangelicalism: America's Born-Again Years*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014, p 64.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*

... and now in business with some of my old law school buddies  
... yet suddenly it all seemed empty.’<sup>85</sup>

Robertson reveals that an inaudible voice seemed to speaking from the deep recesses of his mind, that God had a purpose for his life.<sup>86</sup> Following his conversion to Christianity, he attended New York Theological Seminary and graduated with a Master of Divinity in 1959. The following year, Robertson



**Pat Robertson hosting his 700 Club show**

established the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), which today broadcasts in 180 countries in 71 languages. CBN’s controversial flagship program, *The 700 Club*, (named after a fund-raising telethon that needed 700 members contributing \$10 a month for the station to stay on air), is one of the longest running religious television shows in America.

By the mid-1980s, in a similar vein to the leaders of today’s Christian right (as discussed later in this thesis), Robertson had become increasingly concerned that Americans had permitted an assault on Christian faith and values. He

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<sup>85</sup> Robertson, P., Official Website, retrieved 1 June 2014, <<http://www.patrobertson.com/spiritualjourney/>>.

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*



was deeply troubled by the 'removal of God' from classrooms and textbooks; courses in 'values clarification' that undermined the nation's historic Judeo-Christian faith; and what he saw as a dangerous broadening of education curricula. 'We have taken the Holy Bible from our young and replaced it with the thoughts of Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, and John Dewey [the American philosopher well known for his ideas on reforming education and liberalism].'<sup>87</sup> Railing against motion pictures, television, radio and youth concerts that broadcast a message that God was to be replaced by casual sex, infidelity, easy divorce and recreational drugs, Robertson announced his intention to enter the mainstream of politics by running for President. But he put a caveat on his candidacy: 'If by September 17, 1987, one year from today, three million voters have signed petitions telling me they will pray ... that they will give toward my election, then I will run as a candidate for the nomination of the Republican Party for the office of President of the United States of America.'<sup>88</sup>

Three million Americans responded and in addition to running on a platform of returning the education system to a moral base, he promised to ban pornography and scrap the Department of Education and the Department of Energy. He beat the then Vice President, George H.W. Bush in the Iowa Caucus, but by the time of Super Tuesday, he had fallen back to third place. His ultimate failure to gain the White House was due, in part, to wild pronunciations that he would assassinate Libya's Colonel Gaddafi, along with his call for Christians to pray that some of the more liberal Supreme Court Justices should 'be graduated to that great courtroom in the sky.'<sup>89</sup>

Following his failed presidential attempt, Robertson set out to influence politics in America by another route. During his campaign for the White House, Robertson had solicited more campaign donations than any other

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<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Jorstad, E., *Holding Fast, Pressing On: Religion in America in the 1980s*, Praeger, New York, 1990, p 81.

candidate bar George H. W. Bush, the eventual winner. More importantly, the extensive network Robertson had established during the course of campaigning was valuable. Recognising this, Robertson adapted it for the purposes of forming another powerful Christian right movement, and in 1989 he launched the Christian Coalition. Ralph Reed, a conservative political activist who was interviewed for this thesis, was appointed as the first executive director.



By May of 1995, Reed was on the cover of *Time Magazine*, accompanied by the caption "The Right Hand of God: Meet Ralph Reed, 33. His Christian Coalition is on a crusade to take over U.S. politics – and it's working."<sup>90</sup> In 1993, the Christian Coalition had 500,000 members, and just two years later, it could boast over 1.6 million active supporters and a budget of \$25 million.<sup>91</sup> In terms of influence, by then, the Christian Coalition could rightly

**Ralph Reed, *Time Magazine*, 15 May 1995** claim to be the successor to Falwell's Moral Majority, and in Reed's words, the ranks of conservative Christians 'are now too large, too diverse, too significant to be ignored by either major political party.'<sup>92</sup> The previous year, the Coalition had distributed 30 million 'how to vote' guides through conservative Christian churches. The guides provided Christians information on how candidates had voted previously, or would be likely to vote in the future, on foreign policy issues – principally Israel, and on domestic issues such as abortion, the teaching of creationism and homosexuality. 'Out of forty-five new members of the House of

<sup>90</sup> *Time Magazine*, 15 May 1995, retrieved 1 June 2014, <<http://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19950515,00.html>>.

<sup>91</sup> Birnbaum, J.H., *The Right Hand of God*, *Time Magazine*, 15 May 1995, *ibid*.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid*.

Representatives [in the 1994 election] and nine of the Senate, almost half were Christian Coalition candidates.<sup>93</sup>

By 1997, *Fortune Magazine* had rated the Coalition as the 7<sup>th</sup> most powerful political organisation in America, behind long-established lobbying groups like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) [No 2], and the National Rifle Association [No 6].<sup>94</sup> Half of the groups in the nation's 25 most powerful were 'kings of the town hall meeting' – propelled there by the strength of their grassroots networks. The Christian Coalition was singled out in the

|                              | 2000 VNS<br>Exit Poll |           | 2004 NEP<br>Exit Poll |            | Bush<br>gain |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|------------|--------------|
|                              | Bush<br>%             | Gore<br>% | Bush<br>%             | Kerry<br>% |              |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                 | 48                    | 48        | 51                    | 48         | +3           |
| Protestant (all)             | 56                    | 42        | 59                    | 40         | +3           |
| White Protestant             | 62                    | 35        | 67                    | 33         | +5           |
| Evangelical*                 | 68                    | 30        | 78                    | 21         | +10          |
| Mainline*                    | 53                    | 43        | 55                    | 45         | +2           |
| Catholic (all)               | 47                    | 50        | 52                    | 47         | +3           |
| White, Non-Hisp.<br>Catholic | 52                    | 45        | 56                    | 43         | +4           |
| Hispanic<br>Catholic         | 33                    | 65        | 39                    | 58         | +6           |
| Black Protestant             | 7                     | 91        | 13                    | 86         | +6           |
| Jewish                       | 19                    | 79        | 25                    | 74         | +6           |
| Other religion               | 28                    | 62        | 23                    | 74         | -5           |
| Secular                      | 30                    | 61        | 31                    | 67         | +1           |
| Protestant                   |                       |           |                       |            |              |
| Weekly or<br>Less often      | 64                    | 34        | 66                    | 33         | +2           |
| Catholic                     |                       |           |                       |            |              |
| Weekly or<br>more            | 53                    | 44        | 56                    | 43         | +3           |
| Less often                   | 42                    | 54        | 49                    | 50         | +7           |
| Church Attend                |                       |           |                       |            |              |
| More than 1/wk               | 63                    | 36        | 64                    | 35         | +1           |
| 1/wk                         | 57                    | 40        | 58                    | 41         | +1           |
| Few/month                    | 46                    | 51        | 50                    | 49         | +4           |
| Few/year                     | 42                    | 54        | 45                    | 54         | +3           |
| Never                        | 32                    | 61        | 36                    | 62         | +4           |

\*Evangelical/mainline division in 2000 estimated from Pew pre-election poll. All other estimates based on Voter News Service (VNS) and National Election Pool (NEP) exit polls. Pew trends include Hispanics in its designation of white Protestants; exit poll figures adjusted to fit this definition.

*Fortune* survey for its automated telephone bank. Known as 'Hypotenuse', it was the forerunner to emails (which in the mid-1990s were still in their infancy), and social media such as Facebook and Twitter. Hypotenuse was set up to send an audio message and a digitised call sheet to personal computers across America. The personal computers would then dial and deliver the audio message to pre-selected Christian Coalition leaders, who would spring into action, soliciting thousands of letters and phone calls from coalition members, trained in political action. The Christian Coalition printed 70 million 'how to vote' guides, in support of George W. Bush's

candidacy for the White House in 2000, five million of them in Spanish. The Pew Research summary at Figure 4 above, based on exit polls in 2000 and 2004, underscores the importance of white evangelical voters. In 2000, 68% voted for Bush, compared to 30% for Gore. As previously indicated, after

<sup>93</sup> Clark, V., *Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 2007, p 196.

<sup>94</sup> Birnbaum, J.H., *Washington's Power 25*, *Fortune Magazine*, 8 Dec 1997, retrieved 2 June 2014, <<http://edition.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1997/11/18/fortune.25/index1.html>>.

<sup>95</sup> Pew Research Center for People & the Press, *Religion and the Presidential Vote*, op.cit.

Bush's advisor, Karl Rove, determined that 4 million evangelicals had failed to vote in 2000, the Christian right was even more closely targeted in 2004, including by the Christian Coalition. Bush increased the vote in this group by 10%: 78% voted for Bush, and 21% for Kerry.

Although for Bush voters, being a 'strong leader' was an important quality in a candidate (29%), a strong religious faith was also important for 14% of Bush voters, compared to 1% for Kerry.<sup>96</sup> This involvement in politics by evangelical Christians in general, and politically active groups like the Christian Coalition in particular, has important implications for influencing U.S. policy toward Israel. Another Pew survey, conducted in 2004 after the second Intifada, found that evangelical support for Israel had risen dramatically to 52% in 2004, up from 14% in 2000. On 27 Oct 2002, the Christian Coalition organised another big rally in the cavernous Washington Convention Center, but this time in support of Israel. To whoops and cheers from the crowd waving American and Israeli flags, and the blowing of the shofar, the Mayor of Jerusalem assured the admiring participants that 'God is with us. You are with us [and] the placards round the hall insist that every inch of the Holy Land should belong to Israel and that there should never be a Palestinian state.'<sup>97</sup> This again, underlines the rigid inflexibility of foreign policy that has a biblical foundation, and the support such a policy gains from influential elements of the Christian right. Despite the apparent euphoria, however, by the turn of the century, the Christian Coalition was in decline. Ralph Reed resigned in 1997 and he was later implicated in the Jack Abramoff corruption scandal, although again, that does not appear to have affected his raising yet another Christian right organisation, the Faith and Freedom Coalition, which is part of the final case study for this thesis.

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<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Engel, M., *Meet the New Zionists*, The Guardian, 28 Oct 2002, retrieved 18 June 2014, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/oct/28/usa.israel>>.

## The Contemporary Christian right

Given their proven record in harnessing all forms of media, and their reach into the community through various channels, particularly through myriad churches of various hues, the Christian right has shown it can be a powerful force in American politics. It will be argued that it remains so, often accompanied by the same biblically-based, inflexible foreign policy toward Israel – a policy that has not changed since the days of the Christian Coalition. As indicated earlier, however, not everyone is convinced the Christian right is still a significant force in the politics of the United States. As previously indicated, in 2012, historian Michael Kazin argued that the power of the Christian right was dying. He confidently asserted that ‘the Christian right is a fading force in American life, one which has little chance of achieving its cherished goals.’<sup>98</sup> Religion News Service’s Jonathon Merritt, acknowledged that ‘ever since Ronald Reagan was elected president in 1980, evangelicals have been a powerful political force.’ But he then went on to quote Albert Mohler and argue that ‘on November 6, 2012, their reign came to and end. “I think this [election] was an evangelical disaster,” [said] Albert Mohler, president of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.’<sup>99</sup> Echoing the sentiments of Gary Bauer, Ralph Reed and other Christian right leaders interviewed for this thesis, Mohler fears a secularisation of America and a seismic moral shift in culture.<sup>100</sup> In outlining the reasons for the decline of the Christian right’s influence, Merritt, like Walter Russell Mead, points to a lack of a ‘Billy Graham-style’ charismatic leadership. ‘Politically influential pastors like Jerry Falwell and D. James Kennedy have died, James Dobson [has] retired, and Pat Robertson has been relegated to the fringes of his own community.’<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Kazin, M., op.cit.

<sup>99</sup> Merritt, J., *Election 2012 Marks the End of Evangelical Dominance in Politics*, The Atlantic, 13 November 2012, retrieved 18 June 2014, <<http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/11/election-2012-marks-the-end-of-evangelical-dominance-in-politics/265139/>>.

<sup>100</sup> *ibid.*

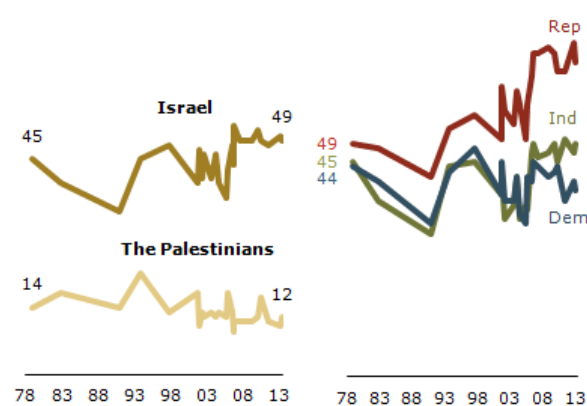
<sup>101</sup> *ibid.*

Others aren't so sure. Peter Montgomery, Senior Research Fellow at People for the American Way, explained to the author that 'he had lost count of the number of times the religious right had been declared dead as a political force, by someone in the mainstream media.'<sup>102</sup> In a 2012 paper, Montgomery outlined why he believes the Christian right is still an influential political force. Americans, he says, still believe the nation's greatness is tied to the notion of divinely inspired American exceptionalism and he points to the significant funding and effort the religious right is putting into grooming the next generation of leaders.<sup>103</sup>

### 35 Years of Middle East Sympathies

*In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, who do you sympathize with more?*

*Sympathize more with Israel by party*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER March 13-17, 2013.  
1978-1990 Data from the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.  
1993-2013 Pew Research Center.

**Fig 5 Sympathy for Israel from 1978 to 2013**<sup>104</sup>

more with Israel, while just 12% sympathised with the Palestinians.<sup>105</sup>

Support for Israel is strongest amongst Republicans (66%), compared to Democrats (39%).

When Kazin's arguments for the 'death of the Christian right' are analysed, we find he is basing his assertions on domestic issues, whereas Figure 5 at left shows public support for Israel, which is inextricably linked to the foreign policy objectives of the religious right, is strong. The June 2014 national survey by the Pew Research Centre found that 49% of Americans sympathised

<sup>102</sup> Interview with Peter Montgomery, Research Fellow, People for the American Way, Washington, 26 January, 2015.

<sup>103</sup> Montgomery, P., *5 Signs the Christian right Still Wields Too Much Power in America*, Alternet, 31 January, 2012, retrieved 18 June 2014, <[http://www.alternet.org/story/153949/5\\_signs\\_the\\_christian\\_right\\_still\\_wields\\_too\\_much\\_power\\_in\\_america](http://www.alternet.org/story/153949/5_signs_the_christian_right_still_wields_too_much_power_in_america)>.

<sup>104</sup> Pew Research Center for People & the Press, *Public Remains Supportive of Israel, Wary of Iran*, 19 March, 2013, retrieved 18 June 2014, <<http://www.people-press.org/2013/03/19/public-remains-supportive-of-israel-wary-of-iran/>>.

<sup>105</sup> *ibid*.

### Young People Less Likely to Sympathize More with Israel

|                   | Sympathize more with ... |                   |         |             |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|---------|-------------|
|                   | Israel                   | Pales-<br>tinians | Neither | Both/<br>DK |
|                   | %                        | %                 | %       | %           |
| Total             | 49                       | 12                | 12      | 27=100      |
| 18-29             | 36                       | 19                | 8       | 37=100      |
| 30-49             | 47                       | 11                | 14      | 28=100      |
| 50-64             | 59                       | 11                | 13      | 18=100      |
| 65+               | 54                       | 8                 | 10      | 28=100      |
| Republican        | 66                       | 5                 | 7       | 22=100      |
| Democrat          | 39                       | 17                | 14      | 29=100      |
| Independent       | 49                       | 14                | 11      | 26=100      |
| Protestant        | 56                       | 10                | 9       | 25=100      |
| White evangelical | 72                       | 4                 | 4       | 20=100      |
| White mainline    | 37                       | 13                | 13      | 37=100      |
| Catholic          | 46                       | 9                 | 16      | 29=100      |
| White Catholic    | 59                       | 6                 | 16      | 19=100      |
| Unaffiliated      | 35                       | 17                | 15      | 33=100      |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER March 13-17, 2013.  
Whites include only those who are not Hispanic.  
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Fig 6<sup>106</sup>

As in the past however, the research also reveals that there are sizeable differences in opinion when it comes to religion and age. From Figure 6 at left, it can be seen that 72% of white evangelical Protestants sympathise more with Israel than Palestinians (4%), but interestingly for the future, just 36% of those younger than 30 sympathise with Israel, while 19% sympathise more with the Palestinians. A relatively large share of young people (37%) either offer no opinion or say they sympathise with both sides.<sup>107</sup>

It is also worth noting that the research reveals that evangelical Christians are even more supportive of Israel than American Jews, something that the AIPAC has noted, underlining a political connection between one of the most powerful pro-Israel lobby groups and the evangelical Christian community. The AIPAC website, when referring to activists across all religions, acknowledges that 'the evangelical Christian community plays an increasingly vital role ... representing a tremendous pool of pro-Israel advocates.'<sup>108</sup> AIPAC targets evangelical Christians specifically, through their specially designed Evangelical Christian Outreach Program, which seeks to identify pro-Israel Christian leaders in districts with large evangelical populations. The program is used to, inter alia, educate those leaders as to how they might best engage with their members of Congress. As AIPAC's Pastor Philip Morris puts it, 'there's so much desire in the Christian community to take a stand for this relationship between the United States and Israel, but many people don't know how to do it, and so AIPAC says, "Okay, we'll show you how to do it."

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> AIPAC website, *Your Church and AIPAC*, retrieved 18 June 2014, <<http://www.aipac.org/connect/communities/yourchurch>>.



As Christians, we should be Israel's strongest supporters ... and we need to translate that into political activism.'<sup>109</sup>

### U.S. Support for Israel

|                            | Too<br>supportive<br>% | Not<br>supportive<br>enough<br>% | About<br>right<br>% | Don't<br>know<br>% |
|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| <b>U.S. Jews</b>           | 11                     | 31                               | 54                  | 3=100              |
| <b>U.S. general public</b> | 22                     | 25                               | 41                  | 11=100             |
| Christian                  | 18                     | 29                               | 41                  | 12=100             |
| Protestant                 | 17                     | 33                               | 39                  | 11=100             |
| White evangelical          | 12                     | 46                               | 31                  | 11=100             |
| White mainline             | 25                     | 26                               | 41                  | 8=100              |
| Black Protestant           | 16                     | 19                               | 48                  | 18=100             |
| Catholic                   | 22                     | 20                               | 47                  | 11=100             |
| White, non-Hispanic        | 24                     | 21                               | 46                  | 9=100              |
| Unaffiliated               | 35                     | 13                               | 41                  | 11=100             |

Source: Pew Research Center 2013 Survey of U.S. Jews, Feb. 20-June 13, 2013.  
Q.C2. U.S. general public data from October 4-7, 2012, Pew Research Center poll.  
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

As the chart at Figure 7 at left shows, although similar percentages of Christians (29%) and Jews (31%) maintain the U.S. is not supportive enough of Israel, when it comes to evangelical Christians, nearly half (46%) say the U.S. is not doing enough.<sup>110</sup>

Fig 7<sup>111</sup>

The Pew research also highlights the influence of religion on opinions. In answer to a question as to whether God gave Israel to the Jewish people, more Christians (55%) say yes than Jews (40%), but this discrepancy is explained almost in its entirety by Jews' lower levels of belief in God. When the same question is put to the more fundamentally religious in the groups, 82% of white evangelicals agree that God gave Israel to the Jews, which compares with 84% of Orthodox Jews also agreeing with the proposition.<sup>112</sup> In February, 2014, an AIPAC conference highlighted AIPAC's opposition to a Senate bill that would have imposed new sanctions on Iran over that

<sup>109</sup> Morris, P. C., *Your Church and AIPAC*, AIPAC website, op.cit.

<sup>110</sup> Pew Research, *Strong Support for Israel Cuts Across Religious Lines*, 27 February, 2014, retrieved 1 March, 2014, < <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/02/27/strong-support-for-israel-in-u-s-cuts-across-religious-lines/>>.

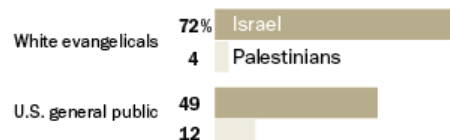
<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *ibid.*

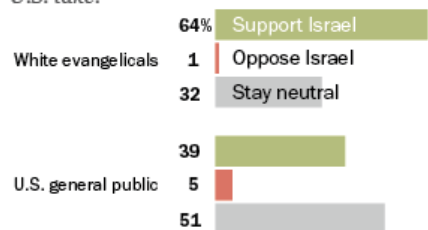


### Support For Israel Among White Evangelical Protestants

*In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more?*



*If Israel were to attack Iran to stop its nuclear weapons program, what position should the U.S. take?*



Sources: Pew Research Center surveys, March 2013 and February 2012. On Israel/Palestinians question, those saying "neither" or "both" are not included.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

country's nuclear program. There is strong support for the AIPAC position amongst evangelicals and in the event of Israel attacking Iran as a means of stopping the Iranian nuclear program, as the bottom half of the table at Figure 8 shows, nearly two thirds of white evangelicals would be in favour of supporting Israel. This is at odds with the rest of the general population, half of whom would favour neutrality with just 39% in favour of support for Israel, highlighting again, the impact of religion on U.S. policy toward the Jewish State.<sup>113</sup>

Fig 8<sup>114</sup>

## The Influence of Religion on Elections in the United States

The American political commentator, Michael Barone, states: 'Americans increasingly vote as they pray, or don't pray.'<sup>115</sup> Notwithstanding the founders' intention of a wall between church and state, religion has always been part of the fabric of American political life. Nowhere was the power of the religious vote recognised better than during the campaigns to elect George W. Bush to the White House, although as indicated earlier, the Christian right first began to make their presence felt in the election of 1980. As Esther Kaplan has noted, 'the Christian right's coming-out party as a formidable political bloc was Ronald Reagan's 1980 election.'<sup>116</sup> As also indicated previously, this election provided an ironic twist to the influence of religion on American politics, because Reagan was up against America's first

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> M. Barone, in Smidt, C., et al., *op.cit.*, p3.

<sup>116</sup> E. Kaplan, *With God on Their Side*, The New Press, New York, 2004, p 71.

born-again evangelical President, the Democrat Jimmy Carter. In a further twist, Reagan was the only divorcee to ever be elected to the Presidency, and he was not a church-goer, but he ran as pro-family and sought, and received, the support of the conservative evangelical bloc. Indeed, 'in every presidential election since 1980, the Christian right has concentrated its efforts on electing the Republican candidate.'<sup>117</sup>

By 1992 however, there were signs of disenchantment with Republican presidents. Michael P. Farris, a Virginia Lawyer, Baptist minister, father of ten children and advocate of home schooling (related to the campaigns of Generation Joshua, a case study analysed in Chapter Five), argued that 'Republican presidents provided "very little real progress in terms of advancing our public policy goals or getting our kind of people appointed to positions of real influence."' <sup>118</sup> Notwithstanding these and other similar views within the Christian right, in 1992 the movement nevertheless again worked hard in an attempt to have George H. W. Bush re-elected, but to no avail. The election of the Democrat, Bill Clinton, threw the policies of his two predecessors into stark contrast. Early in his presidency, Clinton lifted restrictions on abortion rights and worked to remove the ban on homosexuals serving in the Defense Forces and 'Clinton quickly became the focus of intense Christian right attacks.'<sup>119</sup> In 1996, with the re-election of Clinton, 'Christian right leaders made electing a GOP president in 2000 their top priority, confident that a Republican president would work with the Republican Congress to pass significant portions of their issues agenda.'<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> C. Wilcox and C. Larson, *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*, Westview Press, Boulder, Co., 2006, p 107.

<sup>118</sup> Farris, M., in *ibid.*, p 108.

<sup>119</sup> *ibid.*, p 109.

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.*

Of concern to the leaders of the Christian right, however, is the changing nature of the influence of religion on elections in the United States, something which John Green highlighted to the author:

'Although a prominent influence today, religion has over time, occasionally slipped on to the back burner, and with the arrival of the millennial generation we may,' he says, 'be seeing the start of that slip, albeit somewhat in the future. A lot of young people today don't lack an interest in spirituality, it's just that they're not that interested in organised religion, or indeed, the same sort of civic organisations their parents were interested in, and if this attitude persists, it could bring big changes to the influence of American religion. In terms of influence on politics, it might push religion toward the back burner. I don't think that has happened yet though, and that's partly because of the strong connection between age and voting. Notwithstanding the original Obama appeal, over time, older and middle age voters are much, much more likely to vote than younger voters, so the really interesting question will arise when the Millennials reach middle age – when they have mortgages, careers and families. So the influence of religion on American politics today is still very similar to what it was for the 2012, 2008, 2004 elections, for example, but if you look at the very youngest groups, you do see the potential for a de-emphasis of religion on politics.'<sup>121</sup>

Green's observations are supported by the practical influence of white evangelical groups on the 2014 midterm elections. Reuters/Ipsos polling data shows that evangelicals were more enthusiastic about the midterms than the rest of the population,<sup>122</sup> with 'white evangelicals turning up at the polls in large numbers on Tuesday, playing a key role in placing Congress in the hands of the Republican Party ... [with] 26 percent of voters self-identified as white evangelical or born again Christian [and] of that group, 78 percent voted for Republican candidates.'<sup>123</sup> Green's conclusion is backed by Ralph Reed. In Reed's view, the evangelical vote is critical to Republican success.

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Professor Green, op.cit.

<sup>122</sup> Bell, A., *Christian right key to Republican performance in U.S. midterms*, Reuters, 27 October 2014, retrieved 5 May 2015, < <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/27/us-usa-elections-evangelicals-idUSKBN0IG0RI20141027>>.

<sup>123</sup> Kuruvilla, C., *Midterm Elections 2014: White Evangelicals Helped Tip The Scales For The GOP*, HuffPost Religion, 5 November 2014, retrieved 5 May 2015, <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/11/05/election-2014-religion-evangelicals\\_n\\_6107842.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/11/05/election-2014-religion-evangelicals_n_6107842.html)>.

Speaking at a 2014 post midterm election media conference at the National Press Club in Washington, he highlighted wins in Iowa and Georgia as 'two Senate elections that could not have been won without the help of the evangelical vote.'<sup>124</sup> Reed has also asserted that religious conservative voters are here to stay, and in his view, they will be just as vital in 2016.<sup>125</sup> Green put a similar view when asked what influence the Christian right might have on the 2016 election:

'No Republican can be elected President without strong support from Christian conservatives. Now the other side of that is they can't win *just* with the support of Christian conservatives – they need a lot of other middle ground voters as well. One of the common positions between Christian conservatives and other American voters is, of course, a strong support for Israel. Israel, by and large, remains a popular country in the United States, and the Jews a popular religion.'<sup>126</sup>

Views of Different Countries' Influence  
Average of 22 Tracking Countries, 2012–2013



Note: average ratings exclude the target country's rating of itself, meaning some of the averages are based on 21 and not 22 countries.  
\*Average of 21 tracking countries  
The white space in this chart represents "Depends," "Neither/neutral," and "DK/NA."

Fig 9<sup>127</sup>

negative.' In that poll, Israel had fallen to fourth last, in front of only Iran, Pakistan and North Korea.<sup>128</sup> Green did assert however, that

Green's views on Israel should be contrasted against international views, and a BBC poll (Figure 9 at left) where, for example, Israel was judged to be one of the least popular countries in the world. The poll surveyed 26,000 people internationally, asking them to rate 16 countries and the European Union on whether their influence in the world was 'mainly positive or mainly

<sup>124</sup> Smith, S., *Evangelical Vote Played Key Role in Republican Victories, Data Show*, Christian Post, 5 November 2014, retrieved 20 May 2015, <<http://www.christianpost.com/news/evangelical-vote-played-key-role-in-republican-victories-data-shows-129197/>>.

<sup>125</sup> Kuruvilla, C., op.cit.

<sup>126</sup> Interview with Professor Green, op.cit.

<sup>127</sup> ibid.

<sup>128</sup> BBC News Poll, Germany most popular country in world, 23 May 2013, retrieved 20 April, 2015, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22624104>>.

although Israel remained popular in the United States, anti-Semitism was on the rise, albeit mainly confined to U.S. university campuses.<sup>129</sup>

### **Non-compulsory Voting**

One of the problems faced by campaign strategists on both sides of the political divide in the United States is the non-compulsory voting system. Unlike countries such as Australia, where no matter how disinterested the public may be in a particular campaign or how banal the various actors might be, voting is compulsory. In Australia, compulsory voting at federal elections was introduced in 1924. As a result, 'voter turnout increased from 59.4% in 1922 to 91.3% in 1925 and has remained consistently above that level since then.'<sup>130</sup>

By contrast, voter turnout in U.S. presidential elections is dramatically lower. Since 1960, for example, U.S. voter turnout has varied from a high of 63.1% in 1960 when John F. Kennedy (Democrat) defeated Richard Nixon (Republican) by 112,827 votes, or 0.1% of the popular vote which was the closest since 1916, to a low of 49.1% in the 1996 election, when Bill Clinton decisively defeated his Republican opponent, Senator Bob Dole from Kansas.<sup>131</sup> On average, in the U.S. presidential elections of 2000, 2004, and 2008, for example, nearly 100 million Americans (well over 40%) failed, or didn't bother to vote, and for the most part, voter turnout in U.S. presidential elections languishes in the low to mid-fifty percentile as shown in the table on the following page.

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<sup>129</sup> Interview with Professor Green, op.cit.

<sup>130</sup> Álvarez-Rivera, M., *Federal Elections in Australia*, retrieved 31 January, 2013, < <http://electionresources.org/au/>>.

<sup>131</sup> Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections, *1960 Presidential General Election Results*, retrieved 31 January, 2013, < <http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/index.html>>.

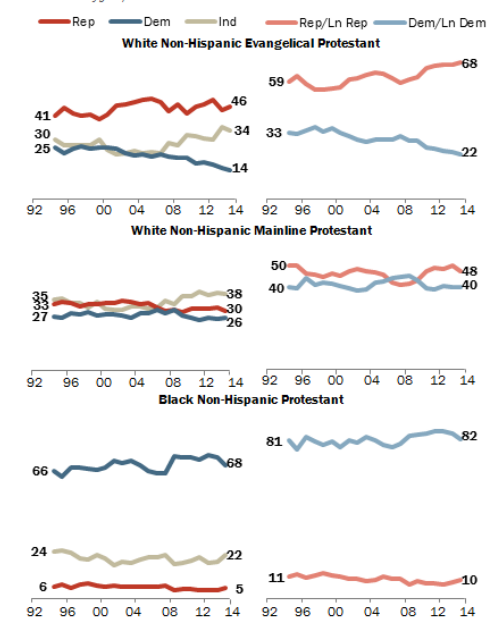
**Table 1: Percentage Turnout in Presidential Elections 1960 – 2012<sup>132</sup>**

V.A.P. = Voting Age Population

| Year | Total V.A.P. | Turnout     | % TO of V.A.P. |
|------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| 1960 | 109,672,000  | 68,838,204  | 62.77%         |
| 1964 | 114,090,000  | 70,644,592  | 61.92%         |
| 1968 | 120,328,186  | 73,211,875  | 60.84%         |
| 1972 | 140,776,000  | 77,718,554  | 55.21%         |
| 1976 | 152,309,190  | 81,555,789  | 53.55%         |
| 1980 | 164,597,000  | 86,515,221  | 52.56%         |
| 1984 | 173,936,000  | 92,652,842  | 53.27%         |
| 1988 | 182,628,000  | 91,594,809  | 50.15%         |
| 1992 | 189,044,000  | 104,426,659 | 55.24%         |
| 1996 | 196,498,000  | 96,277,634  | 49.00%         |
| 2000 | 205,815,000  | 105,405,100 | 51.21%         |
| 2004 | 215,694,000  | 122,295,345 | 56.70%         |
| 2008 | 225,499,000  | 131,313,820 | 58.23%         |
| 2012 | 235,248,000  | 129,085,403 | 54.87%         |

**White Evangelicals Increasingly Lean Republican**

% who identify as/lean toward ...



Data points represent annual totals based on monthly political surveys conducted by Pew Research in each calendar year. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic.  
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

**Fig 10<sup>134</sup>**

One of the major elements in the Republican Party's base is the white evangelical group and 'since 1992, the share of white evangelical Protestants who align with the GOP has never been higher.'<sup>133</sup> As can be seen from Figure 10 at left, some two-thirds (68%) of white evangelicals either identify as Republicans or lean Republican, while only about one fifth (22%) identify with the Democratic Party. 'Since 2007, the percentage of white evangelical Protestants who lean Republican has increased 10 points, while the share who lean Democratic has declined nine points.'<sup>135</sup>

<sup>132</sup> The American Presidency Project, op.cit.

<sup>133</sup> Pew Research, *A Deep Dive Into Party Affiliation*, 7 April, 2015, retrieved 10 May 2015, <<http://www.people-press.org/2015/04/07/a-deep-dive-into-party-affiliation/>>.

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> *ibid.*

As can also be seen from Figure 10, after the election of George W. Bush in 2000, the gap between Republican and Democratic identification amongst white evangelicals started to widen. As previously indicated, Karl Rove recognised this trend and in 1999, before Bush announced his intention of seeking the presidency, Rove ensured that key Republican support groups, such as the National Right to Life Committee, the Americans for Tax Reform and the National Rifle Association, were on side; but Rove also cultivated key Christian right and evangelical leaders. One such leader was James Robison, a charismatic televangelist with a record of garnering support that went back to an earlier campaign for Ronald Reagan.

In the lead up to announcing his run for the White House, Bush maintained he had 'received the call to run' during a sermon by Pastor Mark Craig of the Highland Park Methodist Church in Dallas. In that sermon, Craig had been reflecting on the reluctance of Moses to answer God's call to lead his people. 'When God called Moses to deliver his people, he responded, "Sorry, God, I'm busy. I've got a family. I've got sheep to tend. I've got a life."' <sup>136</sup> As Stephen Mansfield observes, Bush recalled that Pastor Craig was making the point that in today's world, just as in the time of Moses, the people were starved for leadership. Starved for leaders with ethical and moral courage. 'Bush began to sense that there was a message meant for him ... he felt "a call", a sense that God was directing him to run for president.' <sup>137</sup>

When he first met the future presidential candidate during the Reagan presidency, Robison had been less than impressed with Bush's 'party animal, sports nut' image, and Robison had been surprised when Bush had been elected Governor of Texas, but in the late 1990s when a George W. Bush run for the White House was mooted, Robison requested a meeting. 'On the day the evangelist entered Bush's office, he was surprised to find political

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<sup>136</sup> Mansfield, S., *The Faith of George W. Bush*, Penguin, New York, 2003, p 107.

<sup>137</sup> *ibid.*

strategist Karl Rove there as well.<sup>138</sup> Robison was even more surprised when Bush announced that he had given his life to Christ. Bush's faith, and its influence on U.S. policy toward Israel will be examined in more detail in Chapter Two, but there is little doubt that Rove was at the meeting with the express purpose of securing the votes of evangelicals. Rove considered the evangelical vote was so important, he devised a new strategy for the 2004 election, one that was 'focused less on suburban swing voters and more on mobilizing core Republican supporters, including evangelical Christians.'<sup>139</sup> Given the non-compulsory voting system, for the Republicans, there is powerful leverage to be gained with a bloc of voters such as evangelicals. Pastors can encourage churchgoers to vote, and as the data in Table 2 below shows, in the last three elections, the evangelicals have strongly favoured the Republican candidate.

**Table 2: Percentage Evangelical Vote by Candidate 2004-2012**<sup>140</sup>

| <b>2004</b> |      | <b>2008</b> |        | <b>2012</b> |        |
|-------------|------|-------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| Kerry       | Bush | Obama       | McCain | Obama       | Romney |
| 21%         | 79%  | 26%         | 73%    | 20%         | 79%    |

Allied with evangelicals leaning toward a Republican candidate, 'in a testament to the power of the Christian right organizations to mobilize this base, one poll showed that 79 percent of the evangelicals who voted for Bush did so after being contacted at least once by a religious right organization,'<sup>141</sup> something that the Chairman of the Faith and Freedom Coalition, Ralph Reed is very conscious of, and confirmed when interviewed in Atlanta.<sup>142</sup> Gary Bauer, an early contender for the Republican Party nomination in 2000,

<sup>138</sup> *ibid*, p 109.

<sup>139</sup> Rove K., *Notable Biographies*, Encyclopaedia of World Biography, retrieved 4 April, 2014, <<http://www.notablebiographies.com/newsmakers2/2006-Ra-Z/Rove-Karl.html>>.

<sup>140</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, , *How the Faithful Voted*, op.cit.

<sup>141</sup> Kaplan, op.cit., p 75.

<sup>142</sup> Interview with Ralph Reed, op.cit.



agrees. 'I think that the White House understands that the largest contingency in the Republican Party on election day are the people who regularly attend church on Sunday,' he said, 'and then are in the voting booth on Tuesday.'<sup>143</sup>

That said, and as we have noted, the Christian right leaders interviewed during this research are both acutely aware of, and worried about, the changes in American religious affiliations amongst the younger generations (GenX, GenY) and particularly amongst the Millennials, as GenY have become known. Christian right leaders are worried too, about the younger generations' views toward Israel. The 2014 Pew 'Millennials in Adulthood' survey is illuminating (if Pew is at the forefront of research, that's for two very good reasons – see footnote below.<sup>144</sup>) The Pew research shows that half of all Millennials choose not to identify with either party, with only 31% of them thinking there is a significant difference between parties, whereas 58% of the Silent Generation (a term referring to those born between the mid-1920s to the early 1940s) think there is a big difference.<sup>145</sup> When they do vote, the millennial generation has 'stood out in the past two presidential elections as strikingly Democratic.'<sup>146</sup> This is also worrying the leaders of the Christian right because as time goes on the adult voting Millennials are not only influencing elections, as some head toward positions of leadership there are implications for the Republican Party and for U.S. policy toward Israel. The graph at Figure 11 (following page) tells the story, and 'according to national exit polls, the young-old partisan voting gaps in 2008 and 2012 were

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<sup>143</sup> Kaplan, op.cit.

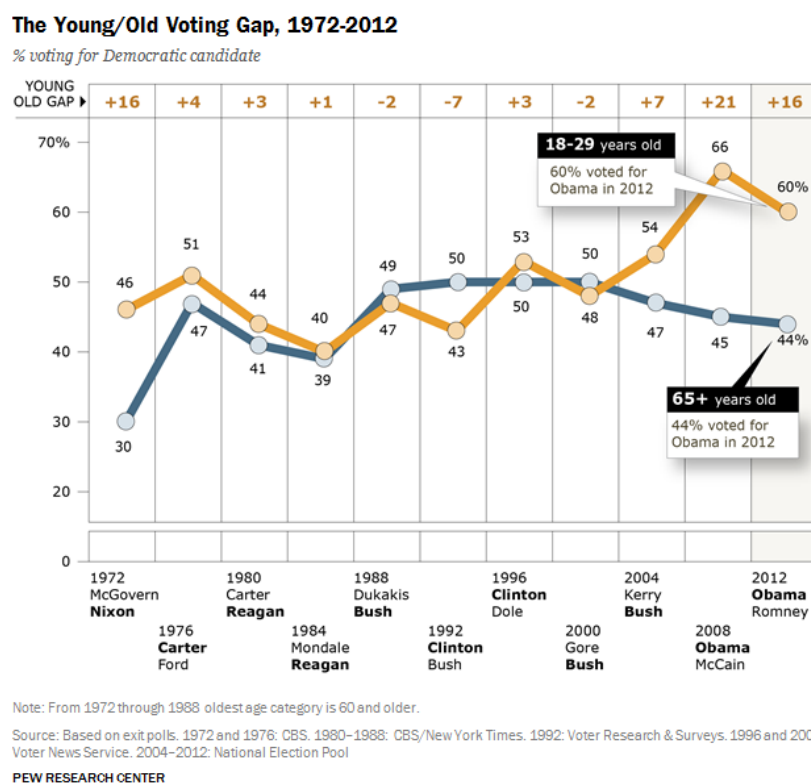
<sup>144</sup> Although other research (Gallup, for instance) has been analysed where it's appropriate, Pew Research is one of the most highly regarded research organisations in the world, and their databases for the 2008 and 2014 Religious Landscape surveys, for example, were very large (>35,000). Secondly, Pew research specifically focuses on areas which are germane to this thesis, including the links between U.S. politics, social trends and religion. Deloitte – another highly respected organisation, has also conducted a survey of millennials; but not surprisingly, their 2015 survey focuses on the millennials and *business*.

<sup>145</sup> Pew Research, *Millennials in Adulthood*, 7 March, 2014, retrieved 10 May 2014, <<http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2014/03/07/millennials-in-adulthood/>>.

<sup>146</sup> *ibid*.

amongst the largest in the modern era ... [and] Millennials continue to view the Democratic Party more favorably than the Republican Party.<sup>147</sup>

**Fig 11. The Young/Old Voting Gap in the U.S. 1972-2012**<sup>148</sup>



We can conclude that despite falls in the Christian share of the population from 78.4% to 70.6%, the United States remains a Christian country by a considerable majority, with some seven in ten Americans still identifying with the Christian faith. That fall is not of significant concern to the leaders of the Christian right for the moment, because the fall in the evangelical percentage is far less precipitous (26.3% down to 25.4% of the adult population). There is concern for the future, however, because the research is revealing that the change in America's religious landscape is particularly evident among young adults. The Millennials are increasingly less religious than their parents and

<sup>147</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> *ibid.*

are less likely to identify with either political party, albeit 'strikingly Democratic' in the past two presidential elections. Allied with this shift, those under 30 are much less likely to sympathise with Israel than the older generations, and sympathise more with the Palestinians.

# CHAPTER TWO

## THE FAITH OF THE PRESIDENTS AS AN INFLUENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL

Despite the vast evidence that presidents' faith deeply affected their lives and their administrations, many scholars have ignored this fascinating and fertile subject.<sup>1</sup>

- Gary Scott Smith

### Introduction

There are many factors which influence U.S. policy toward the Middle East in general, and Israel in particular: the security of oil supplies, the geostrategic ambitions of other powers, and stability in the region itself being just three. The Jewish vote in the U.S. can also be decisive, and not necessarily because Jews are more active in politics, or make large campaign donations. Despite making up less than 3 per cent of the population, the Jewish vote can be critical in the swing states like Florida (where *every* vote counted in the 2000 election between Al Gore and George W. Bush), Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. U.S. policy toward Israel is often a significant factor for this bloc. 'The greatest political strength of American Jewry lies in the fact that it is *a uniquely swayable bloc*. The issue of support for Israel has proven capable of spurring a sizeable portion of Jews to switch parties - in large enough numbers to tip the scales in national or statewide elections.'<sup>2</sup>

A president's faith is another of the many factors that might influence U.S. policy decisions toward Israel. Paul Merkley argues that while faith alone

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, G. S., *Faith and the Presidency: From George Washington to George W. Bush*, Oxford University Press, London, 2006, p vii.

<sup>2</sup> Helmreich, J. S., *The Israel Swing Factor: How the American Jewish Vote Influences US Elections*, The Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs, 15 January, 2001, retrieved 25 April, 2013, <<http://www.jcpa.org/jl/vp446.htm>>.

does not determine what action an American president might take, their religious beliefs do play a part in the policies presidents, and as a consequence the nation, adopt toward Israel.<sup>3</sup> Given the powerful influence a U.S. president can have over foreign policy, this chapter will examine the faith of presidents, from Truman to Obama, and their policies toward Israel. There are also implications for future policy, because as we shall see, several of the 2016 presidential candidates have a strong Christian faith, with concomitant links to the Holy Land.

### **Harry S. Truman**

Truman was a man of deep religious conviction, carrying a prayer in his wallet that he read once every day:

Oh! Almighty and Everlasting God, Creator of Heaven, Earth, and the Universe: Help me to be, think, to act what is right, because it is right; make me truthful, honest and honorable in all things; make me intellectually honest for the sake of right and honor and without thought or reward to me. Give me the ability to be charitable, forgiving and patient with my fellow men – help me to understand their motives and their shortcomings – even as Thou understandest mine! Amen, Amen, Amen.<sup>4</sup>

Truman was raised a Baptist, and from a period in his youth, when the family moved to Independence and worshipped in a Presbyterian church, Truman remained Baptist for the whole of his life. He told the National Baptist Convention after he left the presidency that he was 'a Baptist by education and by belief that John the Baptist recognized and baptized the Saviour of the

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<sup>3</sup> Merkley, P.C., *American Presidents, Religion and Israel*, Praeger, Connecticut, 2004, frontispiece.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*, p 5.

World, Jesus.<sup>5</sup> The key question here, is what influence if any, did Truman's religion play in his support for the establishment of the Jewish State?

When he took over as president after Franklin D Roosevelt (FDR) died in office on 12 April, 1945, Truman, a voracious reader, was already well informed on the issue of Palestine. As a Senator, Truman had been party to the implementation of the Balfour Declaration. He was also aware that after FDR's meeting with the King of Saudi Arabia, Ibn Saud, on board the USS Quincy on the Great Bitter Lake in 1945, Roosevelt was wavering in his support for the Zionist cause. As previously noted, when Truman assumed office, the State Department cautioned the president not to make any decisions on the complex issue of Palestine.<sup>6</sup>



**President Truman meeting on May 8, 1951 with Prime Minister Ben Gurion of Israel and Israeli Ambassador to the UN, Abba Eban.**

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<sup>5</sup> *ibid*, p 4.

<sup>6</sup> Merkley, P., *The Politics of Christian Zionism*, op.cit., p 167.

Truman would later recall that the 'striped pants boys' were in effect telling him to watch his step, and that foreign policy was best left to the experts. Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, in response to Truman's inclination to recognise Israel, put it more bluntly: 'You don't understand. There are four hundred thousand Jews and forty million Arabs ... Oil – that is the side we ought to be on.'<sup>7</sup> Indeed, most of his advisors were firm in their opposition to the U.S. declaring support for the partition of Palestine as part of UN Resolution 181. 'His [Truman's] decision to ratify Israel's Declaration of Independence on May 14, 1948, by means of an immediate declaration of de facto recognition was taken against the virtually unanimous advice of his senior diplomatic, military, and economic advisers,'<sup>8</sup> but in Merkley's view, Truman was in a unique position to set the parameters for official American policy toward the State of Israel. 'His commitment to the religious training of his youth, fortified by his admiration of the singular political accomplishments of the Zionist leaders, caused him to be an unwavering friend of the new state.'<sup>9</sup>

Merkley's view is echoed by former presidential candidate, Gary Bauer. When interviewed, Bauer asserted that the historical connections with Israel are deeply rooted in American foreign policy and that Truman thought about things from a southern Baptist perspective:

'When the modern state of Israel was created, President Truman was facing his entire cabinet and George Marshall saying "you cannot recognise Israel. We're going to alienate the Muslims and it's going to threaten our oil supplies." Truman went into seclusion for the weekend before reaching his decision to support Israel. In the following years when people would say to him "that was a courageous decision," he would reply: "I'm the modern King Cyrus. I saved the Jews," because in addition to the political issues that you should weigh as a president and whether Truman should have recognised the new

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<sup>7</sup> Isaacson, W. and Thomas, E., *The Wise Men*, Simon and Shuster, New York, 1986, p 452.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p 16.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, pp 21-22.

Israeli nation, he [Truman] was a southern Baptist and it's the way he thought about things personally.'<sup>10</sup>

Andrew Preston's analysis of Truman's role in the U.S. recognition of Israel brought Preston to an even starker conclusion. 'Without religion ... it is unlikely that Truman would have acted as he did in the face of ferocious and nearly unanimous opposition from the State and Defense Departments ... [unlike other presidential decisions] the recognition of Israel required nothing more than a presidential directive.'<sup>11</sup>

Mead, however, has a slightly different view, albeit agreeing that Truman's advisors at State and Defense were against recognition:

'George Marshall was against it because he thought the Arabs would invade Israel and they would lose. Marshall said "you will suffer a terrible defeat if you do this." Marshall wasn't anti-Israel per se, it was more the strategy and the military thinking. And remember the British were training the Arab Legion, and Marshall would have known the British officers and known they were competent, so it all makes sense why Marshall took the stance he did. But the stories about Truman being a friend of the Zionists and being persuaded by Chaim Weizman to support Israel ... whatever grains of truth might be in all of that, ignores the fact that there is no other political calculation that would have made any sense for Truman to do anything other than what he did. Support for the establishment of Israel had been the stated position for every American president from Woodrow Wilson ... to do anything else would have been to deviate from twenty years of bi-partisan American foreign policy.'<sup>12</sup>

In November 1953, after he had left the Presidency of the United States, Truman was invited to meet a group of Jewish dignitaries at a Jewish theological seminary in New York. A long time friend, Eddie Jacobson introduced Truman to the group as 'the man who helped create the State of

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with CUFBI Board Member and former U.S. Presidential candidate, Gary L. Bauer, 19 February, 2015.

<sup>11</sup> Preston, A., *Sword of Spirit, Shield of Faith*, Alfred E. Knopf, New York, 2012, p 435.

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Walter Russell Mead, op.cit.



Israel.' Truman immediately shot back: 'What do you mean, helped to create? I am Cyrus. I am Cyrus.'<sup>13</sup> In declaring he was 'Cyrus', Truman was emphatically linking his support for modern Israel with his own beliefs and his knowledge of the Bible. It was a reference to the Old Testament and Cyrus the Great, the Persian king who conquered Babylon in 540 BCE and allowed the Jews to return to Israel after their exile from Jerusalem nearly fifty years earlier.

### **Dwight D. Eisenhower**

Three presidents have been confronted with serious crises involving Israel: Eisenhower with the 1956 Suez Crisis; Johnson with the 1967 Six Day War; and Nixon with the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Like Johnson and Nixon, Eisenhower had been raised in a Protestant fundamentalist church. In Eisenhower's case, as his brother, Milton, puts it: 'All of us boys were raised in the River Brethren Church [in Abilene, Kansas], which was strictly fundamentalist in doctrine.'<sup>14</sup>

When Britain, France and Israel attacked Egyptian forces in the Gaza and Sinai (against the advice of the Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, who had wanted the operation delayed until after the U.S. presidential election, lest it cause Eisenhower embarrassment at the polls), they failed to inform Eisenhower, who was forced to interrupt his election campaign to deal with an unwanted crisis. Eisenhower had earlier taken a distant approach to Israel, warning Ben-Gurion not to make any assumptions that the need to win an election would make Eisenhower hesitate to take a firm policy position if Israel took too aggressive a stance. In a diary entry, Eisenhower noted that 'on a long term basis, aggression on his [Ben-Gurion's] part cannot fail to

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<sup>13</sup> Davis, M., *Reflections on Harry S. Truman and the State of Israel*, in Weinstein, A., and Ma'oz, M., eds, *Truman and the American Commitment to Israel*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem, 1981, p 83.

<sup>14</sup> Eisenhower, M. S., *The President is Calling*, Doubleday, New York, 1974, p 87.



**President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Egypt's President Gamal Nasser, prior to the latter's nationalization of the Suez Canal**

bring catastrophe – and such friends as he would have left in the world, no matter how powerful, could not do anything about it.’<sup>15</sup>

UN Resolution 119, sponsored by the United States, called for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of all occupying forces from Egyptian territory. Sixty-four nations supported the proposal, while five opposed it – Britain, France, Israel, Australia and New Zealand, and it was passed on 7 November, 1956. Notwithstanding that Eisenhower once wrote ‘I grew up believing that the Jews were the chosen people, that they gave us the high ethical and moral principles of our civilization,’<sup>16</sup> it would be wrong to assume that any of his foreign policy decisions were influenced by that religious upbringing. Indeed, it was an upbringing he eschewed, only joining the Presbyterian Church by baptism just prior to assuming the presidency. As he said in his inaugural address, joining the Presbyterian Church was a means of pointing out that the United States was getting too secular as a nation. ‘Dwight Eisenhower gave no hint of his familiarity with the themes of Christian

<sup>15</sup> Ferrell, R., (ed), *The Eisenhower Diaries*, Norton, New York, 1981, pp 331-332.

<sup>16</sup> Miller, M., *Ike the Soldier: As They Knew Him*, G. P Putnam's Sons, New York, 1980, p 297.

restorationism [the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land] and the lines of thought that persuaded Harry Truman to say of himself that he was Cyrus. This was not because was unaware of these themes, but that he was only too well aware of them and came to despise them.<sup>17</sup> Unlike Truman, or George W. Bush for example, Eisenhower was neither Cyrus, nor the heir to Cyrus.

### **John F. Kennedy**

The presidency of John F. Kennedy provides another example of a president who was not greatly influenced by his faith in decisions he made concerning Israel. Kennedy took office on 20 January, 1961, in a period during which a relative calm had descended over the State of Israel with the debris of the 1956 Suez crisis cleared away. The Cold War, however, had expanded its ambit to the Middle East, with the Soviets working to draw Egypt, Iraq and Syria into the fold, prompting Eisenhower to provide support to Israel's other immediate neighbours, Jordan and Lebanon. Israel itself was not under direct threat, and this perhaps explains why neither Democrats nor Republicans gave the issues confronting Israel much airplay during the 1960 presidential election campaign. 'Neither platform bid boldly for pro-Israel voters, but as usual, most Jews read more comfort into the Democratic Party platform.'<sup>18</sup>

In terms of the personal faiths of those in the White House, Kennedy's religious and moral commitments are amongst the most difficult to discern. Richard Hutcheson, who has written on how religion has changed the modern presidency, describes Kennedy's moderation in expressing any religious belonging. 'No president in history has adhered more rigorously to the classic pattern of 'moderation' and to the gentlemen's agreement to keep personal faith separate from public life than he.'<sup>19</sup> Despite Catholicism not being especially influential on American foreign policy, religion did figure in the 1960

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<sup>17</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 28.

<sup>18</sup> Johnson, D.B. (ed), *National Party Platforms*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1978, in Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 50.

<sup>19</sup> Hutcheson, R.G., *God in the White House: How Religion Has Changed the Modern Presidency*, MacMillan, New York, 1988, p 52.

presidential election. It was only the second time that a Roman Catholic had run for the presidency on a major party ticket, the first being back in 1928, when Alfred E. Smith was decisively beaten by Herbert Hoover; but in 1960, the Democratic candidate, John F. Kennedy, was young, intelligent and charming. By contrast, Richard Nixon, Kennedy's Republican opponent, who had been Eisenhower's vice-president, was dour. Notwithstanding Kennedy's charm, in the spring of 1960, when it appeared that Kennedy would soon win the Democratic nomination for the White House, Graham, together with other American Protestant leaders, held a secret meeting in Montreux, Switzerland. The gathering included Norman Vincent Peale, the pastor of the Marble Collegiate Church in New York City, and the purpose of the meeting was 'to discuss ways to deny Kennedy the presidency and thereby ensure Nixon's election.'<sup>20</sup> The prejudices stemmed from a deep-seated fear that Roman Catholics were bound to be loyal to a 'foreign power' in the form of the Vatican. Kennedy himself addressed these fears on several occasions during the election campaign. Campaigning in West Virginia he told his audiences that the real issue for West Virginians was economic distress, 'not where I go to church on Sunday.'<sup>21</sup>

Religion had now become the biggest issue in the battle for the Democratic nomination and in an address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington, Kennedy changed his address from one on America's stake in the underdeveloped world, to a speech on his stance on religion. He was not, he said, 'appealing to the so-called Catholic vote ... [and] even if such a vote exists, which I doubt, I want to make one thing clear again: I want no votes solely on account of my religion.'<sup>22</sup> In responding to the anti-Catholic sentiment, Kennedy displayed characteristic charm and eloquence: 'Nobody asked me if I was a Catholic when I joined the United States Navy ... and nobody asked my brother [Kennedy's older brother, Joseph P. Kennedy was

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<sup>20</sup> *ibid*, p 361.

<sup>21</sup> *The Campaign: The Religion Issue*, Time Magazine, 2 May 1960, retrieved 8 November 2011, <<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,826347-1,00.html>>.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid*.

killed in World War II] if he was a Catholic or a Protestant before he climbed into an American bomber to fly his last mission.'<sup>23</sup> As president, Kennedy vowed, he would not 'take orders from any Pope, any Cardinal, any Bishop or any priest – not that they would try and give me orders.'<sup>24</sup> In the view of David Leege, Emeritus Professor of political science at Notre Dame, both religious affinity, and the memories of anti-Catholic bigotry in the 1928 presidential election, not only fueled 80 percent of Catholics to vote for Kennedy, 'their presence in key electoral college states carried Kennedy to the White House. But it did more than that: it told *both* parties that they needed to compete for Catholic voters.'<sup>25</sup> Kennedy's victory over Nixon was one of the closest in U.S. history, but the nation had nevertheless voted, as Kennedy put it in his inaugural address, 'to entrust the nation to a new generation of Americans.'<sup>26</sup>

Interestingly, some 55 years later, as America moves toward an election in 2016, there is a plethora of Catholics contesting the Republican nomination and one for the Democrats – the former governor of Maryland, Martin O'Malley who announced his candidacy on 30 May 2015. Up until now, 'only three Roman Catholics have ever run for president on a major party ticket [in addition to Alfred E. Smith and Kennedy, John Kerry ran in 2004], and all were Democrats. So far six Catholics (including some early favorites) are running for the 2016 Republican presidential nomination.'<sup>27</sup> They include former Florida Governor Jeb Bush, current Florida Senator Marco Rubio, former Senator Rick Santorum, New Jersey Governor Chris Christie, Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal and former New York Governor, George Pataki. This may prove interesting, given the positions the current pontiff, Pope Francis,

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Reeves, T., *A Question of Character*, MacMillan, New York, 1991, pp 161-162., in Merkley, *American Presidents, Religion and Israel*, op.cit., p 53.

<sup>25</sup> Leege, D., *Catholics and the American Presidency*, in Espinosa, G., (ed), *Religion, Race and the American Presidency*, Rowman and Littlefield, New York, 2008, p 60.

<sup>26</sup> Butler, J., et al., op.cit., p 365.

<sup>27</sup> Pew Fact Tank, 23 July 2015, retrieved 24 July 2015, < [http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/07/23/the-2016-gop-field-has-a-bumper-crop-of-catholic-candidates/?utm\\_source=Pew+Research+Center&utm\\_campaign=5bce2990e0-Religion\\_Weekly\\_July\\_23\\_2015&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_3e953b9b70-5bce2990e0-399909377](http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/07/23/the-2016-gop-field-has-a-bumper-crop-of-catholic-candidates/?utm_source=Pew+Research+Center&utm_campaign=5bce2990e0-Religion_Weekly_July_23_2015&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_3e953b9b70-5bce2990e0-399909377)>.

has taken on issues such as recognition of a Palestinian state, a tougher stance on climate change, and opposition to free market capitalism – positions that are at odds with Republican policy. The Catholic vote today, however, is not as critical as that of the evangelicals, although nevertheless important. In 2012, for example, white Catholics made up 18% of the electorate, representing some 40 million voters.<sup>28</sup> 'White Catholics swung strongly in the Republican direction relative to 2008. Nearly six-in-ten white Catholics (59%) voted for Romney, up from (52%) who voted for McCain in 2008.'<sup>29</sup>

In terms of Kennedy and Israel, in spite of there being no major crisis involving the Jewish state during the 1000 days Kennedy was in the White House, 'it is extraordinary that none of the major accounts of the Kennedy presidency gives more than a few lines to Israel.'<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, compared to the arms-length approach of Eisenhower to Israel, the relationship between the Kennedy Administration and Jerusalem was friendlier (on 26 December 1949, the Knesset moved from Tel Aviv to a 'temporary' home in Beit Frumin on King George Street, in Jerusalem). When Kennedy met with then Foreign Minister Golda Meir in 1962, he said that the United States 'has a special relationship with Israel in the Middle East really comparable only to that which it has with Britain over a wide range of world affairs.'<sup>31</sup> Such sentiment was not grounded in any Trumanesque biblical foundation. Having won New York

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<sup>28</sup> Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, , *How the Faithful Voted*, op.cit.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 51.

<sup>31</sup> Parmet, H. S., *JFK*, Penguin, New York, 1983, in Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 52.



State by a slender 384,000 votes, with 'Jewish precincts [delivering] him a total of 800,000 votes,'<sup>32</sup> Kennedy was more concerned with the influence of the Jewish vote on his presidency. The Truman and Eisenhower administrations had an understanding that Israel would purchase arms through NATO governments, so as to not jeopardise U.S. relations with Arab countries. In contrast, Kennedy was the first president to approve major arms sales to Israel in the form of Hawk anti-aircraft missiles, but there is no evidence to suggest that this was anything other than a pragmatic, political approach grounded in Kennedy's consciousness of the Jewish vote.

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<sup>32</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, *ibid.*

## Lyndon B. Johnson

Johnson was raised near Stonewall, Texas and attended the Church of Christ (Disciples) that had its origin in the 1830s revival. Like Eisenhower, Johnson had a low opinion of religious enthusiasm and he neither followed a settled routine of prayer nor Bible study. 'Each [Eisenhower and Johnson] carried about a very short repertoire of scriptural passages that could be worked into public addresses and occasionally into conversations. Johnson's favorite all-



**President Lyndon Johnson**

purpose passage came from Isaiah 1:18: 'Come let us reason together.'<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, Johnson had a sentimental, rather than religious attachment to Israel. His grandfather, Samuel Ealy Johnson, was a Christadelphian, a group of Christians who believe, inter alia, that the Jews are God's chosen people. There is evidence in the form of *Operation Texas*, an undercover operation mounted in 1938 to rescue Jews from Nazi Germany, that Johnson took his grandfather's advice to take care of the Jews. Johnson was one of only four presidents to serve in all four elected federal offices – Representative,

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<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, p55.



Senator, Vice-President and President (the other three were Nixon, Andrew Johnson and John Tyler), and when he was a Congressman, Johnson worked behind the scenes to establish a refuge in Texas for Jews fleeing Nazi persecution. Johnson also played a key role as Majority Leader in the Senate in opposing President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles's efforts to impose sanctions on Israel following the Suez Crisis.

In May 1967, after President Nasser demanded and achieved the withdrawal of UN forces supervising the truce after the Suez war, Nasser moved his own forces into the Sinai and closed the Straits of Aqaba to Israeli shipping; but Johnson and Rusk were angered by the successful Israeli pre-emptive strike against Egypt and Syria, because all avenues of negotiation had yet to be explored. 'The government of Israel was right in guessing that his [Johnson's] devotion to Israel had limits. It is fair to assume that the team of LBJ and Rusk would not have responded with the life-saving alacrity shown by Kissinger and Nixon at the time of Israel's desperate need in October 1973.'<sup>34</sup> Indeed, in the aftermath of the 1967 Six Day War, LBJ and Rusk played a role in influencing the drafting of UN Resolution 242, the preamble to which recognises the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. It should be noted, however, that Merkley's assertions on 'life-saving alacrity' are, in the view of this author, not correct. As we shall see, at the time of the Yom Kippur war, Nixon was mired in Watergate and had withdrawn to his retreat in Key Biscayne, leaving the running of U.S. support to Kissinger, who was less than swift in ensuring Israel received the arms and ammunition they so desperately needed.

### **Richard M. Nixon**

Nixon came from a Quaker background, although one that was quite removed from the Quaker's pacifist approach. 'The East Whittier Friends Church taught

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<sup>34</sup> *ibid*, p 56.

and practiced [sic] the essentials of mainstream Evangelical Protestantism.<sup>35</sup> There is evidence of Nixon's faith from Kissinger's biographer, Walter Isaacson, who provides us with a rare, and somewhat bizarre snapshot of 'Nixon unglued'. The night before Nixon faced an ignominious resignation to avoid impeachment, in a tearful final evening with Kissinger, Nixon ventured that although they probably had different religious beliefs, there was a sharing of a strong belief in a Supreme Being. 'Late at night, Nixon confided [to Kissinger], after working in the Lincoln Sitting Room, he would often follow his mother's Quaker custom by getting on his knees in prayer.'<sup>36</sup> As he walked Kissinger from the sitting room after a long night of discussion, Nixon stopped by the entrance to the Lincoln bedroom and asked his Secretary of State to kneel and pray with him, and then began to cry. 'Through his sobs he bemoaned his fate and railed against the agony that his enemies had dealt to him.'<sup>37</sup> Walter Isaacson is a biographer of international acclaim, and there is no reason to doubt his sources, but the question arises, was this a demonstration of piety on the part of Nixon, or that of a brandy-fuelled, desperate president?

In contrast to his last days, the first days in office saw Nixon institute worship services in the White House. Nixon had previously met with Billy Graham, the noted evangelist, and not surprisingly, Graham presided over the first White House service, six days after offering the prayer at Nixon's inauguration. 'Nixon had forged close ties with the evangelist Billy Graham, who, over the course of a friendship that lasted several decades, probably came as close to anyone to being Nixon's soul mate.'<sup>38</sup> In a mirror image of Graham's crusades, Cliff Barrows led the singing, George Beverly Shea provided vocal solos and Graham preached. Other religious leaders also participated in the services, including Norman Vincent Peale (of anti-Kennedy's Catholicism

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<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, p 63.

<sup>36</sup> Isaacson, W., *Kissinger: A biography*, Simon and Shuster, New York, 1992, p 599.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Butler, J., et al, *op.cit.*, p 360.

fame) and other Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders, but did this outward show of piety have a political bent?

Charles W. Colson famously declared he would run over his own grandmother to secure Nixon's re-election. After pleading guilty to obstruction of justice in 1973, Colson became an evangelical and functioned as an elder statesman for the Christian right, but at the beginning of the Nixon presidency, Colson received an action memo instructing him to 'get moving on "the President's request that you develop a list of rich people with a strong religious interest to be invited to the White House church services.'"<sup>39</sup> Presidents and Board Chairmen of AT&T, General Electric, General Motors, Chrysler, Westinghouse and a host of other business luminaries were invited, along with non-VIPs, including the wives of POWs, the latter limited to no more than 25 percent of the congregation. Religion has often been encumbered by hypocrisy, and the church services at the Nixon White House were no exception. Nixon's chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, when he discovered that the congregation invitees had reached a level where officials of regulatory agencies were being invited, circulated another memo pointing out that 'it isn't going to do us one bit of

**President Nixon and Pastor Billy Graham**



<sup>39</sup> Martin, W., *A Prophet With Honor: The Billy Graham Story*, William Morrow & Company, New York, 1991, p 356.

good to have a member of a regulatory agency at the Church Service ... if they are to be invited, please limit the invitations to the Chairman or to an appointee we [are] working on for a specific purpose.<sup>40</sup> Near the end of Nixon's second year in office Graham sent the president an effusive letter: 'You have given moral and spiritual leadership to the nation at a time when we desperately needed it, Thank You!'<sup>41</sup> Any benefit Nixon received from the church services was not immediately apparent, and the question remains, where did this outward show of piety leave Nixon in relation to decisions on Israel?

There is evidence to suggest that, like presidents before and after him, Nixon was focused on the Jewish vote. Early in his presidency, Nixon was besieged by requests from the Israelis for sophisticated military technology. He consistently refused these requests until the need to increase the Jewish vote came into focus in the run up to the 1972 election, with the requests being finally approved in the spring of that year. Indeed the arms approvals gave Nixon cause to believe that by responding well to Israel's requests for arms, 'he had earned an increase in his share [from roughly 17% in 1968] of the Jewish vote.'<sup>42</sup> With the Republican candidate, George McGovern, trailing badly in the polls, at the time of the election, Nixon won 18 million more *popular votes* than his challenger – the largest numerical margin in any U.S. presidential election, and he increased the *Jewish vote* from 17% in 1968 to 35% in 1972.<sup>43</sup>

**The Yom Kippur War.** On the Day of Yom Kippur, Saturday 6 October, 1973, the forces of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Syrian President al Assad invaded Israel. By 13 October, Israeli forces, with considerable losses, had regained the Golan Heights, but their military supplies were almost

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<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, p 357.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, p 371.

<sup>42</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 68.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*

exhausted. The Soviets were reinforcing both the Egyptians and the Syrians, but Nixon was missing in action, bunkered down in his retreat at Key Biscayne, drinking heavily and stalling the demands of Special Prosecutor Cox for the Watergate tapes. At the same time, he was dealing with the resignation of disgraced Vice President Spiro Agnew; the selection of Gerald Ford as the new Vice President; and preparing to fire Special Prosecutor Cox, Attorney General Elliot Richardson and Assistant Attorney General Ruckelshaus in an attempt to kill off the investigations into the 'third rate burglary' at the Watergate complex. The Yom Kippur crisis was largely left to Kissinger, who in addition to his duties as National Security Advisor had added those of Secretary of State, and now had a free hand. During the crisis, 'Nixon did not attend a single formal meeting on the war.'<sup>44</sup> Nixon had ordered a resupply for the Israeli forces, but that was on condition that Israel get serious about a negotiated end to the Palestinian problem, with Nixon declaring that Israel could not 'get away with just having this thing hang over for another four years and have us at odds with the Arab world. We're not going to do it anymore.'<sup>45</sup>

Both Kissinger and the Pentagon delayed over using U.S. military transports, in part for fear of antagonising the Arab world and jeopardising oil supplies to the West, and in part because of Kissinger's desire to continue pursuing détente with the Soviets. Just before midnight on Friday 12 October, 1973, the Israeli ambassador to Washington, Simcha Dinitz showed up at Kissinger's White House office. 'Israel, he said, would run out of ammunition in three days.'<sup>46</sup> Kissinger phoned Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, with Kissinger later noting in his memoirs that he and Schlesinger were pretty much in agreement on the need to resupply Israel. Schlesinger's recollection of the call was starkly different, claiming Kissinger flew off the handle. "As

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<sup>44</sup> Ambrose, S., *Nixon Vol 3: Ruin and Recovery, 1973-1990*, Simon and Shuster, New York, 1991, p 235.

<sup>45</sup> Kissinger, H. *Years of Upheaval*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1982, p 468.

<sup>46</sup> Isaacson, op.cit., p 521.

Israel began to fall apart," Schlesinger recalled, "Henry began to fall apart."<sup>47</sup> Nor was the relationship between Kissinger and Nixon soundly based. Kissinger 'saw himself as a superior intellect manipulating a malleable president. Nixon called him "my Jew boy" behind his back and ... Kissinger privately referred to Nixon as "that madman," "our drunken friend," and "the meatball mind."<sup>48</sup>

Neither Kissinger nor Nixon was eager to support Israel at the expense of other policy issues, including diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and Arab countries. Once the airlift had begun, 'Nixon thought it worthwhile to remind Kissinger that, despite the airlift, he did not want Israel to get too cocky. "We have to squeeze the Israelis when this is over, and the Russians have got to know it ...we have to squeeze them goddamn hard."<sup>49</sup> Both Nixon and Kissinger had been frustrated more than once by Israeli intransigence to the peace process. That said, under Nixon's presidency, 'American aid went from \$300 million to \$2.2 billion per year and the United States became for the first time the principal arms supplier to Israel.'<sup>50</sup> There is no indication however, that Nixon's faith, whatever it might have been, had any influence at all on his foreign policy decisions. 'Either Nixon had never learned, or he did not recall the foundation text of the Christian Zionist: "I will bless those who bless you" [Genesis 12:3]. The notion that Israel was so situated in God's purpose as to be able to convey blessings did not resonate with him. Nixon was the sort of person who never did a good deed without getting a receipt.'<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Daller, R., *The Kissinger Presidency*, Vanity Fair, May 2007, retrieved 12 Nov 2011, <<http://www.vanityfair.com/news/2007/05/kissinger200705>>.

<sup>49</sup> Isaacson, *op.cit.*, p 522.

<sup>50</sup> Goldberg, J.J., *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment*, Addison Wesley, New York, 1996, p 203.

<sup>51</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, *op.cit.*, p 79.

## Gerald Ford

In his autobiography, Gerald Ford quotes his oft-used favourite text from the Old Testament Book of Proverbs: 'Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and lean not on your own understanding. In all your ways submit to him, and he will make your paths straight.'<sup>52</sup> Ford learned the prayer as a child in Sunday school and 'repeated it often at sea during World War II. It was something I said whenever a crisis arose.'<sup>53</sup> In his public life, he was a regular churchgoer and Episcopalian, but he often moved in evangelical circles.

Following Nixon's resignation, Ford inherited the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur war, and Kissinger continued to work on disengagement agreements between Israel, Syria and Egypt; but whatever initiatives Ford might have wanted to put in place, he was severely restricted by a number of issues including the aftermath of the Vietnam war, Watergate, and the fact that precisely one month to the day of Nixon's resignation in disgrace, Ford gave him a full, free and absolute pardon. Ford's popularity went into free fall and given that anti-Semitism could trace much of its origin to fundamental Christian doctrine, his election campaign team focused on a perceived weakness in his opponent, Jimmy Carter.

Interviewed in Washington, Ms Betsy Bellows is arguably one of the few remaining members of Ford's campaign team still alive today. Ms Bellows was seconded from Senator Jacob Javits' office (R- NY) to assist with the campaign and at the time, was relatively junior, but she recalled that many Jewish leaders were highly suspicious of the evangelical approach of Jimmy Carter.<sup>54</sup> In terms of attitudes to Israel, it was the Jewish vote that was a key factor in driving Ford's policy statements, rather than a personal religious attachment to God's chosen people. 'At the beginning of the election year

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<sup>52</sup> Holy Bible, New International Version, Proverbs 3:5,6.

<sup>53</sup> Ford, G. R., *A Time to Heal: The Autobiography of Gerald R. Ford*, Harper and Row, New York, 1979, p 10.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Ms Betsy Bellows, member of President Ford's campaign team, Washington, 16 January, 2015.

<sup>55</sup> Ms Bellows recalled well, that Ford worked very hard to capture the Jewish vote in that election year.<sup>56</sup> Ford increased both financial and military aid to Israel, and in an address to the Yeshiva at the Flatbush High School in Brooklyn, New York on 12 October, 1976, Ford noted that Prime Minister Rabin had been a personal friend since the days when the latter had been Ambassador to the United States and Ford Minority Leader in the House of Representatives. 'The funds for Israel in my first two years of office,' Ford said, 'totaled \$4,300 million.'<sup>57</sup> An address to a gathering of Jewish leaders at the American Jewish Committee's 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary sheds further light on what might have driven Ford's policy decisions toward Israel, and two premises stand out. The first, in Ford's view, was one of strategic necessity and stability in the Middle East was a key factor in protecting American interests. 'A strong Israel is essential to a stable peace in the Middle East. Our commitment to Israel will meet the test of



**President Ford and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, 13 June 1975**

<sup>55</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 84.

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Ms Betsy Bellows , op.cit.

<sup>57</sup> Ford, G., *Presidential Papers*, 12 October 1976, retrieved 12 April, 2011, <  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=6448&st=&st1=#axzz1KEPbr5i4>>.



American steadfastness and resolve. My administration will not be found wanting. The United States will continue to help Israel provide for her security.<sup>58</sup> The second premise however, *was* based on the Old Testament, with Ford making several biblical references in his speech, including a comparison with a promised land in the U.S., an affirmation of America's special relationship with Israel, and a clear reference to the separation of church and state:

'When America's founders created this Republic 200 years ago, they saw it as a promised land. They were inspired by moral and ethical values of the Old Testament as well as by the teachings of Jesus. As we reaffirm America's traditional separation of church from state, we also honor the spirit of our Constitution which draws its moral philosophy from the Jewish-Christian heritage ... America must and America will pursue friendship with all nations, but this will never be done at the expense of America's commitment to Israel.'<sup>59</sup>

In the end, notwithstanding a campaign strategy to wrest the Jewish vote from the Democrats, Ford's support of Israel stemmed in part because of strategic issues, and in part from his own religious convictions, but his commitment to Israel for strategic, spiritual and pragmatic electoral reasons was not enough to stem the Carter tide. Jewish voters overcame their reservations over the evangelical Jimmy Carter and 'voted overwhelmingly to return a Democrat to the Office of President of the United States, on which the survival of Israel had depended so often in the past.'<sup>60</sup>

## **Jimmy Carter**

During the election campaign of 1976, Carter surprised many in the Democratic Party by coming from relative obscurity as a Southerner, a one-term governor, and a farmer, to be the front runner for the Democratic

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<sup>58</sup> Ford, G., *Presidential Papers*, 13 May 1976, retrieved 12 April, 2011, <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=6448&st=&st1=#axzz1KEPbr5i4>>.

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 86.

nomination; and if that background did not rule him out, 'in expert circles, the *surest* mark of Jimmy Carter's *disqualification* for the presidency was that he *volunteered* information on his religious faith and offered to demonstrate the connection between that faith and his position on public issues.'<sup>61</sup> When he was Governor of Georgia, Carter had previously told a Christian convention in Atlanta that the most important thing in his life was Jesus Christ. After leaving the presidency, Carter described some of his religious activities, including his conduct of Sunday school classes.

'I've been teaching Bible lessons since I was eighteen years old. I was a midshipman at Annapolis [the United States Naval Academy] and I taught Sunday school every Sunday. I taught Bible lessons on the submarine, I taught ... Sunday school at the First Baptist Church in Washington about fifteen times while I was actually president, and since then I've been teaching at my local church in Plains [Georgia].'<sup>62</sup>

**Former President Jimmy Carter teaching Sunday school in Plains, Georgia**



<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, p 89.

<sup>62</sup> Russ, S., *Teaching the Bible with President Jimmy Carter*, beliefnet, 23 June 2013, retrieved 12 April, 2011, < <http://www.beliefnet.com/Faiths/Christianity/Articles/Teaching-the-Bible-with-Jimmy-Carter.aspx>>.

There is little doubt that Carter was one of the more (and perhaps the most) genuinely devout presidents in modern U.S. history. The question is, how did that faith relate to his decisions on Israel? Carter's position during the 1976 campaign was one of a commitment to the integrity of Israel. He repeatedly re-assured sceptical Jewish voters that Southern Baptists worshipped the same God as the Jews. Indeed, while on the campaign trail, 'Jimmy Carter's efforts to counteract Jewish suspicions of his born-again Christianity led him into declarations of Christian Zionism [declaring that] Israel is the fulfillment of biblical prophecy.'<sup>63</sup> Over time however, including when Carter was in the White House, but especially once he left, his views changed to the point where he declared to the Council on Foreign Relations that 'Israel is the problem toward peace.'<sup>64</sup>

Like Ford, Carter and his advisors were acutely aware of the influence of the Jewish vote on presidential elections, a common strand that connects all administrations to varying degrees. Nevertheless, Carter gave priority to achieving a permanent peace between the Arabs and Israel and he instructed his national security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski (a Polish Catholic) to produce policy to achieve just that. Within two months of Carter's inauguration, his Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, had visited Israel and every Arab state essential to the achievement of peace; but when Yitzhak Rabin visited Carter at the White House in March of 1977, it was widely described as a failure. The two men could not establish a rapport, and as Brzezinski puts it in his memoirs, 'Rabin was stiff, cold and unresponsive. Carter tried to charm him, to give him some sense of his religious interest in the 'land of the Bible,' and to engage him as a human being by inviting Rabin, after the State Dinner, to look in on Carter's special pride and joy, his daughter Amy, who was asleep in her White House bedroom. Rabin declined the offer with a curt

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<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*, p 92.

<sup>64</sup> Brinkley, D., *Unfinished Presidency: Jimmy Carter's Journey Beyond the White House*, Viking, New York, 1998, p 116.

"No, thank you."<sup>65</sup> In contrast to a poor start with Rabin (who relinquished office a short while after his visit), Carter established much better relationships with the leaders in the Arab world, and especially with Anwar Sadat of Egypt, helped substantially by Carter's call for a Palestinian homeland at a town meeting in Clinton, Massachusetts on 16 March, 1977. As Cyrus Vance noted in his memoirs, 'The president and I were convinced that no lasting solution to the Middle East would be possible until, consistent with Israel's right to live in peace and security, a just answer to the Palestinian question could be found, one almost certainly leading to a Palestinian homeland and some form of self-determination.'<sup>66</sup>

Much has been written on Sadat's subsequent historic address to the Israeli Knesset, in which religion was central to Sadat's arguments for peace, with his speech buttressed with passages from Zechariah, Proverbs, the Psalms and the Qur'an. Sadat 'affirmed his own belief as a Muslim in the missions of Moses and Jesus Christ.'<sup>67</sup> Much too, has been written on the subsequent Camp David meeting between Sadat, Begin and Carter and the peace treaty which flowed from it in 1979. Religion was always in the background of the deliberations, and appeared again in the address Carter made to a joint session of Congress (with Begin and Sadat in attendance) on 18 September, 1977:

'The world prayed for the success of our efforts, and I am glad to announce to you that these prayers have been answered ... the prayers at Camp David were the same as those of the shepherd King David, who prayed in the 85th Psalm, "Wilt thou not revive us again: that thy people may rejoice in thee?" ... and I would like to say as a Christian, to these two friends of mine, the words of Jesus, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be the children of God."<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Brzezinski, Z., *Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Advisor, 1977-1981*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1983, p 90.

<sup>66</sup> Vance, C., *Hard Choices: Critical Years in America's Foreign Policy*, Simon and Shuster, New York, 1983, p 164.

<sup>67</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 112.

<sup>68</sup> Carter, J., *Presidential Papers*, 18 September 1977, retrieved 13 April, 2011, <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29799&st=&st1=#axzz1JLwJ4JB8>>.



**Menachem Begin, Jimmy Carter and Anwar Sadat at Camp David, 1978**

Despite Carter's strong religious convictions, nowhere is there any evidence that Carter's faith influenced him in any favourable way toward the Israelis and the land of God's chosen people. Indeed, Carter was already taking on the mantle of a champion of Muslim and Palestinian rights, a position he was to take even more strongly on leaving the White House. On the thorny issue of Jerusalem, Egypt wanted al Quds or East Jerusalem (including the Old City) returned to a sovereign Palestine, while Israel wanted recognition of its sovereignty over the entire city. For his part, 'Carter all along believed that it was an absolute requirement for the *United States*, whatever Egypt or Israel felt, to have in the package something reflecting the fidelity of the United States to its position, stated again and again in the UN, that Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem was illegal, and that this issue was thus a fit matter for present and future diplomacy.'<sup>69</sup>

Early in his prime-ministership, Begin had mistakenly assumed that Carter was a Christian Zionist. Carter had been characterised as an observant Christian, a Bible-reader, a Baptist, and a Sunday school teacher and that was enough for Begin. On the eve of his first meeting with the president, Begin

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<sup>69</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 128.

remarked to an audience of American Jews: 'Jimmy Carter knows the Bible, and that will make it easier for him to know whose land this is.'<sup>70</sup> But Carter was not a Christian Zionist, far from it. He may have professed views compatible with Christian Zionism before Jewish audiences in the lead up to the election of 1976, but in *The Blood of Abraham*, in which he wrote of Christians, Jews and Muslims sharing 'the blood' of the great patriarch common to all three religions, Carter is strident in his support for the Palestinians and the similarity of the latter's position to that of the Jews during the diaspora. 'The Palestinians are suffering from similar circumstances of homelessness, scattered as they are throughout many nations, and their desire for self-determination and their own national homeland has also aroused strong worldwide support.'<sup>71</sup> In the period of Truman to Obama, Carter may arguably have been the most devout Christian, but it did not mean that he automatically sided with 'God's chosen people.'

### **Ronald Reagan**

Reagan, like Kennedy, was outwardly somewhat of an enigma when it comes to religion. He was baptised at the age of twelve into the Disciples of Christ, the church of his Mother, but once he left home, Reagan was not a regular churchgoer. Nor did he attend church when he was elected to the White House, insisting that he did not want to put bystanders at risk, or put the Secret Service to any great trouble!<sup>72</sup> Yet Paul Kengor, who carried out extensive research into Reagan's religiosity for his book *God and Reagan*, insists that despite having no interest in theology, nor being active in any denomination or branch of the Christian church or ever studying the Bible, Reagan was a believer at heart. In his autobiography, Reagan makes frequent reference to prayer. 'I have always prayed a lot [that] things would go better for our country ... I even prayed before football games ... I had

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<sup>70</sup> *ibid*, p 139.

<sup>71</sup> Carter, J., *The Blood of Abraham*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1985, p 113.

<sup>72</sup> Kengor, P., *God and Ronald Reagan: A Spiritual Life*, Harper Collins, New York, 2004, p 17.



never faced a kickoff without a prayer.'<sup>73</sup> Reagan wrote in his diary of the assassination attempt on his life on 30 March, 1981, 'Whatever happens now, I owe my life to God and I will try to serve him in every way I can.'<sup>74</sup>

As indicated earlier in this thesis, the 1980s ushered in the political clout of the religious right and organisations like Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. In the run up to the election, Reagan expressed regret for signing an abortion bill as Governor of California, and George H. W. Bush switched from being pro-choice (during his campaign for the Republican nomination) to pro-life as Reagan's running mate, allowing the religious right to mobilise behind Reagan. Leaders of the religious right encouraged their congregations to become registered voters, 'and if those new voters wanted advice about how to cast their ballots, these religious right leaders were unstinting in their endorsement: Reagan was their man.'<sup>75</sup>



<sup>73</sup> Reagan, R., op.cit., p 32.

<sup>74</sup> ibid., p 263.

<sup>75</sup> Balmer, R., *God in the White House: A History*, HarperOne, New York, 2008, p 117.

As it has today, Israel's standing in world opinion fell during the Reagan years, with a number of key events contributing to this slide in international support. Early in Reagan's first term, relations between Israel and the U.S. had already been strained by Carter's intention to sell AWACs (Airborne Warning and Control System aircraft) to Saudi Arabia. Then, on 7 June, 1981, the Israeli air force destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Osiraq, using American supplied aircraft that were supposed to be used only for defensive purposes. Reagan publicly joined the widespread condemnation of the Israeli attack, having no choice but to ask Congress to investigate whether or not there had been a violation of the agreement to not use American-supplied equipment offensively, but he noted in his diary: 'Frankly, if Congress should decide that [there had been a violation], I'll grant a waiver. Iraq is still technically at war with Israel and I believe they are preparing to build an atom bomb.'<sup>76</sup> In the end, the Israeli air force's violation of Saudi Arabian airspace only strengthened the case for the sale of AWACs to the Saudis, and the Reagan administration won the vote by a narrow margin, but not before the Israelis had enlisted the aid of Jerry Falwell and the religious right to campaign against the sale.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon on 6 June, 1982, further strained relations between Reagan and Prime Minister Begin, particularly after the pro-Israeli Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, was replaced by the pro-Saudi Secretary of State, George Schulz. In an exchange with reporters on 1 August, 1982, the day before a visit by Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Reagan was clearly angry over the bloodshed in Lebanon and Israel's breaches of a UN resolution for a permanent ceasefire. In answer to one reporter's question about his relationship with Israel, Reagan replied 'I lost patience [with Israel] a long time ago.'<sup>77</sup> Following a terrorist attack on the U.S. Embassy in Beirut in April, 1983 (which killed sixteen Americans) and a further attack on the U.S. Marine Headquarters at the Beirut airport (which killed 251), and in the

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<sup>76</sup> Reagan, op.cit., p 413.

<sup>77</sup> Reagan, R., *Presidential Papers*, 1 August 1982, retrieved 13 April, 2011, <  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=42804&st=&st1=#axzz1JLwJ4JB8>>.



face of declining public support for the American presence in Lebanon, Reagan eventually ordered the withdrawal of the marines, walking away from both a commitment to the integrity of Lebanon, and in more general terms, to the security of Israel. So to what extent did Reagan's religion influence any decisions he made on U.S. policy toward Israel?

In the lead up to his election, Reagan had made all the usual commitments, especially to the religious right. 'He had talked of the "unlimited commitment" to a homeland for the Jews which had made it possible for Israel to come into existence and about the "sacred character" of his own commitment.'<sup>78</sup> There is also evidence, according to biographer Lou Cannon, that Reagan was fascinated by the biblical prophecies about the return of the Jews to the promised land, the end times and Armageddon;<sup>79</sup> but like Carter before him, Reagan was not a Christian Zionist, and there is no evidence to suggest his references to biblical prophecies were other than random, or that there was any theological scholarship attached to them. When Reagan withdrew from Lebanon, leaving Israel to deal with a re-invigorated Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), along with an emerging Hezbollah and a yet-to-be formed Hamas, it was not the withdrawal of a man who was concerned over a failure to 'bless' Israel. 'Ronald Reagan had never been securely in the camp of the evangelical Christian Zionists. He visited this company from time to time, and when he was among them it all made sense. When he left it, he forgot about it.'<sup>80</sup>

In terms of the Jewish vote, Reagan had won a reasonable 39% in 1980, but in 1984, despite the Republican Party putting considerable effort into wooing Jewish voters, Walter Mondale out-pollled Reagan in the Jewish community by 67% to 31%.<sup>81</sup> Some have argued that this was respectable and that Jewish

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<sup>78</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 168.

<sup>79</sup> Cannon, L., *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime*, Simon and Shuster, New York, 1991, pp 288-292.

<sup>80</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 170.

<sup>81</sup> *U.S. Presidential Elections: Jewish Voting Record*, The Jewish Virtual Library, retrieved 10 April, 2011, < <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/jewvote.html> >.

voters had, in fact, 'tried the Republican Party on for size'<sup>82</sup>, but Reagan was not one to take a backward step to Israeli lobbying, as he famously alluded to during a news conference on 1 October, 1981, where he confirmed his intention to go ahead with the sale of the AWACs and enhancements to F-15 aircraft for Saudi Arabia. 'While we must always take into account the vital interests of our allies, American security interests must remain our internal responsibility. It is not the business of other nations to make American foreign policy.'<sup>83</sup> Reagan's religion, and the Jewish vote took second place to America's interests.

### **George H. W. Bush**

George H. W. Bush came from a strong Episcopalian family, where Bush's father, Prescott, read a Bible lesson at the breakfast table every day,<sup>84</sup> and there is little doubt that George H. W. Bush was a man of faith. In his inaugural address, he declared that his first act as president was a prayer, and he asked the huge audience to bow their heads. At a subsequent national prayer breakfast on 2 February, 1989, Bush declared that:

'I can also tell you from my heart that I freely acknowledge my need to hear and to heed the voice of Almighty God. I began my Inaugural Address with a prayer out of a deep sense of need and desire of God's wisdom in the decisions we face. And if we're to walk together toward a more caring, more generous America, let us all share in paving the way with prayer.'<sup>85</sup>

The themes of restoration of the Jews to Israel, God's chosen people, and Christian Zionism however, were not themes that are at the forefront of Episcopalian theology, any more than they are a feature of Roman Catholic

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<sup>82</sup> Kampeas, R., *Despite Occasional Disagreements, Reagan Advocated for Jewish Causes*, The Jewish Federations of North America, 6 June 2004, retrieved 25 April, 2011, <  
<http://www.jewishfederations.org/page.aspx?id=66189>>.

<sup>83</sup> Reagan, R., *Presidential Papers*, 1 October 1981, retrieved 25 April, 2011 <  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=44327&st=&st1=#axzz1KEPbr5i4>>.

<sup>84</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 176.

<sup>85</sup> Bush, G.H.W. *Presidential Papers*, 2 February, 1989, retrieved 20 April, 2011, <  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=16637&st=&st1=#axzz1KEPbr5i4>>.

theology. However, George H. W. Bush did have close connections to the evangelical movement in America, and most notably with the evangelist Billy Graham who was a frequent guest at the Bush summer house in Maine, and to whom the cause of Israel was held dear, but there is 'nothing in Bush's words or actions to suggest that he saw the support of Israel in a theological context.'<sup>86</sup> Any analysis of George H. W. Bush's policy toward Israel has to take into account the major events that were occurring on the world stage as Bush came to his presidency. The Iraq-Iran war, which dominated the Reagan years, had ended shortly before Bush assumed office, but then, only months into his presidency, European communism collapsed, followed by the



**President H. W. Bush and Pastor Billy Graham**

dissolution of the Soviet Union. This was followed by Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait on 2 August, 1990 and the defeat of Iraqi forces in the First Gulf War. With the U.S. in the ascendancy, the defeat opened the way for the Madrid peace conference to begin on 30 October, 1991, but the

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<sup>86</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 177.

Israelis could take no comfort from a speech Bush made to Congress a few months earlier on 6 March:

'All of us know the depth of bitterness that has made the dispute between Israel and its neighbors so painful and intractable. ... By now, it should be plain to all parties that peacemaking in the Middle East requires compromise. ... There can be no substitute for diplomacy. A comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. Anything else would fail the twin test of fairness and security. The time has come to put an end to Arab-Israeli conflict.'<sup>87</sup>

The slow-moving Madrid peace conference was eventually eclipsed by the Oslo peace accords that had been negotiated secretly between delegations from Israel and the PLO in the Norwegian capital, but they would not be signed by Yasser Arafat and Prime Minister Rabin in Washington until 13 September, 1993, by which time Clinton was in the White House. Throughout his presidency, Bush demonstrated a pragmatic approach to foreign affairs, and in contrast to his son, neither Bush senior, nor his Secretary of State, James Baker, were backward in criticising Jewish leaders when they thought it warranted. In January, 1991, for example, following the First Gulf War, Israel sought some \$13 billion in additional aid from the United States, including \$3 billion as compensation for damages incurred during scud missile attacks,<sup>88</sup> but as Congress debated the request, Ariel Sharon (at the time Israel's housing minister), was overseeing an aggressive expansion of Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories. Both Bush and Baker were staunchly opposed to American aid money being used for settlement construction on the disputed lands. In a news conference in the briefing room at the White House on 12 September, 1991, in which he explained why he had delayed the

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<sup>87</sup> Bush, G.H.W., *Presidential Papers*, 6 March, 1991, retrieved 16 April, 2011, <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=19364&st=&st1=#axzz1KEPbr5i4>>.

<sup>88</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 187.

loan request, Bush infuriated the Jewish constituency when he referred to the strength of the Jewish lobby on Capitol Hill, complaining that a thousand lobbyists were working against him.<sup>89</sup> Nor was Secretary of State Baker particularly conscious of any need to garner the Jewish vote, with his infamous 'fuck the Jews' remark. In a private conversation with a colleague about Israel, Baker reportedly uttered the vulgarity, noting that Jews 'didn't vote for us anyway.'<sup>90</sup>

Bush senior was clearly a religious man, but he was no great friend of Israel, and during his presidency, he was perhaps as out of touch with Jewish and U.S. pro-Israeli sentiment as he was with the U.S. economy. While the Jewish vote may have cost Bush senior, the economy was a more decisive factor in the 1992 election than foreign affairs.

### **William Jefferson Clinton**

Bill Clinton was born William Jefferson Blythe IV, after his father, who was killed in a car accident before the future president was born. His mother remarried an alcoholic and abusive car salesman, Roger Clinton, and Bill, having changed his name, was brought up in modest circumstances in Hope, Arkansas. Religion did not figure prominently in the Clinton household, although Bill's mother encouraged him to attend Sunday school at the Park Place Baptist Church in Hot Springs. As Clinton notes in his autobiography: 'In 1955, I had absorbed enough of my Church's teachings to know that I was a sinner and to want Jesus to save me ... so I came down the aisle at the end of the Sunday service, professed my faith in Christ and asked to be baptized.'<sup>91</sup> It is a matter of public record that Clinton sang in the choir, but there is no indication that he studied religion at more than a cursory level. 'Unlike Carter, he never developed any intellectual interest in doctrine or

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<sup>89</sup> Bush, G.H.W., *Presidential Papers*, 12 September 1989, retrieved 16 April, 2011, <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=19969&st=&st1=#axzz1KEPbr5i4>>.

<sup>90</sup> Horowitz, C., *The Zion Game*, New York Magazine, retrieved 16 April, 2011, <<http://nymag.com/nymetro/news/politics/columns/citypolitic/4022/>>.

<sup>91</sup> Clinton, W.J., *My Life*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2004, p 30.

other matters that might have occurred to an intellectual who owed some part of his energies to the service of his church.<sup>92</sup> Evangelicals in particular, often questioned whether or not Bill Clinton was a Christian, and in 1994, *Christianity Today* commissioned one of its editors-at-large, Philip Yancey, to carry out an in-depth examination of the president's faith. Yancey has confirmed the young Clinton's early faith, but he also noted that after attending Georgetown, Yale, and Oxford universities, Clinton's religious fervour cooled, only to re-surface before he ran for president. 'In 1980, two events occurred that Clinton now cites as markers pointing the way back. First, his daughter, Chelsea, was born. Second, he took a pilgrimage to Israel led by the reverend W. O. Vaught ... and for the first time in his life began serious bible study.'<sup>93</sup> Yancey, like many Christian leaders who met Clinton during his years in the White House, including some who were publicly critical of Clinton's policies, concluded that Clinton's faith was genuine. 'I have not met a single Christian leader, who, after meeting with Clinton, comes away questioning his sincerity.'<sup>94</sup> Given the conviction that Clinton was a man of faith, we can ask what influence that may have had on his policy decisions on Israel.

There is some evidence to indicate that Clinton's visit to Israel, the mentoring of Pastor Vaught, and religious faith all combined to influence, to some degree, Clinton's policy views toward Israel. In his autobiography, Clinton quotes the pastor's prophetic words, 'Bill, I think you're going to be President someday. I think you'll do a good job, but there's one thing above all you must remember: God will never forgive you if you don't stand by Israel.'<sup>95</sup> Indeed, Clinton involved himself assiduously in the search for peace, from the time of his inauguration and the Oslo Accords early in his presidency, through the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, the distraction of the Monika Lewinski affair, to the recalcitrance of Arafat. In October of 1998, Clinton sponsored

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<sup>92</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., pp 191-192.

<sup>93</sup> Yancey, P. 'The Riddle of Bill Clinton's Faith', *Christianity Today*, Vol 38, No 5, 1994, p 26.

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.*, p 27.

<sup>95</sup> Clinton, op.cit., p 353.



against the United States. The Memorandum was eventually signed on the final day, without Pollard being released (Pollard was released on 20 November, 2015, having served 30 years in prison).<sup>96</sup>

In the 1992 election, Clinton vigorously courted the Jewish vote, attaining 79%, and in 1996, where Clinton was overwhelmingly favoured to win over Bob Dole and the Jewish vote was perhaps less important, Clinton secured 78%.<sup>97</sup> There is also no doubt that the Clinton administration was well

<sup>96</sup> Beaumont, P. and Jacobs, B., *Israeli spy Jonathon Pollard set to be released from prison in November*, 29 July 2015, retrieved 15 August 2015,

<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/28/jonathan-pollard-israel-spy-release-november>>.

<sup>97</sup> Singer, D. (ed), *The American Jewish Yearbook*, 1998, American Jewish Committee, New York, 1998, pp 76-77.

connected with the Jewish community. Israel Shahak, the Israeli political commentator, quoting various sources, put it this way: 'Clinton feels committed to the Jewish vote and ... his administration has a firm Jewish connection ... Clinton loves Israel effusively and even more the American voters who support Israel.'<sup>98</sup> Clinton continued to work for a peace deal, even through the dying days of his presidency when teams of Israeli and Palestinian negotiators met at Bolling Air Force base in December, 2000. At the very last, Ehud Barak, in caretaker mode pending new Israeli elections the following February, had made even more generous concessions than those at the failed Camp David II negotiations the previous July:

'The Palestinians would gain control of 95 per cent of the West Bank, and all of an enlarged Gaza, and a secured land-link in between; the Arab sections of Jerusalem would become the capital of a Palestinian state; Palestinians would have full authority over Muslim and Christian holy places; Israel would withdraw from sixty-three settlements in the West Bank; and there would be limited return of refugees, with compensation from a \$30 million repatriation fund.'<sup>99</sup>

Arafat refused, and Clinton (perhaps finally) realised that Arafat had never waived from his private stance: the destruction of Israel. Instead, Arafat engineered a new wave of violence, and when Arafat phoned Clinton three days before he left office, to praise him as 'a great man', Clinton replied, 'The hell I am ... I'm a colossal failure, and you made me one.'<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Shahak, I., *Open Secrets: Israeli Nuclear and Foreign Policies*, Pluto Press, Chicago, 1997, pp 64, 95.

<sup>99</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 211.

<sup>100</sup> Blumenthal, S., *The Clinton Wars*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, 2003, p 730.





**Former President Bill Clinton at the Western Wall, Judaism's holiest site, 15 November, 2009**

We can but surmise what went through Clinton's mind on the many occasions he grappled with his policy toward Israel. There is no doubt that Clinton courted the Jewish vote, but the fact that he included in his autobiography those words from his pastor, 'Bill, you're going to be President one day ... [and] God will never forgive you if you don't stand by Israel' is a reasonable indication that Clinton's faith and his early association with the biblical lands, may have been a factor as he formulated his policies.

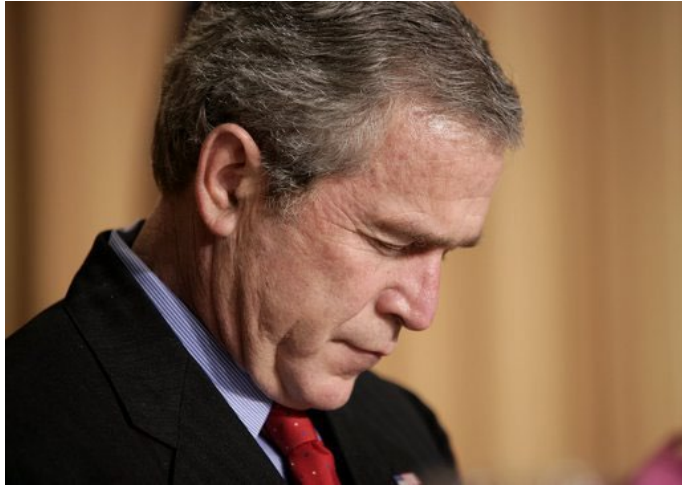
### **George W. Bush**

George W. Bush was arguably the most outwardly religious president in the history of the United States (even more overt than Carter), but his born-again Christianity came relatively late, when he was in his early forties. Bush came from a privileged background, and together with his family, attended the Presbyterian church in Midland, Texas. By the time he attended Yale, alcohol had become a problem, and it was to remain a problem for many years, with his friends describing his apartment in Midland as a 'toxic waste dump'.<sup>101</sup> His

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<sup>101</sup> Mansfield, op.cit., p 53.

future wife, Laura Welch, in contrast to George W., was a librarian and widely read, and she brought a civilising influence to bear after their marriage in 1977, introducing him to the Methodist church. The alcohol problem remained however, and in 1985, when his son was visiting home, a



**President George W. Bush**

concerned George H.W. Bush summoned Billy Graham to the family compound in Kennebunkport, Maine. In a walk along the beach with the evangelist, George W. decided to renew his faith. As Stephen Mansfield points out, the future president had

been ticketed for driving under the influence. His wife had asked him to stop drinking to no avail, and under the influence of alcohol, he had made an idiot of himself on more than one occasion. None of these incidents and influences had convinced him to give up alcohol. 'But once he came to faith, once he came to believe that his life was about a Jesus who died for him, he found both the purpose and the discipline to do something that nothing else could induce him to do: sacrifice pleasure on the altar of a greater cause.'<sup>102</sup> As president, he would later admit to religious leaders that there was only one reason that he was in the Oval Office and not some bar in Texas and that was because 'I found faith. I found God. I am here because of the power of prayer.'<sup>103</sup>

Right from the start, prayer and bible study were a feature of the Bush presidency. David Frum, Bush's economic speech writer in 2001 and a Canadian Jew, tells of the very first words he heard spoken in the Bush White

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<sup>102</sup> *ibid.*, p 73.

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*

House: 'Missed you at Bible study.'<sup>104</sup> Bush opened every cabinet meeting with prayer, and hated to miss church. On Palm Sunday, 2002, the president and his advisors were on board Air Force One returning from a visit to El Salvador and a church service was organised in the plane's small conference room. 'Condoleeza Rice, an accomplished classical musician, led the worship. Karen Hughes [a Presbyterian elder and the one they called 'The Prophet'] gave the lesson, and the entire affair ended with the singing of "Amazing Grace" and hugs and kisses as a sign of Christian fellowship.'<sup>105</sup>

Given the outward strength of Bush's faith, allegations that faith also influenced his decisions may carry some validity. When author and journalist Bob Woodward famously asked Bush in an interview whether or not Bush had asked his father (George H. W. Bush) for advice on going to war in Iraq, George W. Bush responded: 'You know he is the wrong father to appeal to in terms of strength. There is a higher father that [sic] I appeal to.'<sup>106</sup> In addition to Woodward's writings, there have been other reports from, for example, the former Palestinian foreign minister, Nabil Shaath (a report since denied by the White House). Shaath claims that in a meeting with Bush and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, Bush said 'I'm driven with a mission from God. God would tell me, "George, go fight those terrorists in Afghanistan." And I did, and then God would tell me, "George, go and end the tyranny in Iraq," and I did.'<sup>107</sup> Regardless of the veracity of the latter claim, Bush's faith is not in doubt, again raising the question as to how this powerful, albeit latterly-gained faith, might have affected Bush's relationship and policy decisions toward Israel.

Bush's first visit to the Holy Land was in November 1998 as Governor of Texas, on a trip sponsored by the Republican Jewish Coalition. There he met

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<sup>104</sup> Frum, D., *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush*, Random House, New York, 2003, pp 3-4.

<sup>105</sup> Mansfield, op.cit., p 119.

<sup>106</sup> Woodward, B., *Plan of Attack*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2004, p 421.

<sup>107</sup> MacAskill, E., *George Bush: God told me to end the tyranny in Iraq*, The Guardian, 7 October 2005, retrieved 12 April, 2011, < <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/07/iraq.usa>>.

the new Israeli foreign minister, Ariel Sharon, who took him on a helicopter tour of the country. During that tour, Bush was struck by Israel's vulnerability in a hostile neighbourhood (a point confirmed later in this thesis by one of Bush's advisors, Ralph Reed). As Bush put it, 'Ever since President Harry Truman defied his Secretary of State by recognizing Israel in 1948, America had been the Jewish state's best friend. I came away convinced that we had a responsibility to keep the relationship strong.'<sup>108</sup> On 1 June, 2001, a suicide bomber killed twenty-one Israelis at the Dolphinarium nightclub in Tel Aviv, and other attacks were made against shopping malls and buses, and Bush notes in his memoirs that Israeli forces retaliated against Hamas strongholds, during which innocent Palestinians, including children, were killed:

'I was appalled by the violence and loss of life on both sides. But I refused to accept the moral equivalence between Palestinian suicide attacks on innocent civilians and Israeli military actions intended to protect their people. My views came into sharper focus after 9/11. If the United States had the right to defend itself and prevent future attacks, other democracies had those rights too.'<sup>109</sup>

As previously noted, the religious right played a major part in the election of George W. Bush over Al Gore in 2000, with the latter winning 48.38% of the popular vote to Bush's 47.87%, but losing the electoral college vote 271 to 266 with one abstention.<sup>110</sup> It can be argued that were it not for the power of the religious right, 'President Gore' would have presided over foreign policy from 2000, rather than Bush. That aside, in Merkley's view 'George Bush has been the best friend that Israel has ever had in the presidency of the United States.'<sup>111</sup> As will be noted later in this thesis, this view was strongly supported by Ralph Reed when interviewed in Atlanta. 'George W. Bush

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<sup>108</sup> Bush, G. W. *Decision Points*, Crown, New York, 2010, p 400.

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> Leip, D., *2000 Presidential Election Results*, Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections, retrieved 12 April, 2011, < <http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/national.php?year=2000>>.

<sup>111</sup> Merkley, P. C., *American Presidents, Religion, and Israel*, op.cit., p 216.

turned out to be the most pro-Israel president, arguably ever,' Reed said, 'but certainly since Harry Truman.'<sup>112</sup>

Notwithstanding those views, in contrast to Clinton (who had many Jewish staffers and friends and whose appointments to the Supreme Court were both Jewish), George W. Bush was not an attractive candidate for the Jewish vote. In the 2000 election, Bush received only 19% of the Jewish vote, compared to Gore's 79% (the remaining votes went to Ralph Nader).<sup>113</sup> As Frum puts it:

'It would be almost impossible to invent a candidate less likely to appeal to Jewish voters than George W. Bush. His personality seemed to fuse together in one body the three personality types most calculated to frighten and annoy Jews: the redneck, the Bible-thumper, and the upper-class frat boy ... Bush entered office with fewer Jewish friends and supporters than any president since perhaps Dwight D. Eisenhower. There were no Jews in his cabinet and few on his staff.'<sup>114</sup>

American Jews had often heard Bush speak of his support for Israel, but despite Bush being the political champion of evangelical America, on Bush's assumption of the presidency, they remained unconvinced. Bush's advisors were divided, with the Pentagon urging support for Israel. The State Department was championing the Arab cause, and was keen to re-start the peace process, but 'President Bush, however, was much less keen: He was determined to learn from the bitter experience of Bill Clinton who worked without stint to bring about the definitive end to the conflict – only to see the Second Intifada start up.'<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Interview with Ralph Reed, op.cit.

<sup>113</sup> Jewish Virtual Library, retrieved 13 April, 2011, < <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/jewvote.html>>.

<sup>114</sup> Frum, op.cit., pp 246-247.

<sup>115</sup> Merkley, op.cit., p 217.



**Prime Minister Ariel Sharon with George W. Bush**

Early in his presidency, on 3 May, 2001, Bush gave a speech to the American Jewish Committee in Washington, a speech that did little to assuage Jewish concerns. 'I am a Christian,' Bush declared, 'but I believe with the psalmist that the Lord God of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps ... we will speak up for our principles; we will stand up for our friends in the world. And one of the most important friends is the State of Israel.'<sup>116</sup> Then Bush reminded his audience that the Middle East was the birthplace of the three great monotheistic religions and that lasting peace in the region must respect the rights of believers in all these faiths, and as he so often did, Bush showed his naïvety. 'Lasting peace,' he said, 'is also something more: It is a moral sense

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<sup>116</sup> Bush, G. W. *Presidential Papers*, 3 May 2001, retrieved 14 April, 2011, <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=45581&st=&st1=#axzz1JLwJ4JB8>>.

based upon the deep American commitment to freedom of religion.<sup>117</sup> In other words, in the world of George W. Bush, peace would come to the Middle East when those in that region came to share America's commitment to religious freedom – when those nations came some of the way to being American.

Following 9/11, Bush gave the Jewish community further cause for concern in a speech he gave in the Rose Garden on 24 June, 2002, where he committed America to the establishment of a Palestinian state. In his memoirs, Bush recalls:

'I would be the first president to publicly call for a Palestinian state as a matter of policy. ... While Condi and Steve Hadley supported it, Dick Cheney, Don Rumsfeld, and Colin Powell all told me I shouldn't give the speech. ... Colin worried that calling for new Palestinian leadership would embarrass Arafat and reduce the chance for a negotiated settlement.'<sup>118</sup>

Bush, already convinced that Arafat was an impediment to the proposed road map, went ahead. 'My vision is two states, living side by side in peace and security ... [and] peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a Palestinian state can be born.'<sup>119</sup> Notwithstanding any Jewish concerns, Bush was nevertheless, a strong supporter of Israel, although there is no concrete evidence to support the view that Bush's support was based on theology or Christian Zionism. There *is* evidence however, that Bush and the Bush administration were influenced by intense lobbying from the Christian right. On 29 March, 2002, after a series of deadly exchanges and suicide bombings, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon announced 'Operation Defensive Shield', a major operation into the Palestinian areas of the West Bank during which, according to a subsequent report to the United Nations Secretary

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<sup>117</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> Bush, G. W. *Decision Points*, op.cit., p 404.

<sup>119</sup> Bush, G. W. *Presidential Papers*, op.cit.

General, some 500 Palestinians were killed and nearly 1500 wounded.<sup>120</sup>

Bush castigated Chairman Arafat for not controlling Palestinian terrorists, but nevertheless asked Israel to withdraw from the Occupied West Bank:

'Israel is facing a terrible and serious challenge. For 7 days, it has acted to root out terrorist nests. America recognizes Israel's right to defend itself from terror. Yet, to lay the foundations of future peace, I ask Israel to halt incursions into Palestinian-controlled areas and begin the withdrawal from those cities it has recently occupied. I speak as a committed friend of Israel. I speak out of a concern for its long-term security, a security that will come with a genuine peace.'<sup>121</sup>

The Christian right mobilised, and Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority helped get 100,000 emails to the White House in protest. The White House calls for withdrawal faded and the Israeli army remained. The following September, in response to international pressure for intervention in the escalating Israeli-Palestinian crisis, the United States, Russia, Europe and the United Nations – the Quartet – endorsed a road map for peace. 'Falwell, Robertson, and Christian right groups such as the Christian Coalition responded by turning out thousands to Washington for a *Christian Support for Israel Rally* to demand "no negotiations with terrorists," "no dismantling of Jewish communities in biblical Israel," and "no to a Palestinian state."<sup>122</sup> This constitutes yet more evidence of the intractable foreign policy the Christian right demands in relation to Israel. The pressure mounted, and when President Bush made his official road map announcement in May, 2003, Gary Bauer marshaled over twenty leaders from the Christian right to sign a letter to the president insisting that it would be 'morally reprehensible for the United States to be evenhanded between democratic Israel ... and the terrorist

<sup>120</sup> Report to the Secretary General of the United Nations pursuant to Resolution ES-10/10, retrieved 14 April, 2010, <<http://www.un.org/peace/jenin/>>.

<sup>121</sup> Bush, G.W. *Presidential Papers*, 4 April, 2002, retrieved 14 May 2011, <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=84799&st=&st1=#axzz1JLwJ4JB8>>.

<sup>122</sup> Kaplan, op.cit., p 28.



infested Palestinian infrastructure ... [and] with each small step Bush took to support the road map, Christian Zionists sent up a warning flare.<sup>123</sup>

## Barack Obama

### Lingering Doubt, Concern about Obama's Religion

|                                  | Oct<br>2008 | Aug<br>2010 | July<br>2012 |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| What is Barack Obama's religion? | %           | %           | %            |
| Christian                        | 55          | 38          | 49           |
| Muslim                           | 12          | 19          | 17           |
| Other                            | 2           | 2           | 3            |
| Don't know                       | <u>31</u>   | <u>41</u>   | <u>31</u>    |
|                                  | 100         | 100         | 100          |

|                                                                    | Among those who...    |                            |                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
|                                                                    | July<br>2012<br>Total | Know<br>he is<br>Christian | Say<br>he is<br>Muslim |
| Are you comfortable or uncomfortable with Obama's religious faith? | %                     | %                          | %                      |
| Comfortable                                                        | 45                    | 82                         | 26                     |
| Uncomfortable                                                      | 19                    | 12                         | 65                     |
| Doesn't matter/DK                                                  | 5                     | 6                          | 9                      |
| Don't know his religion                                            | <u>31</u>             | --                         | --                     |
|                                                                    | 100                   | 100                        | 100                    |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER June 28-July 9, 2012. Q95, Q96. Based on registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

In a Pew survey on religion and politics carried out prior to the 2012 presidential election, the results (Figure 12 at left) confirmed that the perception that Obama was a Muslim persisted, with nearly one in five Americans (17%) believing their president was a Muslim; 31% saying they didn't know and only half those surveyed of the view their president was Christian.<sup>124</sup> It is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate the reasons for that in any detail, other than to observe that digital media any myriad internet posts may have

Fig 12<sup>125</sup>

an influence, with 'false claims in chain e-mails that he [Obama] attended a radical Islamic school, that his political rise mirrored a biblical tale about the Antichrist, and that he took the oath of the U.S. Senate on a Koran.'<sup>126</sup> Billy Graham's son, Pastor Franklin Graham, has been highly critical of Islam, portraying it as an evil and wicked religion. When interviewed on CNN's *John King, USA*, Franklin Graham did little to dispel the notion of an Islamic president. 'I think the president's problem is that he was born a Muslim, his father was a Muslim. The seed of Islam is passed through the father like the

<sup>123</sup> *ibid*, p 29.

<sup>124</sup> Pew Research, *Little Voter Discomfort with Romney's Mormon Religion*, 26 July 2012, retrieved 20 August 2012, < <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/07/26/2012-romney-mormonism-obamas-religion/>>.

<sup>125</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>126</sup> Holan, A. D., *Why do so many people think Obama is a Muslim?* PolitiFact.com, 26 August 2010, retrieved 20 August 2012, < <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2010/aug/26/why-do-so-many-people-think-obama-muslim/>>.

seed of Judaism is passed through the mother. He was born a Muslim, [and] his father gave him an Islamic name.' Graham went on to say that 'if the President says he's a Christian, we're just going to have to believe him,'<sup>127</sup> but the damage had already been done. It should also be noted, as shown at Figure 13 below, that Republicans (64%) are far more likely to say Obama is a Muslim than Democrats (8%),<sup>128</sup> prompting some pollsters to observe that 'peoples' beliefs about his [Obama's] religion may actually be an effort to equate him with a faith they dislike.'<sup>129</sup> In addition, some political scientists postulate that 'when people are fiercely partisan, they are less likely to change their minds when presented with factually correct evidence that contradicts their views.'<sup>130</sup>

#### Conservatives More Likely to Say Obama Is Muslim than in 2008

|                                  | Oct<br>2008 | July<br>2012 | Change |
|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------|
| Percent saying "Muslim" among... | %           | %            |        |
| Republican                       | 16          | 30           | +14    |
| Conservative Republican          | 16          | 34           | +18    |
| Independent                      | 11          | 16           | +5     |
| Democrat                         | 9           | 8            | -1     |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER June 28-July 9, 2012. Q95. Based on registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Fig 13<sup>131</sup>

Notwithstanding the above, as Stephen Mansfield points out in *The Faith of Barack Obama*, there is little doubt the president is Christian. Mansfield traces Obama's time as a child when:

'in the warm religious tolerance of the Hawaiian Islands and the multiculturalism of Indonesia in the late 1960s and early 1970s, he grew into a young man for whom race was more of a crisis than religion ... too white to be at home among his black friends and too black to fit easily into the white world of his grandparents and mother [his father left the family when Barack was just two].'<sup>132</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Graham F., *Graham: Obama born a Muslim, now a Christian*, CNN, Politicalticker, 19 August 2010, retrieved 20 August 2012, < <http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2010/08/19/graham-obama-born-a-muslim-now-a-christian/>>.

<sup>128</sup> Pew Research, *Little Voter Discomfort with Romney's Mormon Religion*, op.cit.

<sup>129</sup> Holan, op.cit.

<sup>130</sup> ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Pew Research, *Little Voter Discomfort with Romney's Mormon Religion*, op.cit.

<sup>132</sup> Mansfield, S., *The Faith of Barack Obama*, Thomas Nelson, New York, 2011, p xx.

Mansfield also takes us through Obama's time at the Trinity United Church, where Pastor Jeremiah Wright often preached from a 'history of black suffering,' with a 'spirit of anger' toward white America, sermons that when they reached the broader public domain, ultimately forced Obama to reluctantly sever ties with his original Christian base.

In the lead-up to the 2008 election, Obama was becoming more 'spiritual' than 'Christian', and by the time he gained the White House he chose to worship, whenever he and his family could, in the secluded Camp David Evergreen Chapel. Juxtaposed with Obama's spirituality are the less religious rising generations, with polls indicating that 'the majority of Americans aged seventeen to twenty-nine intended to vote for a Democrat in 2008.'<sup>133</sup> So what, if any, part did Obama's religion play in the formulation of policy toward Israel?

Christian conservative historian David Barton, whom *Time* magazine has called 'a hero to millions' but who has also been accused of historical revisionism, asserts that Obama 'might have a Christian faith, but it clearly isn't a biblical faith,'<sup>134</sup> arguing that Obama was schooled in the United Church of Christ, which endorses Palestinians above the Jews. Regardless of attacks from Barton, the Christian right and others, there is no evidence to suggest Obama's faith, whatever hue that might take, has played any part in his decisions on U.S. policy toward Israel. Soon after Obama came to power, in a speech in Cairo in 2009, the new president spelled out a very balanced vision for an Israeli-Palestinian peace. Yet, as Fawaz Gerges pointed out to the author, by 2011 Obama had reverted to the status quo, which once again favoured Israel, albeit recognising the need for a Palestinian state.<sup>135</sup> This, in Gerges view, was due mainly to the political reality of having to fight an election for a second term and the need for Jewish votes and money. Like so

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<sup>133</sup> *ibid*, p xxiii

<sup>134</sup> *ibid*, p 187.

<sup>135</sup> Interview with Professor Fawaz Gerges, London, *op.cit*.

many presidents before him, this common stance only contributes to the failure of the peace process and U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East.



**President Barack Obama meets with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel in the Oval Office at the White House in Washington, Friday, May 20, 2011.**

The picture above tells a story. Since 2011, relationships between Obama and Prime Minister Netanyahu have soured considerably. In 2012, Netanyahu warmly welcomed Mitt Romney to Israel, endorsing the Republican challenger's hardline stance on Iran. By 2014, differences on Iran, together with Obama's criticisms on settlement construction had prompted analysts to question the state of the relationship. As Avi Shlaim put it when interviewed, the relationship is a one-way street. America provides Israel with arms, money and advice, and for her part, Israel takes the arms and money, but rejects the advice because they know American support has, in reality, always been unconditional. There are no serious consequences, Shlaim says, for Israel ignoring Palestinian human rights, for violations of international law, or when it suits Israel, from acting on her own.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Interview with Emeritus Professor Avi Shlaim, Oxford, 19 February, 2015.

Since then, the relationship has sunk to a new low when Netanyahu accepted an invitation from House Speaker John Boehner (R-OH) to address a joint meeting of Congress and with the White House left to read about it in the media, Obama refused to meet with the Israeli Prime Minister. On 16 March, 2015, the day before the Israeli elections, Netanyahu declared there would never be a Palestinian State on his watch and although he subsequently played down his remarks, on 10 July 2015, in a media conference delivered in Hebrew, Netanyahu returned to his theme. 'I think the Israeli people understand now what I always say: there cannot be a situation, under any agreement, in which we relinquish security control of the territory west of the River Jordan.'<sup>137</sup> Since then, it should be noted that Netanyahu and Obama have again met on 9 November, 2015, for the first time in over a year. Netanyahu has struck a softer tone, repeatedly thanking Obama for his support for Israel. 'Netanyahu's tone ahead of the meeting was strikingly conciliatory, especially considering how tense his relationship has been with Obama over the past year.'<sup>138</sup>



<sup>137</sup> Weiss, P., *Netanyahu says there will never be a real Palestinian state*, Mondoweiss, 15 July 2015, retrieved 20 July 2015, < <http://mondoweiss.net/2014/07/netanyahu-palestinian-state>>.

<sup>138</sup> Toosi, Nahal, *Obama and Bibi: Mending Fences*, Politico, 9 November 2015, retrieved 15 November 2015, < <http://www.politico.com/story/2015/11/obama-meets-netanyahu-215640>>.

Netanyahu, perhaps looking ahead to the next (possible) Democrat administration, amidst an upsurge in violence in Jerusalem, also addressed the Center for American Progress, a think tank linked to Democrat front runner, Hilary Clinton.

In summary, despite the criticisms and suspicions of Obama's links to Islam, his spiritual Christianity, and the higher hopes and factual lows of his policies toward Israel and the broader Middle East, there has never been any evidence that Obama's faith has influenced his decisions. Those decisions have been made by a pragmatic, cautious politician.

Not surprisingly, although all occupants of the White House from Truman to Obama have been men of faith, the strength of that faith appears to have varied considerably. Public discernment of presidents' faith has also varied. Jimmy Carter and George W. Bush, for example, were both very publicly religious, with the former teaching Sunday school when in the White House, and the latter making public statements such as 'there is a higher father that I appeal to.'<sup>139</sup> At the other end of the spectrum, Kennedy's faith was not on public view and was difficult to discern. As to whether faith came into the formulation of policy toward Israel, again, it varies. There is reasonable evidence to suggest, for example, that Truman's decision to recognise the fledgling Jewish state was, in part, influenced by his religious convictions. In many other cases, and most recently Obama, there is no evidence to link policy formulation and faith. However, given there have been some cases where faith has arguably played a part, there is one conclusion that is important. There remains the *potential* for a president's faith to influence policy toward Israel, and the stronger that faith, the greater the possibility. Given the religious convictions and strong connections to Israel of some of the current (2015) Republican presidential candidates, that possibility remains.

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<sup>139</sup> Woodward, B., op.cit.

# CHAPTER THREE

## CASE STUDY ONE CHRISTIANS UNITED FOR ISRAEL (CUFI)

### Introduction

With the exception of CUFI's activities on university campuses (CUFI on Campus), which will be covered in a subsequent chapter, this chapter will provide a background to Pastor John Hagee, and an in-depth analysis of his lobbying movement, including the means, methods and strategies by which Hagee and CUFI seek to both wield political influence and to generate support for Israel.

In a late 2005 sermon, also published online,<sup>1</sup> Pastor Hagee, the founder of CUFI, claimed that God had sent Hitler as a 'hunter' to force the Jews back to Israel. Hagee based his claim on Jeremiah: "'For I will restore them to their own land which I gave to their fathers. Behold, I am going to send for many fishermen," declares the LORD, "and they will fish for them; and afterwards I will send for many hunters, and they will hunt them from every mountain and every hill and from the clefts of the rocks ...'"<sup>2</sup> In a bizarre interpretation of scripture, in Hagee's mind, restoring 'them' to their own land meant the Jews, and Hitler, Hagee claimed, was God's 'hunter' of the Jews. John McCain, the U.S. Republican presidential nominee in 2008, had earlier criticised Pat

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<sup>1</sup> Hagee, J., Sermon on Hitler as a Hunter, Cornerstone Church, San Antonio, Texas, 2005, retrieved 4 March, 2015, < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Ec-kZGKnQ8> >.

<sup>2</sup> Holy Bible, New International Version, Jeremiah 16:15-16.



Robertson and the religious right as being intolerant.<sup>3</sup> In an effort to mend fences and attract the evangelical voting bloc, in February of 2008, McCain accepted Hagee's endorsement, but when the content of the 'Hitler sermon' surfaced, it caused (not surprisingly) a storm of protest, forcing McCain to disassociate himself from the Texas pastor.



Since then, Hagee has continued to make highly controversial, and some would say, offensive statements such as 'God sent Hurricane Katrina to punish the gays in New Orleans.'<sup>4</sup> Yet Hagee's Cornerstone mega-church continues to thrive with over 18,000 members<sup>5</sup>, and Hagee's Christians United for Israel

**Pastor John Hagee (left) and David Brog at the launch of CUFI UK** evangelical lobbying movement continues to experience exponential growth. In January, 2015, Hagee declared that in less than a decade, CUFI had surpassed the 2 million membership mark, stating that he aimed to double the membership to 4 million within the next two or three years.<sup>6</sup> In an interview with the author, the Executive Director of CUFI, David Brog, confirmed that CUFI's membership drive was a priority and the push to attract an even greater

<sup>3</sup> McCain, J., Virginia Beach Speech, Monday 28 February, 2000, retrieved 4 March, 2015, <<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2202&dat=20000229&id=cKsyAAAAIBAJ&sjid=wOgFAAAIBAJ&pg=5903,6173707&hl=en>>.

<sup>4</sup> Corley, M., *Hagee Says Hurricane Katrina Struck New Orleans Because It Was 'Planning A Sinful' 'Homosexual Rally'* Thinkprogress, 23 April, 2008, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <<http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2008/04/23/22152/hagee-katrina-mccain/>>.

<sup>5</sup> Christians United for Israel website, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <[http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about\\_pastor\\_john\\_hagee](http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about_pastor_john_hagee)>.

<sup>6</sup> JNS.ORG, *2 million-strong CUFI seeks to double Support for Israel in two years*, Christian News Jerusalem Post, 4 Feb 2015, retrieved 4 March, 2015, <<http://www.jpost.com/Christian-News/2-million-strong-CUFI-seeks-to-double-Christian-support-for-Israel-389974>>.



membership would continue unabated.<sup>7</sup> In line with that objective, on 20 June, 2015, Hagee launched CUFI UK in London, partly out of concern for the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe:

'The creation of the new organisation follows a concerning rise in anti-Semitism in the UK and Europe. In February, a UK Parliamentary report called for action against anti-Semitism across the country. Meanwhile, the number of anti-Semitic incidents in the UK reached a 30-year high in 2014 according to the Community Security Trust. This comes after an increase in attacks against Jewish people and property in Europe, including the terror attacks this year in Paris [Charlie Hebdo] and Copenhagen.'<sup>8</sup>

Notwithstanding the controversial nature of many of Pastor Hagee's messages, as any of the videos of Hagee's sermons cited in this thesis will attest, it needs to be acknowledged that Hagee is a powerful orator. He can be very persuasive, particularly if those listening are not thinking analytically. With a following of over two million, coupled with his world-wide television reach (including GETV, a 24hr internet television channel) and radio broadcasts, it can be argued that Hagee is one of the most powerful and influential televangelists and preachers in the world today, and this is significant, given Hagee and CUFI's focus on Israel.

Despite his eschatological views and dubious exegesis of biblical texts, Hagee and CUFI members have significant access to representatives on Capitol Hill and by extension, have the potential to influence U.S. policy toward Israel. This is particularly evident in the case of the annual CUFI Washington Summit, one of which, along with some 5,000 members of CUFI, the author attended. As Randy Neal, CUFI's Western State Regional Director has observed, the staff of senators and representatives will tote up the number of emails and phone calls received on a particular issue, but 'when Congress constituents,

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<sup>7</sup> Interview with David Brog, Executive Director, Christians United for Israel, San Antonio, Texas, 15 January, 2015.

<sup>8</sup> Christians United for Israel Media Release, 17 February, 2015, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <<http://www.cufi.org.uk/cufi-news/cufi-has-launched-in-the-uk/>>.

you the membership of CUFI, turn up on the Hill in large numbers, that has a real impact on the senators and representatives themselves.<sup>9</sup> CUFI's Director of Communications, Ari Morgenstern, indicated that it was not possible to precisely quantify that impact, but he stated that CUFI employed two measures of success: increase in membership (which by any measure, is impressive) and the increase in co-sponsorship of those legislative bills Hagee and the CUFI leadership consider to be important, such as bills dealing with sanctions on Iran, for example.<sup>10</sup> CUFI members who attend the CUFI summit are given presentations that, perhaps not surprisingly, present the Israeli side of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. In preparation for their visit to their senators and representatives on Capitol Hill, attendees are trained to adhere to CUFI talking points that strongly emphasise the importance of positive U.S. policy in support of Israel. Attendees are broken up into state teams led by articulate young graduates, and bussed to Capitol Hill for their meetings.

In the author's experience, the strongly pro-Israel content of the CUFI presentations is rarely challenged or questioned, and then only by protesters<sup>11</sup> and journalists,<sup>12</sup> more than one of whom have been ejected from CUFI gatherings. The unquestioning nature of participants and the psychology of religion comes into play here, and although an in-depth analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis, this important issue will be examined in brief. The opinions of specialist psychologists have been sought to comment on potential problems when, for example, faith-based intuitive (as distinct from analytical) thinking is employed toward critical issues such as U.S. foreign policy and the Israeli/Palestinian problem. Because of the sheer numbers and resultant influence of CUFI participants visiting Capitol Hill, the

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<sup>9</sup> Neal, R., CUFI Western Regional Director, CUFI Washington Summit, 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with CUFI Director of Communications, Ari Morgenstern, 27 March, 2015.

<sup>11</sup> See video of protesters ejected from presentation by Erick Stakelbeck at Portland University, Oregon, 14 May 2012, retrieved 3 March, 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LgkHg5whW8E>>.

<sup>12</sup> Kredo, A., *Report: Al Jazeera Reporter in Violent Confrontation with D.C. Police*, The Washington Free Beacon, 25 July, 2013, retrieved 3 March, 2015, <<http://freebeacon.com/issues/reporters-claiming-to-work-for-al-jazeera-clash-with-police-at-cufi-event/>>.

nature of their faith-based thinking is an important issue worthy of further study.

## **Background to CUFI**

Having convinced 400 evangelical leaders of the need for an organisation that could provide a national voice and unity on behalf of Israel, Hagee inaugurated Christians United for Israel in San Antonio, Texas, on 7 February, 2006.<sup>13</sup> As indicated previously, since that time, CUFI has grown to over 2 million supporters, nearly twenty times that of the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee, AIPAC.<sup>14</sup> When CUFI issued a media release on 8 January, 2015, announcing the organisation had surpassed the 2 million mark, Hagee put it this way: 'We've come a long way since we began CUFI ... and I can say without hesitation that while reaching two million members is no small accomplishment, we've only just begun. We will continue to grow and to speak out with an ever-louder voice for Zion's sake.'<sup>15</sup>

Kim Beazley has an in-depth knowledge of American politics, having taken up his appointment as Australia's Ambassador to the United States in February, 2010. When interviewed by the author, Ambassador Beazley observed that in terms of U.S. foreign policy toward Israel, the Christian right was more influential than lobby groups like AIPAC.<sup>16</sup> AIPAC can be influential behind the scenes in lobbying for pro-Israel witnesses to appear at Senate committee hearings, thus ensuring that pro-Israel views are well represented. CUFI, on the other hand, concentrates on more direct and open approaches to sitting senators and House representatives. Moreover, Ambassador Beazley's view is shared by Walter Russell Mead, who also observed that the Christian right

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<sup>13</sup> Hagee, J., Christians United for Israel Washington Summit, 20-22 July 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Bruck, C., *Friends of Israel*, The New Yorker, 1 September 2014, retrieved 4 March, 2015, <<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/09/01/friends-israel>>.

<sup>15</sup> Morgenstern, A., *Christians United for Israel Reaches Two Million Members*, CUFI Media Release, 8 January, 2015, retrieved 20 March, 2015,

<[http://www.cufi.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=13107&security=1601&news\\_iv\\_ctrl=-1](http://www.cufi.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=13107&security=1601&news_iv_ctrl=-1)>.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with the Australian Ambassador to the United States, the Hon Kim Beazley, 15 January, 2015.

remains a significant and very influential force in American politics with CUFI at the forefront of that influence.<sup>17</sup> Mead went on to observe that between 18 – 25% of the electorate was strongly influenced by the Christian right platform, which means they are going to push for representation in Congress. In Mead's view, despite Hagee's bizarre statements, CUFI is gaining influence on the Hill:

'The American political system is set up so that minorities, particularly in the Senate, have a lot of sway, but the Christian right is very dependent on charismatic leadership. There's a kind of cycle and so you have a Billy Graham who for 30 years is the voice, and it's debatable as to whether there is a successor. Jerry Falwell is gone and Pat Robertson is in his eighties. Rick Warren's the closest thing to that figure in the next generation but Warren has decided to concentrate on his own church rather than on a national image, and Hagee has said some pretty stupid things over the years, so he's not a national icon in the ilk of Billy Graham. That said, the membership of his organisation is impressive and their influence on the Hill is growing.'<sup>18</sup>

## **The Hagee Base**

CUFI is an offshoot of John Hagee Ministries, the mission of which is to 'aggressively fulfill the commission that Jesus Christ gave to His followers to go into the world and make disciples of all people. Our purpose is to bring the lost to Jesus Christ and to build up and encourage those who are already believers. We pledge to our viewers & supporters to take The Gospel to all the World and to all Generations.'<sup>19</sup>

In addition to Hagee's mega-church in San Antonio, Texas, John Hagee Ministries reaches a radio and television audience of 150 million households through international networks including the Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), Daystar TV, and the Inspiration Network broadcasting in 240

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Professor Walter Russell Mead, op.cit.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> John Hagee Ministries Website, retrieved 20 March, 2015, < <http://www.jhm.org/Home/About>>.

countries.<sup>20</sup> The 'Hagee Hotline' utilizes state-of-the-art digital technology. As mentioned previously, the latest of John Hagee Ministries' television outlets, GETV, provides a worldwide online broadcast. Operating out of sophisticated studios from the John Hagee Ministry campus in San Antonio, Pastor Hagee and his son,



Pastor Matthew Hagee, host the live, unedited show each Tuesday, answering viewer's questions and discussing geopolitical events from a narrow biblical perspective.

### **CUI's Statement of Purpose**

CUI's Statement of Purpose is interesting: 'to provide a national association through which every pro-Israel church, para-church, ministry or individual in America can speak and act with one voice in support of Israel *in matters related to biblical issues* (author's emphasis).'<sup>21</sup> As this research will show,

<sup>20</sup> John Hagee Ministries Website, retrieved 4 March, 2015, <<http://www.jhm.org>>.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*

CUFI's stated purpose may be underpinned by the Bible, but Hagee's interpretation of 'God's written word' results in activities that are not restricted to, or constrained by biblical issues. CUFI's promotional video on their website features Pastor Hagee, along with Prime Minister Netanyahu and other Christian Zionist leaders.<sup>22</sup> The short video demonstrates starkly, the absolute zeal, enthusiasm and powerful oratory with which Hagee delivers his message to a large, cheering audience of believers (with the following from the very beginning of the video):

'Israel's fight is our fight!

We are one!

We are united!

We will not be discouraged!

We will not be defeated!

We will not be intimidated!

We will not sit down!

We will not be silent!

We are the worst nightmare of the anti-Semites of the world!

The victory is going to be ours!'<sup>23</sup>



**Pastor Hagee**

Backed by an apocalyptic soundtrack, Hagee delivers his message from a lectern embossed with 'For Zion's Sake, I Will Not Be Silent', and the presentation provides a prime indication of how CUFI and other Christian right organisations have embraced digital technology. Ralph Reed's Faith and Freedom Coalition (examined in detail later in this thesis) also provides an insight into the Christian right's operations in the digital age. Reed explained that it was perfectly legal and necessary for Christian right organisations (through third party marketers) to track which websites potential voters were visiting. In a country where it is not compulsory to vote, if potential voters visited conservative, right wing, or Christian websites Reed indicated they

<sup>22</sup> Christians United for Israel Introductory Video, <[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_DwHnGSOuJo#t=29](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_DwHnGSOuJo#t=29)>. retrieved 2 March, 2015.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

would be specifically earmarked for door-knocking or a phone call to encourage them to get down to the polling booth on election day to vote for a Christian candidate. In the case of the presidential election, they are guided to vote for whichever candidate (almost always Republican) has the endorsement of the relevant Christian right organisation.<sup>24</sup>

Since its formation, CUFI has conducted an annual summit in Washington with attendances of some 5,000 supporters from all 50 states, who are schooled on how to lobby senators and representatives on behalf of Israel. In addition, CUFI has held more than 1,700 pro-Israel events, currently running at more than 40 a month, such as their 'Nights to Honor Israel'. CUFI on Campus is active on over 300 university and college campuses and CUFI conducts in-house leadership training camps for both undergraduates and for CUFI pastors and members. In addition, CUFI is very active in the digital arena, maintaining a website, Facebook and a digital media profile. They issue 'talking points' and email alerts for members (countering, for example, criticism of the 3 March, 2015, speech to Congress by Prime Minister Netanyahu), as well as publishing a quarterly magazine *The Torch*.<sup>25</sup>

### **Pastor John Hagee**

To understand CUFI's exponential growth and influence on U.S. policy toward Israel, it is first necessary to understand the background and beliefs of CUFI's charismatic leader, Pastor Hagee. Hagee comes from a long line of pastors, the sixth generation to preach the Gospel since his ancestors emigrated to America from Germany in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> Born in Goose Creek, Texas, in 1940, he holds a bachelor's degree in history and education from Trinity University, San Antonio and a master's degree in education administration

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Ralph Reed, op.cit.

<sup>25</sup> CUFI website, retrieved 3 March, 2015, <[http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about\\_cufi\\_magazine](http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about_cufi_magazine)>.

<sup>26</sup> Richman, R., *Interview with Pastor John Hagee, Founder of Christians United for Israel*, Jewish Journal, 18 August 2014, retrieved 4 March, 2015, <[http://www.jewishjournal.com/nation/article/interview\\_with\\_pastor\\_john\\_hagee\\_founder\\_of\\_christians\\_united\\_for\\_israel](http://www.jewishjournal.com/nation/article/interview_with_pastor_john_hagee_founder_of_christians_united_for_israel)>.

from North Texas University. Both universities are liberal, as distinct from myriad American Christian universities – there are nearly 1,000 sectarian or religiously affiliated colleges and universities in the United States such as Regent University (Virginia Beach, Virginia), founded by televangelist, Pat Robertson, and Liberty University (Lynchburg, Virginia) founded by televangelist, Jerry Falwell.<sup>27</sup> Hagee received his theological training at Southwestern Assemblies of God University (SAGU), and although no one has written a biography on the firebrand preacher, his alma mater is worth examining to provide some insight into Hagee's values and worldview.

The Mission Statement of SAGU (Waxahachie, Texas) states, *inter alia*, that it is a Bible-based institution for theological and professional studies, 'rooted in the great commission of Jesus Christ to "Go into all the world and preach the good news to all creation" and to "make disciples of all nations . . . teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you" (Mark 16:15a; Matthew 28:19, 20).'<sup>28</sup> The university goes on to acknowledge that it derives its Mission Statement from the primary emphasis of Southwestern's parent body, the General Council of the Assemblies of God and the executive leadership team (all men) to whom it reports. The General Council ascribes to a belief which includes the infallibility of the scriptures – an 'infallible, authoritative rule of faith and conduct'<sup>29</sup>. In providing a Bible-based education, SAGU asserts that 'God is the ultimate source of all knowledge and truth and has revealed Himself in Scripture; therefore, SAGU is committed to the authority of the Bible and the integration of biblical values *in all* (author's emphasis) academic disciplines.'<sup>30</sup> Just because Hagee did his theology in a narrow institute of learning however, does not mean SAGU solely shaped his thinking. Nevertheless, the SAGU ethos – where the world is viewed through a prism of the infallibility of the Bible with God being the ultimate source of all

<sup>27</sup> Christian Colleges in the United States, retrieved 3 March, 2015, <<http://www.davidmquinn.com/2012/07/how-many-christian-colleges-are-there.html>>.

<sup>28</sup> Southwestern Assemblies of God website, retrieved 3 March, 2015, <[http://www.sagu.edu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=110&Itemid=142](http://www.sagu.edu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=110&Itemid=142)>.

<sup>29</sup> World Assemblies of God Website, *Statement of Faith*, <<http://www.247ag.com/WAGF/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Application-Statement-of-Faith.pdf>>, retrieved 3 March, 2015.

<sup>30</sup> Southwestern Assemblies of God Website, *op.cit.*



knowledge – is in keeping with Brog's observations on Hagee's support for Israel.

When asked what underpinned Hagee's unswerving support for the Jewish state, Brog replied simply, 'Genesis Chapter 12'<sup>31</sup> which, as previously noted states: 'I will bless those who bless you [Israel], and whoever curses you I will curse; and all peoples on earth will be blessed through you.'<sup>32</sup> In Brog's view, Hagee will never waiver in his support for the Promised Land and the Jewish people who have returned to it. 'John Hagee's support for Israel is unconditional and his desire for American foreign policy to provide similar support is driven by what he considers to be an infallible direction from God.'<sup>33</sup> In an interview for the *Jewish Journal*, Hagee himself highlighted the importance of the Bible to his thinking:

'I am a sixth generation pastor. My father was a pastor, my grandfather was a pastor. They were Bible scholars *par excellence*, and my mother and my father – my mother went to Bible School herself, and taught – but both of them had an abiding affection for the Jewish people because of the Scripture. Everything we did in my home was whether it was okay with the Bible.'<sup>34</sup>

Hagee asserts that his family background gave him a similar affection (to that of his parents) for the Jewish people, a people Hagee describes as the apple of God's eye – a cherished, Covenant people.<sup>35</sup> Hagee's affection is strengthened by the Jewish people's 'contribution to Christianity:

'The Jewish people have given to us the Word of God, they've given to us the Patriarchs – Abraham, Isaac and Jacob – they've given to us the Old Testament Prophets, they've given to us the First Family of Christianity, they've given to us the Disciples, the Apostles – that's why Jesus said in John 4:22,

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with David Brog, op.cit.

<sup>32</sup> Holy Bible, New International Version, Genesis 12:3.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with David Brog, op.cit.

<sup>34</sup> Richman, op.cit.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

"Salvation is of the Jews," because if you take away the Jewish contribution to Christianity, there'd be no Christianity.'<sup>36</sup>

In his own prolific publications, Hagee often refers to his background at Trinity where he first read history. Back in 2007, he wrote:

'As an avid student of history, I am convinced that we are facing the same situation the world faced in 1938. Iran is the new Germany, and its president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, is the new Hitler ... Just prior to World War II there were obvious and clear warnings that Hitler was moving forward to implement his final solution ... [and] today the same warning signs are present and, in the age of mass media, more obvious than ever ... the word of God says "I will bless those who bless you and curse those who curse you. I believe those blessings – and those judgements – are very real.'<sup>37</sup>

For Hagee, God's word in Genesis 12 is unequivocal and immutable, and it is a theme that Hagee returns to repeatedly. Interviewed for Israel Hayom (This Is Where We Stand) for an article headed *Hagee: Israel is not an 'occupier' but the owner of the land*, Hagee was asked: 'What response did you get from Christians of other denominations about your vision and religious viewpoint?' Hagee replied:

"You have to go back to basics, with the fact that in Genesis (Chapter 1), God created the world and made a very solemn promise (brought in Genesis 12:3), "I will bless those who bless you and I will curse those who curse you." From that moment on, every nation that ever blessed Israel has been blessed by God. And every nation that has ever persecuted the Jewish people, God crushed. And so He will continue.'<sup>38</sup>

It's a theme that Hagee also pushes on social media. For example, as at March, 2015, the John Hagee Ministries Facebook Page had attracted

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Hagee, J., *In Defense of Israel: The Bible's Mandate for Supporting the Jewish State*, Frontline, Florida, 2007, pp 2-4.

<sup>38</sup> Eydar, D., *Hagee: Israel is not an 'occupier' but the owner of the land*, Israel Hayom, 19 September 2014, retrieved 6 March, 2015, < [http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter\\_article.php?id=20217](http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter_article.php?id=20217)>.

1,608,719 'likes'<sup>39</sup> and is replete with postings from those who wholeheartedly support Hagee's interpretation of God's blessings toward Israel:

'I was in Houston yesterday and protesters were standing on the overpass protesting against Israel and the U.S. involvement with Israel. The only thing keeping the U.S. from being destroyed is our support of Israel. The Bible says those who bless Israel will be blessed and those who curse Israel will be cursed. Wake up America!'<sup>40</sup>

Another post challenges: 'Israel has murdered thousands of Palestinians after stealing their homes and land, how can that be God's will, it is terrorism at it's worst.'<sup>41</sup> Posts such as this prompt a flurry of replies along the lines of: 'Oh Mary, I will pray along with my brothers and sisters on here for God to give you wisdom,'<sup>42</sup> or: 'Mary, go read Gen 12:1-3. The truth is in God's word.'<sup>43</sup> Hagee's 'God will bless those who bless Israel' theme from Genesis has a strong resonance amongst many of his followers, and his controversial statements do not appear to dim that resonance.

### **CUFI's Exponential Growth**

The Executive Director of CUFI, David Brog, reports directly to Hagee. Brog is Jewish and a cousin of former Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak (who changed his name from Brog to Barak during the latter's time in the Israeli Army). In an in-depth interview, Brog was asked why he thought CUFI had experienced such exponential growth – was it a theological link to 'the Promised Land', or Israel's democracy more closely mirroring that of the United States, or the threat of the rise of ISIS (noting that ISIL/Daesh/Da'ish are alternative nomenclature for the same organisation), or was there something else going on?

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<sup>39</sup> John Hagee Ministries Facebook Page, retrieved 6 March, 2015, <<https://www.facebook.com/JohnHageeMinistries>>.

<sup>40</sup> John Hagee Ministries Facebook Page, 14 August 2014, retrieved 3 March, 2015, <<https://www.facebook.com/JohnHageeMinistries/photos/a.437513197517.228831.64742342517/10152681866937518/>>.

<sup>41</sup> Cumber, M., *ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Stagg, S. K., *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Satul, N., *ibid.*

'It's interesting,' Brog said, 'and I really put this down to the long haul. In the 1980s, when evangelicals really got back into American politics in a significant way, it was the Moral Majority. Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority did a good job and they controlled the space, and then they faded to move on to other things, and the Christian Coalition rose. In the 1990s, Christian evangelical activism was focused mainly through Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition. And in both cases, the focus was the social issues.'<sup>44</sup>

In Brog's view, for both Falwell and Robertson, but particularly Falwell, one of the key social issues was Roe (the plaintiff) v Wade (the Dallas District Attorney who enforced Texan law prohibiting abortion). In a landmark decision, on 22 January 1973, the United States Supreme Court found in favour of Roe, essentially – the issues are complex – allowing abortion. Falwell and Robertson realised that evangelicals had made a mistake sitting out politics for half a century. Evangelicals needed to get back in to the political arena and stand up for social issues that were near and dear to their hearts. Added to those concerns, 9/11 galvanised evangelicals to mount an effort to organise Christian activism on foreign policy and the issue of Israel. 'And I don't think that's just a coincidence,' Brog says.<sup>45</sup> In Brog's view, it was the right meeting of effort and concern. 9/11 was a shock to evangelical morality which had come in the form of militant Islam attacking the United States on home soil. For Brog, there was a connecting of dots between theology and values, and what people were reading in the newspaper every day. Pastor Hagee and CUFI provided an answer to what was concerning Christians. Christians wanted to turn somewhere and to do something:

'I remember a time when I was trying to get people to understand that the same guys who'd like to destroy Israel would also like to kill Christians,' Brog said. 'People didn't like hearing that and they assumed that in saying that, I was exaggerating and perhaps trying to draw a line that didn't really exist for purposes of propaganda. Unfortunately, that reality

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<sup>44</sup> Interview with David Brog, op.cit.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*

has become ever more clear, and as it has become more clear, more and more Christians want to do something about those who are trying to kill Jews in Tel Aviv, or trying to kill cartoonists in Paris. So it's a case of the right man. John Hagee was the right man to start this thing at the right moment and time. So now we see that not only are we the largest pro-Israel group in America – as far as I can see, we're the largest evangelical group in America or in the world on a policy issue, and that policy issue is the right issue – the literal survival of Western civilisation, of which Israel is a besieged outpost.<sup>46</sup>

For Brog, if Israel falls, the United States will be next. When asked whether concern over the rise of groups like ISIS had an influence on CUFI membership, Brog compared the situation today (in 2015) to 2006 when Hagee formed CUFI:

'When we started there was already a lot of what I would call "low hanging fruit". Christians, for primarily theological reasons, were already pro-Israel, and we found ways to reach them, and to recruit them and to let them know that there was an outlet for their concerns and their activism in CUFI, and for a while that fuelled our growth. It took several years, but we found that those who were already with us in spirit – and we still haven't reached them all – but those who were with us and were inclined or looking or wanting to do something had signed up. Now we're finding that not only are we reaching new networks of those who are already with us, but those who had been on the fence – those who cared about Israel and were worried about militant Islam – for them, this is moving up as a priority, and they've changed from being on the fence to wanting to do something, wanting to identify, wanting to sign up.'<sup>47</sup>

Brog ventured that denial was a very powerful force in human psychology, arguing that a lot of comfortable Christians in the West had engaged in that denial, believing that prior to the rise of ISIS, groups like Hamas and Hezbollah were just a problem for Israel or for those who had wronged Muslim sensibilities:

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<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*

'To the extent you can do that,' Brog said, 'it's a much nicer world to live in, and it's a much brighter world to live in. And so there was something – I think almost psychological – in closing their minds off to the Israel issue. But now, with the rise of ISIS, for better or for worse, that's been erased a little and that denial has been confronted and we're seeing new folks opening up to this effort and recognising that the dots are connected.'<sup>48</sup>

Asked whether or not episodes of abhorrent beheadings and attacks like those carried out in Paris might be solidifying the West against radical Islam, Brog agreed, drawing attention to radical preachers like Anjem Choudary in the UK. 'Choudary doesn't miss a talk show, and as much as I hate what the Islamists stand for, there is a certain value in the honesty that those like Choudary have in their actions or their words.'<sup>49</sup> In Brog's view, that honesty is important for the West, and he points out that Christians are starting to comprehend the real nature of the radical views of preachers like Choudary, and their implications:

'As one of the original members of al-Muhajiroun, still one of the largest radical Islamist groups in the UK, Choudary cheered the 9/11 attacks on the United States. More recently, Choudary has defended ISIS activities as a legitimate means of re-establishing a world-wide caliphate under ISIS Caliph Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and Christians are realising this is a threat, not only to Christianity, but to the West as a whole.'<sup>50</sup>

Brog may well be right. In 2013, *Hope not Hate*, a British organisation founded in 2004 to combat the politics of hate, issued a report describing the networks run by Choudary as the single biggest gateway to terrorism in recent history, facilitating or encouraging hundreds of young Muslims across Europe to join the extreme militias fighting the Assad regime in Syria.<sup>51</sup> In a September 2014 interview for *The Guardian*, Choudary predicted that the UK

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<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Lowles, N, and Mulhall J., *Gateway to Terror: Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun*, Hope not Hate, 2013, retrieved 21 March, 2015, <<http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/al-muhajiroun/summary/>> and <<http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-groups/am/>>.

would be subject to Sharia Law by 2050 and defended stoning to death for adultery. 'For people who have had adultery committed against them, people who have had their wives taken ... stoning to death is appropriate.'<sup>52</sup> Sharia law operated from the time of the Prophet Mohammed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century until Atatürk disbanded the last Ottoman caliphate in 1924, and in Choudary's view, it bestowed justice and contentment on a wide swathe of humanity with benefits and a rationale that is far superior to Western law. For Choudary, a Muslim cannot live side by side with other beliefs – a Muslim has to strive for Sharia.<sup>53</sup> In terms of the right to protest that Choudary has currently exercised in the UK (albeit under the close watch of British security agencies), freedom and democracy are rejected under a caliphate. Sovereignty belongs to God, alcohol, drugs and gambling are banned, sexes are segregated, women enshrouded, gays put to death, the teaching of evolution forbidden, and all theatre, concerts and music banned.<sup>54</sup> But in Brog's view:

'notwithstanding the appalling dictates of Choudary and other fundamentalists' Islamic theology not being accepted by the majority of Muslims in Britain and elsewhere, hundreds of young men and women are attracted to the ISIS model, and Christians are finally waking up to the threat that Choudary, ISIS and other similar groups pose to Israel and Western civilization more broadly. As Israel goes, so goes the West.'<sup>55</sup>

CUFI's Communications Director, Ari Morgenstern, attributes the rise in membership to a number of factors, and asserts 'CUFI is the tip of the iceberg. There are tens of millions of Christians in the United States who are theologically predisposed to supporting Israel – Christians who believe that the promises made to the Jewish people are still valid. The view that "God is a promise keeper" is a message that resonates with tens of millions of Christians.'<sup>56</sup> More specifically, in terms of CUFI's rapidly growing

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<sup>52</sup> Anthony, A, *Anjem Choudary: The British Extremist Who Backs the Caliphate*, The Guardian, 7 September 2014, retrieved 21 March, 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/07/anjem-choudary-islamic-state-isis>>.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Interview with David Brog, *op.cit.*

<sup>56</sup> Interview Ari Morgenstern, *op.cit.*

membership, Morgenstern asserts it is due in no small way to the strength of the messages emanating from CUFI through various media, and the competence of the field staff. 'Our field staff, although small compared to other organisations of comparable size, is second to none: they are vigorous, they are passionate, they are polite, they are professional and nothing slows them down.'<sup>57</sup> In Morgenstern's view, the field staff are very accomplished in bringing the messages to potential CUFI members, and those messages are not only biblical. They include the values that Israelis and Americans share; the historical American/Israeli alliance; the fact that the Middle East is more unstable than ever and that Israel stands as the major U.S. ally in the region.

When former presidential candidate and CUFI Board member, Gary Bauer, was asked what underpinned CUFI's membership support, in his view, Hagee's view of Genesis 12:3 as a pivotal Biblical foundation resonated with many conservative Christians:

'Theologically conservative Christians feel a particular bond with Israel. I know there are critics who assert that it's rooted in end times scenarios and the role that Israel plays and all the rest of that, but in my experience as I go around the country giving speeches or just talking to the typical conservative Christian – if I say to them "You're obviously pro-Israel. What's the biblical basis for you being pro-Israel?" – the Bible verse that comes up 999 times out of a thousand is God saying to Abraham 'he who blesses Israel will be blessed.' [Genesis 12:3] So there's a feeling among a lot of theologically conservative Christians that God *wants* them to support Israel. That's a strong impulse and goes part way to explain why CUFI has grown dramatically in recent years.'<sup>58</sup>

In addition to the bond conservative Christians feel for Israel based on Genesis 12:3, Bauer asserted that:

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<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Interview with Gary Bauer, Former 2000 presidential candidate and President of American Values, Washington, 19 January, 2015.



'there tends to be significant support amongst this group for a strong American foreign policy and strong Defense spending. Older conservative Christians remember well the Soviet situation during the Cold War and the plight of Israel calls for an equally strong posture in our foreign policy and our defense spending.'<sup>59</sup>

As an adjunct to the growth of CUFI and the member's support for Israel, Bauer was also asked for his views on the latest Pew Research figures on support for Israel by Americans more generally. Around 62% of those polled supported Israel, and given that only some 25% of the American population fell into the evangelical Christian camp, this support, according to Pew, cut across religious lines.<sup>60</sup>

'I think Americans look at the Middle East,' Bauer said, 'and they see a region of the world where there's been a parade of fairly colourful and dangerous characters. There are a number of dictators and self-anointed kings of countries we don't have a very good history with and in the middle of that is a country that looks a lot like us – at least broadly speaking. Israel allows dissent, freedom of speech, has regular elections, has regularly been with us in votes at the United Nations just as we've been with them, and it's a friendship that's not based on oil, because up until recently Israel didn't have any oil or natural gas resources. All of these are major factors.'<sup>61</sup>

### **CUFI's Foreign Policy Focus**

The threat posed to Israel by Iran has been, and continues to be, a staple of CUFI Washington summits. Clifford May, a former journalist and now President of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and a regular attendee at CUFI summits, began his address to the 2012 CUFI Washington Summit with a stark description of what is, in his view, the threat Iran poses to Israel. 'Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, has called Israel a cancerous tumour, that will be removed.'<sup>62</sup> Other threats to Israel linked to

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<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Pew Research, *Strong Support for Israel Cuts Across Religious Lines*, *op.cit.*

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Gary Bauer, *op.cit.*

<sup>62</sup> May, C. D., *The Looming Threats*, CUFI Washington Summit, 16-18 July 2012.

Iran, notably Hezbollah and Hamas, are also routinely condemned at CUFI conferences. The Iranian support for Hezbollah is complex, as is support for Hamas, although it should be noted that Hamas and Iran have been moving toward a rapprochement after ties were damaged when Hamas refused to support President Bashar al-Assad on the outbreak of the Syrian civil war. On 12 March, 2015, for example, Hamas leader Khaled Meshal met with the Iranian parliamentary speaker, Ali Larijani in Doha, and other Iranian and Hamas officials have been meeting in Tehran.<sup>63</sup>

As will be discussed elsewhere in this thesis, the threat from Iran has been emphasised by CUFI in a number of fora and Hagee has stridently supported Prime Minister Netanyahu's criticisms of the framework deal announced in Lausanne on 2 April, 2015, by the European High Representative, Federica Mogherini and the Iranian Foreign Minister, Javad Zarif. The deal was reached after negotiations between Iran and the P5 + 1 (the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany) and the European Union.<sup>64</sup> It should be noted, however, that the deal is still not assured, with some reports indicating Iran has still not yet finally agreed.<sup>65</sup> In David Brog's view, 'Iran's nuclear capability and their move to achieve a nuclear bomb remains the biggest threat facing Israel today.'<sup>66</sup> Brog may have a point, because notwithstanding the framework agreement achieved in Lausanne and the later Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, Iran's protestations that her nuclear development is for peaceful purposes are arguable, and Brog insists that Iran has gone to extraordinary developmental lengths if that is the case.

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<sup>63</sup> Khoury, J., *Hamas and Tehran boost ties as Meshal meets Iran's Larijani in Doha*, Haaretz, 12 March, 2015, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <<http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.646624>>.

<sup>64</sup> Joint Statement by EU High Representative Federica Mogherini and Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif, Lausanne, 2 April 2015, retrieved 24 April 2015, <[http://www.eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150402\\_03\\_en.htm](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150402_03_en.htm)>.

<sup>65</sup> AFP, *Iran: Nuke deal off unless UN drops atomic weapons probe*, The Times of Israel, 29 November, 2015, retrieved 30 November, 2015, <[http://www.timesofisrael.com/iran-nuke-deal-off-if-un-doesnt-drop-atomic-weapons-probe/?utm\\_source=The+Times+of+Israel+Daily+Edition&utm\\_campaign=82d085d7dd-2015\\_11\\_29&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_adb46cec92-82d085d7dd-55168269](http://www.timesofisrael.com/iran-nuke-deal-off-if-un-doesnt-drop-atomic-weapons-probe/?utm_source=The+Times+of+Israel+Daily+Edition&utm_campaign=82d085d7dd-2015_11_29&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_adb46cec92-82d085d7dd-55168269)>.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with David Brog, op.cit.

A detailed examination of Iran's nuclear capability is beyond the scope of this thesis, but a very brief scientific analysis (a more detailed analysis is included at Appendix C) tends to support Brog's hypothesis, particularly in relation to centrifuge construction and the nuclear reactor at Arak, which is cooled and moderated by heavy water. Heavy water reactors are relatively unusual as heavy water, or D<sub>2</sub>O, is time consuming and expensive to produce (the hydrogen in H<sub>2</sub>O only has a single proton, whereas the Deuterium in D<sub>2</sub>O is an isotope or variant of hydrogen and has a proton *and* a neutron – and is thus 'heavier'). The main advantages in running a heavy water reactor for a country that may harbour other than peaceful intentions are twofold. Firstly, the reactor runs on un-enriched natural Uranium (of which Iran has a plentiful supply) and secondly and perhaps more importantly, Plutonium, which fuels one type of nuclear bomb, can be removed clandestinely without shutting the reactor down, thus circumventing any scrutiny by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Following the announcement of the framework deal in Lausanne, on 14 July, 2015, another announcement was made on an agreed Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on the Iranian nuclear capabilities.<sup>67</sup> The plan calls for, inter alia, a two-thirds reduction in the number of Iranian centrifuges; elimination of stockpiles of medium-enriched Uranium; and a modernisation of the heavy water reactor at Arak to ensure a reduction in the production of plutonium. In the U.S., Obama has faced stiff opposition from pro-Israeli groups, including CUFI and AIPAC, although a two-thirds majority is required in both chambers to override any presidential veto. In the 114th Congress (2015),<sup>68</sup> 44 Democrats were needed to oppose it in the House of Representatives, and 13 in the Senate but despite heavy opposition, by early September 2015, Obama had secured the necessary votes to ensure the agreement would get through Congress. In Iran, although Iranian President Hassan Rouhani is

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<sup>67</sup> Joint Statement by EU High Representative Federica Mogherini and Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif, Lausanne, 14 July 2015, retrieved 20 July 2015, <[http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150714\\_01\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150714_01_en.htm)>.

<sup>68</sup> Manning, J. E., *Membership of the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress: A Profile*, Congressional Research Service, 17 September, 2015, retrieved 28 September, 2015, <<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R43869.pdf>>.

arguing for constructive cooperation with the world, the hardliners in Tehran are providing equally stiff opposition.

## **The Washington Summit**

CUFI's annual summit, one of which the author attended, is a highly organised, well-publicised, high-tech event which is held each year at the National Convention Center in Washington D.C. The primary aim of the conference is to educate, train and provide access for CUFI attendees to lobby their senators and representatives for U.S. foreign policy support for Israel. On average, since the first summit in 2006, between 4,500 and 5,000 Christians from all 50 states have attended. This shows no signs of abating, with CUFI claiming that the 2015 summit was 'the largest and most important summit to date' with the CUFI website already urging members to book for the 2016 Summit.<sup>69</sup>

Notwithstanding some minor structural and presentation title changes, the basic program for the 3-day summit has varied little over the years. The Iranian threat has remained as a constant theme, as has the Middle East Briefing, noting that with the advent of 'The Arab Spring' and the rise of ISIS, the content of the latter briefing has required updating each year. It is presented by conservative academics, activists and commentators. A typical CUFI Washington summit is structured as shown in the footnote below, and those elements which are a constant feature are shown with an asterisk.<sup>70</sup>

Since he gained office in 2009, Prime Minister Netanyahu has addressed the CUFI Washington summit by video link. The short address delivered by Prime

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<sup>69</sup> Christians United For Israel Website, Washington Summit, 2016, retrieved 20 August 2015, <[http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=2016Summit\\_PreRegister](http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=2016Summit_PreRegister)>.

<sup>70</sup> The Opening Plenary: Why We Stand With Israel, including an address by the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu\*; Israel 101: Basics Of The Arab Israeli Conflict\*; Myths and Facts: Refuting The Negative Myths About Israel; The U.S.-Israel Relationship, Past, Present and Future; Christian Zionism; Israel 201: How to be an Effective Israel Advocate\*; Targeting the "Sunday People" Today; The Looming Threats; Terrorism at the Door; The Iranian Threat\*; Israel's Economic Miracle; Middle East Briefing\*; and A Night to Honor Israel\*.

Minister Netanyahu on 21 July, 2014, is typical of his video addresses to CUFI over the years, and it's worth reproducing in full to gain an in-depth perspective on firstly, how CUFI taps into Hagee's relationship with Netanyahu and conversely, the language which Netanyahu uses to tap into American Christian Zionist support for Israel:

'I want to salute all of you Christians United for Israel. Under the leadership my friend Pastor John Hagee, and in the presence of my colleague Ambassador Ron Dermer, I know you've been terrific. You've been supporting Israel through and through – and that's important any day but especially on this day when Israel is targeted by the forces of darkness and terror. When all our cities are being rocketed. When we need people to stand up and say enough is enough. Not enough of Israel's legitimate response of self-defense but enough of the castigation of Israel for doing what any country would do – and Israel indeed is targeting the targeteers; rocketing the rocketeers. It's sending its brave soldiers to try to ferret out these murderous terror tunnels that are coming up under our cities, under our towns and into our kindergartens – used to massacre our people. We have a right to defend ourselves and you don't fall into the trap of saying well *of course* we recognize Israel's right of self-defense as long as you don't exercise it. Not you. You know the truth. You know that we're fighting the same terrorists who are in Syria: the ISIS, the al Qaeda, the Hezbollah, the Boko Haram. This is what Hamas is. They're the same intolerant breed that denies human freedom and human rights anywhere and they're the same people who want to eradicate the state of Israel who they see merely as the small Satan. And you know who the big Satan is? It's you. The United States. The freedoms and the values that we share. I know you have a complete clarity on this and I want you to know something else. Throughout our region and its turbulence with the rise of Islamic militancy – all these fanatical groups attack Israel. They want to destroy Israel without a doubt, but they also want to destroy Christians. They persecute Christians. They burn churches. They drive Christian communities away. There's only one place in the Middle East where Christians are free. They're absolutely free. Where their freedom of worship, their rights are guaranteed and that's the state of Israel. And I know you know that bond - this civilizational bond between us and our common heritage is what's at stake here. I know that you know that we stand up for something so valuable – the bedrock of a genuine civilization faced with the forces of barbarism. You always have

that clarity and you always offer us that support, and for that, on behalf of the people of Israel, I thank you.<sup>71</sup>

Netanyahu is, of course, 'preaching to the converted', but he makes the audience feel special. Having painted a picture of Israel under threat (including 'tunnels into our kindergartens') with Israel's 'brave soldiers' being sent out to combat this evil, he then puts this audience of Christian Zionists into a different category to others, and especially Israel's critics: 'Not you. You know the truth.' Netanyahu then skillfully, albeit not without a degree of political licence, turns the threat closer to home – warning that America is 'the big Satan' and these terrorists are out to 'destroy Christians.' In other words, we're in this together, he says, painting Israel as the only place in the Middle East where Christians' 'freedom of worship and rights are guaranteed.' Nothing less than a civilizational bond is at stake, and where Israel goes, so goes the West. Netanyahu finishes by returning to his theme of singling out the audience as special. Others may be deceived, but 'you always have that clarity.' Netanyahu's speech was greeted by rapturous applause and a standing ovation from the faithful.

In another indication of the influence of Pastor Hagee, CUFI invariably draws influential speakers, not only from the Christian right, but from the top-tier of conservative politics and the diplomatic corps, with many returning every year. In addition to Netanyahu, Pastor Hagee and the Executive Director of CUFI, David Brog, the summits have featured up to 40 speakers, including Nobel Laureate, Elie Weisel; Senator Ted Cruz and former Governor of Arkansas, Mike Huckabee, both candidates for the 2016 Republican presidential nomination; and the Israeli Ambassador to the United States. Others who regularly appear are footnoted.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Netanyahu, B., Address to the CUFI Washington Summit, 2014, retrieved 4 March, 2015, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KUnM\\_RoL9nw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KUnM_RoL9nw) >.

<sup>72</sup> Congresswoman Michele Bachmann, 2012 candidate for Republican presidential nomination; Gary Bauer, President of American Values and 2000 candidate for Republican presidential nomination; Eric Cantor, House Majority Leader 2011-2014; Ambassador Ron Prosor, Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Ambassador Michael Oren, Israeli Ambassador to the United States 2009 – 2013; Ambassador Ron Dermer, Israeli Ambassador to the United States from 2013; Elliott Abrams, Council

In addition to speakers who are prominent in the United States and Israel, the summit invariably features holocaust survivors, members of the Israeli Defense Force and speakers whom CUFI bills as 'experts on the Middle East', although as explained below, at times the use of the descriptor 'expert' is stretching credulity. It is no surprise that organisations like CUFI will engage speakers to suit their particular cause, but it can be argued that CUFI's right wing, strongly conservative, pro-Israel, Christian Zionist stance results in many of the CUFI summit panels lacking balance. Given the size of the CUFI membership, and the aim to influence U.S. foreign policy, this is cause for concern. For example, in 2014, the expert panel for CUFI's Middle East Briefing consisted of Malcolm Hoenlein, Erick Stakelbeck and Bret Stephens, none of whom presented any of the Palestinian side of the conflict. Hoenlein has, since June, 1986, served as the Executive Vice-Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Stakelbeck is promoted by CUFI as a terrorism analyst but is described by the Project for the American Way as someone who has previously worked as a sports reporter.<sup>73</sup> Stakelbeck is now a journalist with the Christian Broadcasting Network, and as the cited video shows, when interviewed by Marcus and Joni Lamb for the Daystar Christian television program *Celebration*, Stakelbeck stated he knew when the Syrian civil war would end with the destruction of Damascus because the Bible laid it out in Isaiah 17:1. 'I believe right now we are seeing the seeds laid for the eventual destruction of Damascus ... [because] the Bible says it's going to happen.'<sup>74</sup> Stakelbeck went on to claim that God had spoken with him at the Western Wall, telling him his purpose on earth was to defend Israel.<sup>75</sup>

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for Foreign Relations and previously Deputy National Security Advisor to George W. Bush; William Kristol, Editor of *The Weekly Standard*, and contributor to Fox News; Glenn Beck, a leading conservative U.S. radio and television personality; and Charles Krauthammer, Pulitzer Prize-winning syndicated columnist and contributor to Fox News.

<sup>73</sup> Tashman, B., *CBN's Erick Stakelbeck Mixes 'Terrorism Analysis' with Biblical Prophecy*, Right Wing Watch, 12 March, 2012, retrieved 5 March, 2015, <<http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/cbns-erick-stakelbeck-mixes-terrorism-analysis-biblical-prophecy>>.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*

Bret Stephens won the 2013 Pulitzer Prize for commentary 'for his incisive columns on American foreign policy and domestic politics, often enlivened by a contrarian twist.'<sup>76</sup> Previously the Editor of the *Jerusalem Post*, Stephens is currently a foreign affairs journalist with *The Wall Street Journal*, and a fierce critic of President Barack Obama. In a recent Stephens article on the controversial Netanyahu speech to Congress in March, 2015, for example, Stephens claimed it was the U.S. President, not Netanyahu who 'picked this fight', describing Obama as having 'the mentality of a peevish and callow potentate.'<sup>77</sup> In the past, other speakers for this segment have included conservative academics like Professor Kenneth Stein, Professor of Middle East History and Modern Israel at Emory University in Atlanta. Professor Stein was the first director of the Carter Center but after President Carter published *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*,<sup>78</sup> Stein resigned his position as Middle East Fellow for the Center and wrote a scathing attack on the former President, which was published in the *Middle East Quarterly*.<sup>79</sup>

The Opening Plenary of the summit – 'Why We Stand With Israel' – is invariably delivered by Hagee, Brog, and a holocaust survivor (for example, in 2012, the latter was Irving Roth), as well as members of the CUFI Board, including Gary Bauer and the Reverend Jonathon P. Falwell, son of televangelist Jerry Falwell, who was covered earlier in this thesis. The conference begins with an invocation, and in 2012, Pastor Happy Caldwell led the 5,000-strong audience in prayer, taking them back to CUFI's biblical pillar, Genesis 12: 'Father we come to you today, according to your word in Genesis, to bless the nation of Israel by joining together as supporters of His chosen people ... and we want to be a blessing to the nation of Israel.'<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Pulitzer Prize for Commentary, 2013, Pulitzer Prize Website, retrieved 5 March, 2015, < <http://www.pulitzer.org/bycat/Commentary>>.

<sup>77</sup> Stephens, B., *A Speech Netanyahu Must Give*, the Wall Street Journal, 2 February, 2015, retrieved 5 March 2015, < <http://www.wsj.com/articles/bret-stephens-a-speech-netanyahu-must-give-1422924115>>.

<sup>78</sup> Carter, J., *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 2007.

<sup>79</sup> Stein, K. W., *My Problem With Jimmy Carter's Book*, Middle East Quarterly, Spring 2007, retrieved 4 March, 2015, < <http://www.meforum.org/1633/my-problem-with-jimmy-carters-book>>.

<sup>80</sup> Caldwell, H., *Invocation*, Christians United For Israel, Washington Summit 16-18 July 2012.



Pastor Hagee, in his opening address, gave yet another confirmation of his irrevocable position, again based on Genesis 12. 'I know that you're here,' he said, 'because you are aware that Israel is under fire, and you believe that Iran's threats of a nuclear attack on Israel are very real, and that it's not a matter of *if* war comes to the Middle East, it's only a matter of *when* it comes.'<sup>81</sup> There were many issues, Hagee said, that exercised evangelicals' minds, but CUFI's issue was Israel now, Israel tomorrow and Israel forever, and he reminded his audience of the main purpose of coming to Washington: to see the members of Congress:

'Our willingness to go see Congress is the thing that's making the difference around the world ... so God bless you for going to see your Senator and your Congressman ... we are united in the belief that all Bible-believing Christians have a mandate to support Israel, which is not a political position, but a Bible [sic] position, that Israel does not occupy the land – they own the land.'<sup>82</sup>

Hagee went on to claim that the growth of CUFI was supernatural, and led by the hand of God, and that CUFI was the front line of defense for Israel in the United States of America.

Bauer commenced his address by noting that it was 'nice to be among like-minded people,'<sup>83</sup> which was greeted with strong applause, underlining the one-sided 'like-mindedness' of the content of the summit. Bauer continued his address with another attack on President Obama, stating that he was not one of those who was prepared to give Obama the benefit of the doubt on Israel. 'Given the President's association with the Reverend Wright who's sermons are anti-Semitic, I was never in any doubt and ... most reasonable people would now conclude that this is a very anti-Israel administration ... he [Obama] has tilted the United States away from Israel and toward the Muslim

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<sup>81</sup> Hagee, J., Christians United For Israel, Washington Summit 16-18 July 2012.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Bauer, G. L., Christians United For Israel, Washington Summit 16-18 July 2012.

world.<sup>84</sup> People could disagree about what percentage of Muslims embrace radical Islam, Bauer said, but 'I am saying that every Muslim who carries out attacks against America and Israel and in other parts of the world comes from this [Islamic] philosophy ... a philosophy that has led Palestinian mothers to leap for joy that their son is dead, as long as they're told that in the process of killing themselves, they also killed a bunch of Jews.'<sup>85</sup> Bauer went on to criticise 'the elites' who believe the majority of the Palestinian people want to live side by side in peace with Israelis. 'I'm sorry,' he said, 'someone needs to prove it to me.'<sup>86</sup>

Notwithstanding the complexity of the issues involved, and that public opinion polls vary from year to year, a significant number of findings contradict Bauer's attitude, indicating the majority of ordinary Palestinians (as distinct from the hardliners in Fatah and Hamas, for example) want peace with the Israelis. Research conducted by Fafo, a Norwegian based international multidisciplinary research foundation, found that '73 percent of Palestinians in both the West Bank and Gaza were in favor of peace negotiations with Israel, but stressed that a settlement freeze should be a precondition for talks.'<sup>87</sup> A more recent report from *The Washington Institute* indicates that three polls have shown that 'half the Palestinian public still backs the resumption of peace talks ... [and] that proportion rises to a surprisingly high two thirds if Israel accepts two Palestinian conditions: a fourth round of prisoner releases and a three month settlement freeze.'<sup>88</sup>

At the CUFI Washington summits, critical issues are continually ignored – issues that for so long have been impediments to reaching a solution, including the settlements and their continuing expansion; a right of return;

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<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Haaretz, *Poll: Most Palestinians Want Peace With Israel*, 20 June 2010, retrieved 5 March, 2015, < <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/poll-most-palestinians-want-peace-with-israel-1.297196>>.

<sup>88</sup> Pollock, D., *Palestinians Want Hamas In, but Want Peace Talks Too*, 6 June 2014, retrieved 5 March, 2015, < <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/palestinians-want-hamas-in-but-want-peace-talks-too>>.

borders; and the Palestinian claim to al-Quds as their capital in a two state solution. The corollary of these one-sided presentations at the CUFI Washington summits is that any influence exerted by the growing CUFI membership who are lobbying their representatives will likely be biased, arguing for a foreign policy that is heavily in favour of Israel. It is not possible to precisely quantify CUFI's influence, although it is clear that it is not, as some have claimed, receding, as those working inside Congress attest. For example, in an interview with the author, Victoria Coates, the National Security Advisor to 2016 Republican presidential candidate, Senator Ted Cruz, stated that when issues like Israel and Iran are highlighted, 'those in the corridors of power in Washington take notice of the Christian right, CUFI and the Tea Party [covered later in this thesis].'<sup>89</sup>

### **Training Participants to Influence Senators and Representatives**

As indicated earlier, one of the major ways in which CUFI influences American politics and foreign policy is by training summit attendees to lobby their

representatives. As Pastor Hagee put it at the 2012 Summit:

'I said that we would come to Washington one time each year – not to stand outside on the grass singing 'Amazing Grace'. That would be an absolute waste of time. Instead, I said that we would take our members, and go see the members of Congress, because until you immediately impact the lives of those who shape this nation's public policy, you are wasting your time.'<sup>90</sup>

It is not as simple, however, as organising access to senators and representatives. The author suggested to David Brog that CUFI left nothing to chance – that ordinary folk who were not necessarily au fait with the time constraints of Congressmen and women, or how to address them, might need

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<sup>89</sup> Interview with Victoria Coates, National Security Advisor to Senator Ted Cruz, Washington, 15 January, 2015.

<sup>90</sup> Hagee, J., Opening address to CUFI Washington Summit 16 July 2012.

advice. Brog agreed, and that acknowledgment came from a sound base. Brog himself worked in the Senate for seven years, including as chief of staff to Senator Arlen Specter and staff director of the Senate Judiciary Committee. 'We divide the audience into breakout groups according to their State, and we give them guidance as to how the Hill works, how most senators and representatives approach things, and particularly foreign policy issues, and how best to get our message across, based on the talking points we issue.'<sup>91</sup> At the summit attended by the author, Brog was at pains to emphasise to the attendees that they should appeal to policy considerations and not reference explicit beliefs:

'Tell your Congressman that you are a Christian and you are here for one reason and one reason only: Israel. It's a Christian issue, and more importantly, it's an American issue ... so please stay on the issue of Israel. Please don't stray from the talking points. When in Rome, do as the Romans do ... it is important to speak to policy makers in a language that they understand, and that is the language of policy. When you go up to a Congressman, and you start quoting the Bible, quoting the scripture, talking about a vision you had that's been very important in your life ... they just don't speak that language, and they're not going to be swayed by that language. So unless you know your member well, and you know he's a man of God, we strongly and respectfully request you speak to them in a language that they will understand, the language of policy ... we are here because of our faith, but we're doing something important for God if we get these men of power to stand with Israel ... let's speak their language, that's how we will best serve God tomorrow.'<sup>92</sup>

An analysis of the CUFI training for attendees, and especially Brog's instructions, highlights one of the common messages with which CUFI seeks to influence U.S. policy toward Israel – Israel is a Christian issue, and it's an American issue, and ipso facto, as a Christian country, America must support Israel. Brog was asked how he might measure CUFI's influence.

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<sup>91</sup> Interview with David Brog, op.cit.

<sup>92</sup> Brog, D., CUFI Washington Summit, 2010.

'I think we're trying to do a couple of things at once,' Brog said. 'We're trying to effect specific legislation, and there we do have some metrics. It's hard to measure precisely, but when we go in on a specific piece of legislation and we see a bump in co-sponsors the day we're there and a week after, I feel comfortable in claiming the credit for that, particularly if no-one else has been on the Hill – and we've seen some very nice bumps. Just for example, if we take the Iran sanctions, we've seen great bumps in Iran sanctions co-sponsors after we've visited the Hill. When we pushed legislation relating to the persecution of Christians in the Middle East, we saw a big bump, not only in co-sponsors, but then movement, and we take a lot of credit for that, because things die on the Hill unless there's a group – a movement behind it – a reason for these people who are busy and always focused on re-election to care – and we provide that reason. But while we're focused on specific legislation, we're also trying to affect the environment – the atmospherics – the zeitgeist – I think we've done a good job there, but it's much harder to measure when we're trying to take Israel out of 'this is a Jew issue box' and putting it into the 'this is an issue for all who care about the Western civilisation box'. And that to me is a very important shift, and it's one I feel we're affecting, but obviously those things happen gradually and without any data attached to them.'<sup>93</sup>

## **Israel 201 and Pro-Israel Events**

In addition to the training carried out at the Washington summit, CUFI conducts hundreds of pro-Israel events a year,<sup>94</sup> and the CUFI website contains detailed instructions on how members and pastors might host, for example, 'A Night to Honor Israel' or 'A Standing With Israel Event.'

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<sup>93</sup> Interview with David Brog, op.cit.

<sup>94</sup> Christians United For Israel Website, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <[http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=attend\\_an\\_event](http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=attend_an_event)>.



At the Washington summit itself, the 'Israel 201' training session 'How To Become An Effective Advocate For Israel,' was given by speakers with first hand experience in generating support for the Jewish state. Randy Neal, CUFI's Western Regional Coordinator and a member of AIPAC was introduced as a key CUFI field leader and someone who devoted a lot of time to speaking at churches and synagogues in all 13 of the western states under his control, and he provided advice on how support for Israel might be generated and how best to organise events:

'My invitation to you is to consider CUFI as a resource to replicate yourselves, to grow the base. Many of us don't have the cell phone of our elected official ... many of us are not going to be recognised on Capitol Hill on Wednesday, but if you can hold an event for CUFI, we'll come in, we'll pick up the tab, although we won't object if you take up an offering ... check with your pastor if you can host an event and find a date when that can be done. After that, all you have to do is unlock the door and turn on the lights ... we'll come in and for 90 minutes, we'll tell your community why they should care about Israel and how they can help and that can produce two hundred more advocates, just like you in your area.'<sup>95</sup>

In addition to the Washington summit and extensive regional training programs, CUFI also conducts national training programs for pastors and CUFI on Campus leaders at CUFI's headquarters in San Antonio. When asked

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<sup>95</sup> Neal, R., op.cit.

about the national training program, Brog pointed out that CUFI was very much a grassroots organisation.

'There are a lot of organisations in this country that are little more than a leader and a computer and a mailing list to promote an individual, but we're very much a grassroots organisation. We have a leadership structure that has regional directors sitting over a number of states, then state directors, then city directors and then even congregational representatives for churches – leadership that covers most of the country, all of whom volunteer.'<sup>96</sup>

Brog indicated that CUFI's national leaders training courses ran for a week with between 250 and 300 attendees, the youngest in their 40s but mostly older. 'These are the rank and file leaders,' Brog said, 'people who share a world-view with John Hagee. They're solid in their support, and most leaders have been to at least one session in the past two or three years.'<sup>97</sup>

When asked what was taught, and whether or not that included leadership skills, Brog indicated that the latter was more appropriate for younger campus leaders.

'The older people are already leaders in their own right. Most of them, if they're not pastors, are successful businessmen who already have influence in their community. As to what we're teaching them - two things really. It's firstly letting them know what's going on with CUFI. They're leaders, so they should know what we're focusing on, what we're working on, what we've accomplished; and then we teach them how to be a pro-Israel advocate. Being a pro-Israel advocate is not easy. If I want to be an anti-Israel advocate, all I need to do is find a picture of a destroyed building in Gaza and show you what those barbarians did. To be a pro-Israel advocate, you need some history. You need to understand that Israel left Gaza in 2005. The response to the withdrawal has not been a decrease in rocket fire, but an *increase* in rocket fire. You need to teach all of this.'<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Interview with David Brog, op.cit.

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*

In discussions with David Brog, it became very clear to the author that CUFI is putting an enormous amount of effort into leadership training at all levels, and especially into training CUFI leaders to be successful pro-Israel advocates.

### **Other Means of Influencing Policy**

Pastor Hagee, addressing the 2012 CUFI Washington Summit, drew the attention of the audience to the power of social media.

'Social media to a lot of my generation used to be going to church and talking to five other members of the congregation in the lobby. Now it's millions of people looking into a phone and receiving a message. Christians United for Israel now has 754,000 fans on Facebook – that's three quarters of a million (1,249,977 as at 10 April, 2015<sup>99</sup>). It was just announced that only 300,000 people are watching daytime CNN, which means CUFI is reaching and educating more Americans on a daily basis than CNN.'<sup>100</sup>

Just as the Obama election campaigns embraced digital media, so too has the Christian right recognised the importance of the technology. On 17 September, 2015, Ann Coulter – a conservative social and political commentator in the U.S. with 600,000 followers on Twitter (#IStandWithAnn) – caused a storm of protest in U.S. and Israeli mainstream media when she put out a series of tweets following the second Republican primary debate, including:

'Cruz, Huckabee, Rubio all mentioned ISRAEL in their response to "What will AMERICA look like after you are president."' "  
'How many f--cking Jews do these people think there are in the United States?'

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<sup>99</sup> Christians United For Israel Facebook Page, 10 April 2015, retrieved 10 April 2015, <<https://www.facebook.com/ChristiansUnitedforIsrael>>.

<sup>100</sup> Hagee, J., Opening address to CUFI Washington Summit 16 July 2012.



'Maybe it's to suck up to the Evangelicals.'<sup>101</sup>

Less than 40 minutes after Coulter released her first tweet, a post appeared on CUFI's Facebook page, deriding Coulter for her comments. The full CUFI Facebook post is at Appendix D and it generated 2,925 likes and more importantly, 303 shares on to other Facebook pages that likely generate further sharing. Single comments such as 'I Stand With Israel' typically generated well over 100 'likes'. This shows that audiences are not only connected through social media, but are paying attention in a powerful medium. Digital technology is an issue that will be explored further in an interview with Ralph Reed, later in this thesis.

### Action Alerts and Emails



At the 2012 summit, Pastor Hagee asked his audience how many were participating in CUFI's action alert email program.

'How many of you are part of the action alert email program? Let me see your hands. How many of you are not? Let me see your hands. I want your email address before you leave this conference, and here's why. Whenever we send out an action email alert on a particular issue that's threatening Israel, on average, more than 9,000 CUFI members respond to those alerts within 60 minutes. On average, 40,000 CUFI members respond to those email alerts within 24 hours. I want you to know that represents an electronic earthquake in Washington. The White House receives up to 100,000 emails each day,

<sup>101</sup> Bowerman, M., *Ann Coulter rants about 'Jews' and Israel during GOP debate*, USA Today, 17 September, 2015, retrieved 25 September 2015, < <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2015/09/17/ann-coulter-comment-jews-gop-debate-israel-relations/32543837/>>.

which means when over a third of the email traffic is being received from people like you, I assure you, the White House knows who we are.’<sup>102</sup>

The CUFI website urges members to sign up for the CUFI action alerts with the following message:

‘Christians United for Israel will send our members Rapid Response Action Alerts at critical junctures throughout the year to mobilize millions of Christians on behalf of Israel. Christians United for Israel’s Rapid Response Action Alerts generate millions of phone calls and emails to the Administration and Congress on behalf of Israel. By signing up for CUFI’s weekly email update you will receive periodic Rapid Response Action Alerts. When you receive a Rapid Response Action Alert we ask that you communicate with your senators and Representative by phone, mail, email, or fax within 24 hours. Please click [here](#) to sign up for CUFI’s weekly email update and Rapid Response Action Alerts.’<sup>103</sup>

When it became known, for example, that senior Democrats and Vice President Joe Biden were considering a boycott of Prime Minister Netanyahu’s speech to a joint sitting of Congress in early 2015, an ‘Action Alert’ was immediately placed on the CUFI website and issued to CUFI’s 2 million registered supporters via email. The alert,<sup>104</sup> issued on 13 February, 2015, provided CUFI’s recipients with the text for an email, with gaps for recipients to insert the names of their representatives in Congress. The day after the alert was issued, CUFI announced on Facebook that 10,000 email responses had been generated within five hours and urged the Facebook membership to join the campaign.<sup>105</sup> Further examples of CUFI Action Alerts are detailed at Appendix D.

## Christians United For Israel Action Fund

<sup>102</sup> Hagee, J., Christians United for Israel Washington Summit, July, 2012.

<sup>103</sup> Christians United For Israel Website Rapid Response Action Alerts, retrieved 12 March, 2015, <[http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=advocate\\_action\\_alerts](http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=advocate_action_alerts)>.

<sup>104</sup> Christians United For Israel Web Alert, *Listen Before You Decide*, retrieved 4 March, 2015, <<https://secure2.convio.net/cufi/site/Advocacy?cmd=display&page=UserAction&id=337>>.

<sup>105</sup> Christians United For Israel Facebook Page, 14 February, 2015, retrieved 12 March, 2015, <<https://www.facebook.com/ChristiansUnitedforIsrael/posts/10153074691109814>>.

At the 2015 Washington summit, Pastor Hagee announced that CUFI would be setting up a 501(c)(4) lobbying entity – the Christians United for Israel Action Fund. Under Section 501(c)(4) of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code,<sup>106</sup> an approved organisation is tax exempt for activities that contribute to social welfare. Political activities are allowed, as long as the organisation's primary aim is the promotion of social welfare. Other than to observe that AIPAC is also a 501(c)(4) lobbying entity, it is not intended to explore here, the complexities of how CUFI might fit this particular type of organisation, but in a media interview on 16 July, 2015, Bauer, who was selected to head the CUFI Action Fund made the initial aim quite clear – to thwart the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran:

'Over the next 60 days, our focus will be the ill-conceived and stunningly bad proposed [sic] nuclear agreement with Iran ... We are going to be on Capitol Hill every day, both with lobbyists and we are also going to be in their email box and on their telephones and in their mail delivery and at their town hall meetings with people that are going to press members of Congress in both parties on this.'<sup>107</sup>

In a thinly veiled threat to members of Congress' re-election prospects, Bauer added this:

'One of the arguments that we are going to make is that anybody in either party who votes for this deal is putting their career in public life ... is turning that career over to the not-so-tender mercy of the mullahs of Iran ...[and] when Iran inevitably cheats on this deal and people die, no member of

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<sup>106</sup> United States Internal Revenue Manual, retrieved 28 July 2015, <[http://www.irs.gov/irm/part7/irm\\_07-025-004.html#d0e332](http://www.irs.gov/irm/part7/irm_07-025-004.html#d0e332)>.

<sup>107</sup> Smith, S., *America's Largest Pro-Israel Group Launches New Lobbying Effort*, Christian Post, 23 July 2015, retrieved 28 July 2015, <<http://www.christianpost.com/news/americas-largest-pro-israel-group-launches-super-pac-led-by-gary-bauer-urges-congress-to-vote-against-stunningly-bad-iran-nuke-deal-interview-141813/>>.

Congress is going to be able to say "I had no idea that was going to happen when I voted on this."<sup>108</sup>

A significant element in the power of any lobbying group seeking to influence American politics – and this will be demonstrated again in the second case study of the Tea Party – is the 're-election factor'. Lobby groups track the voting records of senators and representatives, and those who do not vote in accordance with a lobby group's wishes on a particular issue often find themselves targeted at the next election – either by a lobby group supporting a candidate more aligned with their policies, or by negative advertising, or both. Bauer went on to re-enforce his threat by indicating that he planned to open local and state CUFI Action Fund offices in every Congressional district and every county in America, with a goal of securing 'at least a million new pro-U.S.-Israel alliance voters registered to vote for 2016.'<sup>109</sup> In a sign that elements of the mainstream media might be taking a second look at CUFI as an influential element of the Christian right, in an interview with Jennifer Rubin from *The Washington Post* headed 'Get Ready for the pro-Israel NRA', Bauer made his intentions even clearer. In the longer term:

'Bauer vows that the sole determination in their efforts will be to identify issues and candidates who promote the security of the state of Israel and the U.S.-Israel relationship. That may include primarying Democrats or Republicans, or running issue ads regardless of the effect on a particular race. In Bauer's eyes, their mission has taken on a particularly urgency. "This is the most anti-Israel president in the history of Israel. We know from former Ambassador [Michael] Oren that his administration set out to pick a fight with Israel while sending 'love notes' to Iran. It is beyond outrageous."<sup>110</sup>

Hagee puts it even more clearly. 'Pastor Hagee genteelly says, "Every person running for office [in 2016] is going to be aware we have 2.2 million

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<sup>108</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> Rubin, J., *Get ready for the pro-Israel NRA*, The Washington Post, 12 July 2015, retrieved 20 July 2015, < <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/right-turn/wp/2015/07/12/get-ready-for-the-pro-israel-nra/>>.

households. If I were a candidate especially in the Republican Party I'd be aware of how many voters will cast their vote principally on Israel."<sup>111</sup>

### **CUFI Talking Points**

Allied with the Rapid Response Email Alerts, CUFI issues 'Talking Points' whenever an issue is raised that either threatens or is important to Israel. In the same way that governments, for example, issue talking points to ensure that ministers all communicate the same message when they are door-stopped or confronted by questions in a media interview, CUFI equips every member with the CUFI position. For example, Hagee has very good access to the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.



**Prime Minister Netanyahu (with Pastor Hagee at right) addresses an 800-strong CUFI mission visiting Jerusalem in 2012**

The talking points below were issued when Hagee took the fight to President Obama over his treatment of Netanyahu post the Israeli 2015 election.

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<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*



## CUFI's Talking Points

'President Obama has crossed the line. His disrespect of the Israeli people and the leader they just re-elected by a wide margin are simply unacceptable. The fact that he blasts Israel while embracing and forgiving Iran only adds salt to the wound. The Israeli people have spoken. In this time of enormous danger in the Middle East, they want a pragmatic leader who does not conjure peace partners out of thin air or base their security on a foundation of shifting sands. Meanwhile, President Obama continues to live in a fairytale world where there could be peace and security tomorrow if only Israel left the West Bank. To believe in this nice story, the President must ignore all of the Israeli peace offers that the Palestinians have rejected. He must likewise turn a blind eye to the likelihood that Hamas would seize these strategic territories in short order. And he must pretend that ISIS would not take over in the long term.'<sup>112</sup>

Further examples of CUFI Talking Points are included in Appendix D.

### Media Releases

Media releases expand on the CUFI internal talking points and provide the mainstream media with further details, gaining a wider reach than the CUFI

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<sup>112</sup> Christians United For Israel Talking Points Email, *Obama, Netanyahu and the Israeli Election*, 20 March, 2015.

database. For example, the day after CUFİ issued an action alert in support of Netanyahu's March, 2015, speech to the Joint Sitting of Congress, *The Algemeiner Journal* covered the story under the headline 'Support for Netanyahu Speech to Congress on Iranian Nuclear Threat Surges'.<sup>113</sup>

*Algemeiner*, a print and online Jewish newspaper based in New York, referred only to the CUFİ position, with quotes from CUFİ's David Brog, Republican Senator Marco Rubio (FL) and a supportive Democrat, Senator Charles Schumer (NY). In order to maximise CUFİ's digital exposure, media releases are bolstered with Tweets and postings on the CUFİ Facebook page with a link back to the alert page.

## The Torch



There are some who might argue that, as a means of communicating, newspapers and glossy magazines have been superseded by digital channels, but in the case of magazines the research says otherwise. Circulation figures (200,000)<sup>114</sup> for *The Torch*, CUFİ's quarterly magazine, are somewhat dated but in a more general sense, as the chart at Figure 14 on the following page shows, spend patterns on newspapers have shrunk while

magazine spending has held position.<sup>115</sup> Subscribers, and particularly older ones, like the 'feel' of a magazine.

<sup>113</sup> Algemeiner Staff, *Support for Netanyahu Speech to Congress on Iranian Nuclear Threat Surges*, *The Algemeiner Journal*, 16 February, 2015, retrieved 4 March, 2015, < <http://www.algemeiner.com/2015/02/13/support-for-netanyahu-speech-to-congress-on-iranian-nuclear-threat-surges/>>.

<sup>114</sup> Kiracofe, C. A., *Dark Crusade*, Tauris, London, 2009, p 179.

<sup>115</sup> Stoltz, N., and Slotnick, A., *Does the "Decline of Print" Include Magazines (Research)*, Market Share, 16 December 2014, retrieved 20 March, 2015, < <http://www.marketshare.com/blog/does-the-decline-of-print-include-magazines-research>>.

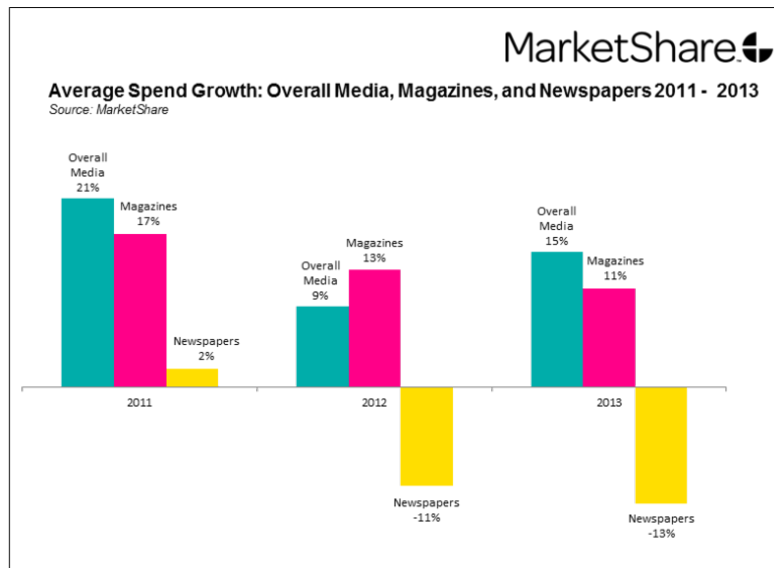


Fig 14<sup>116</sup>

The banner for *The Torch* reads: 'For Zion's sake I will not keep silent, for Jerusalem's sake I will not remain quiet, till her righteousness shines out like the dawn, her salvation like a blazing torch. Isaiah 62:1.'<sup>117</sup> The CUFI magazine can be obtained for an annual subscription of US\$25 and is promoted by CUFI as providing articles and analysis on Israel and the Middle East from scholars, policy experts, and renowned religious leaders. 'The Torch will assist you in becoming better informed about Israel and the Middle East.'<sup>118</sup> This statement is debatable, in that 'better informed' is only applicable if the caveat of 'from a Christian Zionist perspective' is applied. An examination of past editions of *The Torch* reveals the magazine contains articles from many who have spoken at CUFI summits, including right wing conservative activists and columnists (Gary Bauer, Clifford D. May, and David Horowitz, for example).<sup>119</sup> *The Torch* Winter 2014 *Letter from the Editor*, for example, is co-signed by Pastor Hagee and David Brog. As has been the case in many of CUFI's pronouncements in recent years, Iran features strongly:

<sup>116</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Christians United For Israel Website, *The Torch*, CUFI Quarterly Magazine, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <[http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about\\_cufi\\_magazine](http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about_cufi_magazine)>.

<sup>118</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> See for example, Bauer, G., *Obama's Historic Mistake*; May, C.D., *Warning: After Geneva*; and Horowitz D., *When a Palestinian Teen Shed the Last Traits of Humanity*; in *The Torch*, CUFI Quarterly Magazine, Winter 2014, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <<http://www.cufi.org/thetorch/2014-1/>>.



'The free world is facing one of the great foreign policy challenges of our lifetime: the increasing prospect of a nuclear armed Iran. As several articles in this edition of *The Torch* will explain, Iran is on the verge of acquiring a nuclear weapons capability, and the United States is on the verge of effectively allowing the Islamic Republic to do so.'<sup>120</sup>

With a message not dissimilar to Prime Minister Netanyahu's position on the Islamic Republic, the letter goes on to criticise President Obama's efforts to broker a deal with Iran, calling for Iran to allow international inspection of all of its nuclear sites; export all of its 20% enriched Uranium out of the country; disable all centrifuges and end construction of its nuclear reactor in Arak.

*The Torch* serves to justify the pro-Israel platform to the CUFI membership. CUFI members are likely to accept this view, because in their mind, it's coming from their pastor and founder, who pushes the message that 'God wants you to support Israel.' For example, Isaac Reyes, a CUFI on Campus leader, left his small Baptist church in San Antonio 'because the pastor wasn't [in his view] godly driven.'<sup>121</sup> When asked by the author, Reyes had this to say about Hagee and his Cornerstone Church: 'Since Day 1, I loved that church. Pastor Hagee is a real pastor who fears God more than man and preaches exactly what the Bible has written [and] more specifically in this case, [preaches] support for the Jews and the Jewish state of Israel.'<sup>122</sup> Not all followers will be as unquestioning as Reyes, but given the growing membership of CUFI there is a reasonable hypothesis that many will. Despite Hagee's statements, such as those on Ebola, Hitler and gay pride marches, Hagee's supporters follow him because – like Reyes – they have a high regard for him. Hagee's one-sided views on U.S. policy on Israel resonate with his congregation and CUFI members, and that translates into pressure on senators and representatives in Washington.

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<sup>120</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> Email from Isaac Reyes, CUFI Chapter Leader, University of Texas, 11 July 2015.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid.*

## CUFI Public Relations - The Battle for the Hearts and Minds

Whatever the faults on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including Hamas's targeting innocent Israeli civilians by firing large numbers of rockets from Gaza, a number of local and international incidents have severely damaged Israel's standing in the world. These incidents include settlement expansion; Israeli bombings of UN schools in Gaza that have killed innocent civilians; and the boarding of a Turkish flotilla in international waters by the Israeli Defense Force which resulted in the deaths of nine Turkish activists.<sup>123</sup> Indeed, David Brog believes the public relations battle, at least in Europe, has already been lost.<sup>124</sup> In recent months, media outlets have been reporting a rise in anti-Semitism around the world, including protest marches with participants numbered in the thousands which have included appalling slogans – slogans which would likely have been roundly condemned even five years ago – such as "Hitler was Right" and "Hamas, Hamas, Jews to the Gas."<sup>125</sup> Aharon Lapidot, the Deputy Editor of Israel Hayom (This Is Where

We Stand) believes that the protests represent two main issues:

'First, the Islamization of Europe. In European capitals, the number of Muslims has reached a critical mass. In Brussels, it is expected there will be a Muslim majority within a decade. Muslim community leaders do not hide their intentions to conquer Europe via demography, and impose Shariah law. The

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<sup>123</sup> See for example, the leader of the Israeli Hanuah Party, Tzipi Livni's criticism of Netanyahu's settlement expansion, HJM/GHN/HMV, *Netanyahu's settlement plans isolate Israel: Opposition figure*, PressTV, 17 February, 2015, retrieved 5 March, 2015, <<http://www.presstv.ir/Detail/2015/02/17/397968/Bibi-slammed-for-Israel-intl-isolation>>, and Agencies in Washington, U.S. 'appalled' by 'disgraceful' shelling of Gaza UN school, The Guardian, 4 August 2014, retrieved 5 March, 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/03/us-appalled-disgraceful-israeli-shelling-gaza-un-school>>, and Gabbatt, A., *Israel Attacks Gaza Flotilla*, The Guardian, 20 May 2014, retrieved 5 March, 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/blog/2010/may/31/israel-troops-gaza-ships>>.

<sup>124</sup> Interview with David Brog, op.cit.

<sup>125</sup> Lapidot, A., *Israel Protestors: 'Hitler was Right'*, Charisma News, 13 August 2104, retrieved 5 March, 2015, <<http://www.charismanews.com/opinion/standing-with-israel/46806-israel-protesters-hitler-was-right>>.

second issue is even more serious. Operation *Protective Edge* [the Israeli Defense Force invasion and shelling of Gaza, in response to Hamas rocket fire in July 2014, which resulted in over 2,000 deaths] has released the ancient European anti-Semitic genie from the bottle, after it was stuffed deep inside following the Holocaust. Blatantly racist remarks that no one would have dared utter a decade or two ago have all of a sudden become legitimate. Perhaps the latest wave of anti-Semitism is being led by Muslims, but Europe is showing very little resistance to being dragged into an ugly, terrifying and barbaric reality.<sup>126</sup>

Lapidot provides no evidence that the anti-Semitism marches are being led by Muslims, and he may be overstating the present situation, although there is no doubt that anti-Semitism is on the rise in Europe. Israel's standing in the wider world may have fallen, but Hagee, Brog and other Christian right leaders might take some comfort from the latest Gallup research outlined below on Americans' attitudes toward Israel.<sup>127</sup> The latest Gallup Poll data is based on a random sample of 837 adults in all 50 American states and Washington D.C., but the trend over the years is more important than a single poll. As the graph at Figure 15 on the following page shows, whilst Americans in all age groups have grown more partial to Israel in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict over the past 15 years, adults aged 50 and older have more markedly increased their sympathy for the Jewish state.

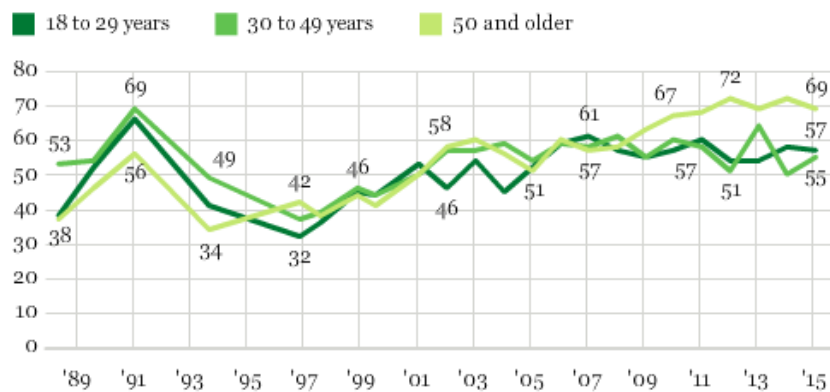
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<sup>126</sup> Lapidot, A., *Anti-Semitic Genie Out of the Bottle*, Israel Hayom, 12 August 2014, retrieved 21 March, 2015, <[http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter\\_opinion.php?id=9581](http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter_opinion.php?id=9581)>.

<sup>127</sup> Gallup Poll, *Older Americans Have Grown Especially Supportive of Israel*, 8-11 February, 2015, retrieved 21 March, 2015, <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/181745/older-americans-grown-especially-supportive-israel.aspx> and <http://www.gallup.com/poll/181652/seven-americans-continue-view-israel-favorably.aspx>>.

*Sympathies in Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, by Age*

% Sympathize more with the Israelis



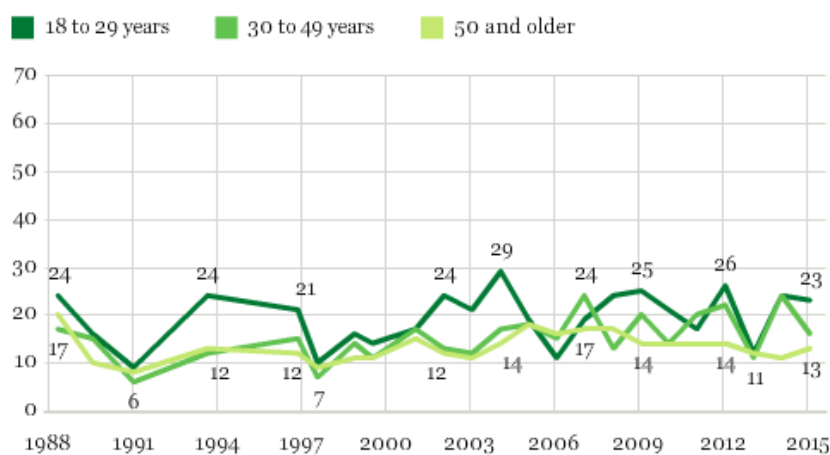
GALLUP

**Fig 15**<sup>128</sup>

Notwithstanding the overall rise in support for Israel across all age groups, as the graph at Figure 16 below shows, younger Americans are more likely to sympathise with the Palestinian state, which organisations like CUFI view as a dangerous trend. The establishment of CUFI on Campus, which will be examined in a subsequent case study, attempts to address this, but that only targets young people on college and university campuses.

*Sympathies in Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, by Age*

% Sympathize more with the Palestinians



GALLUP

**Fig 16**<sup>129</sup>

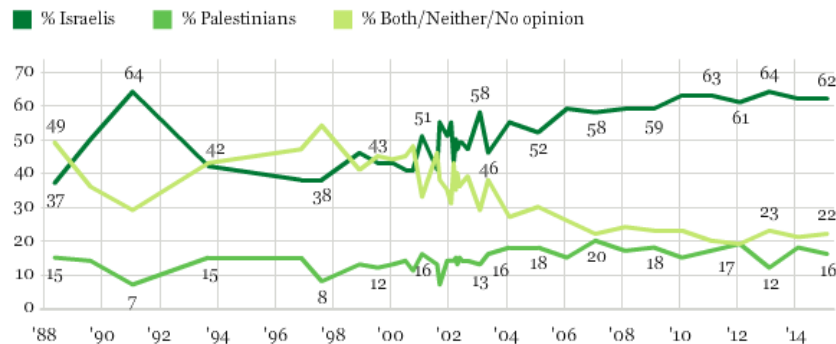
<sup>128</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*

Asked to choose sides, as the graph at Figure 17 below shows, six in ten Americans favour Israelis and since 2004, Israel has consistently received the majority share of Americans' sympathies.

*Americans' Sympathies in Mideast Conflict*

In the Middle East situation, are your sympathies more with the Israelis or more with the Palestinians?

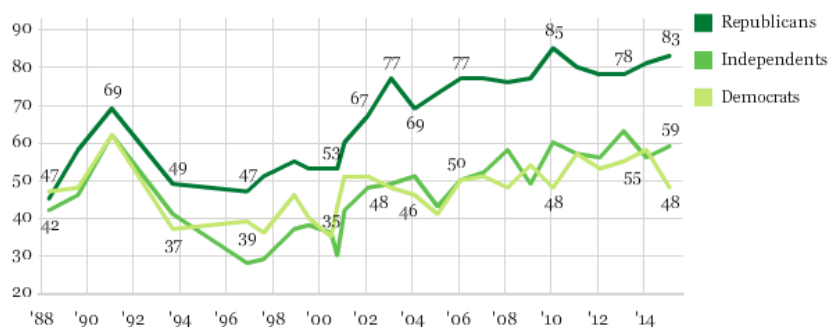


GALLUP®

**Fig 17**<sup>130</sup>

As the graph at Figure 18 below shows, Republicans are nearly unanimous in their support of Israel, and this is a key reason American support overall has increased, because Republicans' backing for the Jewish state has increased considerably, rising from 53% in 2000 to more than 80% since 2014. A large jump in GOP support occurred post 9/11 and again at the start of the 2003 Iraq War. By contrast, in 2015, Democrat support for Israel fell ten points, possibly reflecting the tension between Obama and Netanyahu.<sup>131</sup>

*Percentage Sympathizing More With the Israelis Than the Palestinians in Mideast Situation by Party ID*



Trend since 2001 includes only results from annual February World Affairs survey

GALLUP®

**Fig 18**<sup>132</sup>

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> *ibid.*

## **The CUFI Public Relations (PR) Strategy**

Both Brog and Ari Morgenstern, the CUFI Communications Director, are acutely aware of the importance of Public Relations (PR). As indicated in the Introduction, prior to interviews, Morgenstern swore the author to secrecy as to the whereabouts of CUFI headquarters in San Antonio, Texas. Given his sometimes extreme statements, Pastor Hagee has received several death threats and the CUFI headquarters is hidden behind a plain locked door which is devoid of any markings, in a non-descript office block. Physical security aside, Morgenstern vets all requests for interview and maintains very tight control over access to all levels of CUFI. Asked how strategies were prepared, Morgenstern had this to say:

'The CUFI communications staff is very small, but strategies are prepared in consultation with field staff and board members, and particularly with Executive Director Brog. It is very much a team effort. Editorials, for example, are bounced off field leaders to gain their insight, as they are closest to the membership – the people who support us in our endeavours.'<sup>133</sup>

Morgenstern indicated that the overall public relations strategy was divided into two major areas: offensive and defensive.

As part of the CUFI offensive PR effort, especially when it comes to influencing representatives on Capitol Hill in Washington during the CUFI annual summit, CUFI distributes to their members the policy agenda that is to be discussed with senators and representatives, and with any journalists who might attend. The few journalists allowed entry are thoroughly vetted and access to them is strictly controlled, although no secret is made of the policy agenda. If ordinary members have any questions, regional field coordinators are available to clarify any issues. In 2015, the key issues were: preventing a nuclear-armed Iran; strengthening the U.S./Israeli relationship; and

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<sup>133</sup> Interview with Ari Morgenstern, op.cit.

highlighting the persecution of Christians in the Middle East at the hands of ISIS and others. The membership is constantly updated on the latest news on these and other topics through email alerts and social media.

'I believe, and I've seen it work quite well,' Morgenstern says, 'so long as folks understand the issues which can be nuanced at times, the messaging that we advocate, as far as we're concerned, is fairly non-controversial. This enables the CUFI membership to approach this through a common lens encompassing the theological, the historical, and the contemporary strategic issues.'<sup>134</sup>

It should be noted that the 'common lens' Morgenstern refers to is, in this author's experience, always pro-Israel.

In terms of the success of the CUFI positive PR program, as previously indicated, CUFI measures this by both membership and by achieving co-sponsorship of bills of importance to CUFI. A further example of the latter is the Corker-Menendez Bill that was intended (there are differing opinions on its efficacy) to ensure Congress had a say on any agreement on Iran's nuclear capability. CUFI had focused on the bill – a bill that was initially opposed by President Obama – ever since its introduction in February, 2015, and although in this case it is not possible to precisely quantify CUFI's influence (other groups such as AIPAC also lobbied in support of the bill), on 14 April, 2015, it was reported in *The New York Times*, that President Obama had relented in his opposition, agreeing to sign a modified Corker-Menendez Bill.<sup>135</sup>

As important as membership and achieving co-sponsorship for bills might be, both Brog and Morgenstern never lose sight of CUFI's main aim of strengthening the U.S./Israeli relationship and ensuring a favourable foreign

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<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> Baker P., and Weisman, J., *Obama Yields, Allowing Congress Say on Iran Nuclear Deal*, New York Times, 14 April, 2015, retrieved 16 April 2015, <[http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/us/senators-reach-deal-on-iran-nuclear-talks.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/us/senators-reach-deal-on-iran-nuclear-talks.html?_r=0)>.

policy approach. Morgenstern put it this way:

'Membership and co-sponsoring aside, in terms of successful communications and media relations these should be seen – not as an end to themselves – but as a means of achieving the larger goal of strengthening the U.S./Israel relationship. Up until reaching 1 million members, we had basically gotten [sic] there without one nice thing being written about CUFI – but since then one or two nice things have been written, but that's not the goal and it's not my goal either. My goal is to practise my trade in such a way that it advances CUFI's mission – but PR is just a tool in the toolbox – it is not the end – it is just one of the means with which we achieve success.'<sup>136</sup>

When asked why all media enquiries and other requests for interview came to his desk, Morgenstern was unapologetic.

'In the past, CUFI has had enquiries that were not legitimate and we have been misled by individuals as to who they were or who they represented. Any member of CUFI who is authorised to speak to the media or anyone else from outside the organization must know precisely whom they are speaking with, and the limits of what can be said.'<sup>137</sup>

Whenever CUFI and Pastor Hagee are under attack in the media, Morgenstern is very quick to respond. On 12 March, 2015, for example, *The Huffington Post* published an article by long-time Hagee critic, Bruce Wilson, entitled 'Half-Breed Jew Committed Holocaust, Claims Netanyahu Ally, John Hagee.'<sup>138</sup> Wilson took issue with Hagee's 2006 book, *Jerusalem Countdown: A Warning to the World*,<sup>139</sup> in which Hagee claimed that Hitler was a half-breed Jew. As Wilson notes, Hagee's basis for Hitler's Jewishness is tenuous at best. Hagee bases his claim on a biography of Hitler by the respected Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, John Toland, asserting that Toland had recorded that Hitler was part-Jewish; whereas Toland actually wrote: 'there is a *slight possibility*

<sup>136</sup> Interview with Ari Morgenstern, op.cit.

<sup>137</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> Wilson, B., 'Half Breed Jew' Committed Holocaust, Claims Netanyahu Ally John Hagee, *The Huffington Post*, 12 March, 2015, retrieved 28 March, 2015, < [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/bruce-wilson/netanyahu-ally-john-hagee\\_b\\_6848226.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/bruce-wilson/netanyahu-ally-john-hagee_b_6848226.html)>.

<sup>139</sup> Hagee, J., *Jerusalem Countdown: A Warning to the World*, Frontline, Florida, 2006, p 149.



(author's emphasis) that Hitler's grandfather was a wealthy Jew named Frankenberger or Frankenreither.<sup>140</sup>

The day Wilson's article appeared in *The Huffington Post*, Morgenstern and the CUFI PR machine immediately issued a media release headed 'CUFI Responds to Attack on Pastor Hagee by Disgraced Journalist Bruce Wilson.'<sup>141</sup> The CUFI release commenced with a quote from David Brog:

"As a Jew whose extended family was murdered in the Holocaust, I find Wilson's claims deeply offensive. How dare he use the greatest tragedy in Jewish history to slander one of the greatest friends the Jewish people have ever known," said CUFI executive director David Brog. "Pastor John Hagee has devoted his life to standing in support of Israel and the Jewish people, and he's suffered repeated death threats from anti-Semites because of it. For Wilson to once again slander this righteous gentile as an anti-Semite is disgusting even for a journalist of Wilson's low reputation. Shame on him," Brog added.<sup>142</sup>

The quote from Brog was followed by a statement from Morgenstern, attacking Wilson and denouncing *The Huffington Post*.

'In 2011 it was exposed that Bruce Wilson falsely attributed a quote to Hagee in a prior attack piece. Yesterday, Wilson returned to his old tricks. The sum total of the arguments Wilson makes in his 1,600-word screed against Hagee involved his quoting random phrases -- and even random words -- taken blatantly out of the context in which Hagee wrote or spoke them. Such dishonest reporting may not be beneath Wilson's dignity, but it should be below that of the Huffington Post.'<sup>143</sup>

Some PR practitioners would argue that given Hagee's 'Hitler Sermon' had already caused considerable controversy and that Hagee's claim for Hitler's Jewishness was based on a misrepresentation of Toland's work, it would have

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<sup>140</sup> Toland, J., *Hitler: The Definitive Biography*, Anchor Books, New York, January, 1992, p 17.

<sup>141</sup> Christians United For Israel Media Release, *CUFI Responds to Attack on Pastor Hagee by Disgraced Journalist Bruce Wilson*, 13 March, 2015, retrieved 28 March, 2015, <[http://www.cufi.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=13159&news\\_iv\\_ctrl=-1](http://www.cufi.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=13159&news_iv_ctrl=-1)>.

<sup>142</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>143</sup> *ibid*.

been prudent to let the *Huffington Post* article slide without drawing further attention to it, but no matter how arguable Hagee's biblical exegesis might be, or how tenuous his statements, the CUFI PR machine vigorously defends the founder.

Another source of vociferous criticism of CUFI in general and Hagee in particular comes from the Washington think tank, People for the American Way (PFAW). PFAW is a progressive advocacy group established in 1981 by Norman Lear, Barbara Jordan, Father Theodore Hesburgh and Andrew Heiskell. At the time, all four were concerned that voices of stridency and division in the United States might replace those of reason and unity, which in turn would prompt, amongst other things, a rise in hostility, a breakdown in community and social spirit, and a deterioration of free and open dialogue.<sup>144</sup> The founders were of the view that the best way to address these problems was to affirm 'the American Way.' By that they meant pluralism; individuality; freedom of thought, expression and religion; a sense of community; tolerance and compassion for others; fostering understanding among different segments of society; increasing the level and quality of public dialogue; and nurturing a national climate that encouraged and enhanced the human spirit rather than one which divided people into hostile camps.<sup>145</sup>

Peter Montgomery maintains that the mission elucidated by PFAW's founders is even more pertinent today, and he indicated that Pastor Hagee (along with other celebrity evangelists on the far right) is firmly on PFAW's watch list. In Montgomery's view, Hagee has made myriad statements, which are contrary to common sense, and often downright offensive, and he too observed that this does not seem to deter Hagee's followers, or the expansion of their number.<sup>146</sup> This raises two important questions: Given the nature of Hagee's statements, why are the numbers of his followers growing, and in the light of

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<sup>144</sup> People for the American Way Founding Mission Statement, retrieved 7 March, 2015, <<http://www.pfaw.org/about-us/founding-mission>>.

<sup>145</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> Interview with Peter Montgomery, *op.cit.*

this impressive growth, why has much of the mainstream media and the general public written Hagee off as someone on the fundamentalist fringe of religion?

As previously explained, the answer to the first question may lie partly in the fact that many Christians are theologically disposed toward the Holy Land. It may also lie (again, partly) in the CUFI marketing and public relations machine's mastery of the digital age, coupled with the powerful oratory of Hagee himself, but it may also lie in what this author terms 'the theology of fear.' In addition to his themes on Hitler and the Holocaust, Hagee often warns his followers on the approaching end times and Armageddon. For centuries, the priestly caste of religion – and particularly those of the Christian persuasion, have tapped the fearful elements of the human psyche to assist in the maintenance of varying degrees of control. If you don't fear the Lord and confess your sins, for example, if you don't seek and receive redemption *through the church*, then a fiery end awaits you. Two examples of Hagee's 'end times' warnings are explained below: The Four Blood Moons and The Rapture.

### **The Four Blood Moons**

Hagee's most recent prophetic warning concerned an eclipse of the sun on 20 March, 2015 and the accompanying 'four blood moons' of 2014 and 2015 (at the time of writing, three had already occurred – 15 April, 2014, 8 October, 2014, and 20 March, 2015, with the final one due on 28 September 2015). The 'four blood moon' phenomena is a series of four total lunar eclipses known as a tetrad, during which the moon passes completely into the earth's shadow, a movement that bathes the moon with a red tinge. Tetrads only occur when the period of four total lunar eclipses is not interrupted by any partial lunar eclipse, during which the moon passes into just part of the earth's shadow. Hagee believes that the 2014-15 blood moons are a sign from God pointing 'to a world-shaking event that will happen between April,

2014 and October 2015.<sup>147</sup> Quoting from Joel and Acts in the Bible, Hagee reminds us that according to God's word, the sun will be turned into darkness and the moon to blood before the coming of the great and glorious day of the Lord.<sup>148</sup> In a later John Hagee Ministries 'Four Blood Moon' television special, Hagee's warnings are more explicit, including a claim that 9/11 was the day God was sending us a message that he was not pleased with the manner in which America was walking away from God and that the stock market crash of 2008 was also a sign from God.<sup>149</sup>



**Pastor Hagee delivering one of his 'Four Blood Moons' warning sermons**

By linking these biblical passages and then juxtaposing them with astronomical alignments, Hagee warns his growing number of followers that God is manipulating the heavens and sending us a message that the end times are approaching. Hagee's warnings have also reached the general media with, for example, the *International Business Times* running an article on Hagee and the astronomical alignment headed 'Supermoon Total Lunar

<sup>147</sup> Hagee, J., *The Four Blood Moons*, John Hagee Ministries, 2 September 2013, retrieved 3 March, 2015, < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RoVJkeHuzuE> >.

<sup>148</sup> Holy Bible, New International Version, Joel 2:30 and Acts 2:20

<sup>149</sup> Hagee, J., *The Four Blood Moons – TV Special*, John Hagee Ministries, 17 April, 2015, retrieved 29 April, 2015, < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v150XYUEEu4> >.

Eclipse: Armageddon, Blood Moon, End of Days Or Just Another Astronomical Event?'<sup>150</sup> A brief scientific analysis suggests that the total lunar eclipse is 'just another astronomical event', and Hagee's biblical exegesis is suspect at best. That analysis is at Appendix E.

Notwithstanding the science, Hagee's book, *The Four Blood Moons*, rose to #5 on *The New York Times* best seller list,<sup>151</sup> as well as '#4 on Publishers Weekly, #87 on USA Today, #17 on Amazon, #2 on Barnes and Noble online, #1 at Christian Book Distributors, #2 at Walmart online, and #5 on CBA's Top 50 Best Sellers list.'<sup>152</sup> The Blood Moons television special was accompanied by a movie version for cinemas, and were it not for a worldwide television reach, and the significant access to Capitol Hill enjoyed by Pastor Hagee and the membership of CUFI, Hagee could be dismissed as just another from a group of myriad preachers who have predicted, and continue to predict Armageddon, the end times and the imminent 'coming of the Lord'. But as noted elsewhere, in the United States, senators and representatives take notice of the Christian right in general, and Hagee in particular.

## The Rapture

'Pray up! Pack up! Look up! We're going up!'<sup>153</sup> is just one of many of Hagee's claims that the end of the world is upon us and one of Hagee's repeated exhortations that we all need to be prepared for 'The Rapture', in which Christians will be raptured up to meet the Lord in the air, described in

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<sup>150</sup> Poladian, C., *Supermoon Total Lunar Eclipse: Armageddon, Blood Moon, End of Days Or Just Another Astronomical Event?* International Business Times, 22 September, 2015, retrieved 23 September 2015, <<http://www.ibtimes.com/pulse/supermoon-total-lunar-eclipse-armageddon-blood-moon-end-days-or-just-another-2108264>>.

<sup>151</sup> Best Seller List, *Four Blood Moons*, New York Times, 4 May 2014, retrieved 30 April 2015, <<http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers-books/2014-05-04/advice-how-to-and-miscellaneous/list.html>>.

<sup>152</sup> John Hagee's *Four Blood Moons Hits New York Times Bestseller List*, Crossmap.com, retrieved 30 April 2015, <<http://www.crossmap.com/news/john-hagees-four-blood-moons-hits-new-york-times-bestseller-list-among-others-7261/print>>.

<sup>153</sup> Hagee, J., *The Four Blood Moons – TV Special*, op.cit.

books of the Bible such as Paul's First Letter to the Thessalonians:

'For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words.'<sup>154</sup>

In one of his sermons, Hagee describes this event with great drama:

'Neighbors are going to be standing in the streets and they're going to be having conversations like this: "I was standing here talking to Mr Jones and suddenly he started rising into the air, over the house past the tree tops, gone, Gone, GONE! He's vanished in the clouds right before my eyes!"<sup>155</sup>

Hagee's exhortation to 'pray up, pack up, look up' followed by 'we're going up in Jesus name, Hallelujah to the Lamb of God,'<sup>156</sup> is met by enthusiastic applause from thousands in the congregation. Allied with Hagee's view (but not run by CUFI) is an online website entitled 'Rapture Ready' containing an index which is updated regularly and is based on 45 components including unemployment, inflation, interest rates, oil prices, moral standards, crime rates, anti-Semitism, Israel, Gog (Russia), Iran, the peace process and the weather. The index measures the type of activity that could act as a precursor to the Rapture.<sup>157</sup>

Lannan Literary Award-winning author, Max Blumenthal, wrote an article entitled 'Rapture Ready: The Unauthorised Christians United for Israel Tour', after attending (and being evicted from) the 2007 CUFI Washington Summit.

'I have covered the Christian right intensely for over four years. During this time, I attended dozens of Christian right conferences, regularly monitored movement publications and radio shows, and interviewed scores of its key leaders. I have never witnessed any spectacle as politically extreme,

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<sup>154</sup> 1 Thessalonians 4:16-18.

<sup>155</sup> Hagee, J., *The Four Blood Moons – TV Special*, op.cit.

<sup>156</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> The Rapture Index, 5 October 2015, retrieved 10 October 2015, <<http://www.raptureready.com/rap2.html>>.

outrageous, or bizarre as the one Christians United for Israel produced last week in Washington.’<sup>158</sup>

Blumenthal is far from alone in his scathing criticism. David Weigel, who focuses on the Tea Party and religious right movements, covered the 2014 CUFI conference which included attendance by *Weekly Standard* editor-in-chief, Bill Kristol; onetime CIA director James Woolsey; the Council on Foreign Relations fellow, Elliot Abrams and some 40 other speakers. Following the conference, Weigel published an article entitled ‘Inside the Most Insanely Pro-Israel Meeting You Could Ever Attend,’<sup>159</sup> in which Weigel noted that the theme of the conference, which was followed by thousands of CUFI supporters making carefully choreographed lobbying trips to Congress, was to ‘pressure the Obama administration not to broker an early cease-fire in Israel [at the time of the 2014 CUFI Washington Summit, Operation *Protective Edge*, the 2014 Israeli incursion into Gaza, was into its second deadly week] ... “Let Israel finish the job,” Hagee said. “Let every rocket be dismantled. Let every tunnel be destroyed.”’<sup>160</sup>

Blumenthal and Weigel aside, the mainstream media largely ignore the Hagee phenomenon and it is suggested that a further reason for this lies in the bizarre content of some of Hagee’s other sermons. Hagee often assigns normal events (which can be rationally explained by science) an irrational, biblical meaning. As outlined below, Netanyahu’s March 2015 Speech to Congress, Katrina, and the most recent 2014 Ebola outbreak, for example, were in Hagee’s view, all warnings from God. In addition, Hagee rails against what he terms ‘secular humanism’, and books like the *Harry Potter* series<sup>161</sup> are singled out as being contrary to biblical teachings.

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<sup>158</sup> Blumenthal, M., *Rapture Ready: The Unauthorised Tour of Christians United for Israel*, Huffington Post, 25 May 2011 (updated), retrieved 20 March, 2015, <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/max-blumenthal/rapture-ready-the-unautho\\_b\\_57826.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/max-blumenthal/rapture-ready-the-unautho_b_57826.html)>.

<sup>159</sup> Weigel, D., *Inside the Most Insanely Pro-Israel Meeting You Could Ever Attend*, Slate, 22 July 2014, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <[http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/politics/2014/07/christians\\_united\\_for\\_israel\\_the\\_most\\_insanely\\_pro\\_israel\\_conference\\_of.single.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2014/07/christians_united_for_israel_the_most_insanely_pro_israel_conference_of.single.html)>.

<sup>160</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> Rowling, J. K., *Harry Potter*, Bloomsbury, London, 26 June 1997 – 21 July 2007.

## Netanyahu's March 2015 Speech to Congress

Many secular commentators tied the Israeli Prime Minister's speech to the U.S. Joint Sitting of Congress to Netanyahu's bid to win another term, although given the possible damage to the normal bipartisan support for Israel in the Congress (8 senators and 50 representatives boycotted the speech), the question arises as to why the Israeli public might reward Netanyahu for fomenting a rift with the United States. A more plausible explanation for Netanyahu's appearance might lie in his wish, prior to the Israel election, to divert Israeli media coverage away from the state of the Israeli economy. A recent poll released by Israel's Channel 10 showed that '56 percent of Israelis said that what they care most about is the country's "high cost of living." Only 27 percent were concerned about the security threat.'<sup>162</sup>

Following Netanyahu's address, for which Hagee and his wife were present in the Congress gallery, on 10 March, 2015, Hagee's television program 'Hotline' broadcast an excerpt from Hagee's sermon to his packed Cornerstone mega-church, which included a biblical link to the Joint Sitting of Congress. For Hagee, Netanyahu's appearance had a far more serious purpose than the Israeli economy or international relations – it was a 'Churchill moment in American history' and a 'warning from God.'<sup>163</sup>

'We were born for such a time as this. If we do not stand up for Israel ... God will bring judgment to us. Every nation in the Bible that did not stand by Israel in her hour of need did not survive. God's message to America this past Tuesday in Congress was loud and clear: Stand with Israel because the day you reject Israel is the day that I will reject you. Hello, Washington. Hello, John Kerry, we are not negotiating Israel's

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<sup>162</sup> Margalit, R., *Why Does Bibi Do It?*, Slate, 2 March, 2015, retrieved 10 March, 2015, <[http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/foreigners/2015/03/netanyahu\\_s\\_speech\\_to\\_congress\\_s\\_why\\_bibi\\_is\\_antagonizing\\_obama\\_and\\_the\\_democrats.2.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/foreigners/2015/03/netanyahu_s_speech_to_congress_s_why_bibi_is_antagonizing_obama_and_the_democrats.2.html)>.

<sup>163</sup> Hagee, J., Sermon to John Hagee Ministries Cornerstone Church, 10 March, 2015, retrieved 12 March, 2015, <[https://www.getv.org/Videos/Watch/5b7b24ec-50a3-47f6-8679-27ef5c357343?title=Hagee\\_Hotline\\_March\\_10th\\_2015](https://www.getv.org/Videos/Watch/5b7b24ec-50a3-47f6-8679-27ef5c357343?title=Hagee_Hotline_March_10th_2015)>.



future in Iran. We are negotiating ours.’<sup>164</sup>

To the more rational analysis of Netanyahu’s acceptance of Speaker Boehner’s invitation, in which the Israeli Prime Minister considered it would help him win another term, we could add that Speaker Boehner stood to gain as well. With his leadership under pressure from hardline conservatives in the Republican Party, Boehner looked strong alongside Netanyahu’s tough stance against Iran. The Hagee position – that God was delivering another warning – doesn’t make any sense, other than to his legions of followers.

## **Ebola**

On 15 October, 2014, Pastor Hagee solemnly advised Americans and his worldwide audience that Ebola was God’s punishment on America for President Obama’s attempts to divide Jerusalem. *Haaretz*, Israel’s oldest daily newspaper (founded 1918) reported on Hagee’s outburst on his Hotline program:

‘I want every American to hear this very clearly,’ Hagee pronounced. ‘The prophet Joel says in the third chapter, “I God will bring all nations” and hear that phrase – “all nations” includes America, “into judgment for they have divided up My land, the land of Israel.” God says when any nation divides up the land of Israel, they are subject to judgment, and dividing Jerusalem is dividing the land. Our President is dead set on dividing Jerusalem. God is watching, and He will bring America into judgment. There are grounds to say judgment has already begun because he, the President, has been fighting to divide Jerusalem for years now. We are now experiencing the crisis of Ebola.’<sup>165</sup>

Hagee then went on to further link God’s judgment against the United States with Islamic terrorism, unrest in Ferguson (because of the fatal shooting of an 18-year old African American by a white police officer on 9 August – two

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<sup>164</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> *Haaretz, Pastor Ties Ebola to Obama’s Israel Policy*, 20 October, 2014, retrieved 10 March, 2015, < <http://www.haaretz.com/news/world/1.621721>>, and Hagee Hotline < [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J\\_rjKxuJzTM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J_rjKxuJzTM)>.

months prior to the Hagee broadcast), and with the fragile U.S. economy.

Ebola hemorrhagic fever (or Ebola Virus Disease as it is now known) first appeared in 1976 in two simultaneous outbreaks: one in a village near the Ebola River (from which the virus takes its name) in Yambuku, Democratic Republic of the Congo; and one in Nzara, Sudan. Apart from *Operation Entebbe*, in which Israeli commandos freed 103 hostages being held by Palestinian Arab and German hijackers of an Air France airliner, and other more minor skirmishes, 1976 was a relatively quiet year in Israel and not one that would require any biblical warnings from the pulpit. Furthermore, prior to the most recent outbreak in West Africa in 2014, according to CDC – the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, Georgia – from 1976 to 2013 there have been 24 outbreaks of Ebola, totaling some 1,531 cases, with 1,022 fatalities.<sup>166</sup>

The scientific facts behind the outbreaks of Ebola are well known. The natural hosts of Ebola are fruit bats of the Pteropodidae family and the virus has been introduced into the human population by close contact with the blood, bodily secretions and organs of infected animals such as monkeys, chimpanzees and forest antelopes. Unlike deoxyribonucleic acid (twin strand DNA) viruses like smallpox, which is highly contagious because it's airborne, the ribonucleic acid (single strand RNA) Ebola virus is hard to catch provided the proper precautions are in place. Human to human transmission has occurred mainly in Third World countries with poor medical infrastructure and education. Contact with bodily fluids, including unsafe burial practices where families wash the bodies of their loved ones at a time when the victims are bleeding and the viral load is at its highest have contributed to the spread of the virus. During the 2014 outbreak, which, with over 11,000 casualties,<sup>167</sup> is by far the largest to date, World Health Organisation officials were hampered in their

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<sup>166</sup> *Outbreaks Chronology: Ebola Virus Disease*, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Atlanta, Georgia, 18 July 2015, retrieved 20 August, 2015, <  
<http://www.cdc.gov/vhf/ebola/outbreaks/history/chronology.html>>.

<sup>167</sup> *ibid.*

fight to control the disease.

'WHO spokesman Tarik Jasarevic said health and relief workers have been trying to educate families in the affected region [West Africa] about how to bury their loved ones without exposing themselves to the virus ... [but] Peter Schleicher, a Red Cross operations manager in Liberia [said that] people in some communities have prevented trained health professionals from safely burying Ebola victims.'<sup>168</sup>

For Hagee, the science behind the virus and its spread appears immaterial. The prophet Joel has said that God will judge all nations, and for Hagee, the 2014 Ebola crisis is part of that judgment. But just as Hagee failed to explain why the 2014/15 blood moon alignments were any different from the previous identical alignments, Hagee again fails to explain why God might suddenly decide to utilise a 2014 outbreak of a virus as a warning against dividing the Holy Land when Ebola has been appearing in outbreaks for nearly 40 years. Hagee specifically links 'God's judgment' to Obama and the ceding of al Quds or East Jerusalem as the Palestinians' capital, yet ever since the Israelis unified the city during the 1967 Six Day War, East Jerusalem has been a key element in peace negotiations with the majority of UN member states not recognising the Israeli's claim over the eastern part of the city. In keeping with this position, embassies (as distinct from Consulates-General accredited to Jerusalem), including that of the United States, are located in Tel Aviv.

## **Hurricane Katrina**

In a 2006 interview on National Public Radio (NPR), Hagee asserted that Hurricane Katrina was God's punishment because of the level of sin in New Orleans:

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<sup>168</sup> Dockins, P., *WHO: Traditional Burials Hamper Ebola Fight*, Voice of America, 2 August 2014, retrieved 10 March, 2015, <<http://www.voanews.com/content/traditional-burial-practices-hamper-efforts-to-fight-ebola/1970353.html>>.

NPR: 'Do you still think that Katrina is God's punishment for a society that's becoming like Sodom and Gomorrah?'

Hagee: 'All Hurricanes are acts of God, because God controls the heavens. I believe that New Orleans had a level of sin that was offensive to God, and they were recipients of the judgment of God for that. The newspaper carried the story in our local area, that was not carried nationally, that there was to be a homosexual parade there on the Monday that Katrina came – and the promise of that parade was that it was going to reach a level of sexuality never demonstrated before in any of the other gay pride parades. So I believe that the judgment of God is a very real thing; and I believe that the hurricane Katrina was in fact the judgment of God against the city of New Orleans.'

NPR: 'You think the whole city was punished because of things like the forthcoming gay pride parade?'

Hagee: 'This is true. All of the city was punished because of the sin that happened in that city.'<sup>169</sup>

On 25 April, 2008, after Hagee's Katrina remarks were given further attention in the secular media (as a result of Hagee backing McCain's 2008 run for the White House – a relationship McCain withdrew from once Hagee's separate remarks on Hitler being God's agent also became known (outlined previously in this thesis), Hagee clarified his views on the reason for the hurricane. 'As a believing Christian, I see the hand of God in everything that happens here on earth, both the blessings and the curses. But ultimately neither I nor any other person can know the mind of God concerning Hurricane Katrina. I should not have suggested otherwise.'<sup>170</sup>

### **Harry Potter, Witchcraft and Moral Decline**

On 12 November, 2014, Pastor Hagee delivered the first of his 'Faith Under Fire' sermons from his Cornerstone mega-church in San Antonio Texas. At the start of the recorded sermon, the promotion announces John Hagee

<sup>169</sup> Hagee, J., *Katrina Disaster was God's Punishment for Gay Sin*, National Public Radio, 18 September 2006, retrieved 10 March, 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uv4HFT4LNuo>>.

<sup>170</sup> Frederick, D., *Political Commentary*, L. A. Times, 26 April 2008, retrieved 10 March, 2015, <<http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/washington/2008/04/mccain-backer-j.html>>.

Ministries – fulfilling the commandment of taking all the Gospel to all the world. This time, again with powerful oratory, Hagee denounces secular humanism:

'Secular humanism is a pagan god and America is bowing at the shrine. It has filled our drug rehab centers, it has filled the divorce courts, it has filled the shelters for battered wives, it has filled the rape crisis centers, it has filled the mental hospitals and single bars, it has filled the penitentiaries and the roster of guests for the brain-dead television shows you see from New York. Think about that, we're in a moral free fall where *your children can be taught witchcraft by Harry Potter* (author's emphasis); that Heather has two mommies; you can substitute Christmas for a midwinter holiday, call it anything you want to but don't call it Christmas, kick God out of the Christmas event ... America has turned its back from the God of the Bible and it is time for the church of Jesus Christ to stand up and speak up and say we have a right to the destiny of our own children!<sup>171</sup>

The sermon drew prolonged applause and whistles of approval from Hagee's large congregation. Conversely and not surprisingly, Hagee's reference to children being taught witchcraft by Harry Potter drew howls of derision from many sectors of secular society. In an earlier editorial for *The New York Times*, Judy Blume, who is the author of over 20 books for children with sales of over 80 million, including *Are You There, God? It's Me, Margaret*,<sup>172</sup> and herself no stranger to censorship opined:

'The real danger is not in the books, but in laughing off those who would ban them. The protests against Harry Potter follow a tradition that has been growing since the early 1980s and often leaves school principals trembling with fear that is then passed down to teachers and librarians. What began with the religious right has spread to the politically correct.'<sup>173</sup>

In less erudite publications than the editorial pages of *The New York Times*, the criticism of Hagee is more strident. Under a headline of 'The Lunatic

<sup>171</sup> Hagee, J., *Faith Under Fire Sermon (Part One)*, John Hagee Ministries, 12 November 2014, retrieved 10 March, 2015, < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9RJxh9WrOCQ>>.

<sup>172</sup> Blume, J., *Are You There, God? It's Me, Margaret*, Yearling, New York, 1970.

<sup>173</sup> Blume, J., *Is Harry Potter Evil?* New Times Op Ed, 22 October 1999, retrieved 11 March, 2015, < <https://www.nytimes.com/books/00/07/23/specials/rowling-blume.html>>.

Ravings of religious right Crazy John Hagee', accompanied by tags which included 'Crackpot John Hagee', 'Religious Buffoon', 'Shyster and Trinity Broadcasting Network', David Badash lampooned the influential televangelist, noting that 'we can [now] blame rape, spousal abuse, drugs, divorce and crime all on secular humanism. Good Lord!'<sup>174</sup> Badash then goes on to highlight an issue that this author has also emphasised, noting that Badash's figures differ slightly from those cited earlier. 'Before you go dismissing crazies like Hagee, know this: Hagee is the President and CEO of John Hagee Ministries, which telecasts his national radio and television ministry carried in the United States on 160 TV stations, 50 radio stations, and eight networks, including The Inspiration Network (INSP), Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), and Inspiration Now TV. The ministries can be seen and heard weekly in 99 million homes. John Hagee Ministries is in Canada on the Miracle Channel and CTS and can be seen in Africa, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and in most Third World nations.'<sup>175</sup>

It should be noted that mainstream media criticism of Hagee is not confined to left-leaning publications like *The Huffington Post*, *Slate* and *The Age of Blasphemy*. Jason Horowitz, writing in *The New York Times*, for example, also covers Hagee periodically. In an analysis entitled 'Do the Democrats and Israel have a Future Together' also levels criticism at Hagee, with Horowitz quoting Hagee's views on the U.S. Secretary of State, John Kerry. "John Kerry ... you can park your State Department jet in the hanger. Your effort to win your Nobel Peace Prize at the expense of Israel is over!"<sup>176</sup>

Notwithstanding the criticism, as already elucidated, CUFI's membership is rapidly expanding and this raises further questions: what sort of American joins CUFI and lobbies for Israel (at the expense of the Palestinians) on behalf

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<sup>174</sup> Badash, D., *The Lunatic Ravings of Religious Right Crazy John Hagee*, *The Age of Blasphemy*, 18 September 2011, retrieved 11 March, 2015, <<https://theageofblasphemy.wordpress.com/2011/09/18/the-lunatic-ravings-of-religious-right-crazy-john-hagee/>>.

<sup>175</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> Horowitz, J., *Do The Democrats and Israel Have a Future Together?* *New York Times*, 20 March, 2015, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <[http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/h/john\\_c\\_hagee/index.html](http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/h/john_c_hagee/index.html)>.

of CUFI and Hagee? Are they widely read? Are they deep thinkers? Are they well educated? Are they intelligent, or do they just go along with the unbalanced CUFI talking points which are prepared for lobbying sessions?

This is a highly contentious area that is outside the purview of this thesis, but given the potential influence of Hagee's growing memberships, it is raised here to flag an area that may be worthy of further research. It would be necessary to gain empirical data to answer these questions precisely, but it is possible to provide a snapshot of research that has already been conducted into the intelligence of religious people generally, and more specifically, Christian evangelicals. An email exchange with Professor Miron Zuckerman,<sup>177</sup> who specialises in the psychology of religion, pointed to an analysis of meta-data, dating back to 1921. That research, carried out by Zuckerman, and two of his colleagues, Professor Judith Hall and Doctor Jordan Silberman, analysed 63 studies, of which 53 revealed a significant negative association between religiosity and intelligence.<sup>178</sup> Zuckerman and his colleagues posited that intelligent people are more likely to think analytically than intuitively, and less likely to accept beliefs that are not, or cannot be subjected to logical reasoning and/or empirical tests.<sup>179</sup> When interviewed, Nathan Carlin at the McGovern Center for Humanities and Ethics agreed, putting the view that religious people of lesser intelligence are more likely to employ intuitive rather than analytical thinking.<sup>180</sup> Carlin also took the view that Evangelicals were (generally) less well-educated, agreeing with a Pew Research report which provided empirical data to support this view in that 'nearly one-in-three (31%) adults with less than a high school education are members of evangelical Protestant churches. Among people who have obtained a college degree, fewer than one-in-four (22%) belong to the

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<sup>177</sup> Emails, d'Hagé/Professor Zuckerman, M., Professor of Psychology, University of Rochester, new York, 15/17 March, 2015.

<sup>178</sup> Zuckerman, M., Silberman, J., and Hall, J. A., *The Relation Between Intelligence and Religiosity: A Meta-Analysis and Some Proposed Explanations*, *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, Vol 17(4), August 2013.

<sup>179</sup> *ibid*, p 341.

<sup>180</sup> Interview with Professor Nathan Carlin, Assistant Professor, McGovern Center for Humanities and Ethics, University of Texas, 10 April 2015.

evangelical tradition. The opposite pattern is seen among members of mainline Protestant churches. Nearly one-in-four adults (23%) with a post-graduate education are members of mainline churches, compared with only 11% of those with less than a high school education ... (and) among the well-educated groups, the unaffiliated tend to be more secular – that is, non-religious – than is the case among the less well-educated.<sup>181</sup>

If – and it must be stated that this is speculative – the intelligence and education levels posited above are replicated amongst CUFI's members; and if CUFI's Western Regional Director Randy Neal's argument that senators and representatives are more influenced by substantial numbers of their constituents turning up in their offices, than they are by emails and phone calls, then a possibility exists that U.S. foreign policy might be influenced by constituents who accept Hagee and CUFI's talking points at face value rather than subject the CUFI pro-Israel position to rigorous intellectual analysis. If so, as the membership of CUFI continues to grow, that is cause for concern and worthy of further research.

To conclude this analysis of CUFI, for reasons outlined above, the secular mainstream media have largely moved on from CUFI, with some dismissing Hagee in particular as 'crazy', a 'crackpot', and a 'religious nutter.' Basic scientific analysis, at the very least, casts doubt on his prophetic 'end times' warnings, and in the opinion of this author, his biblical exegesis is suspect; but it would be a mistake to dismiss Hagee and CUFI as inconsequential to the political process in the United States. In August, 2012, for example, *Foreign Policy* conducted an investigation as to who was the most influential on foreign policy in both the Republican and Democratic parties. Pastor Hagee made the list of the '50 most powerful Republicans on foreign policy',<sup>182</sup> along with William Kristol, Condoleezza Rice, Robert Kagan (Brookings Institution), Robert Zoellick, Dick Cheney, the billionaire Sheldon

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<sup>181</sup> Pew Research Report, *Evangelicals and Education*, 18 April 2008, retrieved 20 March, 2015, <<http://www.pewresearch.org/daily-number/evangelicals-and-education/>>.

<sup>182</sup> Anderson, S., *The FP 50: The 50 most powerful Republicans on foreign policy*, *Foreign Policy*, 24 August 2012, retrieved 10 March, 2015, <<http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/08/24/the-fp-50-2/>>.



Adelson, Richard Haass (President of the Council on Foreign Relations), John Bolton, Henry Kissinger, and Karl Rove, to name just a few. The author of the report noted that 'the largest pro-Israel group is not AIPAC; it's John Hagee's Christians United for Israel,'<sup>183</sup> and that comment was made when CUFI membership was at 1,000,000 – half of what it is today. 'Largest' of course, does not necessarily translate into 'most influential', but Hagee is listed amongst some impressive foreign policy practitioners, many of whom are household names. As noted earlier in this thesis, the cited observation parallels that of the Australian Ambassador to the United States, the Honourable Kim Beazley, who, based on his five years in Washington, also thinks CUFI is more influential than AIPAC.<sup>184</sup>

As the CUFI membership grows, elements of the mainstream media are taking a second look at Hagee's influence, as evidenced by interviews with *The Washington Post*, outlined earlier in this chapter. As Rubin puts it, 'Just as no candidate outside deep blue jurisdictions wants to have the NRA breathing down his or her neck, every politician will know that votes concerning Israel will have positive or negative consequences.'<sup>185</sup>

Notwithstanding the similarity of the themes at successive CUFI Washington summits, the attendance remains constant at around 5,000. This translates into an impressive lobbying force, trained and equipped to deliver a one-sided CUFI message to senators and representatives on Capitol Hill. That message includes a foreign policy position that is based on Hagee's biblical exegesis – that Israel is not occupying the land – Israel owns the land, gifted by God's covenant – a position that has implications for any future peace negotiations. Hagee and Bauer have both made it clear that the new CUFI Action Fund will target both Republican and Democrat candidates who do not support Israel. In addition to Iran, Hagee is also targeting university campuses and the BDS – Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement. There is no doubt the membership, and with it the influence, of CUFI is growing.

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<sup>183</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> Interview with the Hon Kim Beazley, *op.cit.*

<sup>185</sup> Rubin, J., *op.cit.*

# CHAPTER FOUR

## CASE STUDY TWO

### THE TEA PARTY MOVEMENT

'The Tea Party is Dead. No serious politician will want to be associated with the movement that exists solely to bash Republicans. Nobody wants to be associated with a movement that thinks Donald Trump is a good thing.'<sup>1</sup>

- Christopher Paiva

#### Introduction

When John McCain, the Republican's candidate to succeed George W. Bush as America's 44<sup>th</sup> President, was defeated by Barack Obama, a black African American, some saw this as a portent of a steep decline in conservatism. On 18 February, 2009, Sam Tanenhaus, editor of *The New York Times Book Review*, wrote an article for the *New Republic* entitled Conservatism is Dead:

'After George W. Bush's two terms,' Tanenhaus argued, 'conservatives must reckon with the consequences of a presidency that failed, in large part, because of its fervent commitment to movement ideology: the aggressive unilateralist foreign policy; the blind faith in a deregulated Wall Street-centric market; [and] the harshly punitive 'culture war' waged against liberal elites.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Paiva, C. M., *The Tea Party is Dead – And It's Never Coming Back, 2010 – 2015*, 13 August, 2015, retrieved 25 August, 2015, <<http://conservativeread.com/the-tea-party-is-dead-and-its-never-coming-back-2010-2015/>>.

<sup>2</sup> Tanenhaus, S., *Conservatism is Dead*, The New Republic, 18 February, 2009, retrieved 1 May 2015, <<http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/conservatism-dead>>.

Tanenhaus went on to accuse conservative leaders of not absorbing the full implications of the Obama victory and of offering little apart from self-justifications and harsh appraisals of the Bush presidency. For Tanenhaus, this was unacceptable. In his view, conservatives needed to 'confront the large but inescapable truth that movement conservatism is exhausted and quite possibly dead.'<sup>3</sup> Tanenhaus claimed that it was clear that what passed for conservatism in the United States was actually quite unconservative – in arguments, strategies, ideas and vision. Tanenhaus further postulated that the conservative movement had first lost its way in the victories of the Reagan presidency, which he described as a triumph of revanchism over realism, and again, in the midterm elections of 1994 in which Newt Gingrich and the Republicans gained control of Congress. In Tanenhaus's view, the right, which for so long had deplored the politics of class warfare, had become the most adept practitioners of that same politics, turning themselves into inverse Marxists who placed loyalty to the movement – the Reagan Revolution – above their civic responsibilities.<sup>4</sup>

In a more recent 2014 essay, Alan Pell Crawford agrees, arguing that by the late 1970s and early 1980s, the conservative movement had calcified, propped up by Reagan-era political creeds and hucksterism. The policies and organisations that were formed as a much-needed response to the liberalism of the 1960s 'were being hijacked by a posse of faux populists with only the most passing interest in the more human, attractive, and civilizing features of conservatism.'<sup>5</sup> As to the Tea Party itself, many analysts have written the movement off and those like Chris Paiva, from *Conservative Read*, have gone so far as to say 'it's never coming back,'<sup>6</sup> citing poor showings in the 2014 midterms and (counter-intuitively) their support for, and the high poll standings of Donald Trump. Certainly, as Ben Shapiro points out, an October,

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<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Crawford, A. P., *Twilight of the Right: When Conservatism Became a Movement, It Lost Its Soul*, The American Conservative, 18 February 2014, retrieved 1 May 2015, <<http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/twilight-of-the-right/>>.

<sup>6</sup> Paiva, C. M., *op. cit.*

2015 Gallup Poll showed that support for the Tea Party amongst American voters had fallen to 24 percent (with 54 percent having 'no opinion'), down from a high water mark of 32 percent in November 2010.<sup>7</sup> In Shapiro's view, although the tea partiers have certainly moved away from providing broad support to Republican candidates, they 'have instead infiltrated into grassroots-friendly presidential campaigns from Donald Trump to Ben Carson to Cruz. In the process,' Shapiro argues, 'their population has purportedly shrunk, but their power has not waned.'<sup>8</sup>

The Tea Party exploded on to the American political stage in early 2009 and has remained a force to be reckoned with ever since. As will be elucidated below, the Tea Party is not a 'party' as such, but rather a confection of roughly parallel interest groups and it has been chosen as a case study for this research because of the strong evangelical Christian right presence (over 50%) within those groups. In terms of domestic concerns, those interest groups coalesce around issues such as reducing the size and scope of government; fiscal responsibility including a reduction of debt and a balanced budget; a return to free market principles and a reduction in taxes. The Tea Party domestic foci at the core of this movement have been widely written about and reported on and they are not analysed in any detail here. Rather, this thesis is concerned with the Tea Party's foreign policy and the strong evangelical/Christian right element which influences it, both of which have had less attention from academics and from the mainstream media.

In order to understand the thinking behind the membership of the Tea Party movement and their likely influence on foreign policy (and particularly toward Israel) it is first necessary to understand the origin or the 'why' of the Tea Party's emergence. Who are they? What has driven them to take to the streets? What do they believe? What do they want? Accordingly, this

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<sup>7</sup> Shapiro, B., *No, The Tea Party Isn't Dead, It's Just Waiting*, Breitbart, 26 October, 2015, retrieved 31 October, 2015, < <http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2015/10/26/no-tea-party-isnt-dead-just-waiting/>>.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

chapter will be structured in two parts. Part One will analyse the nature of the Tea Party and Part Two will analyse Tea Party foreign policy toward Israel.

### **The Tea Party – A New Force for Conservatism**

Just as those who have produced autopsies for the Christian right may have to revise their thinking, the rise of the Tea Party movement is proving predictions for the death of conservatism, at least in its more populist form, to be premature. This, as we shall see, has serious implications for U.S. foreign policy. Lawrence Rosenthal, the Executive Director of the Berkeley Center for Right Wing Studies put it to the author that the Tea Party had demonstrably upended any thought that the right might be fading. To the contrary, the right – or at least the Tea Party element of it, had become the political phenomenon of the Obama presidency, aiming to move the Republican Party even further to the right.<sup>9</sup> Walter Russell Mead holds similar views. The Tea Party movement may harbor myriad sub-elements, he says, and may fracture as a result, but the emerging ideology that has underpinned the Tea Party's formation is not going to disappear any time soon.<sup>10</sup> As Mead further observed:

'If you compare it [the Tea Party] to 'Occupy Wall Street', of the two it's clear the Tea Party has had a greater effect on American politics and continues to have a greater effect. That said, I think the press thought and hoped the 'Occupy Wall Street' movement would develop into something significant and they did their best to give it a favourable wind, whereas they disliked the Tea Party from the beginning, but I think the Tea Party is more securely grounded in a bigger political base ... which is not the same as the Christian right, although there's overlap and a strong Christian right element within the Tea Party ... and the Tea Party and the Christian right within it are clearly a major influence within the Republican Party.'<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with Dr Lawrence Rosenthal, Executive Director and Lead Researcher, Berkeley Center for Right Wing Studies, University of California, 16 May 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Walter Russell Mead, op.cit.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

It is this 'strong Christian right element' of the Tea Party and foreign policy on which we shall focus, but when asked as to why the media disliked the Tea Party, Mead replied:

'By and large, the media is conventionally liberal in its thinking and when you have social problems, for them it's really a sign that the government should be larger and spending more money and have more authority. The Tea Party couldn't disagree with that more, so the animosity between the two is not surprising, it's just a basic philosophical divide.'<sup>12</sup>

### **The Origin of the Tea Party**

As Mead points out, today's Tea Party is linked to a much earlier Boston Tea Party.<sup>13</sup> On the night of 16 December, 1773, a band of some 100 men, a few of whom had disguised themselves as Mohawk Indians, and who were widely believed to have been led by one of America's founding fathers, Samuel Adams, stormed aboard three merchant ships anchored in Boston Harbor and destroyed 342 chests of tea. The raid was a protest against taxes imposed by King George and the British parliament. Today's Tea Party is linked to the protest by the acronym 'TEA - taxed enough already' and one of the impetuses for the movement was Rick Santelli.

On 19 February, 2009, Santelli, a financial reporter with CNBC, unleashed a tirade from the floor of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, protesting against the Obama Administration's plan to bailout as many as 4 million mortgage borrowers. Obama aimed to help them avoid foreclosure by instituting extended loan terms, reduced interest rates, and in some cases reduced mortgage principals. The Santelli outburst on CNBC Business News was

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<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Mead, W. R., *The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy: What Populism Means for Globalism*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 90 (2), Mar/Apr 2011, p 28.

labeled: 'The Rant of the Year – Rick Captures the Mood of the Country'.<sup>14</sup> Santelli maintained, *inter alia*, that by bailing out people who should not have had a mortgage approved in the first place, the government was promoting bad behaviour. 'Why don't you put up a website,' Santelli challenged the new president, 'as a referendum to see if we really want to subsidize the losers' mortgages ... this is America!'<sup>15</sup> Santelli then questioned 'how many of you want to pay for your neighbor's mortgage that has an extra bathroom and can't pay their bills?'<sup>16</sup> He suggested that it was time for 'a Chicago Tea Party in July. All you capitalists that want to show up to Lake Michigan, I'm gonna [sic] start organizing,'<sup>17</sup> he said. Santelli's rant generated 8,998 online comments and he was widely credited as starting today's Tea Party, but in keeping with the disparate nature of this movement, it's not quite that simple. As David Brody pointed out in an interview, the Tea Party's origins are more complex.<sup>18</sup>

Brody, Chief Political Correspondent for the Christian Broadcasting Network in America has spent the last 25 years covering U.S. politics, and in particular the Christian right. He argues that discontent with Washington's financial management started during George W. Bush's second term in 2008 when the Federal Reserve came to the rescue of the Bear Sterns investment bank and brokerage company. Bush followed the Bear Sterns bailout by signing off on TARP – the 'Troubled Asset Relief Program' that spent taxpayers' money bailing out banks that were considered 'too big to fail.' Then came Bush's comments on abandoning the free market, which arguably were just as big a spark for the Tea Party as Santelli's. As noted by *American Thinker's* Rick Moran, in an interview with CNN on 16 December, 2008, Bush said he was forced to sacrifice free market principles to save the economy from collapse. 'I've abandoned free-market principles to save the free-market system ... I

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<sup>14</sup> Santelli, R., CNBC News, 19 February, 2009, retrieved 4 May, 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bEZB4taSEoA>>.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Interview with David Brody, Chief Political Correspondent, Christian Broadcasting Network, Washington, 21<sup>st</sup> January, 2015.

feel a sense of obligation to my successor to make sure there is not a, you know, a huge economic crisis. Look, we're in a crisis now. I mean, this is – we're in a huge recession, but I don't want to make it even worse.'<sup>19</sup> Moran went on to suggest that the actions of Bush and the subsequent actions of Obama had nothing to do with saving the free market and 'everything to do with saving the hides of politicians who are responding to the cries of frightened people by overturning sound economic principles in favor of corporate handouts to failing companies who gambled and lost and now want the taxpayer to subsidize their recklessness and incompetence.'<sup>20</sup>

Within a month or so of the Bush interview, sporadic protests began across the country and as reported in *The Guardian*, online protests grew.<sup>21</sup> Market Ticker, an investment website run by Karl Denninger in Florida, called for a Tea Party protest to coincide with Obama's inauguration. Stephanie Jasky, a paralegal from Detroit, whose business of renovating and selling houses had collapsed, issued a formal commemorative Tea Party invitation for people to protest in Boston on 1 February, 2009,<sup>22</sup> and stock trader Graham Makohoniuk sent out an open invitation to 'Mail a Tea Bag to the Congress'.<sup>23</sup> From there, the media took up the call, with financial authors like Dave Ramsay appearing on *Fox News* waving tea bags and declaring it was time for a Tea Party.<sup>24</sup> All of this activity was occurring well before Santelli's rant on CNBC, although Brody does agree that Santelli was the catalyst that finally set the movement alight. The contagious media and online activity that followed is one of the keys to understanding the Tea Party's make-up.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Moran, R., *Bush: Sorry I trashed the free market in order to save it*, American Thinker, 17 December 2008, retrieved 4 May 2015, <[http://www.americanthinker.com/blog/2008/12/bush\\_sorry\\_i\\_trashed\\_the\\_free.html](http://www.americanthinker.com/blog/2008/12/bush_sorry_i_trashed_the_free.html)>.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Pilkington, E., *How the Tea Party movement began*, The Guardian, 5 Oct 2010, retrieved 4 May 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/05/us-midterm-elections-2010-tea-party-movement>>.

<sup>22</sup> Brody, *The Teavangelicals*, op.cit., p 36.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Brody interview, op.cit.



## The Tea Party Supporters – Who Are They?



**One Million-strong Tea Party Rally – Washington, 12 Sep 2009<sup>26</sup>**

Since the Tea Party appeared in 2009, surprising many analysts with the force of their presence on the political scene, several polls have been conducted to determine whom the Tea Party supporters are, and what they believe. In one of the larger polls in 2012, *The New York Times* and *CBS News* surveyed 1,580 adults, including 881 self-identified Tea Party supporters, to get a snapshot of the Tea Party movement. In a nutshell, that poll found that Tea Party supporters were 'white, older and angry'<sup>27</sup> and as indicated above, the influence of this movement, at least within the GOP, shows no sign of waning, so this poll is worth looking at in a little more detail for its wider insights.

<sup>26</sup> LaBarbera, P., *Million Tax Payers March on DC? Massive Tea Party Protest Floods Nation's Capital*, Americans for Truth, 12 September 2009, retrieved 7 May 2015, <<http://americansfortruth.com/2009/09/14/million-taxpayer-march-on-dc-unprecedented-protest-floods-nations-capital/>>.

<sup>27</sup> Montopoli, B., *Tea Party Supporters: Who They Are and What They Believe*, New York Times/CBS News Poll, 14 December 2012, retrieved 7 May 2015, <<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/tea-party-supporters-who-they-are-and-what-they-believe/>>.

In summary, the poll found that:

- 53% of Tea Party supporters describe themselves as 'angry' about the way things are going in Washington, compared to 19% of Americans overall (who say they are angry);
- 18% of Americans identify as Tea Party supporters (which, on current estimates from the U.S. census equates to a sizeable number – some 44 million adults<sup>28</sup>);
- The vast majority of Tea Party supporters (89%) are white. Just 1% are black;
- They skew toward older: Three in four are 45 years old or older, including 29% who are 65 plus;
- They are also more likely to be men (59%) than women (41%);
- More than one in three (36%) hails from the South, far more than from any other region. 25% come from the West, 22% from the Midwest, and 18% from the Northeast;
- They are better educated than most Americans: 37% are college graduates, compared to 25% of Americans overall;
- They also have a higher-than-average household income, with 56% making more than \$50,000 per year;
- More than half (54%) identify as Republicans, and another 41% say they are Independents. Just 5% call themselves Democrats, compared to 31% of adults nationwide;
- Nearly three in four describe themselves as conservative, and 39% call themselves very conservative;
- 60% say they always or usually vote Republican; and
- Importantly for this thesis, they are more likely than American adults overall to attend religious services weekly (38% do so) and to call themselves evangelical (39%), and based on the census figures above, this equates to a sizeable and potentially influential voting bloc of some

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<sup>28</sup> U.S. Census, 2014, retrieved 7 May 2015, <<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html>>.

17 million evangelicals, many of whom are likely to support a favourable foreign policy toward Israel.<sup>29</sup>

Analysing the above in the broad, it is clear that this movement is strongly Republican and Christian. With only a small fraction (5%) of the some 44 million potential voters identifying as Democrat, this has implications for both sides of politics, and for U.S. foreign policy. One poll is not definitive of course, and only provides a guide, but other polls back these broad findings. In an American Values Survey, for example, nearly half (47%) of the self-identified Tea Party members said they were part of the religious right,<sup>30</sup> and a Public Opinion Strategies poll found that 52% of self-identified members of the Tea Party movement were conservative evangelicals.<sup>31</sup> David Brody makes a broad definition between the half whom he sees as evangelical members, branding the remaining half as libertarians,<sup>32</sup> but as outlined below, such a 50/50 split is problematic.

In August 2012, David Kirby and Emily Ekins, both research fellows at the CATO Institute, published a paper entitled 'Libertarian Roots of the Tea Party'<sup>33</sup>. Amongst their findings, they produced evidence that the percentage of libertarians who make up the Tea Party varied over time from a high of 45% in August 2010 to a low of 26% in September 2011, but rising again to 40% in April, 2012. In other words, libertarian membership fluctuates, often because of internal tensions over conservative social versus economic issues. Staunch libertarians, for example, were likely to become disillusioned if the movement strayed from cutting federal spending into evangelical issues such

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<sup>29</sup> Montopoli, B., op.cit.

<sup>30</sup> Public Religion Research Institute, *Religion and the Tea Party*, 5 October 2010, retrieved 7 May 2015, <<http://publicreligion.org/research/2010/10/religion-tea-party-2010/#.VVgdQnqD6X0>>.

<sup>31</sup> Faith and Freedom Coalition, *Evangelical, Conservative Turnout Highest Ever Recorded in a Mid-Term Election*, 3 November 2010, retrieved 7 May 2015, <<http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/evangelical-social-conservative-turnout-highest-ever-recorded-in-mid-term-election-106614518.html>>.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with David Brody, op.cit.

<sup>33</sup> Kirby, D, and Ekins, E., *Libertarian Roots of the Tea Party*, 6 August 2012, retrieved 7 May 2015, <<http://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/PA705.pdf>>.

as opposition to abortion and gay marriage.<sup>34</sup>

Lawrence Rosenthal is another who sees the composition of the Tea Party differently to Brody. In 2010, Rosenthal, a long-time researcher of the American right, puzzled over this new conservative phenomenon that appeared to be sweeping the country. In his view, the national debate had been conducted mainly through the media, and this seemed to simply reinforce the 'taxed enough already' attitudes rather than open up scholarly discussion.<sup>35</sup> With that in mind, Rosenthal organised a major academic conference to bring to bear some rigorous scholarly analysis. He assembled political scientists from across the country and around the world including those who were experts on the right of American politics, sociologists, and historians to bring some scholarship to bear on the Tea Party.<sup>36</sup>

The latest membership report from the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights (IREHR), on the status of the Tea Party movement, shows that 'against IREHR's expectations, the national organizations at the center of the Tea Party movement have maintained stable memberships in 2013 [and] core membership numbers have neither receded nor died, but grown by four percent.'<sup>37</sup> When asked by the author whether or not, by 2015, the composition of the Tea Party had changed, Rosenthal said that in his view, it had not changed much since its earlier appearance, but he differed markedly from Brody in one respect – on the numbers and influence of the libertarian element. He did not disagree that there was an overlap with the Christian right, with approximately fifty percent of Tea Party supporters identifying as evangelicals. Nor did he disagree with the proposition there was the potential for a clash – evangelicals being (in the main) social conservatives (anti-

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<sup>34</sup> *ibid*, pp 30-31.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Dr Lawrence Rosenthal, *op.cit*.

<sup>36</sup> Tea Party Conference, University of California, Berkeley, 22 October, 2010, retrieved 20 February, 2015, < <http://crws.berkeley.edu/tea-party-conference>>.

<sup>37</sup> Burghart, D., *By the Numbers: Tea Party Members, Supporters, and Sympathizers*, Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, 21 January, 2014, retrieved 20 February, 2015, < <http://www.irehr.org/issue-areas/tea-party-nationalism/tea-party-news-and-analysis/item/527-status-of-tea-party-by-the-numbers>>.

abortion and gay marriage, as examples), whereas non-evangelicals put greater priority on economic rather than social conservatism. In Rosenthal's view, the success of the Tea Party was dependent on three different groups coming together, all of whom have long histories on the American right:

'The first group [the evangelicals] can be classified as social conservatives. The second element comes from what you could call 'classical American conservatism' – free marketeers that have an ideology that goes back to Franklin D. Roosevelt and attacks on Roosevelt and the New Deal. These classic American Tea Party conservatives mirror those earlier attacks with their strident opposition to Barack Obama. Finally you have the libertarians who were represented in the last presidential Republican primaries by Ron Paul – the father of Rand Paul.'<sup>38</sup>

Peter Montgomery from PFAW described the Tea Party as a grouping of like-minded participants of very different backgrounds and religious persuasion.<sup>39</sup> Montgomery was asked whether, in his view, the Tea Party was getting stronger or weaker.

'Well, that's an interesting question. The Tea Party 'brand', if you will – how they poll – has diminished. If you ask Americans whether or not they associate with the Tea Party, those numbers have actually gone down, but in terms of their influence, I don't think that's the same because the Tea Party ideology of limited government is stronger than ever in the Republican Party.'<sup>40</sup>

Montgomery's remarks on the numbers of supporters are backed by a summary of the Gallup polls conducted over the years since the emergence of the movement (March, 2010 until November, 2014), shown in the graph at Figure 19 on the following page.

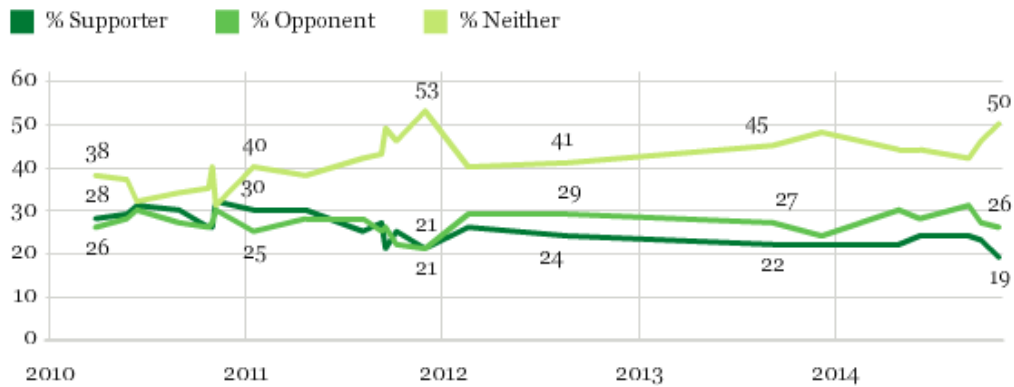
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<sup>38</sup> Interview with Dr Lawrence Rosenthal, op.cit.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Peter Montgomery, op.cit.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*

*Do you consider yourself to be [a supporter of the Tea Party movement, an opponent of the Tea Party movement], or neither?*



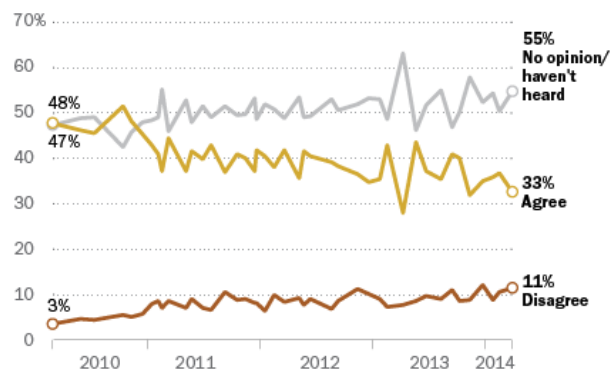
GALLUP

Fig 19<sup>41</sup>

This fall in support for the Tea Party, as distinct from the influence of the Tea Party is further borne out by the Pew Research Center analysis of the Republican primaries held on 20 May, 2014.<sup>42</sup> The most notable win was that

#### Fewer Republicans Say They Agree with the Tea Party

*Percent among Republicans and Republican leaners agreeing or disagreeing with the Tea Party*



Notes: Those who haven't heard of the Tea Party included with "no opinion."

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

of Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell over the well-funded Tea Party challenger, Matt Bevin. As the graph at Figure 20 shows, 'polls have been showing a decline in Tea Party support among Republicans since their peak of influence in 2010.'<sup>43</sup> The Pew research found that voters' agreement with the Tea Party fell

<sup>41</sup> Gallup Poll, *Tea Party Support*, March, 2010 – November 2014, retrieved 6 May 2015, < <http://www.gallup.com/poll/147635/tea-party-movement.aspx>>.

<sup>42</sup> Pew Research Center, *In the polls, Tea Party support falls among Republicans*, 21 May, 2014, retrieved 7 May 2015, < <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/05/21/in-the-polls-tea-party-support-falls-among-republicans/>>.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*

from 48% in March, 2010, to 33% **Fig 20**<sup>44</sup>

in late April, 2014; and at one point agreement with the Tea Party dipped to 28% in May, 2013, during the long budget standoff between congressional Republican leaders and the White House. Interestingly though, in a country where it is not compulsory to vote, the Pew research also revealed that Tea Party adherents were 'more enthusiastic, by a 52% to 35% margin, about voting in this year's midterm elections than all other Republicans.'<sup>45</sup>

Montgomery went on to support the views of Walter Russell Mead and others, stating that although the Christian right and the rest of the Tea Party came from different movements, there was considerable overlap. Montgomery also noted that some, like the Faith and Freedom Coalition's Ralph Reed, were putting considerable energy into merging the two (sometimes competing) influences to support common interests:

'Really what people like Ralph Reed and Tim Phillips [President of Americans for Prosperity] have been about since Obama got elected is basically trying to merge the religious right and the Tea Party movement – to merge all their energies into one, big electoral force. There's always been a lot of overlap – polls have consistently shown that about half the people who consider themselves as part of the Tea Party movement also consider themselves as part of the Christian right, and that certainly hasn't changed ... and a lot of the candidates on the Republican side who are supported by the movement are both social conservatives and anti-regulation economic conservatives. There may be some splits [between the Christian right and the Tea Party] on priorities, but in terms of the policies which they propose, there's pretty much overlap, and support for Israel is a constant, on both sides.'<sup>46</sup>

This effort to merge the religious right and the Tea Party movement is important, particularly when it comes to influencing U.S. foreign policy and harnessing support for Israel, which, as Montgomery points out is common to both the Christian right and the Tea Party movement.

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<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Peter Montgomery, *op.cit.*

## **What Tea Party Supporters Believe**

The website of the Tea Party lays down fifteen non-negotiable core beliefs:<sup>47</sup>

- Illegal aliens are here illegally;
- Pro-domestic employment [meaning policies that keep jobs in the U.S. regardless of efficiency] is indispensable;
- A strong military is essential;
- Special interests [groups that lobby for policies that are not compatible with Tea Party ideology] must be eliminated;
- Gun ownership is sacred;
- Government must be downsized;
- The national budget must be balanced;
- Deficit spending must end;
- Bailout and stimulus plans are illegal;
- Reducing personal income taxes is a must;
- Reducing business income taxes is mandatory;
- Political offices must be available to average citizens;
- Intrusive government must be stopped;
- English as our core language is required; and
- Traditional family values are encouraged.

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<sup>47</sup> Tea Party National Website, <http://www.teaparty.org/about-us/> retrieved 10 May 2015.





**Tea Party Supporters**<sup>48</sup>

Peter Montgomery pointed out that in terms of downsizing government, many in the Tea Party, particularly amongst the Christian right element, believe there is a Constitutional and biblical requirement for limited government:

'The notion that the Constitution somehow limits the power of the federal government because this belongs to the State is now more widely accepted on the conservative side of politics, and some of the folks on the religious right side of the Tea Party are working hard to build a biblical underpinning of this. David Barton is a former Republican Party official from Texas and a historian who promotes the idea that America was founded as a Christian nation. He argues that even though the Constitution doesn't talk about God, except to say there is no religious test for public office, in his view the Constitution comes directly from the Bible and colonial preachers' sermons and their understanding of individual freedom – so this notion of limited government is not only the founders' idea from the Constitution, it is also a Biblical idea. Allied with this, people like Barton maintain the Tea Party's 'less taxation' approach to economics is not just something that the elite of the business community wants – this is what God wants.'<sup>49</sup>

Once again, we see evidence that religion and religious beliefs, which can influence the Christian right element of the American voting public, are being mixed with American politics. As David Brody and others have observed, the Tea Party is not just any element of the voting public – it is an element that is

<sup>48</sup> Pew Research Center, *In the polls, Tea Party support falls among Republicans*, op.cit.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Peter Montgomery, op.cit.

much more likely to be engaged in politics and more likely to vote than the average American,<sup>50</sup> and where religious beliefs are involved, the question of Israel is often involved as well. Israel is not mentioned specifically in the key issues above (apart from the indirectly related issue of maintaining a strong Defense force), but Walter Russell Mead, Peter Montgomery, Christian right leaders, academics and advisors – in fact *all* of those interviewed for this thesis – were of the view that U.S. policy toward Israel would remain an issue for all sides of politics. In the case of the Christian right, Israel is a very significant issue that often generates biblically based, inflexible foreign policies. More specifically, in terms of the Tea Party foreign policy discussed below, the importance of Israel to Tea Party supporters is illustrated, for example, in the coverage of the Tea Party News Network (TPNN). Launched in November 2012, TPNN is self-described as:

'the only trusted news source and the antidote to the mainstream media bias ... "There are plenty of news websites out there, but there isn't one that caters directly to Tea Party conservatives, providing activists with coverage and opinion that matters to them. The Tea Party News Network changes that," Tod Cefaratti, editor of the Tea Party News Network, said in a statement for the forthcoming press release.'<sup>51</sup>

With a newsroom operating out of Las Vegas, a perusal of the TPNN site reveals a plethora of pro-Israel articles,<sup>52</sup> many of which are stridently critical of Obama's policies toward Israel. Typical is a report by Colleen Conley claiming that Obama is protecting Iran, and that he went to great lengths 'in order to prevent Israel – America's closest ally in the Middle East – from defending itself from the Iranian regime.'<sup>53</sup>

## Tea Party Foreign Policy

<sup>50</sup> Interview with David Brody, op.cit.

<sup>51</sup> Byers, D., *The Tea Party gets a news site*, Politico, 31 October 2012, retrieved 8 May 2015, <<http://www.politico.com/blogs/media/2012/10/the-tea-party-gets-a-news-site-147862.html>>.

<sup>52</sup> TPNN, Articles on Israel, retrieved 1 November 2015, <<http://www.tpnn.com/?s=Israel>>.

<sup>53</sup> Conley, C., *Bombshell Report Reveals Obama Did This DESPICABLE Thing To Israel To Protect Iran ... And His Legacy*, TPNN, 26 October 2015, retrieved 1 November 2015, <<http://www.tpnn.com/2015/10/26/bombshell-report-reveals-obama-did-this-despicable-thing-to-israel-to-protect-iran-and-his-legacy/>>.

As Walter Russell Mead observes, it is difficult to define a clear Tea Party foreign policy. With an unstructured collection of individuals and groups which span the spectrum of centre-right to the fringes of American politics, the Tea Party itself resists an easy definition. Secondly the Tea Party lacks a clear hierarchical structure. Mead described it as a 'rope of sand'.<sup>54</sup> In an essay on the Tea Party and foreign policy, Mead explains that all kinds of people – affluent suburban libertarians, rural fundamentalists, fiscally conservative housewives, unreconstructed racists – all can, and do claim to be Tea Party supporters.<sup>55</sup> Thirdly, spokespersons may not be as influential as they seem. The *New York Times/CBS News* poll<sup>56</sup> referred to earlier found that 63% of Tea Party supporters get the majority of their political and current events news from the Fox News Channel, compared to 23% of Americans overall. As Mead points out, not surprisingly, the most visible spokesperson for the Tea Party is the Fox News host, Glenn Beck, 'but his religious views – extremely strong and very Mormon – hardly typify the movement, in which libertarians are often more active than social conservatives and Ayn Rand is a more influential prophet than Brigham Young.'<sup>57</sup> If we use the lowest Gallup percentage (19% in November, 2014) of Americans who support the Tea Party as a comparison, 19% equates to some 60 million Americans compared to Beck's audience on Fox averaging 2.6 million.<sup>58</sup>

Mead also pointed out that the U.S. Constitution, in giving Congress an oversight role of the executive, allows for the blocking of appointments and legislation. Representatives of minority groups like the Tea Party can employ filibusters and the blocking of ratification of treaties requires only one third of the Senate. 'For a movement of "No!" like the Tea Party, those are powerful

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<sup>54</sup> Interview with Walter Russell Mead, op.cit.

<sup>55</sup> Mead, W. R., *The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy: What Populism Means for Globalism*, op.cit.

<sup>56</sup> Montopoli, B., op.cit.

<sup>57</sup> Mead, W. R., *The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy: What Populism Means for Globalism*, op.cit.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*

legislative tools.<sup>59</sup> Mead has also compared the emergence of today's Tea Party populist and nationalist influence to past episodes of populist rebellion, and particularly to what he refers to as "Jacksonianism", after Andrew Jackson, the president who tapped the populist resentment of the 1830s to remake the United States party system and to introduce mass electoral politics. 'From Colonial times, resentment of the well-bred, well-connected, and the well-paid has merged with suspicion about the motives and methods of government insiders to produce populist rebellions against the established political order.'<sup>60</sup> The Tea Party movement, Mead says, 'is best understood as a contemporary revolt of Jacksonian common sense against elites perceived as both misguided and corrupt,'<sup>61</sup> and it is past episodes of populist rebellion and Jacksonianism that can help us to consider what path Tea Party foreign policy might take. Asked what those trends might be, Mead observed that:

'It's still early days, and too early to tell what influence the Tea Party might have on the 2016 elections, but it seems that any contest between the Tea Party isolationists and contemporary Jacksonians might be won by the latter – those who want the U.S. to take a more vigorous approach to problems, particularly terrorism and the Middle East.'<sup>62</sup>

Other analysts support Mead's view. As David Adnesik points out, two recent polls – Anderson Robbins and Shaw – indicate that 'Tea Partiers are the most hawkish demographic on issues ranging from Israel to Ukraine to Iraq.'<sup>63</sup> Acknowledging that more results are necessary before definitive conclusions can be reached, Adnesik nevertheless asserts that Tea Partiers want a tougher foreign policy, citing the Fox poll which found that Americans disapprove of Obama's foreign policy, including lack of support for Israel, by a margin of 56% to 36%, with self-identified Tea Partiers dwarfing the overall

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<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Walter Russell Mead, *op.cit.*

<sup>63</sup> Adesnik, D., *The Tea Party's Surprisingly Hawkish Foreign Policy*, *Forbes*, 22 August 2014, retrieved 8 May 2015, < <http://www.forbes.com/sites/davidadesnik/2014/08/22/the-tea-partys-surprisingly-hawkish-foreign-policy/>>.

figure by a margin of 87% to 10%.<sup>64</sup> That sort of margin raises questions as to what the foreign policy of a 'Tea Party President' like Senator Ted Cruz might contain.

Indeed, Angelo Codevilla has queried how the election of a 'Tea Party President' – Senator Ted Cruz, Dr. Ben Carson or Governor Mike Pence in 2016 might affect U.S. foreign policy.<sup>65</sup> Of the three, since Codevilla penned his article, Mike Pence announced on 19 May, 2015, he would not be running for the White House, opting instead for another term as Governor of Indiana, but at the time of writing, Cruz and Carson have both announced they are Republican candidates and both are Tea Party favourites.

In contrast to the Republican Party establishment (for example, Jeb Bush), or the Democratic establishment (Hillary Clinton), Codevilla argues that a Tea Party president 'would use all of America's power to defend America's interests and to keep its commitments ... peace is Tea Party America's primary objective with regard to foreign nations. But, since it [the Tea Party] distrusts all of them, its consensus ... is that U.S. military power, rather than any alliance or arrangement, is the key to our peace.'<sup>66</sup>

When asked for his views on whether Israel, and a more hawkish foreign policy featured in the Tea Party's thinking, Mead agreed:

'I think it does. Notice that Rand Paul, who is from the more isolationist wing of the Tea Party decided it was time to go visit Israel, which suggests from his perspective, as he understands his electorate, it helps to have the Knesset on your side.'<sup>67</sup>

Some might argue that it is unlikely that Americans would elect a Tea Party

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<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Codevilla, A., *The Foreign Policy Of The First Tea Party President*, *The Federalist*, 15 January, 2015, retrieved 8 May 2015, < <http://thefederalist.com/2015/01/15/the-foreign-policy-of-the-first-tea-party-president/>>.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Walter Russell Mead, *op.cit.*

president, but as Codevilla points out, conservative constituencies who want lower taxes, limited government and who are pro-family, and pro-gun rights, for example, are as numerous as any other element of America's body politic; and although domestic policies will likely be the key election influence, there will be a concomitant Tea Party foreign policy. Secondly, 'if anything is clear about our body politic today, it is its massive dissatisfaction with Democrats and disillusionment with Republicans.'<sup>68</sup> It is not the author's intention to try and predict the results of the 2016 U.S. presidential election, but a Tea Party president has significant implications for U.S. policy toward Israel, and since Codevilla has raised the possibility of a Cruz or Carson winning the White House, later in this thesis we will analyse what impact Tea Party and other key Republican candidates might have on the U.S./Israeli relationship.

### **The Tea Party, Israel and Influence on Elections**

The direct impact of the Tea Party movement on U.S. policy toward Israel is dependent, in large part, on how much influence the movement wields, should a Republican win the presidency in 2016. In Rosenthal's view, those in the Tea Party not only seek to influence both the domestic and foreign policy of the Republican Party – they seek to *take over* the Republican Party:

'In the immediate aftermath of the 2008 election when the Tea Party first started, one could have reasonably asked the question, what is the historical place of the Tea Party? Is it a movement that is trying to influence and take over the Republican Party or is it an independent movement? And that was answered fairly quickly – the Tea Party sought to influence and take over the Republican Party [and] the reason it moved so quickly in that direction is their discovery of their power within the Party. They discovered their power in that they could 'primary people to death.'<sup>69</sup>

Rosenthal described a situation where people who had defined themselves as

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<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Lawrence Rosenthal, *op.cit.*

conservatives for their entire political career were suddenly experiencing primary attacks from the right, citing the example of House Majority Leader Eric Cantor – the second highest ranking Republican in the House and considered by some to be the leading candidate for the next House Speaker – who lost his bid for re-election to a little known college professor and Tea Party challenger, David Brat.

'So they discovered they had this real power, and it came from two things. Firstly, turnout. In a country where it's not compulsory to vote, turnout – particularly for midterm and primary elections can be quite low. The Tea Party are fired up to vote and they can have quite a disproportionate influence on the outcome. They can disproportionately appear in Republican primaries, voting out candidates who, in their view, are insufficiently conservative or RINOs – Republicans in name only – replacing them with Tea Party candidates who can be from the extreme right of the Republican Party.'<sup>70</sup>

Rosenthal went on to explain that the second element that gave the Tea Party the realisation they could command real power was the presence of extreme right wing money, such as the Koch brothers (pronounced 'Koke') – amongst many others. In the case of the Koch brothers, their father was one of the founders of the John Birch society, so they come from the far right of the Republican Party which has a considerable history. In Rosenthal's view, as far as the 2016 election is concerned, the influence of the Tea Party will continue to be felt within the Republican primaries as it was in 2012.<sup>71</sup>

Given that by May, 2014, support for the Tea Party movement amongst Republicans fell to some 33 %, <sup>72</sup> some might think that the possibility of the Republican Party being 'taken over' by Tea Party candidates is far-fetched, but the influence and turnout issues remain, with Brody and Rosenthal not the only ones raising it. Harvard professor of government and sociology, Theda Skocpol, believes that 'the Tea Party isn't about popularity, it's about

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<sup>70</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Pew Research Center, *In the polls, Tea Party support falls among Republicans*, op.cit.

leverage because they participate ... they are revved up. They turn out to vote.<sup>73</sup>

The Tea Party's power in the primaries and financial backing from wealthy right wing donors is important in terms of re-election, with implications for U.S. policy toward Israel. Members of the House of Representatives serve for only two years before they are up for re-election every even year. Senators serve for six years, but one third of the Senate is up for re-election during either a presidential or midterm election, so majorities in both the House and the Senate are in play for both presidential and midterm elections.

Individually, a representative will be acutely aware of the wishes of their constituents, and will also know that their voting habits will be monitored and publicised by the various lobby groups. The agreement on Iranian nuclear capabilities is a case in point, albeit complex. The poll results are diverse and depend on how the questions are put, with an Economist/YouGov poll showing 51% of Americans supporting the agreement but a Quinnipiac poll showing 57% of Americans opposing it.<sup>74</sup> When an additional 'Don't Know Enough About It' response is included, however, Americans are equally divided: one third back the deal, one third oppose it, and one third don't know enough about it.<sup>75</sup> When the results are analysed further, Democrats support the deal 58% to 8% and Republicans oppose the deal 60% to 15%.<sup>76</sup> The amount of pressure which can be placed on senators and representatives becomes important, as they try to judge the mood of their electorate. Israel and Iran are key issues, and if Tea Party groups can mobilise their supporters, this can make a difference, particularly if a representative (all of them) or a senator (one third of them) is facing re-election.

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<sup>73</sup> Skocpol, T., *Support Is Thin for Tea Party but It Retains Its Muscle*, New York Times, 24 June 2014, retrieved 8 May 2015, <[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/25/upshot/support-is-thin-for-tea-party-but-it-retains-its-muscle.html?\\_r=0&abt=0002&abg=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/25/upshot/support-is-thin-for-tea-party-but-it-retains-its-muscle.html?_r=0&abt=0002&abg=0)>.

<sup>74</sup> Nahal, T., *Does the American public oppose the Iran deal?* Politico, 3 August 2015, retrieved 5 August, 2015, < <http://www.politico.com/story/2015/08/public-polls-iran-nuclear-deal-support-oppose-120953.html>>.

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Liberty, Fraternity, Equality & Trees, *What Do Americans Think of the Iran Deal? It's All in How You Ask the Question*, Daily Kos, 5 August 2015, retrieved 7 August 2015, < <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2015/08/05/1408885/-What-Do-Americans-Think-of-the-Iran-Deal-Its-All-in-How-You-Ask-the-Question>>.



In contrast to Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell's defeat of Tea Party candidate Matt Bevin (outlined previously), which had analysts speculating on waning support for the Tea Party, the defeat of House Majority Leader Eric Cantor shows that the Tea Party's influence in getting their candidates elected, particularly in the primaries, has to be taken into account, with attendant implications for U.S. foreign policy. When Walter Russell Mead was asked for his views on the selection of candidates, he agreed that the key influence revolves around the primaries. In Mead's view, non-aligned presidential candidates would try for Tea Party support, but with qualifications:

'If you're running in a Primary, you would want the Tea Party's support, but only if you can get it in such a way that you don't lose more than you gain. They [the Tea Party] don't have an unlimited writ, because if getting their support would otherwise lose you the general election, you try and struggle on without them. They do, however, have the ability to threaten incumbents with a primary election. And even if you win, that means you will have had to spend a lot of money, plus there will have been lots of negative press about you – accusations and so on that can then figure again in the general election.'<sup>77</sup>

Mead also agreed that the wealthy Tea Party backers like the Koch brothers could have an influence, but again, with qualifications:

'Are they [the Tea Party] good fund raisers?' Mead asked. 'It depends on what party and what state we're talking about, and which groups in the Tea Party. But it's not just money – they can raise people who go door to door, and again in a primary campaign – that's very important – so they can force an incumbent to spend a lot of money and six months effort when you'd much rather be getting ready for the general election. Instead you are involved in a primary election, and so people will pay a price to avoid that kind of trouble.'<sup>78</sup>

Asked whether or not the Tea Party's influence (as distinct from numerical

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<sup>77</sup> Interview with Walter Russell Mead, op.cit.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*

support) was growing, Mead put it this way:

'In terms of both domestic and foreign policy, they are clearly a major influence within the Republican Party. The establishment wing of the Republican Party feels compelled to keep the Tea Party happy, or at least make gestures in that direction. The Republican Party controls both houses of Congress and in both houses there's a feeling there's a need to keep the Tea Party "on the reservation" as we would say. They're pretty influential and they have struck a nerve in American politics. Foreign policy analysts need to take into account this new populist and nationalist influence on American politics.'<sup>79</sup>

It is clear that significant attention has been devoted to the Tea Party's influence over domestic politics, but their views on foreign policy and support for Israel have not been given the same attention by either academics or the media. To that end, we will now examine key groups that make up the Tea Party: the evangelicals; the classic conservatives; and the libertarians.

## **Evangelicals**

David Brody put it to the author that the Tea Party would simply not survive without the evangelicals.<sup>80</sup> Poll after poll, he said, confirmed that the evangelical Christian right made up half of the Tea Party movement – a group he refers to as *Teavangelicals* – conservative Christians who are typically evangelical and who support the Tea Party agenda and are active in the Tea Party movement:

'Teavangelicals come in all shapes and sizes. They may be stay at home moms or representatives or senators on Capitol Hill. Some may be more active than others. Whatever the form, and whatever the level, they are roaming across this land of ours with one purpose: restoring America to Greatness.'<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Interview with David Brody, *op.cit.*

<sup>81</sup> Brody, D., *Teavangelicals: The Inside Story of how The Evangelicals and The Tea Party are Taking Back America*, Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2012, p 15.

In terms of support for Israel, Brody takes the view that amongst the evangelical segment of the Tea Party, it is rock solid:

'Within the conservative Christian circles, it's [support for Israel] rock solid ... it's just that across the Tea Party as a whole, it can be diluted a little amongst some of the libertarians ... going from rock solid to solid, if you will with the evangelicals very much at the stronger end of the spectrum ... but in terms of candidates, in my view, every candidate in the 2016 election, Republican or Democrat, will support Israel.'<sup>82</sup>

Brody's view on evangelical and Tea Party support for Israel is shared by Mark Amstutz. 'Amongst international and foreign policy issues exercising the minds of evangelicals, few,' he says, 'are more important than the security of the Jewish state and the well-being of its people.'<sup>83</sup>

### **Classic Conservatives**

Tea Party 'Classic Conservatives' are those supporters whom Lawrence Rosenthal sees as coming from classical American conservatism and who are free marketeers that have an ideology that goes back to attacks on Roosevelt's New Deal.<sup>84</sup> They defy a precise definition, but three of the largest groups from within the Tea Party that fit this description are examined below:

- Americans for Prosperity;
- The Tea Party Patriots; and
- The Tea Party Express.

### **Americans for Prosperity**

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<sup>82</sup> Interview with David Brody, op.cit.

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Professor Mark Amstutz, op.cit.

<sup>84</sup> Interview with Dr Lawrence Rosenthal, op.cit.

Americans for Prosperity (AFP) fits into Rosenthal's observation quoted earlier: 'the second element that gave the Tea Party the realisation they could command real power was the presence of extreme right wing money, such as the Koch brothers.'<sup>85</sup> Billionaire brothers David and Charles Koch each own 42% of Koch Industries.



**David Koch**

With revenues (as at 2014) of \$115 billion, Koch Industries is listed by Forbes as America's second largest privately owned company (Cargill multinational is the largest)<sup>86</sup> and the Koch brothers (Charles and David) are listed as the fourth and fifth richest Americans (after Bill Gates, Warren Buffet and Larry Ellison from Oracle).<sup>87</sup>

Americans for Prosperity was founded by the Koch brothers in 2004. The AFP website mission describes the organisation as 'Freedom Oriented, Activist Supported and Community Driven', seeking to educate citizens about

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<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Forbes, *America's Largest Private Companies*, 2015, retrieved 12 May 2015, <<http://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/>>.

<sup>87</sup> Forbes, *The Richest People in America*, 2015, retrieved 12 May 2015, <<http://www.forbes.com/forbes-400/gallery/charles-koch>>.

economic policy and mobilizing those citizens as advocates in the public policy process.<sup>88</sup> With some 2.3 million activists, 34 state chapters and a presence in all 50 states, AFP is one of the most influential backers of Tea Party conservative candidates. In an effort to defeat Obama and Democratic candidates in 2012, the AFP spent \$122 million,<sup>89</sup> and as their website attests:

'During 2012, AFP mounted one of the most aggressive grassroots field operations the conservative movement has ever mounted in states like Indiana, Florida, Ohio, Colorado, Nebraska and Montana, as staff and volunteers knocked on hundreds-of-thousands of doors and made millions of personalized phone calls opposing the big government policies of President Obama and other liberal political leaders.'<sup>90</sup>

As David Brody has observed, AFP has organised hundreds of Tea Party-related events and has become Obama's "worst nightmare".<sup>91</sup> AFP is not evangelical in form, but there are links in the background. The President of AFP, Tim Phillips, for example, was an early Tea Party organizer and helped the founder of the Faith and Freedom Coalition, Ralph Reed, to establish 'Century Strategies Public Relations'. Brody claims the two are good friends, and they are also 'evangelical Christians who love God and embrace Tea Party values.'<sup>92</sup>

AFP, like many groups in the Tea Party movement, focuses on domestic issues and economic freedom, but Israel will always be important to this group and this becomes very clear when support for Israel is an issue in the national debate. AFP's opposition to the Iranian agreement on nuclear capabilities is a case in point. In August, 2015, Americans for Prosperity held their 'Defending the American Dream Summit' in Columbus Ohio. Former

<sup>88</sup> Americans for Prosperity Website, retrieved 12 May 2015, <<http://americansforprosperity.org/about-americans-for-prosperity>>.

<sup>89</sup> Beckel, M., *Koch-backed nonprofit spent record cash in 2012*, SourceWatch, 14 November 2013, <<http://www.publicintegrity.org/2013/11/14/13712/koch-backed-nonprofit-spent-record-cash-2012?>>.

<sup>90</sup> Americans for Prosperity Website, op.cit.

<sup>91</sup> Brody, D., *Teavangelicals*, op.cit., pp 79-80.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid*, p 80.

Florida Governor, Jeb Bush, Florida Senator Marco Rubio, Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal, former Texas Governor, Rick Perry and Senator Ted Cruz all included the AFP summit in their campaign schedules. Cruz, who is a Tea Party favourite and was judged by many to have outshone the other candidates, 'sparked deafening cheers in the Columbus Convention Center auditorium even before he took the stage.'<sup>93</sup> Cruz took on domestic policies germane to the AFP, indicating he would eliminate the Internal Revenue Service, simplify the tax code and eliminate myriad regulatory agencies.<sup>94</sup> It did not, however, take Senator Cruz long to turn to Iran and to support Israel's opposition to the agreement on nuclear capabilities. Senator Cruz announced he would rescind America's participation in the Iran deal, declaring that the cash transfers, removal of sanctions and approval of new trade deals with Tehran constituted financing terrorism.<sup>95</sup> Turning to Israel itself, Cruz assured the AFP Tea Partiers that on becoming president, he would immediately order the U.S. embassy in Israel to be moved from Tel Aviv to 'Jerusalem, the once and eternal capital of Israel.'<sup>96</sup> Senator Cruz's focus on Israel and his opposition to the Iran agreement in his address points to the importance the Tea Party movement places on a favourable U.S. policy toward the Jewish state.

### **The Tea Party Patriots and Jenny Beth Martin**

The Tea Party Patriots, or at least Jenny Beth Martin – the organisation's president – along with many of its members, fit into Walter Russell Mead's genre of housewives who call themselves Tea Party supporters, but that should not be taken as an indication of amateur involvement in politics. In 2010, *Time Magazine* named Jenny Beth Martin, a housewife from

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<sup>93</sup> Beaumont, T., *Cruz Outshines Bush at Americans for Prosperity Summit*, 22 August 2015, retrieved 28 August, 2015, <<http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/cruz-outshines-bush-americans-prosperity-summit-33252980>>.

<sup>94</sup> Geraghty, J., *Ted Cruz, Offering Up Red Meat to Americans for Prosperity*, National Review, 22 August, 2015, retrieved 28 August, 2015, <<http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/422936/ted-cruz-offering-red-meat-americans-prosperity-jim-geraghty>>.

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*

Woodstock, Georgia, as one of the world's top 100 influential people and leaders alongside the likes of Christine Lagarde (now Head of the International Monetary Fund), Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (then Prime Minister and now President of Turkey), Sheik Khalifa bin Zayed al-Nahyan (President of the United Arab Emirates and Emir of Abu Dhabi), and a host of other world leaders.<sup>97</sup>



**Jenny Beth Martin**

Prior to the global financial crisis, Martin and her husband enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle with a five-bedroom home, several cars, a thriving small business and a young family of twins. In 2004, Martin had been George W. Bush's local county campaign chairwoman, but by February, 2009, the Martin's business had collapsed, they had lost their home and she was cleaning houses to make ends meet when Santelli's rant struck a chord. Putting her political organising skills to good use, Martin launched the first Atlanta Tea Party rally at the Georgia State Capitol. As Alex Altman put it:

'Every revolution needs icons. The Tea Party movement may have mushroomed because of its reluctance to anoint a leader,

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<sup>97</sup> Altman, A., *The 2010 Time 100*, Time Magazine, 29 April 2010, retrieved 4 May 2015, <[http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685\\_1984864\\_1985462,00.html](http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685_1984864_1985462,00.html)>.

but leaders have emerged nonetheless. In February, 2009, Jenny Beth Martin was one of about 20 people who took part in the original conference call in response to Rick Santelli's now famous rant. Her commitment to building the burgeoning movement has made her one of its breakout stars. Martin, 39, is a co-founder and the national coordinator of the Tea Party Patriots, an umbrella organization that claims 1,800 local affiliates with some 15 million members. She serves as co-chair of her hometown Tea Party in Atlanta, and she helped lead the 9/12 movement's march on Washington in September.<sup>98</sup>

The organization has not been devoid of difficulties, however, with Martin's co-founder Meckler resigning in early 2012 over a leadership struggle in which the Tea Party Patriot board ceded day-to-day control to Martin. The Patriot's subsequent media release highlights the disparate nature of the movement as a whole:

'Mark Meckler's resignation as an employee and from the Tea Party Patriots' board follows months of discussions and good-faith differences on how best TPP can serve the Tea Party movement ... the Tea Party movement involves millions of Americans [and] no one person or even small groups of people are responsible for the movement's success and vitality.'<sup>99</sup>

The disparate nature of the movement is also underscored by the TPP and other Tea Party groups operating websites which are separate from the overarching national Tea Party site, with the Patriots asserting their own core value: that the root of the American Dream is freedom. 'Very simply, three guiding principles give rise to the freedom necessary to pursue and live the American Dream: Personal Freedom; Economic Freedom and a Debt Free Future.'<sup>100</sup>

In another sign they intend to back their own candidates, in February, 2013, the Tea Party Patriots formed the Tea Party Patriots Citizens Fund, a political

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<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Pappas, A., *Co-Founder Mark Meckler resigns from Tea Party Patriots*, The Daily Caller, 24 February, 2012, retrieved 5 May 2015, <<http://dailycaller.com/2012/02/24/exclusive-co-founder-mark-meckler-resigns-from-tea-party-patriots/>>.

<sup>100</sup> Tea Party Patriots Website, retrieved 5 May 2015, <<https://www.teapartypatriots.org/ourvision/>>.



action fund designed to raise donations in support of Tea Party candidates for midterm and presidential elections. With a stated mission of, inter alia, providing 'the tools, resources and information the American people need to hold elected officials and government accountable, and to also elect new citizen activists to office as representatives of the people,'<sup>101</sup> the website already lists a raft of Tea Party-endorsed candidates for the 2016 elections.

As is the case with Americans for Prosperity, the Tea Party Patriots focus mainly on domestic issues, but strong support for Israel is always part of their platform. When the Patriots feel that Israel is not being supported in Washington, they mobilise, as they have in the lead-up to Congress considering the Agreement on Iranian nuclear capabilities. Like CUFI, the Patriots make it very easy for their membership with an 'End the Iran Deal Toolkit' appearing on their website.<sup>102</sup> Once downloaded, the tool kit provides



**Tea Party Patriots 'End the Iran Deal' Toolkit Download**

Patriots with detailed instructions and seven suggestions to join the Patriot

<sup>101</sup> Tea Party Patriots Citizens Fund, retrieved 5 May 2015, <  
<http://www.teapartypatriotscitizensfund.com/mission/>>.

<sup>102</sup> *End the Iran Deal*, Tea Party Patriots Website, retrieved 10 August 2015,  
<https://www.teapartypatriots.org/toolkits/end-the-iran-deal-toolkit/>.

campaign to support Israel, including Facebook and Twitter posts, letters to editors, questions for town hall meetings, proposals for visits to Congressional offices and emails to senators and representatives. Talking points are supplied, as are sample tweets, sample letters to a member of Congress, instructions for hosting a Congressional office visit with a sample press release and instructions on how to write a letter to an editor.

The Patriots' campaign has centred on an assertion that the deal is 'a win-win for Iran, but an entirely losing proposition for the United States and our allies,'<sup>103</sup> principal amongst which is Israel. The campaign honed in on the elimination of conventional arms and ballistic missile embargoes on Iran and the wide discretion given to Iran on inspections of nuclear facilities which Iran can use to produce nuclear weapons. The campaign mirrored statements from Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu who described the deal as an 'historic mistake, objecting to Iran's uncurbed ability to produce ballistic missiles, the 24 days notice given to Iran for inspections, and the lifting of sanctions, providing Iran with the funds to invest in armaments.'<sup>104</sup>

### **The Tea Party Express**

Under a banner headline of 'Restore Liberty – Honor the Constitution', like their colleagues in the Tea Party Patriots, the Tea Party Express hosts their own website. Their Mission Statement is unambiguous:

'Propelled by millions of Tea Party supporters across the country, Tea Party Express has become the most aggressive and influential national Tea Party group in the political arena. We are committed to identifying and supporting conservative candidates and causes that will champion Tea Party values and return our country to the Constitutional principles that have made America the "shining city on a hill."'<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> Kershner, I., *Iran Deal Denounced by Netanyahu as 'Historic Mistake'*, New York Times, 14 July 2015, retrieved 20 July 2015, <[http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/world/middleeast/iran-nuclear-deal-israel.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/world/middleeast/iran-nuclear-deal-israel.html?_r=0)>.

<sup>105</sup> Tea Party Express Website, retrieved 5 May 2015, <<http://www.teapartyexpress.org/mission>>.

Again, like their colleagues in the Patriots, the Tea Party Express endorses candidates they feel embody Tea Party values, and they have their own stated principles by which they stand – in their case six:<sup>106</sup>

- No more bailouts;
- Reduce the size and intrusiveness of government;
- Stop raising our taxes;
- Repeal Obamacare;
- Cease out-of-control spending; and
- Bring back American prosperity.

## **Libertarians**

Like many political philosophies, libertarians defy a precise definition. The Canadian anarchist thinker, George Woodcock, defines a libertarian as one who rejects dogma and avoids rigid systematic theory, while stressing extreme freedom of choice and the primacy of individual judgment.<sup>107</sup> In reality, American libertarians are somewhat more complex than this definition allows, and in terms of the Tea Party, Rosenthal described libertarians this way:

‘The libertarians in the Tea Party are what I would call extreme free marketeers – strongly opposed to any interference by governments in the markets and commerce – and they’re very influential. In addition, many libertarians hold strong views on social issues and foreign policy, and many are in a different isolationist sphere to not only mainstream Republicans, but to the rest of the Tea Party supporters.’<sup>108</sup>

In Rosenthal’s view, libertarians can count on around twenty percent of the Republican Party, and the Tea Party for support, which is substantial:

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<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Woodcock, G., *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, Broadview Press, Peterborough, Ontario, 2004, p 16.

<sup>108</sup> Interview with Dr Lawrence Rosenthal, op.cit.

'One of the odd things that is happening here is that the libertarians are trying to claim the Tea Party as their own, with some attempting to deny that evangelicals are even part of the Tea Party movement – that the media have invented this. In terms of support, the libertarians can count on around twenty percent of the Republican Party, and they would account for a similar percentage of the Tea Party itself.'<sup>109</sup>

The announcements from Tea Party favourites, Senators Ted Cruz, Rand Paul and Marco Rubio that they would be seeking the Republican nomination for 2016, prompted a flurry of speculation as to who would be able to garner the votes from Tea Party supporters. Seth McLaughlin from *The Washington Times*

asked 'Will There Be Enough Tea to go Around?'<sup>110</sup> The Tea Party Express, for their part, were putting a positive spin on the announcements, with their spokesman, Taylor Budowich declaring: 'We are kind of calling it the "Tea Party trifecta." I think it really speaks to the maturation of the Tea Party movement and just how far we have come since 2010.'<sup>111</sup> Fearful of a split in the Tea Party vote, Iowa Tea Party activist, Ken Crow indicated he had been trying to organize a gathering of the movement's leaders from across the country in the hopes of unifying activists behind a single candidate. He went on though, to provide a personal observation that businessman Donald Trump would win the Republican nomination, because his message and blunt style resonated with Tea Party supporters.<sup>112</sup> Senator Paul's announcement, in particular, prompted another raft of speculation as to whether Paul, having previously told a Harvard audience that he was "libertarian-ish", was

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<sup>109</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> McLaughlin, S., 2016 *hopefuls Rand Paul, Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio hope there's enough tea to go around*, The Washington Times, 7 April 2015, retrieved 10 May 2015, <<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/apr/7/rand-paul-ted-cruz-marco-rubio-battle-for-tea-part/?page=all>>.

<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *ibid.*

libertarian enough to garner the libertarian element of the Tea Party vote.<sup>113</sup>

The above speculation on support, other than to confirm Walter Russell Mead's view that 'there's a need to keep the Tea Party on the reservation,' is not directly germane to this thesis. What is vital to the Middle East peace process is the candidates' likely policy approach toward Israel should one of them gain the White House. Will they want, in Mead's vernacular, to not only 'keep the Tea Party on the reservation, but keep the Knesset on side' as well?<sup>114</sup>

In analysing the likely foreign policy and attitudes toward Israel of key candidates, the field here is restricted to Republicans, beginning with an evangelical favourite, Mike Huckabee. Even though some Democrats do support the Tea Party (the polls vary, from 5% of Tea Party supporters shown as Democrats in the *New York Times/CBS News* poll cited previously,<sup>115</sup> to slightly higher figures), it is clear that the overwhelming focus of Tea Party supporters is toward Republican candidates. As Harvard's Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williams put it, 'Tea Party supporters overwhelmingly vote for Republicans, especially in general elections ... [and] Democrats have no hope of attracting Tea Party support, no matter how hard they track toward the right.'<sup>116</sup>

## Mike Huckabee

Candidates for the 2016 presidency will be acutely aware of the strong support for Israel amongst the evangelical bloc of the Tea Party, and no evangelical candidate is perhaps more aware than Mike Huckabee. In his foreword to Brody's *Teavangelicals*, Huckabee described the Tea Party

<sup>113</sup> Boaz, D., *Rand Paul's Challenge: Can a Libertarianish Candidate Succeed?* CATO Institute, 7 April 2015, retrieved 10 May 2015, < <http://www.cato.org/blog/rand-pauls-challenge-can-libertarianish-candidate-succeed>>.

<sup>114</sup> Interview with Walter Russell Mead, op.cit.

<sup>115</sup> Montopoli, B., op.cit.

<sup>116</sup> Skocpol, T., and Williams, V., *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2012, p 28.

evangelicals as having a 'unique blend of a biblical world view with the Tea Party emphasis on conservatism and the Constitution.'<sup>117</sup> On 5 May, 2015, the former Arkansas Governor announced his second bid for the White House, having previously run in 2008. As Karen Tumulty from *The Washington Post* observed, 'the challenges are formidable for the man who won the 2008 Iowa caucuses. In that earlier race, Huckabee, 59, a former Baptist preacher, struggled to expand his reach beyond evangelical voters and ran out of money in subsequent contests.'<sup>118</sup> A Huckabee win is unlikely, but as Jimmy Carter, the little-known peanut farmer and Sunday school teacher from Georgia demonstrated in 1976, the 'unlikely' can and does happen.

A long-time supporter of Israel, Huckabee has been visiting the Holy Land for over 40 years, and he has led several tours of Christian pilgrims. His comments while on his 2014 tour (with some 280 participants filling six buses) give us an indication of where a 'President Huckabee' might stand on foreign policy toward the Jewish state. Huckabee expressed the view that the



<sup>117</sup> Huckabee, M., Foreword to Brody, D., *The Teavangelicals*, op.cit., p 7.

<sup>118</sup> Tumulty, K., *Mike Huckabee launches 2016 presidential campaign*, The Washington Post, 5 May 2015, retrieved 15 May 2015, < <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/wp/2015/05/05/huckabee-set-to-announce-presidential-run-tuesday/>>.

Palestinians did not want peace.

'I don't think the talks are going anywhere at all,' Huckabee said. 'Nothing has been asked of the Palestinians, nothing, not one thing. And until there's an understanding of the Jewish state's right to exist, I'm not sure there's anything to negotiate ... as long as textbooks of the children of Palestinians celebrate the death of Jews ... you cannot negotiate, you cannot talk about peace if one of the parties has no intention of a peaceful resolution.'<sup>119</sup>

Huckabee tells his tour participants that 'even though you have never physically been here, spiritually your whole life has been here.'<sup>120</sup>

As pointed out above, in an already crowded field of Republican candidates, unless Huckabee can reach beyond the evangelicals, few analysts give him much chance of gaining the White House, but of all the Republican candidates, Huckabee has the greatest depth of knowledge on Israel. Immediately after announcing his candidacy, Huckabee's PR firm released a video of Huckabee touring ancient Jewish sites,<sup>121</sup> and it is clear that if elected, he would consider Israel a key, if not *the key* foreign policy focus of his presidency. The quotes from his website below serve to further emphasise Huckabee's one-sided position:

#### Israel — Our Friend & Ally

In a world of uncertainty, evil, and moral insanity, Israel is a shining light of moral clarity. The enemies of Israel are the enemies of America. Sadly, this Administration spends more time berating Israel for building houses in the lands given to Abraham than telling the Iranians to stop building bombs

<sup>119</sup> Prusher, L., *Mike Huckabee in Israel: Palestinians have 'no intention of peaceful resolution'*, Haaretz, 17 February, 2014, retrieved 10 May 2015, <<http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.574749>>.

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> JTA, *Mike Huckabee, pledging to protect Israel, launches GOP run for presidency*, 5 May 2015, retrieved 10 May 2015, <<http://www.jta.org/2015/05/06/news-opinion/politics/mike-huckabee-pledging-to-protect-israel-launches-gop-run-for-presidency>>.

pointed at us.

As President, I will:

- Stand with the Jewish people in our shared fight against Radical Islam;
- Support a unified Jerusalem;
- Confront and stop Iran—this Administration’s willingness to trust Iran and undermine Israel is unprecedented and wrong; and
- Support Israel in the fight for peace, religious freedom, and human rights.<sup>122</sup>

In any conflict, there is invariably fault on both sides, but there are many, this author included, who would take issue with much of what Huckabee has to say on Israel, not least his descriptor – post the deadly wars in Gaza in 2008 and 2014, for example – of Israel as ‘a shining light of moral clarity’; but like many on the Christian right, Huckabee views his foreign policy through a biblical prism, and constructs it from a biblical base. Huckabee’s views on the Israeli settlements, a key sticking point in the peace process, are unequivocal. In Huckabee’s view, they are being built on ‘the land given to Abraham’, and in February, 2011, during one of his many visits to the Holy Land, Huckabee attended an opening ceremony for an Israeli settlement in the West Bank. Despite international pressure on Israel to cease settlement expansion, Huckabee took a strong stance in favour of settlements:

‘To tell Jewish people, “You cannot live here, you cannot raise your children here,” this is the true racism, this is apartheid. I cannot imagine as an American being told that I could not live in certain places in America because I was Christian, or because I was white, or because I spoke English.’<sup>123</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Huckabee, M., *Huckabee: 2016*, Huckabee for President website, retrieved 5 May 2015, <<http://www.mikehuckabee.com/israel>>.

<sup>123</sup> Seitz-Wald, A., *Huckabee: Opposing Settlements Is ‘Racism’ and ‘Apartheid’*, ThinkProgress, 2 February, 2011, retrieved 10 May 2015, <<http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2011/02/02/142062/huckabee-settlement-apartheid/>>.



*Time Magazine* covered Huckabee's 2011 tour, during which a pro-settlement group informs Huckabee that the land on which settlements are built is 'a promise from God to the Jews' and that no private Palestinian land was taken or evacuated, following which, Huckabee takes a position that some might argue is naïve:

'I think the important thing is, do the Palestinians need a place to call their own?' Huckabee asks. 'If that's very important then that should be accommodated, but can it be accommodated on the exact same property the Jews currently occupy? The answer to that is no, it can't.'<sup>124</sup>

Given that settlements, and particularly settlement expansion, have long been a sticking point in the peace process, Huckabee's approach would likely only strengthen the current tough stance taken by Prime Minister Netanyahu to the detriment of the peace process.

### **Senator Rand Paul**

On 7 April, 2015, Rand Paul, a Tea Party favourite, announced he would seek the Republican Party nomination for President. His opponents quickly branded him as isolationist, citing his proposal to cut all foreign aid. Paul has since denied he would cut aid to Israel, but a search of the archives reveals a 65-page budget proposal released by Senator Paul in March, 2011.<sup>125</sup> Buried in the document on page 36 is Rand's proposal headed 'Aid to Israel', together with a quote from Alvin Rabushka, a Stanford Economist:

<sup>124</sup> Time Magazine Video, *Mike Huckabee's Three-Day Tour of Israel*, February, 2011, retrieved 10 May 2015, < [http://content.time.com/time/video/player/n0,32068,34667224001\\_1917544,00.html](http://content.time.com/time/video/player/n0,32068,34667224001_1917544,00.html)>.

<sup>125</sup> Paul, R., *Budget of the U.S. Government – Senator Rand Paul*, March, 2011, retrieved 8 May 2015, <<https://web.archive.org/web/20120905012813/http://campaignforliberty.com/materials/RandBudget.pdf>>.

'Free money is the scourge of Israel's Economy. It is the difference between a free, prosperous Israel and a statist, dependent Israel.'<sup>126</sup>

Rand asserted that while his budget proposal did eliminate foreign aid to Israel, it was not meant to hurt, negate, or single out one of America's most important allies:

'This proposal eliminates all foreign aid to all countries. Israel's ability to conduct foreign policy, regain economic dominance, and support itself without the heavy hand of U.S. interests and policies, will,' Rand argued, 'only strengthen the Israeli community.'<sup>127</sup>

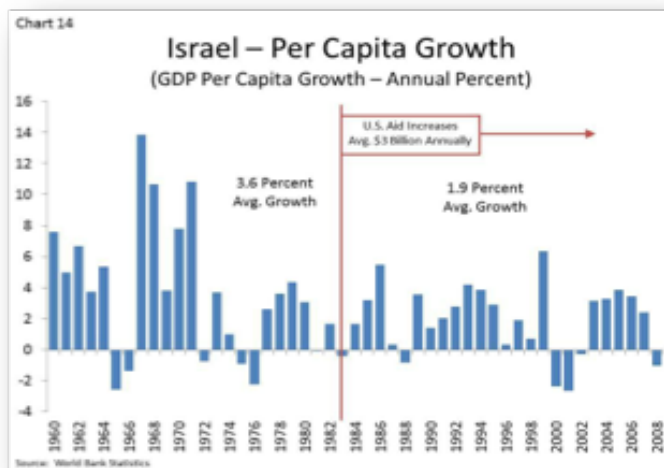


Fig 21<sup>128</sup>

Rand supported his proposal with the graphic shown at left, to demonstrate U.S. aid had a detrimental effect on Israeli GDP with the red line indicating that since 1983, when U.S. aid to Israel increased to an average of \$3 billion per year, average per

per capita growth had decreased from 3.6 percent to 1.9 percent.<sup>129</sup> The elimination of all foreign aid, including provisions to Israel, is not necessarily a new idea, Rand argued.

'In 1996, during an address before the U.S. Congress, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu declared that his nation

<sup>126</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*

would eventually wean itself from dependence on U.S. foreign aid. Prominent Israeli politicians and economists alike have called for the end of foreign aid. Among them is economist Amon Gafney, who served as Governor of the Bank of Israel from 1970 to 1981. He pointed out that foreign aid has caused Israel to suffer from Dutch Disease, a situation in which a generous gift brings short-term benefits but impairs a country's long-term competitiveness.<sup>130</sup>



**Rand Paul**

Rand concluded this section of his budget with a policy proposal to eliminate all international assistance. The criticism of his proposal forced Paul to backtrack and release a second edition of his budget proposal two months later, in which all references to Israel were deleted, and instead of reducing aid to zero, Paul capped it at \$5 billion – which is repeated in his Fiscal Policy for 2014.<sup>131</sup> As commentators and interviewers probed Rand's inconsistencies and denials in the lead up to his announcing his run for the Presidency, Rand's office issued a media statement that read in part:

'Sen. Rand Paul has never proposed any legislation that targeted Israel's aid and just last week voted to continue and increase funding to the State of Israel. Sen. Paul is a strong supporter of the Jewish state of Israel. In 2011, Sen. Paul proposed a budget resolution that did not include certain

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> Paul, R., *Fiscal Year 2014 Budget of the United States Government*, 2014, retrieved 8 May 2015, <<http://www.paul.senate.gov/files/documents/MASTERBUDGET.pdf>>.

foreign assistance programs in an effort to balance the budget in five years. Subsequent budget proposals made by Sen. Paul have included up to \$5 billion for foreign assistance to account for U.S.-Israel security interests.<sup>132</sup>

The wording 'never proposed any legislation that *targeted* (author's emphasis) is disingenuous to say the least, but it illustrates just what a hot button issue Israel is in American politics. Simply attacking the size of government and the deficit is not enough, and even Rand Paul has to be more solidly behind Israel. Rosenthal put it this way:

'Support for Israel goes across the board in American politics, but the evangelicals and the Tea Party have adopted Israel with a passion that is akin to their strident opposition to gay marriage and abortion. Israel has been adopted with that kind of passion, largely because of the founding of Israel in what you could call evangelical eschatology. Today, that combines with things like the rise of ISIS, so Tea Party support for Israel will be central to their foreign policy. Indeed, in my view, it will have an even more central place in the 2016 election than it did, for example, in 2012 election.'<sup>133</sup>

Would someone like Rand appeal to younger voters? It was put to Rosenthal that the younger generations – Gen-X and the GenY/Millennial Generation did not share a theological link to Israel to the same degree as many of their parents, nor did many of them appear to share the conservatives' views on many of the domestic social issues. With that in mind, Rosenthal was asked where the younger generations might stand in relation to the Tea Party in general, and candidates like Senator Rand.

'The theological link to Israel may be a little more tenuous, but we have to remember that the younger generations have grown up in a very different social environment. The trappings of moralism and the conservatives' positions on social issues are something that keeps them away from the Tea Party in large numbers, and for similar reasons, they are not attracted to the Christian right. There is however, in the millennial

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<sup>132</sup> Shapiro, D., *Supporter of Israel?* Baltimore Jewish Times, 14 August 2014, retrieved 8 May 2015, <<http://jewishtimes.com/26988/supporter-of-israel/>>.

<sup>133</sup> Interview with Lawrence Rosenthal, op.cit.

generation, a strong strand of libertarianism, especially around economic issues and you would find that for example, in Silicon Valley. So in running for president Rand Paul starts off as, if you will, the heir to his father's following and he believes that his libertarianism can bring young people to his cause and therefore, to the extent that he represents the Tea Party, he can attract young people in larger numbers than they [the Tea Party] have at present.<sup>134</sup>

Any weakening of a theological link to Israel amongst younger generations, is something the Christian right is quite worried about, and this will be explored further in the next chapter.

### **Senator Ted Cruz**

Victoria Coates, Senator Cruz's National Security Advisor, pointed out during an interview that Senator Cruz was both supported by and supports the Tea Party. While fiscal conservatism and smaller government were key issues, foreign policy was just as important.<sup>135</sup> Nor was this a new issue for the Senator, she said, as he was a trade advisor for George W. Bush during the latter's campaign for the presidency. Coates added that the Senator's wife, Heidi Cruz, worked for Condoleezza Rice at the National Security Council. In terms of the Senator's views on Israel, this was firstly a personal issue, she said. While the Senator's personal links to Israel didn't drive policy – it rather enhanced it, and Coates pointed out that the Senator's father was a pastor and that Senator Cruz professed a strong faith with links to the Holy Land.<sup>136</sup>

Senator Cruz was the first of the Republicans to nominate, and Coates's latter statement is supported by the Senator's candidacy speech,<sup>137</sup> for which he chose Jerry Falwell's Christian Liberty University as his launch pad:

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<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> Interview with Victoria Coates, *op.cit.*

<sup>136</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> Cruz, T., Announcement as a Candidate for the 2016 Presidential Election, Liberty University, 23 March, 2015, retrieved 9 May 2015, < [http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/transcript-ted-cruzs-speech-at-liberty-university/2015/03/23/41c4011a-d168-11e4-a62f-ee745911a4ff\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/transcript-ted-cruzs-speech-at-liberty-university/2015/03/23/41c4011a-d168-11e4-a62f-ee745911a4ff_story.html)>.

'I am thrilled to join you today at the largest Christian University in the world,' he told the crowd. 'Instead of a president who boycotts Prime Minister Netanyahu, imagine a president who stands unapologetically with the nation of Israel.'<sup>138</sup>

Cruz's remarks on Israel drew prolonged applause from the crowd and he vowed to reignite the promise of America. The answer, he said 'will not come from Washington. It will come only from the men and women across this country: from people of faith, lovers of liberty, from people who respect the Constitution.'<sup>139</sup>

When we analyse these remarks, it is clear that 'people of faith' will play an important part in Cruz's pitch for the White House. 'There are people who wonder if faith is real,' Cruz said. 'I can tell you, in my family there's not a second of doubt.'<sup>140</sup>



world to launch his bid is perhaps a signal to other challengers that as far as he can, Senator Cruz intends to lay claim to both the Christian right vote and

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<sup>138</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> *ibid.*

to the Tea Party supporters, especially the large numbers within that movement who are evangelical.

Cruz is also going to some lengths to court the Jewish vote, including the Orthodox Jews. Katie Glueck points to an interview with Cruz during his first swing through Iowa as a presidential candidate. 'I share a great many values with the Jewish community and the Orthodox community. Chief among them is a passionate dedication to strengthening our friendship and alliance with the nation of Israel.'<sup>141</sup> As Glueck observes, the Orthodox Jews make up some 10 percent of the Jewish vote, and are more likely to prioritise a strong Zionist perspective. By appealing to the Orthodox sector, Cruz also opens the door to Orthodox donors who put great store in Israel's safety and security.<sup>142</sup> 'In the past several weeks alone,' Glueck notes, 'Cruz has met with an influential Orthodox rabbi from New York, hosted an event with Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel, to highlight the dangers of a nuclear Iran, and made an appearance at a swanky Passover gathering in California that drew wealthy Orthodox Jews.'<sup>143</sup>

When Cruz's National Security Advisor was asked for the Senator's position on the Palestinians, Coates pointed to the Senator's bi-partisan legislation with Democrat Senator Kirsten that condemned Hamas for its war against Israel. The legislation criticised Hamas for using innocent civilians as human shields, blamed Hamas and other terrorist groups for rocket attacks on Israel and demanded that Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas condemn Hamas's tactics. In announcing the bi-partisan legislation, Cruz stated that:

'Hamas is undoubtedly guilty of violating international humanitarian law through its deliberate, repeated, and consistent use of civilians as human shields ... the United States of America, along with the entire international community must

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<sup>141</sup> Glueck, K., *Ted Cruz Woos Orthodox Jews*, Politico, 16 April 2015, retrieved 9 May 2015<<http://www.politico.com/story/2015/04/ted-cruz-woos-orthodox-jewish-voters-117013.html>>.

<sup>142</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> *ibid.*

expose and denounce Hamas's barbaric tactics and unequivocally support Israel's right to self-defense.'<sup>144</sup>

Ms Coates confirmed her Senator's frustration:

'Senator Cruz is enormously frustrated by the Palestinian leadership and especially Hamas's abuse of the Palestinian people. He sees the use of human shields as a cynical abuse of civilians and their use of schools as a means, through the media, of perpetuating hatred. The Senator,' she said, 'would consider a two state solution including discussions on settlements, but only if the Palestinians endorsed Israel's right to exist as a Jewish State and if they renounced terrorism.'<sup>145</sup>

Notwithstanding Coates's remarks, following that interview, the Senator went further. Speaking with CNN's Dana Bash after declaring his candidacy for the White House, Cruz seemingly outsourced foreign policy on the Middle East peace process to Israel. Asked for his reaction to the Israeli leader's statement that there would never be a Palestinian state while Netanyahu was Prime Minister, Cruz said:

'I think the United States should stand unshakably with the nation of Israel. I think one of the most disgraceful aspects of the Obama presidency has been how it has treated Prime Minister Netanyahu ... I don't think it should be America dictating the solution there. Israel is a sovereign nation, and I trust the leaders of Israel to determine whether they want to adopt a one-state solution or a two-state solution. So what I'm saying is we should trust Israel to make that determination.'<sup>146</sup>

Cruz's statements have raised the question as to whether or not a leadership role for American diplomats would be abdicated under a Cruz presidency.

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<sup>144</sup>Burgess, E., *Ted Cruz, Kirsten Gillibrand team up on Hamas*, Politico, 28 July 2014, retrieved 9 May 2015, < <http://www.politico.com/story/2014/07/hamas-israel-ted-cruz-kirsten-gillibrand-109457.html#continue>>.

<sup>145</sup> Interview with Victoria Coates, op.cit.

<sup>146</sup> Brinker, L., *Ted Cruz's Palestine Debacle: Let's outsource America's peace policy to Israel!* Salon, 31 March, 2015, retrieved 9 May 2015, < [http://www.salon.com/2015/03/30/ted\\_cruzs\\_palestine\\_debacle\\_lets\\_outsource\\_american\\_peace\\_policy\\_to\\_israel/](http://www.salon.com/2015/03/30/ted_cruzs_palestine_debacle_lets_outsource_american_peace_policy_to_israel/)>.



## Ben Carson

Carson is a retired neurosurgeon who was the first surgeon in the world to separate conjoined twins, joined at the head. In recognition, George W. Bush awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian award in the United States. In a surprising result on 23 May, 2015, with 25.4% of the vote, Carson swept the straw poll at the Southern Republican Leadership Conference (SRLC) in Oklahoma City, defeating a raft of Republican presidential hopefuls: Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker (since withdrawn, 20.5%); Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX, 16.6%); New Jersey Governor Chris Christie (5.3%); former Texas Governor Rick Perry (since withdrawn, 5.0%); former Florida Governor Jeb Bush (4.9%); Senator Rand Paul (R-KY, 4.1% - but winner of the Conservative Political Action Conference Straw Poll in February, 2015); Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL, 4.1%); Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal (4.1%) and former Hewlett-Packard CEO Republican nominee, Carly Fiorina (2.7%).<sup>147</sup>



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<sup>147</sup> Breitbart News, *Dr. Ben Carson Storms Through Oklahoma To SRLC Straw Poll Victory*, 23 May 2015, retrieved 8 May 2015, < <http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2015/05/23/dr-ben-carson-storms-through-oklahoma-to-srlc-straw-poll-victory/>>.

In his first visit to Israel in December 2014, interestingly timed for the lead-up to his candidacy announcement in May of the following year, Ben Carson – another Tea Party favourite – launched a scathing attack on President Obama’s foreign policy and the U.S.-Israeli relationship. Carson used a schoolyard analogy:

‘It’s sort of like your brother is going to school in a real tough neighborhood and you want to make sure he gets there safely and gets home safely, so you walk with him. And then suddenly you say, “You’re on your own. Call me if you have problems.” That seems to be how our relationship has gone ... I don’t think I’ve met any Israelis, since I’ve been on this trip, who didn’t think the relationship was in jeopardy.’<sup>148</sup>

Carson has repeatedly emphasised his views on U.S. policy toward Israel, using the same analogy in an interview with Fox News,<sup>149</sup> and again at the Conservative Political Action Conference held in Maryland in February, 2015, when he urged the audience to inter alia, ‘not turn our backs on Israel.’<sup>150</sup>

Some media commentators, however, are scathing. When interviewed by Bloomberg journalist David Weigel, Carson gave his views on the 2015 Israeli election and the possibility of establishing a Palestinian state (views which paralleled those of Huckabee):

‘We need to look at fresh ideas,’ Carson said. ‘I don’t have any problem with the Palestinians having a state, but does it need to be within the confines of Israeli territory? Is that necessary, or can you sort of slip that area down into Egypt? Right below Israel, they have some amount of territory, and it can be adjacent. Technology could transform that area. So why does it need to be in an area where there’s going to be temptation for Hamas to continue firing missiles at relatively close range to

<sup>148</sup> Tea Party News Network, *Ben Carson Travels to Israel: What Israelis Told Him is Shocking*, 19 December 2014, retrieved 9 May 2015, <<http://www.tpnn.com/2014/12/19/ben-carson-travels-to-israel-what-israelis-told-him-is-shocking/>>.

<sup>149</sup> Fox News, 5 August 2014, retrieved 9 May 2015, <<http://nation.foxnews.com/2014/08/05/dr-carson-‘we-have-put-constitution-back-top-step’>>.

<sup>150</sup> Conservative Political Action Conference, Maryland, February, 2015, retrieved 9 May 2015, <<http://www.c-span.org/video/?324557-1/dr-ben-carson-remarks-cpac-2015>>.

Israel?’<sup>151</sup>

Carson seems to be unaware of the complexities of this intractable conflict, and his naïve remarks prompted headlines like ‘Ben Carson’s “fresh” foreign policy: Just “sort of slip” Palestinians down to Egypt.’<sup>152</sup> Luke Brinker, *Salon’s* political editor, compared Carson’s ‘cringe-inducing’ foreign policy capability<sup>153</sup> with Sarah Palin who once famously said: ‘you can actually see Russia from land here in Alaska.’<sup>154</sup> However, given the apparent acceptance of some of Pastor Hagee’s bizarre remarks by his myriad supporters, Carson’s suggestion to ‘sort of slip the Palestinians into Egypt’ may not be as ‘cringe-inducing’ to many of the Christian right and the evangelical element of the Tea Party voters. In addition, despite those naïve remarks, at the time of writing (August, 2015) Carson was still strongly supported by the Tea Party media and doing well in the polls. In the interview cited above for the Tea Party News Network, for example, the report started with: ‘Potential 2016 presidential candidate Dr. Ben Carson took a “fact-finding mission” to Israel to see the country first hand and found out the shocking depth in which Obama has harmed relations with America’s strongest ally in the Middle East.’<sup>155</sup>

### Senator Marco Rubio

In a blistering speech delivered on the floor of the Senate in early 2015,<sup>156</sup> Senator Marco Rubio castigated Obama’s policy toward Israel and spoke out

<sup>151</sup> Riehl, D., *Ben Carson: Create Palestinian State in Egypt, Get Israel Out of Hamas’s Rocket Fire Range*, Breitbart, 20 March 2015, retrieved 9 May 2015, <<http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2015/03/20/ben-carson-create-palestinian-state-in-egypt-get-israel-out-of-hamass-rocket-fire-range/>>.

<sup>152</sup> Newell, J., *Ben Carson’s “fresh” foreign policy: Just “sort of slip” Palestinians down to Egypt*, Salon, 21 March, 2015, retrieved 9 May 2015, <[http://www.salon.com/2015/03/20/ben\\_carsons\\_fresh\\_foreign\\_policy\\_just\\_sort\\_of\\_slip\\_palestinians\\_down\\_to\\_egypt/](http://www.salon.com/2015/03/20/ben_carsons_fresh_foreign_policy_just_sort_of_slip_palestinians_down_to_egypt/)>.

<sup>153</sup> Brinker, L., *Ben Carson’s cringe-inducing foreign policy ignorance: Israel edition*, Salon, 25 March, 2015, retrieved 9 May 2015, <[http://www.salon.com/2015/03/24/ben\\_carsons\\_cringe\\_inducing\\_foreign\\_policy\\_ignorance\\_israel\\_edition/](http://www.salon.com/2015/03/24/ben_carsons_cringe_inducing_foreign_policy_ignorance_israel_edition/)>.

<sup>154</sup> Palin, S., Interview with Charles Gibson, ABC, 11 September 2008, retrieved 9 May 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JXL86v8NoGk>>.

<sup>155</sup> Tea Party News Network, op.cit.

<sup>156</sup> Rubio, M., Senate Speech 19 March, 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CdMWbqZsyuM>>.

in strident support of the Jewish state. Should he be successful in 2016, his speech left academics, foreign policy analysts, commentators and voters in little doubt as to where he stands, citing two reasons why Americans should care about Israel. Firstly, Rubio argued that like the United States, Israel is a democracy and a free-enterprise economy:

'Don't we wish the entire Middle East looked that way? Don't we wish we had more countries in the Middle East that looked like Israel, that were our allies, that were democratic and had a free and prosperous economy? How much better would the world be if the Middle East looked more like Israel and less like Iraq and Syria and other places look like at this moment?'<sup>157</sup>

Rubio's views invite comparison with George W. Bush's ill-fated attempt to impose a Western-style democracy on Iraq that, with no recognised opposition to even begin with, was never realistic. An ideological crusade to 'spread democracy' whilst neglecting to grasp the complexities and cultures of countries like Iraq and Syria is doomed to fail.



**Marco Rubio delivering his pro-Israel speech in the U.S. Senate**

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<sup>157</sup> *ibid.*

Rubio went on to detail the second reason Americans should care about Israel, based on Israel being founded after the holocaust, and a promise that never again in the history of the world would there not be a place for the Jewish people to feel safe:

'It's not just a nation, it is a nation with a special and unique purpose unlike any other nation in the world. And I, for one, am proud that the United States has stood with Israel for all these years and I am proud that the American people, on a bipartisan basis, have stood behind the Jewish state of Israel ... the security, safety and future of Israel is in our national security [interest] – as well as [there being] a moral obligation of every member of this body and us as a nation.'<sup>158</sup>

Rubio also castigated the Palestinian authority, noting that rockets are launched from the areas from which Israel has withdrawn – southern Lebanon in 2000 and Gaza in 2005. Rubio continued, heavily criticising the Palestinian education system.

'This from a Palestinian school book: "Palestinian's war ended with a catastrophe that is unprecedented in history, when the Zionist gangs stole Palestine and established the so-called state of Israel" ... Instead of being schooled in the culture of peace, the next generation of Palestinians is being relentlessly fed a rhetorical diet that includes the idolization of terrorists, the demonization of Jews and the conviction that sooner or later Israel will cease to exist. And these are the people that this President wants to put pressure on them to cut a peace deal with. I think Netanyahu is right. The conditions do not exist for a peace deal with people who teach their children that killing Jews is a glorious thing.'<sup>159</sup>

Rubio's remarks on rockets are valid, but in making his criticism of the Palestinian education system, like Huckabee, Rubio ignores the fact that the same criticisms are also leveled at the Israeli system, and sometimes by Israelis themselves. Nurit Peled-Elhanan, for example, a professor of

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<sup>158</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> *ibid.*

language and education at the Hebrew university, has described images of Jewish school children learning about the Palestinians from textbooks, but always, she says, in the context of terrorism.

'They are called Arabs. "The Arab with a camel, in an Ali Baba dress. They describe them as vile and deviant and criminal, people who don't pay taxes, people who live off the state, people who don't want to develop." The only representation is as refugees, primitive farmers and terrorists. You never see a Palestinian child or doctor or teacher or engineer or modern farmer.'<sup>160</sup>

Peled-Elhanan postulates that this type of biased teaching in Israeli schools contributes to the cruel behaviour of Israeli soldiers towards Palestinians once they put on a uniform. 'I think the major reason for that is education,' she says. 'In "hundreds and hundreds" of books, she claims she did not find one photograph that depicted an Arab as a "normal person".'<sup>161</sup>

A balanced education curriculum is an essential part of the solution to this conflict. The longer this conflict goes on, the deeper the hatred on both sides is ingrained, both from the casualties and cruel hardship families have had to endure, and from an education process (on both sides) that inculcates, at the very least, animosity and aversion toward the other. Like Huckabee and others, Rubio's speech raises a potentially serious problem, given the power of the President of the United States. If an educated man like Rubio – he has a Bachelor of Arts in political science from the University of Florida, and a JD (Doctor of Jurisprudence – a postgraduate law degree) from the University of Miami – does not bother to research both sides of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict (in this case, education), before making a scathing one-sided attack on the Palestinian system, what would his foreign policy be like if he becomes President? If individuals in powerful positions – on both sides – fail to even consider another point of view, this contributes significantly to the

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<sup>160</sup> Sherwood, H., *Academic claims Israeli school textbooks contain bias*, The Guardian, 7 August 2011, retrieved 10 May 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/aug/07/israeli-school-racism-claim>>.

<sup>161</sup> *ibid.*

intractability of the peace negotiations. It might be argued he is playing to a constituency – particularly the Christian right and the Tea Party movement, but if so, it is still possible to deliver a more nuanced and less strident message.

Rubio also makes no secret of his disdain for President Obama's policy toward Israel. Mirroring the words of Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, Rubio claims the President was making an historic and tragic mistake by putting pressure on the Israelis to make peace with the Palestinians. In Rubio's view, America's support for Israel should be unconditional:

'This President is making a historic mistake. Allies have differences, but allies like Israel, when you have a difference with them and it is public, it emboldens their enemies to launch more rockets out of southern Lebanon and Gaza, to launch more terrorist attacks, to go to international forums [sic] and delegitimize Israel's right to exist. And this is what they're doing. This is outrageous. It is irresponsible. It is dangerous, and it betrays the commitment this nation has made to the right of a Jewish state to exist in peace. ... If America doesn't stand with Israel, who would we stand with? If Israel, a democracy, a strong American ally on the international stage, if they are not worthy of our unconditional support, then what ally of ours around the world can feel safe in their alliance with us?'<sup>162</sup>

Marco Rubio would perhaps be one of the strongest supporters of Israel ever to gain the White House (although Donald Trump, see below, would dispute this).

## **Donald Trump**

Finally, at the time of writing (August, 2015), to the surprise of some analysts, the clear front-runner in a crowded field for the Republican nomination, as the table below shows (which tracks 131 polls from 26

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<sup>162</sup> Rubio, M., op.cit.

pollsters),<sup>163</sup> is Donald Trump.

**Table 3 – Summary of U.S. Polls for Republican Candidates**

| POLLSTER                                 | DATE S         | TRUMP | BUSH | WALKER | CRUZ | HUCKABEE | CARSON | RUBIO | RAND PAUL |
|------------------------------------------|----------------|-------|------|--------|------|----------|--------|-------|-----------|
| Ipsos/Reuters NEW!                       |                | 24    | 16   | 12     | 6    | 5        | 5      | 4     | 7         |
| Zogby (Internet)/<br>University of Akron | 8/3 -<br>8/4   | 26    | 17   | 5      | 5    | 3        | 2      | 3     | 3         |
| Morning Consult                          | 7/31 -<br>8/3  | 25    | 12   | 8      | 7    | 5        | 7      | 6     | 5         |
| FOX                                      | 7/30 -<br>8/2  | 26    | 15   | 9      | 6    | 6        | 7      | 5     | 5         |
| Monmouth<br>University                   | 7/30 -<br>8/2  | 26    | 12   | 11     | 6    | 6        | 5      | 4     | 4         |
| Bloomberg/Selzer                         | 7/30 -<br>8/2  | 21    | 10   | 8      | 4    | 7        | 5      | 6     | 5         |
| CBS                                      | 7/29 -<br>8/2  | 24    | 13   | 10     | 6    | 8        | 6      | 6     | 4         |
| NBC/WSJ                                  | 7/26 -<br>7/30 | 19    | 14   | 15     | 9    | 6        | 10     | 5     | 6         |
| Gravis<br>Marketing/One<br>America News  | 7/29 -<br>7/29 | 31    | 13   | 13     | 6    | 6        | 6      | 5     | 4         |
| Rasmussen                                | 7/28 -<br>7/29 | 26    | 10   | 14     | 7    | 7        | 5      | 5     | 3         |

A CBS poll, for example, had Trump (24%) leading a fractured 17-strong Republican field, well in front of Jeb Bush (13%). As the authors of the report on the polls note:

'He [Trump] appears to have tapped into public anger toward Washington: he holds a large lead among Republican primary voters who say they are angry. And 79 percent think Trump says what he believes, rather than what people want to hear, far higher than other candidates tested.'<sup>164</sup>

Tapping into public anger is in line with this thesis's findings on the Tea Party,

<sup>163</sup> *Poll Chart: 2016 National Republican Party*, HuffPost Pollster, 6 August, 2015, retrieved 7 August, < <http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-national-gop-primary>>.

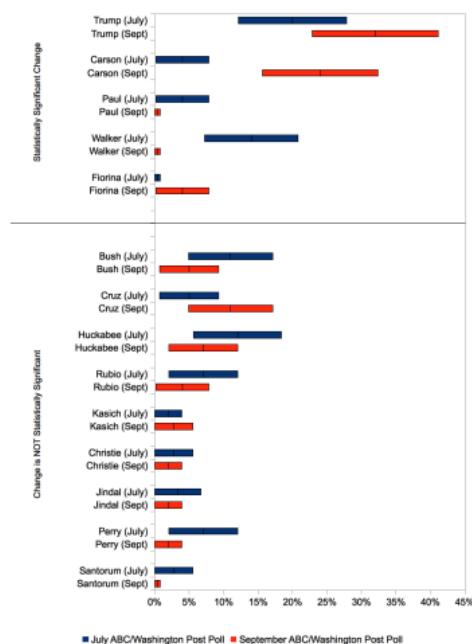
<sup>164</sup> Dutton, S., De Pinto, J., Salvanto A., and Backus, F., *CBS News poll: Donald Trump leads GOP field in 2016 Presidential race*, 4 August 2015, retrieved 6 August 2015, < <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/cbs-news-poll-donald-trump-leads-gop-field-in-2016-presidential-race/>>.



but Trump is being supported across the Republican spectrum. 'Trump appeals to many factions of Republican primary voters. He leads among conservatives, Tea Party supporters, evangelicals and both men and women.'<sup>165</sup>

The support for Trump from evangelicals is interesting, and is confirmed in another poll – a *Washington Post-ABC News* poll conducted over 16 to 19 July, 2015.<sup>166</sup> As is clear from Figure 22 below, in this poll, evangelicals prefer Donald Trump by a wide margin to Mike Huckabee who, given his credentials as a Baptist preacher, might be expected to be polling better amongst the Christian right.

Who do born-again Christians in GOP prefer?  
Comparing July and September polls



Box shows 95 percent confidence intervals. Middle line is mean  $\pm$  margin of error.  
Top of graph are candidates for whom difference between polls is significant ( $p < 0.05$ ).  
Bottom of graph are candidates for whom difference is likely due to sampling error.

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<http://tobingrant.religionnews.com/>

<sup>165</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> Pulliam-Bailey, S., *Which presidential candidate leads among the evangelicals? Right now, it's Donald Trump*, The Washington Post, 6 August 2015, retrieved 8 August 2015, <  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2015/08/06/which-presidential-candidate-leads-among-evangelicals-right-now-its-donald-trump/>>.

**Fig 22**<sup>167</sup>

When comparing Trump to Ross Perot who ran as an independent presidential candidate in 1992, John Green is of the view that 'Trump is more flamboyant, but they both tap into that sense of anger a lot of voters had and have [but] Donald Trump's surge comes partly because Donald Trump is very skilled at getting attention.'<sup>168</sup> Thomas Kidd, a history professor at Baylor University believes that evangelicals may support Trump because they are looking for a candidate who will represent them on religious liberty and abortion, for example, 'but they will also look for someone who can eventually win ... "you can't overstate how badly evangelicals want a reliable Republican in office – and not a Democrat – to nominate the next justices of the Supreme Court."<sup>169</sup>

**Donald Trump**

<sup>167</sup> Grant, T., *Which Republican is gaining among born-again Christians?* Religion News Service, 22 September 2015, < <http://tobingrant.religionnews.com/2015/09/22/want-to-know-which-republican-is-gaining-among-born-again-christians-the-problem-of-small-polls/>>.

<sup>168</sup> Pulliam-Bailey, S., op.cit.

<sup>169</sup> ibid.

In view of the (albeit early) polls, the billionaire real estate mogul's views on foreign policy toward Israel are worth examining.

In an interview for JNS Jewish and Israel News,<sup>170</sup> Trump made his views on Israel unequivocally clear.

'In the middle of a phone interview with *JNS.org* on June 26, billionaire real estate mogul and Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump leaves his desk to scan the wall of his office for awards he has received from the Jewish community ... He also cites a video endorsement he gave Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for the Jewish state's January, 2013 election, expressing pride that it was "at the time the only ad done by a celebrity" for Netanyahu.'<sup>171</sup>

Trump's daughter Ivanka converted to Judaism in 2009, and Trump argues that his close relationship with Israel will set him above a crowded GOP field.

'The only [candidate] that's going to give real support to Israel is me ... the rest of them are all talk, no action. They're politicians. I've been loyal to Israel from the day I was born. My father, Fred Trump, was loyal to Israel before me. The only one that's going to give Israel the kind of support it needs is Donald Trump.'

This response, albeit in Trump's typical brash style, underscores the importance that candidates place on the Jewish vote that, as noted previously, can have a particular influence in swing states like Florida and Ohio. The response also provides a pointer to Trump's likely foreign policy toward Israel, should he win office. Asked for his assessment of President Obama's record on Israel, Trump was scathing:

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<sup>170</sup> Kamaras, J., *Donald Trump says he is no apprentice when it comes to Israel*, JNS.org, 1 July 2015, retrieved 6 August, < <http://www.jns.org/latest-articles/2015/6/28/when-it-comes-to-israel-donald-trump-says-he-is-no-apprentice#.VcPsTVydLII=>>.

<sup>171</sup> *ibid.*

'I think President Obama is one of the worst things that's ever happened to Israel. I think he's set back [Israeli] relations with the United States terribly, and for people and friends of mine who are Jewish, I don't know how they can support President Obama. He has been very bad for Israel.'<sup>172</sup>

As the early polls indicate (2015), Trump's 'saying what he believes' is playing well in the electorate, but a Trump victory in 2016 might have significant consequences for the peace process and would herald a more pronounced shift to the right in terms of U.S. policy toward Israel.

From this research into the Tea Party movement, we can see that far from being 'dead', conservatism – or at least the Tea Party movement and the strong evangelical element within it, has established itself as 'the political phenomenon of the Obama presidency' and remains a strong and influential force in American politics. It is driven, in part, by anger at 'how things are going in Washington' with, as previously cited, 53% of Tea Party supporters describing themselves as 'angry' as compared to 19% of Americans nationally. The movement is, at least outwardly, seemingly focused on domestic issues. Yet, as this research has shown, U.S. policy toward Israel is central to the ideological heart of Tea Party supporters. Contenders for the Republican nomination, be they 'Tea Party favourites' like Mike Huckabee, or those that fit Walter Russell Mead's descriptor of 'keeping the Tea Party on the reservation', are well aware of the importance of Israel to this very substantial group of voters, who might yet take the Republican Party further to the right.

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<sup>172</sup> *ibid.*

# **CHAPTER FIVE**

## **CASE STUDY THREE CAMPAIGNS FOR MORE CHRISTIANS IN LEGISLATURES and SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL**

### **Introduction**

A quiet revolution is underway in the United States. Various Christian political lobby groups are campaigning strongly, both to elect more Christian leaders into state legislatures and more importantly, the Congress, and to marshal greater support for Israel. In this chapter, these two activities will be examined.

In interview after interview, Christian right leaders lamented that America was losing her spiritual way – a feeling encapsulated by the ‘secular humanism is a pagan god and America is bowing at the shrine’ sermons of Pastor Hagee. Gary Bauer’s comments were typical:

‘I think politically conservative Christians are a significant voting bloc that has real impact on elections but culturally, I think the influence – to my regret and worry – I think culturally conservative Christians have less and less influence on the popular culture, on Hollywood, on popular entertainment, and on university campuses.’<sup>1</sup>

The campaigns to train more Christian leaders for state legislatures and the Congress, with a concomitant campaign to ensure greater support for Israel,

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Gary Bauer, op.cit.

is quietly powerful, and the case studies are indicative. To illustrate how widespread this movement is, three organisations have been chosen at three separate levels: Generation Joshua (high school); Christians United for Israel on Campus (university); and the Faith and Freedom Coalition (general community). In all of these campaigns, U.S. policy toward Israel favours the Jewish state.

### **Generation Joshua and the High School Campaigns**



In this high school case study, we will first examine the training, which is provided to young Christian future leaders, as this training will shape their views of American policy as they attain positions of influence. We will then examine what links there may be between their education system and Israel. Finally, in addition to the high school political training camps, we will briefly examine a small college (Patrick Henry College) that has primarily been established to train future evangelical home school students for a conservative, political career.

The slogan of Generation Joshua – “Duty Is Ours – Results Are God’s” – is taken from a statement by John Quincy Adams, the sixth president of the United States. With a desire to end slavery, he was the only president to run for Congress after leaving office, and ‘while in Congress, he lost many political

battles, but when asked why he refused to give up, he simply said, "Duty is mine, results are God's."<sup>2</sup>

Joel Grewe, the Director of Generation Joshua explained to the author that Generation Joshua existed to train the next generation of national Christian leaders, concentrating on training 14 to 18 year-old high school students.<sup>3</sup> The Generation Joshua, or Gen J website does not hide their clear intention to have a Christian impact on future political processes:

'The Vision of Generation Joshua is to assist parents to raise up the next generation of Christian leaders and citizens, equipped to positively influence the political processes of today and tomorrow.'<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the official website, very little has been written about Generation Joshua, and this research is exposing more detail on this program than has previously been published. The leadership team is very small, and given the potential problems of having high school students complete a quantitative survey, the research has relied on small amount of information that has been published, and on an in-depth interview with Joel Grewe who is responsible for every aspect of management of the organisation. Grewe explained that the young students attend political leadership camps conducted across the country, where the attendees are challenged to stand up for what is right, to grow in their own beliefs, and to learn about how they can make a difference in their communities and the nation.<sup>5</sup>

The Generation Joshua website puts it this way:

'We know that not every person is called to enter the political arena, but every person should be a leader who is

<sup>2</sup> Benham, D., and J., *John Quincy Adams*, Benham Brothers, 2 July 2014, retrieved 8 June 2015, <<http://benhambrothers.com/duty-results-gods/>>.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Joel Grewe, Generation Joshua Director, Washington, 16 January, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Generation Joshua website, retrieved 8 June 2015, <<http://www.generationjoshua.org/dnn/About/WhatWeStandFor/tabid/495/Default.aspx>>.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Joel Grewe, op.cit.

willing to stand up for what is right, wherever they are called to serve. To that end, Generation Joshua exists. We, as Christians, are called to be good stewards of our family, our community, and our nation. Generation Joshua provides opportunities for youth to be good stewards in their communities (through our club program) and in our nation (through our Student Action Teams).<sup>[1]</sup> Generation Joshua wants America to be a perpetual city on a hill, a beacon of biblical hope to the world around us. We seek to inspire every one of our members with faith in God and a hope of what America can become as we equip Christian citizens and leaders to impact our nation for Christ and for His glory.

In Christ,

Joel Grewe  
Director of Generation Joshua<sup>6</sup>



**Joel Grewe**

Since Generation Joshua or Gen J was only founded in 2004, it is a little early to be making definitive judgments on their success in getting more Christians elected to Congress and state legislatures, but we can nevertheless gain some insight into what might lie ahead. Grewe explained that as of now, Gen J has over 10,000 high school students in the program, and is

represented in all 50 states with the membership growing across the country. Many of these students, he says, even at this early stage, have shown an interest in going into politics and other positions of leadership with the early graduates already showing progress:

'One of our early graduates, Timothy Wesco, is currently the youngest member to be elected to the state legislature in Indiana at the age of 25. We have several other graduates

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<sup>6</sup> Generation Joshua website, op.cit.



who are serving as chiefs of staff, policy advisers, and campaign managers on the Hill in DC right now, so there's a good number who have graduated and are engaged in the political process at every level. When we started back in 2004, we only had about 3000 students, so we've grown a lot.<sup>7</sup>

There is an important link between Generation Joshua and home schooling, as the majority of the young Gen J students are a product of this system – a system which involves a home school Christian curriculum in which support for Israel is a given.<sup>8</sup> Grewe, himself a product of home schooling, indicated that parents in the United States were increasingly turning to home schooling with some 2 million students under home tutelage.<sup>9</sup> Prominent Americans are amongst the supporters, and one of the better-known advocates is Rick Santorum, a devout Christian and a 2012 and 2016 candidate for the Republican nomination for the presidency. Santorum home schools his seven children, and has said he would continue to do so if he gained the White House. He is a strong critic of the American public education system, doesn't believe the federal government should be involved in education policy and is opposed to common core standards.<sup>10</sup> Increasingly, Christian pastors are also advocating for not sending Christian children to public schools in the United States.

Voddie Baucham, for example, is the pastor of Grace Family Baptist Church in Spring, Texas. A strong advocate for U.S. support for Israel, Baucham runs tours of the Holy Land through Baucham Ministries,<sup>11</sup> and along with his

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<sup>7</sup> Interview with Joel Grewe, op.cit.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* It should be noted that the latest figures from the U.S. National Centre for Education Statistics put the figure at 1.77 million in 2012, up by 61.8 percent from 1.02 million in 2003, retrieved 8 June 2015, <[https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13\\_206.10.asp?current=yes](https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13_206.10.asp?current=yes)>.

<sup>10</sup> Krupke, E. *What Does Rick Santorum Believe?* PBS News Hour, 27 May 2015, retrieved 8 June 2015, <<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/rick-santorum-believe/>>, and Hibbard, L., *Rick Santorum Slams Education System, Will Home School Children at the White House*, The Huffington Post, 19 February, 2012, retrieved 8 June 2015, <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/02/19/rick-santorum-slams-education\\_n\\_1287695.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/02/19/rick-santorum-slams-education_n_1287695.html)>.

<sup>11</sup> Baucham, V., *Israel Tour 2015*, Voddie Baucham Ministries, retrieved 11 June 2015, <<http://confessingbaptist.com/feb-21-mar-4-2015-voddie-baucham-ministries-israel-tour-optional-pre-tour-apologetics-conference-events/>>.

support for Israel, he provides unequivocal advice to Christian parents that they should not send their children to public schools in the U.S. 'Bible-based education is mandatory for Christian parents,' he says, whereas sending Christian children to a government school is 'little better than sending them to the devil.' Baucham advocates that children should either be home schooled or educated at a private school 'kept by a pious man who endeavours to instruct a small number of children in religion and learning together ... all education is religious in nature.'<sup>12</sup> This type of narrow learning has implications for policy toward Israel as Gen J's future leaders, steeped in a narrow education based on the Bible, gain positions of authority. In another indication there is a strong connection between home schooling, politics and future political leaders, Generation Joshua's parent organisation, the Home Schooling Legal Defense Association (HSLDA), has become very active in raising funds for federal elections through the federal and local political action committees (PACs), and their focus is very clearly one of supporting pro-family and pro-home schooling candidates for election:

'HSLDA PAC is a multi-candidate federal political action committee, formed to allow HSLDA to engage directly in the political arena. Formed in 2003, HSLDA PAC is dedicated to providing support and services to pro-family, pro-home schooling candidates running for federal office.'<sup>13</sup>

Despite the growth of the movement however, home schooling is not without its critics, including those who have experienced it at first hand, which has led to the establishment of Home Schoolers Anonymous (HA), a website which provides testimonials from those who have been brought through the system.<sup>14</sup> Katherine Stewart interviewed a number of participants, some of whose statements are quite disturbing. Many parents, she says, start their

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<sup>12</sup> Baucham, V., *Top Five Reasons Not To Send Your Kids Back To Public School*, retrieved 11 June 2015, < <http://exodusmandate.org/public-schools/top-five-reasons-not-to-send-your-kids-back-to-public-school>>.

<sup>13</sup> Home Schooling Legal Defense Association website, retrieved 8 June 2015, < <http://www.hsldapac.org>>.

<sup>14</sup> Home Schooling Anonymous website, retrieved 8 June 2015, < <https://homeschoolersanonymous.wordpress.com>>.

children in home schooling with the intention of giving their children an education which is underpinned by mainstream Christianity but, 'as many HA bloggers report, it is easy to get sucked into the vortex of fundamentalist home schooling because extremists have cornered the market, running the conventions [and] publishing the curricula.'<sup>15</sup> As Julie Ann Smith, a Washington state mother of seven put it:

'If you are the average Christian home schooler ... and you have the choice between attending a secular home schooling convention and a Christian one, chances are you'll chose the Christian convention [but] what you don't realise is that they are being run by *Christian Reconstructionists*.'<sup>16</sup>

The Christian Reconstructionists are a Calvinist movement, founded by Rousas John Rushdoony who argued for the nation's political system to be cleansed of secularism. Employing Dominion theology, 'he advocated home schooling as a way to rear a generation that could carry out the mission of retaking the nation for Christ.'<sup>17</sup> The percentage of the 2 million home schooled students who are being brought up under the Christian Reconstructionist stricture is not immediately apparent, although 'retaking the nation for Christ' is in line with Generation Joshua's mission to change America into a 'beacon of biblical hope for the world.' It should be noted however, that given the sheer numbers in the system, a very small percentage in single figures would equate to tens of thousands of home schooled students – 2%, for example, would equate to 40,000 students being educated in what is essentially, a fundamentalist system.

### **Generation Joshua Political Camp Training**

As indicated above, Generation Joshua camp attendees range in ages from 14 to 18 years old and the camp duration is a week. In Grewe's words, the

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<sup>15</sup> Stewart, K., *The Dark Side of Home Schooling*, The Guardian, 8 May 2013, retrieved 8 June 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/08/christian-home-schooling-dark-side>>.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

camp is high stress and interestingly, deliberately designed to mirror the stress inside the beltway of Washington:

'We simulate government at the camp, so the high school students will become a Congressman or woman, or a Senator, or a high level government official, and so a good part of their day is spent in simulation and we find that it is a really effective way to teach because it involves all the senses. If they need to, they will go and talk to the majority leader in the Senate – or someone's talking budget in the House Committee and they're sitting down to try and get the budget balanced. We actually give them a copy of the U.S. Federal Budget to balance, and they can usually do that in the week, although to be fair, they don't face re-election.'<sup>18</sup>



**Generation Joshua Camp Training**

Asked whether or not there was any connection between the camps and the actual Congress in Washington, Grewe explained that Gen J had very good access:

'We're very well connected to the Hill,' he said, 'and it's not uncommon for us to be able to arrange Congressmen or women, or senators to come out and speak to our kids. And

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Joel Grewe, op.cit.

when we come up on the Hill, we can get access to the Capitol itself with a Congressman or woman that will give them a tour inside. At times, we've been invited on to the floor of the actual chamber itself – not the visitors' gallery, but the floor. Normally you have to be a personal guest of a Congressman, but myself and my staff are allowed on, along with 30 or 40 of Gen J.<sup>19</sup>

The Generation Joshua website provides parents with the details of the curriculum and subjects that are run on the camps. Political leadership training, for example, includes 'Successful Campaigning':

'Generation Joshua staff share what it takes to win a successful campaign. This includes discussions on: attitudes of a successful candidate, questions to answer before running, what to do before deciding to run, six steps to winning a campaign, campaign plans, the media, fundraising, precinct walking and campaign signs, what to do in the field, volunteers, research, mailings, campaigning in public, polls, and election day.'<sup>20</sup>

Grewe maintains that the camp curriculum is a positive for parents, complementing the Christian-based home school curricula. As well as political leadership training, Gen J offers courses which include American government, government principles, American history and foreign policy with the summer camps certified to provide academic College credit and the Christian base to these subjects is evident. For example, 'Revolutionary War Era Sermons' covers the influence of the pulpit on the founding of America:

'This course consists of 4 lessons and provides students with the opportunity to study the sermons that influenced America's Founders. Delivered by such men as George Whitefield and Samuel Sherwood, in both England and in the Colonies, these sermons will open a small window for

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Generation Joshua Website, retrieved 7 June 2015, <  
<http://www.generationjoshua.org/dnn/Educate/DistanceLearning/CampaignSchool/tabid/520/Default.aspx>>.

students, to grasp the influence of the pulpit during the founding era.’<sup>21</sup>

George Whitefield, an English Anglican priest, was well known in the American colonies for preaching at evangelical revival meetings – a series of Christian services, usually conducted outdoors to large audiences and designed to gain new converts to Christianity.

Whitefield was a major contributor to what became known as the ‘Great Awakenings’, covered earlier in this thesis. Samuel Sherwood, a pastor from Weston, Connecticut (also mentioned earlier) saw the United States as the new Israel and was best known for his ‘Church’s Flight into the Wilderness’ sermon, preached on 17 January, 1776.<sup>22</sup> ‘The sermon is notable for the way it ties the American struggle to scriptural prophecy, concluding: “We have incontestible [sic] evidence, that God Almighty, with all the powers of heaven, are [sic] on our side.”’<sup>23</sup>

It is clear that subjects like these link America with a founding on Christian principles, because today, like Gary Bauer and Ralph Reed, Grewe is of the view that American society’s morals are slipping and this is one of the major drivers behind the campaign to get more Christians into office:

‘What used to be fairly standard morals in society have been degraded and ignored to the detriment of the nation, so one of the solutions to that, is putting people into office so that when they’re making laws – and laws by their nature often have a moral component – these people are thinking in terms of the moral component, not just in terms of the law-making process. When the Federal elections come up we have an attached PAC [political action committee] which will

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<sup>21</sup> Generation Joshua Website, *Course Description: Revolutionary War Era Sermons*, retrieved 10 June 2015, <  
<http://www.generationjoshua.org/dnn/Educate/DistanceLearning/SermonsthatInfluencedtheFounders/tabid/526/Default.aspx>>.

<sup>22</sup> Grasso, C., *A Speaking Aristocracy: Transforming Public Discourse in Eighteenth Century Connecticut*, University of North Carolina Press, London, 1999, p 75.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid*, p 76.

make endorsements in races, and whoever they endorse, we can organise our student operational groups to support.'<sup>24</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the HSLDA PAC was specifically formed to allow Gen J's parent organisation to engage in the political arena. The HSDLA website clearly connects the activities of Generation Joshua with an overall mission of achieving greater numbers of Christian home schooling politicians in Congress. 'We exist to provide the membership of HSLDA *including HSLDA's Generation Joshua division* [author's emphasis], the opportunity to make their collective views known at the federal level.'<sup>25</sup>

This is yet another activity that supports the assertion that the Christian right is far from 'dead', but very active, with various Christian, pro-Israel lobby groups working to influence the make-up of Congress; but the author was somewhat unprepared for Grewe's revelation that *high school students* were employed to influence elections. Student Action Teams are formed and trained to urge specifically targeted constituents to get down to the polling booth on the first Tuesday in November, and in a country where it is not compulsory to vote, this can be a powerful motivator. In the lead up to the 2016 presidential and general elections, in early 2015, the Gen J website was already organising for the minor 2015 elections (special election for House Speaker; resignations and deaths in Illinois's 18<sup>th</sup>; Mississippi's 1<sup>st</sup>; and New York's 11<sup>th</sup> congressional districts). Teens are urged to sign up and 'make a difference'<sup>26</sup>:



<sup>24</sup> Interview with Joel Grewe, op.cit.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Generation Joshua Website, *Student Action Teams*, retrieved 15 June 2015, <<https://www.generationjoshua.org/dnn/Experience/StudentActionTeams/tabid/450/Default.aspx>>.

Grewe explained that up to 150 students would be deployed into a targeted race:

'In a federal election, we'll deploy teams of up to 150 students into a race in a specific geographic region. The students will knock on doors, distribute literature, and make phone calls. The students will talk to a couple of million people in 4 or 5 days in targeted races around the U.S. The effectiveness of the teenagers' knock on the door averages 150% more effectiveness than any other type of volunteer that exists on the ground today in America – because obviously no-one's going to be rude and swear out at a little kid who's knocking on the door asking them to do something they know they should do ... the young lady or young man who's well cut, well spoken, sharply dressed and knocks on the door and very politely asks them to do the thing they know they should do already, has an impact that literature, and TV ads and radio stuff just can't do – it's a personal relationship, and it works.'<sup>27</sup>

### **Generation Joshua and Israel**

Given that graduates of this program are already gaining political appointments and may, in the future, gain more senior positions of influence, this raises the question of their likely attitude toward Israel. Grewe was asked whether or not U.S. policy toward Israel featured at this very early stage of a possible political career, and he explained that the camps involved 'presidential elections' along the same lines as the real event, and that Israel was a regular component in any discussions on U.S. policy.

'Israel comes into discussions on foreign policy quite regularly – it's a given. Our camps will involve three to five hundred students a year – and they're the best of our membership. These kids are the nucleus that everything else revolves around. When students attend summer camps they can silo into different specialties and policy channels. One of those is legislative, and you can be a senator or congressman, and one of them is executive and for that, you have to get yourself elected. Each camp, we have a full

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with Joel Grewe, op.cit.



presidential election, starting with the primaries, followed by the general election, and Israel is discussed and debated quite regularly in the debates on foreign policy. The kids have to craft a foreign policy, and Israel is always part of that.<sup>28</sup>

Grewé then elaborated on how, at this early stage, the students were forming their views. He explained that within evangelical Christianity there were two camps. One put Israel as an active present part of what God has planned for the future of the Middle East. The students in this camp based their thinking on the same foundational verse from Genesis 12:3 that underpins much of Pastor Hagee's theology – those who bless Israel I will bless – those who curse Israel I will curse.

'That student camp very much looks to see that U.S. policy is lined up with that verse to benefit Israel. They may not agree with everything Israel says or does, but they need to feel that U.S. policy is going to benefit Israel. This is a vein – a theological conviction.'<sup>29</sup>

The students in the second evangelical camp were less concerned with theology, Grewé says, but fall in with those in the general community who supported Israel and took the view that Israel was the only country in the region that was free, democratic, independent and trustworthy as an ally. Without assigning precise figures, Grewé stated that there was a strong evangelical component to the home school system and that the majority of the students fell into one of these two camps.<sup>30</sup> There was, however, a small number of students who thought there were enough issues at home to deal with and lined up behind a Rand Paul style of libertarian, isolationist policy. Grewé explained that 'because of the nature of the two lining up pro-Israel versus the smaller group against, the policy perspectives produced by the

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*

students are going to line up with what we consider in American politics as a pro-Israel stance.<sup>31</sup>

At a very early age, the pro-Israel views of the majority of high school students on this program are being solidified toward U.S. policy that benefits Israel. When put into practice, such policy is very often to the detriment of the Palestinian cause: non-recognition of a Palestinian state; refusal to agree to al Quds as the Palestinian capital in a two state solution; little or no effective pressure to exchange Israeli land or dismantle settlements on



**Netanyahu speaking at a Likud Faction Meeting**

Palestinian land; no effective pressure to improve Palestinian rights both within Israel proper and within the Occupied Territories; and no consideration of the Right of Return. Unbalanced and rigid policy espoused by Hagee and others, and their unflagging support of the Jewish state runs the risk of emboldening Israeli politicians like Netanyahu. As recently as 30 November 2015, in response to a report that Israel was to transfer 10,000 dunams (a measure of land used in the Ottoman Empire – equating to about 900 square metres) from Area C in the West Bank, Netanyahu informed his Likud

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<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*

ministers that 'there won't be any transfer of territory to the Palestinians, not 40,000 dunams, not 10,000 and not even one meter.'<sup>32</sup> As Professor Avi Shlaim put it to the author (cited earlier in this thesis), there are no serious consequences for Israel ignoring Palestinian human rights, for violations of international law, or when it suits Israel, from acting on her own.<sup>33</sup> The inculcation and confirmation of a pro-Israel stance at an early, impressionable age is powerful. Those who are part of this program are likely to give pro-Israel policy greater credibility, not least because it has been reinforced in discussion with their peer group.

Grewe went on to explain that he and his small Generation Joshua team also traveled around the U.S. to conduct compressed versions of the full summer camps. One version of this is designated the 'High Command Summit' – an Executive Branch exercise in which the students play the roles of President, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and other members of the National Security Council, along with key senators and ambassadors. In 2015, the High Command scenario was set in the Middle East around the Iranian nuclear question with Iran played by staff. Asked why, Grewe explained that 'the purpose was for the kids to learn process rather than put them in a horrible situation. We try to consider they're only 14, and we don't want to make it more stressful than it has to be.'<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, the Prime Minister of Israel, Israeli Ambassador to Washington and other key Israeli supporter roles are assigned to the students. In Grewe's words:

'Regardless of the scenario, there's always an Israeli Ambassador, and he usually has a lot of political clout among the congressmen and senators – as compared to the rest of the members of the summit who usually have less clout. Israel usually has a lot which mirrors reality.'<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Lazaroff, T., *Netanyahu: We will not hand over even 'one meter' of land*, The Jerusalem Post, 29 November, 2015, retrieved 30 November, 2015, < <http://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Netanyahu-Israel-will-not-unilaterally-hand-the-PA-even-one-meter-of-territory-435690>>.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Emeritus Professor Avi Shlaim, op.cit.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

It is interesting that Grewe alludes to students representing countries like Iran being 'a horrible situation'. In having Iran played by the staff, this enables Christian staff to portray an Iranian foreign policy that may not accurately reflect the approach taken by, for example, the current moderate Iranian President, Hassan Rouhani. Indeed, past speakers on these camps include Michele Bachmann, David Barton, and Mike Pence (to list just three of an all conservative field). In Michele Bachmann's latest statement on Iran (September 2015) she expressed the view that the only way in which to prevent war with Iran was to bomb it. There is 'only one tried and true method that stops a rogue nation from getting a nuclear bomb – it is for a country like the United States to take our military superiority and to go into that country and to drop bombs on their nuclear hardware and destroy it.'<sup>36</sup>

David Barton is the founder of 'Wallbuilders', an organisation which, inter alia, seeks to: educate the nation on the Godly foundation of the country; infuse public policy with biblical values; and encourage Christians to be involved in the civic arena.<sup>37</sup> Barton holds a degree in Christian Education from the Christian Oral Roberts University and has been accused of revising history by recognised historians. In 2012 for example, the Christian publisher, Thomas Nelson withdrew Barton's *The Jefferson Lies*, after a number of the details were found to be 'not adequately supported.'<sup>38</sup> Now in charge of Senator Cruz's super PAC, Barton's most recent claim on Iran (falsely and somewhat bizarrely) is that 'the nuclear deal with Iran will require the U.S. to ally with Iran and "fight Israel" if Iran acquires a nuclear weapon, warning that this will bring God's wrath upon America.'<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Bachmann, M., in Kaufman, S. E., *Michele Bachmann's ignorance is her strength: The only way to prevent war with Iran is to bomb it*, Salon, 11 September 2015, retrieved 20 September 2015, <[http://www.salon.com/2015/09/11/michele\\_bachmanns\\_ignorance\\_is\\_her\\_strength\\_the\\_only\\_way\\_to\\_prevent\\_war\\_with\\_iran\\_is\\_to\\_bomb\\_it/](http://www.salon.com/2015/09/11/michele_bachmanns_ignorance_is_her_strength_the_only_way_to_prevent_war_with_iran_is_to_bomb_it/)>.

<sup>37</sup> Wallbuilders Website, retrieved 20 September 2015, <<http://www.wallbuilders.com/abtoverview.asp>>.

<sup>38</sup> Kidd, T., 'Lost Confidence', World, 9 August 2012, retrieved 20 September 2015, <[http://www.worldmag.com/2012/08/lost\\_confidence](http://www.worldmag.com/2012/08/lost_confidence)>.

<sup>39</sup> Blue, M., *David Barton: Iran Deal Requires US to 'Fight Israel,' Will Bring God's Wrath*, Right Wing Watch, 26 October 2015, retrieved 1 November 2015, <<http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/david-barton-iran-deal-requires-us-fight-israel-will-bring-gods-wrath>>.

Mike Pence, the Governor of Indiana, joined 14 other Republican governors sending a letter to President Obama opposing the Iran deal, indicating that he would continue to impose State sanctions against the Islamic Republic.<sup>40</sup>

Space precludes further exploration of the views of other speakers, but all are conservative, and some, like Bachmann and Barton hold extreme views. In a democracy, debate is healthy – provided all sides of a situation are presented, but when the only views come from speakers like those above, it is unhealthy. It is of particular concern that these unbalanced views are being presented to impressionable school children and potential future leaders by speakers who are held up as role models. The Generation Joshua website advertising the camps for 2016, for example (with the target audience being both parents and students), states that in addition to being required to attend daily chapel which includes a 'devotional on the themes for the week ... each day, participants will listen to lectures by prominent conservative leaders and thinkers.'<sup>41</sup>

### **Patrick Henry College**

There is a further link between home schooling, Generation Joshua and colleges like Patrick Henry College (which has had greater media attention than the Gen J program) that takes home schooled Christian high school graduates and trains them to be politicians. In 2000, Michael Farris – one of America's foremost advocates of home schooling (he and his wife have home schooled their ten children) – founded Patrick Henry College to cater for evangelical home schooled students. Farris founded the school after requests from two constituencies: home schooling parents and conservative

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<sup>40</sup> Schneider, C., and Groppe, M., *Pence says he's against the Iran deal*, IndyStar, 8 September 2015, retrieved 1 November 2015, < <http://www.indystar.com/story/news/politics/2015/09/08/pence-says-iran-nuclear-deal/71885290/>>.

<sup>41</sup> Generation Joshua Website, retrieved 20 September, 2015, < <http://www.generationjoshua.org/dnn/Experience/iGovern/iGovernEast/CampProgramOverview/tabid/283/Default.aspx>>.

congressmen.

'The parents would ask him where they could find a Christian college with a "courtship" atmosphere, meaning one where dating is regulated and subject to parental approval. The congressmen asked him where they could find homeschoolers as interns and staffers ... so he set out to build what he calls the Evangelical Ivy League, and the students call Harvard for Homeschoolers.'<sup>42</sup>

Over the years since its inception, the college has been strongly supported by the Republican establishment, providing substantial numbers of interns to the White House and Congress,<sup>43</sup> but the college has often come under fire for the narrowness of the curriculum, and a lack of academic freedom. In 2006, *Christianity Today* reported that 5 of the college's 16 faculty resigned in protest. David Noe, assistant professor of classics complained that faculty had been hired under false pretenses, and that faculty were leaving 'due to a long train of abuses by Farris in violating both academic freedom and due process.'<sup>44</sup> Those faculty who, for example, stray from a foundational college teaching that the Bible is the only source of truth, are likely to be subjected to the college administration's ire. In Farris's view, 'if somebody wants to quit because they believe we have too strong a view of the Bible, then so be it. I believe God's going to bless us for standing up for his Word.'<sup>45</sup>

Farris refers to public schools as 'godless monstrosities'<sup>46</sup>, but criticism has not dented the association between Generation Joshua and the Patrick Henry College, with the Gen J East summer camp being conducted on the college campus. There is also a connection between Patrick Henry College and Israel, with Patrick Henry undergraduates taking part in scholarship trips to the Holy Land, which include lectures from Israeli officials, including the

<sup>42</sup> Rosin, H., *God and Country*, The New Yorker, 27 June 2005, retrieved 25 September 2015, < <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2005/06/27/god-and-country>>.

<sup>43</sup> Goldberg, M., op.cit., p 3.

<sup>44</sup> Blunt, S. H., *Shakeup at Patrick Henry College*, Christianity Today, 15 May 2006, retrieved 25 September 2015, < <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2006/mayweb-only/120-12.0.html>>.

<sup>45</sup> ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Rosin, op.cit.

Mossad.<sup>47</sup> Yet, as Hanna Rosin points out, the college is turning out graduates, many of whom have a narrow and quite restricted base on which to structure a worldview, particularly if they aspire to political office. Matthew du Mée, for example, gained a perfect 1600 SAT score (Scholastic Aptitude Test for college entrance). Ignoring offers from Harvard, Yale and Stanford, where he thought he 'could have been more of a Christian witness ... he decided he wanted a school "more edifying to Christ."'48 In his senior year he volunteered to work at the White House, by which time he had already expressed a keen desire to enter politics. His fiancée, Christy Ross, is another of Patrick Henry's students, and when Du Mée proposed in front of her parents, 'she accepted and gave him a hug – they wanted their first kiss to be at their wedding.'<sup>49</sup> The students are encouraged to inform on colleagues who sit too close together, and Ben Adams, a junior, sent the entire student body a nine-page email prior to the formal, reminding girls to dress modestly, because 'lust is sin ...[and] it is sin for you to tempt us ...[and] it is unChristlike.'<sup>50</sup>

An education that is narrowly based (the science curriculum is underpinned by the premise that the earth was created in six days) and seemingly closer to Victorian England than modern America, would not normally matter much; but this is an extension of Generation Joshua that is strongly supported by the Republican Party, with a curriculum that is specifically designed to prepare Christian evangelical students for election to office. Apart from the disadvantages to the individual of an education based on false premises, particularly in science, it would also not matter much if it were being conducted in a country other than the United States, still the most powerful country in the world, albeit challenged by China. It might be argued that relatively few undergraduates are subject to this narrow background, and therefore the chances of a graduate of this system being elected to Congress

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<sup>47</sup> Patrick Henry College Website, 17 October 2007, retrieved 27

<sup>48</sup> Rosin, *op.cit.*

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*

or, in extremis, to the White House are slim, but that argument falls over on two counts. Firstly, as indicated above, even a small percentage of those being educated under the often narrowly based home schooling system amounts to tens of thousands of students. Secondly, this type of graduate appeals to both the Republican Party and in particular, to the evangelical voting bloc. To gain the White House, a candidate must appeal to a broader audience than the latter, but the education sector of the Christian right is working very hard to give their candidates every chance. It should also be noted that an evangelical home school education, supplemented by Gen J and colleges like Patrick Henry, is not guaranteed to turn out politicians who would automatically promote a policy that favoured Israel over the Palestinians. However, given the biblical basis of their early home school education in which in the majority of cases 'support for Israel is a given', the scenarios run at the Gen J summer camps and the views of the 'leading conservatives and thinkers' who shape the young students' thinking, the probability of these future politicians espousing a one-sided policy toward Israel is reasonably high. Rosin put it this way:

'Patrick Henry is trying a complicated experiment: taking young evangelicals who have been raised in rarefied, controlled atmospheres and training them to become political leaders without somehow being corrupted by the secular world's demands. ... There are already young, ambitious politicians who talk openly about their relationship with Jesus and still get ahead. Whether someone like Matthew du Mée could actually climb the Republican Party hierarchy is far from clear, however. And, if he and his classmates do succeed, the real question may be how their party changes in response to them.'<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*



## Christians United for Israel - CUFI on Campus

In this second case study we will examine the background to, and the activities of Christians United for Israel on Campus. CUFI on Campus has been chosen as an example of pro-Israel campaigns at the university level because it is the largest and arguably, the most effective pro-Israel group on university campuses in the United States. The objectives of CUFI on Campus are twofold. The primary objective is to build greater support for Israel amongst university students and faculty and the CUFI on Campus mission statement includes a focus on student leaders:

'To provide Christian student leaders with the skills, resources, relationships and biblical teachings they need to speak up on behalf of Israel and the Jewish people at this crucial time.'<sup>52</sup>



**David Walker**

A second objective focuses on leadership training and the importance of pro-Israel Christian political leaders. David Walker, the National Campus Director for CUFI on Campus indicated to the author that 'Christian political leaders are important to our future so we're also in the game of producing and developing leaders in politics.'<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Christians United For Israel on Campus Website, retrieved 15 May 2015, <<http://www.cufioncampus.org/#!/about/ccjb>>.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with David Walker, National Campus Director, Christians United for Israel on Campus, 12 June 2015.

CUFI on Campus was set up in May 2007, barely a year after Pastor Hagee had founded the parent organisation.<sup>54</sup> Asked whether or not it was fair to say that the anti-Israel movement is more virulent on university and college campuses than it is in the general community, Walker thinks it is:

'I would agree with that,' he said, 'because what it does – it taints Israel in the minds of students. They can plant the seed of doubt and that can go a long way because in a few years these students will be in positions of influence; and it's a smart strategy, because if they can taint Israel in the minds of students at college, that will carry on with them into adulthood, so it's a coordinated strategy but it's built on lies that they're feeding the students.'<sup>55</sup>

The initial catalysts for the formation of CUFI on Campus included: a rise in anti-Semitism on American campuses and amongst faculty (paralleling a rise in anti-Semitism in Europe and other parts of the world); the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) program; and the activities on campus of groups like Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). These issues are outlined below, with more detail on the issues themselves contained in Appendix F.

## **Anti-Semitism**

Recent research emanating from the Pew Research Center for Religion and Public Life, detailed in the Pew 2015 report on Religious Restrictions and Hostilities, has revealed that globally, by December 2013, anti-Semitism had reached its highest point since June 2007 (Figure 23, following page).<sup>56</sup> 77 countries had reported attacks against Jews, including a rise in anti-Semitic attacks in Europe, two years prior to the attacks at the offices of the French satirical magazine, *Charlie Hebdo*, and the killings at the kosher supermarket in the Porte de Vincennes area of Paris.

<sup>54</sup> Christians United for Israel on Campus Website, op.cit.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with David Walker, op.cit.

<sup>56</sup> Pew Research Report, *Latest Trends in Religious Restrictions and Hostilities*, Pew Research Center for Religion and Public Life, 26 February, 2015, retrieved 15 May 2015 <<http://www.pewforum.org/2015/02/26/religious-hostilities/>>.

In Europe, the Pew Report noted that:

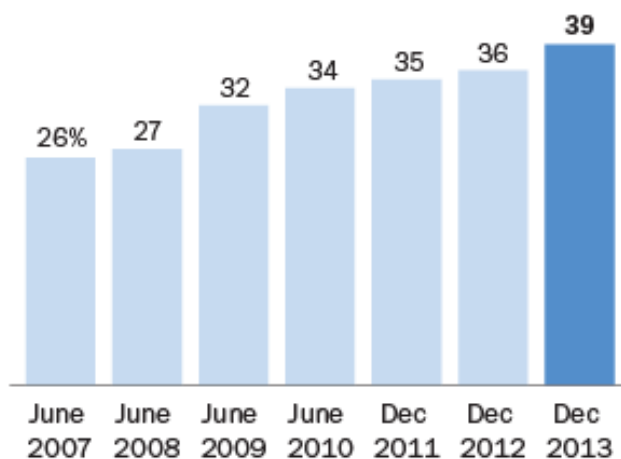
'Jews faced harassment in 34 of the region's 45 countries ... [and] in the rest of the world, Jews were harassed by individuals or groups in society in 25% of countries. In France, three men attacked a teenager who was wearing a kippah in Vitry-Sur-Seine in March, threatening "We will kill all of you Jews." In Spain, vandals painted a large swastika on the walls of a bull ring in the city of Pinto in August, along with the words "Hitler was Right".'<sup>57</sup>

The rise in anti-Semitism is not, however, confined to the cities of Europe.

The Pew Report indicates that anti-Semitism in the United States is

### Harassment of Jews Reaches Seven-Year High

*% of countries where Jews were harassed, either by government or social groups*



"Latest Trends in Religious Restrictions and Hostilities," February 2015

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

particularly aimed at the younger generation of American Jews. In 2012, for example, 22% of Jews aged between 18 and 29 years reported being called offensive names, as distinct from 6% in the 50 to 64 years cohort and only 4% for those citizens 65 and older.<sup>58</sup> Whilst 'being called names' is not a criminal offence, research suggests younger Jewish citizens are five times more likely to be subject to verbal abuse.

**Fig 23: Global Harassment of Jews<sup>59</sup>**

Lawrence Rosenthal explained that anti-Semitism in the U.S. appears to be concentrated on campuses, and 'there has been a marked rise in anti-

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*

Semitism on university campuses across the United States.’<sup>60</sup> Walker supported Rosenthal’s view, agreeing that anti-Semitism was on the rise, particularly on campus, and that social media made the task of combatting it more difficult:

‘Anti-Semitism is on the rise in the United States, and particularly on university and college campuses. We’re having to work harder and harder to push back against it and social media is making it more difficult still. Social media is a challenge because people can put their anti-Semitic comments on social media and it will be deemed by many to be truthful, and it makes the job that much harder.’<sup>61</sup>

The views of Rosenthal and Walker are supported by reports, for example, from the Anti-Defamation League and from the Cohen Center at Brandeis University. In 2015, the former reported a 38% over the previous year in campus anti-Israel events, and a doubling of on-campus BDS campaigns.<sup>62</sup> The latter reported, inter alia, that one third of college students reported being verbally harassed because they were Jewish and a quarter reported being blamed for the actions of Israel because they were Jewish.<sup>63</sup>

The rise in anti-Semitism is not confined to the student bodies, but is appearing more frequently amongst faculty. Mitchell Bard expressed a view that faculty represented as great, if not a greater threat on campus than students:

‘Anti-Israel activity and anti-Semitism has been tolerated on university campuses for a long time. Professors have power and what they have to say in their lectures carries weight. Those who harbor anti-Semitic views can express those views

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<sup>60</sup> Interview with Dr Lawrence Rosenthal, op.cit.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Staff Reporters, *Anti-Israel activity on US campuses sees ‘marked increase’*, The Times of Israel, 30 May 2015, retrieved 8 June 2015, < <http://www.timesofisrael.com/anti-israel-activity-on-us-campus-sees-marked-increase/>>.

<sup>63</sup> Saxe, L., Sasson, T., Wright, G., and Hecht, S., *Antisemitism (sic) on the college campuses: perceptions and realities*, Cohen Center, July 2015, retrieved 3 August 2015, < <https://www.brandeis.edu/cmjs/noteworthy/antisemitism.html>>.

quite freely, because they are shielded by the concept of academic freedom.’<sup>64</sup>

Walker agrees, and he indicated that CUFI was working to combat this:

‘There are professors on campus who are biased against Israel and the conversation is always one sided. In their view, Israel is the demon, Israel is the aggressor, Israel is the occupier. That’s the conversation that is dominant and you don’t have balance. Prior to bringing CUFI on Campus to universities, there was often no other perspective on campus, but we’re there now, and growing to provide that balance. As part of our strategy we work with unbiased faculty members who can present another side to the issue.’<sup>65</sup>

This research has unearthed faculty with a disturbingly one-sided view, and there is video evidence of this. Three videos, shot on the campus of Northeastern University in Boston Massachusetts, for example, add weight to the claims by Walker, Bard and others. Professors lecturing classes at Northeastern are shown to have an anti-Israel and, at times, anti-Semitic stance, and there are claims that ‘anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism find expression inside and outside the classroom, in course syllabi, student newspapers, campus posters, rallies, lecture halls, and a host of other ways within the university.’<sup>66</sup> Middle East studies departments, it is claimed, are particularly egregious in their promotion of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism, and more detail is contained in Appendix F.

### **The Boycott, Sanctions and Divestment (BDS) Program**

The global campaign of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel was started in 2005 by Palestinian non-government organisations and is

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<sup>64</sup> Interview with Mitchell Bard, Executive Director of the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (AICE) and the Director of the Jewish Virtual Library, Bethesda, 19 January, 2015.

<sup>65</sup> Interview with David Walker, op.cit.

<sup>66</sup> Peacet, *Denis Sullivan: Anti-Semitic Education at Northeastern University*, retrieved 11 June 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A9mmOileDA4>>.

coordinated by the Palestinian BDS National Committee. The campaign was launched one year after the International Court of Justice issued an advisory opinion 'that Israel's building of a barrier in the occupied Palestinian territory is illegal ... construction must stop immediately and Israel should make reparations for any damage caused.'<sup>67</sup> The BDS website contains an extensive list of successes, including for example, Caterpillar being removed from MSCI-ESG, an ethical investment index over the use of its bulldozers and equipment to destroy Palestinian homes; European banks divesting from Alstom, a partner of the French multinational Veolia, because of its involvement in Jerusalem light rail; and myriad artists such as Bono refusing to perform in Israel.<sup>68</sup> More importantly, from CUFI's perspective, in 2015 BDS published their top 100 U.S. victories since 2008. Included on the list were 34 university student bodies who had voted to divest funds from companies that were deemed to be violating Palestinian rights. In an indication the movement is gaining strength on campus, 8 of those divestments, from universities like Stanford, UC, Princeton and Columbia, occurred in the first half of 2015.<sup>69</sup>

Walker confirmed CUFI's concern, indicating that the BDS movement is seen by CUFI on Campus as one of the major threats to Israel. 'Right now,' he said, 'BDS is the looming threat on American campuses.'<sup>70</sup> Indeed, so worried are pro-Israeli groups about activities on campus that shortly after David Brog was interviewed for this research, he was hand-picked by pro-Israeli billionaires, Sheldon Adelson and Haim Saban to head up a new multi-million dollar 'Campus Maccabees' with a mission 'to fight efforts on college campuses to promote the movement to boycott, divest from or sanction

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<sup>67</sup> United Nations Media Release, *International Court of Justice finds Israeli barrier in Palestinian territory is illegal*, dated 9 July 2004, retrieved 8 June 2015, <  
[http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=11292#\\_VXmb\\_XqD460](http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=11292#_VXmb_XqD460)>.

<sup>68</sup> BDS Movement Website, *BDS Victories*, retrieved 10 June 2015, <  
<http://www.bdsmovement.net/victories>>.

<sup>69</sup> BDS Movement Website, *Ten Years, 100 US Victories*, 9 July 2015, retrieved 20 July 2015, <  
<http://www.endtheoccupation.org/article.php?id=4503>>.

<sup>70</sup> Interview with David Walker, op.cit.

Israel.<sup>71</sup> Allied with the establishment of Campus Maccabees, Walker has already put in place strategies to combat BDS on campus. Principle amongst these include getting CUFI on Campus students elected to student government bodies. BDS on campuses in the United States works through a system of resolutions requiring approval by student government.

'When a BDS resolution goes before the student government,' Walker explained, 'if we don't have the right people at the table then the measure could pass; but we aim to ensure we have informed students – students that know the truth, that know the history of Israel and have been informed with the facts. If we can get them elected to student government offices, they can get the best result, which is a 'no' against any BDS measure that comes through the pipes. We've been quite successful in getting our students into influential positions on student governments and they can also get anti-BDS resolutions passed.'<sup>72</sup>

Another strategy which Walker employs is the engagement of pro-Israel speakers to come on to campus and put the case for Israel.

'One of our staff members, Kasim Hafeez, is a Muslim Zionist and he goes into bat to really destroy the myth of the apartheid argument – the argument that says that anyone who is not of Jewish heritage is treated differently or victimized. He makes the case that if you're a citizen of Israel, you have all the rights and privileges of a citizen, whether you're Arab, Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Ethiopian, it doesn't matter. Israel is a democratic society, so having voices like Hafeez can go a long way toward countering the BDS movement.'<sup>73</sup>

Walker's claim, however, that 'if you're a citizen of Israel, you have all the rights and privileges of a citizen, whether you're Arab, Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Ethiopian, it doesn't matter' is at best, misleading. In March, 2015 in Geneva for example, the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC)

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<sup>71</sup> Guttman, N., *Leader of Christian Zionists Named Head of Campus Anti-BDS Group*, The Forward, 8 July 2015, retrieved 20 July 2015, < <http://forward.com/news/311662/leader-of-christian-zionists-named-head-of-adelson-campus-anti-bds-group/>>.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with David Walker, op.cit.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*

concluded its 28<sup>th</sup> session, adopting four resolutions condemning Israel's human rights record, including the human rights situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory and East Jerusalem.<sup>74</sup> In addition, there are myriad reports alleging discrimination and racism against Arab citizens of Israel. To cite but one, the Coalition Against Racism in Israel 2010 Racism Report accuses the 18<sup>th</sup> Knesset of using a demographic threat and security fears to promote discriminatory legislation and to incite racial violence. 'Last year, there was a 75% increase of discriminatory racist bills. Most of these legislative proposals sought to weaken the status of Arab citizens and to reduce their rights, thus posing a constant threat to the legitimacy of their citizenship.'<sup>75</sup>

### Students for Justice in Palestine



**Student Senator George Kadifa**

Another organisation which has been a catalyst for the formation of CUFI on Campus is the National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP). NSJP is a grassroots network composed of students and recent graduates which provides resources and support to Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) chapters on university campuses and the U.S. movement for Palestinian rights and self-determination more broadly.<sup>76</sup> SJP chapters often support the BDS movement, and UC Berkeley is a case in point. Student Senator George Kadifa (above) holds a seat in the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC) Senate and is a member of the SJP. In Walker's view, the

<sup>74</sup> UNHCR, *Human Rights Council concludes twenty-eighth session after adopting 37 texts*, 27 March, 2015, retrieved 8 June 2015, <

<http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=15773&LangID=E>>.

<sup>75</sup> Coalition Against Racism in Israel 2010 Racism Report, retrieved 9 June 2015, <

<http://www.fightracism.org/en/Article.asp?aid=134>>.

<sup>76</sup> Students for Justice in Palestine website, retrieved 11 June 2015, < <http://sjpnational.org/about/>>.



SJP are well funded and 'very, very active.'<sup>77</sup> Kadifa disagrees, although he pointed out that SJP did not necessarily require large amounts of money to organise effective protests:

'We would love to be as well funded and organised as some of our opponents think we are,' Kadifa said. 'The truth is that SJP is a very grassroots organisation and we don't need a lot of funds to organize rallies against, for example, companies who arm Israel, ignoring that nation's human rights violations. Nor do we receive any outside funding, as is sometimes erroneously reported. We're not funded by Hamas, for example. That's simply not true.'<sup>78</sup>

Kadifa is also the author of SB 160, a BDS Divestment Bill that in 2013, generated heated debate on the Berkeley campus. The bill sought divestment of over \$14 million of university funds invested in Caterpillar, Hewlett-Packard and Cement Roadstone Holdings, all of whom were accused of providing equipment, materials and technology to the Israeli military.



**The ASUC April 2013 Senate Debate on the Israeli Divestment Bill SB 160**

<sup>77</sup> Interview with David Walker, op.cit.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Student Senator George Kadifa, UC Berkeley, 23 June 2015.

'The final vote, which occurred just before 5.30 a.m. [on 18 April, 2013], was met with cheering, stomping and cries of joy by supporters of the bill ... but across the aisle, opponents of the bill were silent, absorbing the defeat with dismay. ... At least three senators broke down in tears as they gave their final comments following the vote.'<sup>79</sup> Asked whether he thought the debate was fair, Student Senator Kadifa thought it was, but pointed to intimidation of Palestinian students.

'The debate was fair, albeit heated, but I think there's also fear,' he said, 'particularly amongst Palestinian students from Israel. If they're seen advocating – if they're seen vocally supporting BDS then they fear they'll be targeted and they won't be let back into Israel. At a lot of these events there are people taking photographs and that can be very intimidating, particularly for Palestinian students.'<sup>80</sup>

After the passage of SB 160, UC Berkeley Chancellor Robert Birgeneau released a statement, disapproving of the bill's passage and expressing an opinion that targeting a single nation in a complex world did little to advance the cause of peace. It should be noted however, that the President of the Student Senate is the only one with the power of veto (not exercised in this case); and so the passage of BDS bills requiring UC and many other universities to divest investment funds from companies deemed to be supporting Israel at the expense of the Palestinians is, not surprisingly, cause for considerable concern amongst the Christian right and the pro-Israel lobby more broadly.

Another concern for the Christian right on campus is the drop in support for Israel amongst undergraduates, and particularly the millennial generation, which is why CUFI on Campus is targeting them. Polls consistently point to a significant disparity between younger and older Americans. In July, 2014, for example, a Gallup poll showed that young Americans under 30 are twice as

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<sup>79</sup> Gordon, J. and Chen, D., *ASUC Senate Passes Israeli Divestment Bill 160, 11-9*, The Daily Californian, 22 April 2013, retrieved 11 June 2015, < <http://www.dailycal.org/2013/04/18/asuc-senate-passes-divestment-bill-11-9/>>.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Student Senator George Kadifa, op.cit.

likely to support Palestinian rights than Israeli occupation and only 25% of the same group supports Israel's actions in Gaza in 2014 compared to 53% for those 50 years and older.<sup>81</sup>

David Brog is particularly worried. He points out that after the Holocaust, Europe and America were very pro-Israel, but by the time of the Six Day War in 1967, America was not selling arms to Israel and the war was won, in part, with French arms.<sup>82</sup> More recently, there has been a decided shift against Israel in Europe, and Brog worries that might happen in America.

'Europe has turned against Israel, and the question we all ask is can that happen in America? There was a time when I would have said no, it cannot, because America's Bible belt is Israel's safety net. America's Christians, I thought, will never go the way of secular, post-Christian Europeans. But when you look at the millennial generation of Christians there is now some doubt. The example of Christ creates an opening that Israel-haters are now exploiting against Israel, saying that like Jesus, love and compassion should drive you to support the Palestinians, not the oppressive Israelis. With a certain naïveté we've seen some of this millennial generation of evangelicals turning very strongly against Israel. If that happens across the board, then the safety belt is broken and America as a whole could go the way of Europe. Having seen what's happened in Europe – and we've lost – I don't want to take a chance so we in CUFI have begun to focus a lot more on the millennials.'<sup>83</sup>

Walker also confirmed the importance of the younger generations to the overall CUFI long-term strategy of producing more Christian leaders, with a particular focus on the millennial generation:

'I don't know how many people realise it,' Walker said, 'but the largest generation in America at present are the

<sup>81</sup> Jones, J. M., *Americans' Reaction to Middle East Situation Similar to Past*, Gallup, 24 July 2014, retrieved 15 June 2015, < <http://www.gallup.com/poll/174110/americans-reaction-middle-east-situation-similar-past.aspx>>.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with David Brog, op.cit.

<sup>83</sup> ibid.

millennials. They have a population that has surpassed the baby-boomers, so CUFI on Campus has an enormous responsibility because we're trying to inspire Christian leaders to advocate for Israel on campuses across America. If we're successful, we can help secure support for Israel in the next generation and the stakes are very high. If you look at the statistics, the general populace support Israel – around 60% - but if you take the generations between 18 to 28, it drops to around 23%, so in the face of coordinated campus campaigns to delegitimise Israel, we have our work cut out for us.<sup>84</sup>

Walker's views raised questions as to the reasons a millennial might be prompted to join CUFI on Campus and support Israel, and those questions were put to a number of undergraduates at universities and colleges. As cited earlier in this thesis, Isaac Reyes, in his first semester as a CUFI on Campus Chapter leader at the University of Texas, credits the inspiration for joining CUFI on Campus to Pastor Hagee. Hagee's influence on undergraduates and others is evident in Reyes's views on the reason the U.S. should support Israel:

'The US should be one hundred percent supportive of Israel,' Reyes says. 'The Jews were and still are God's chosen people and Israel is the land that God gave specifically to the Jews. Genesis 12:3 clearly tells us that whoever is at the side of Israel will be blessed and whoever is against Israel shall be cursed.'<sup>85</sup>

Reyes's statement also reflects the training members of CUFI on Campus are given. In Walker's view, training on campus must be underpinned by faith. 'One of the cornerstones of our training is "faith". We train them to understand the need to support Israel from a biblical basis.'<sup>86</sup> Yet foreign policy based (even partially) on the Bible is not without its absurdities. The Israeli/Palestinian problem needs to be seen through a clear lens of international relations, with justice and fairness for both sides – Israel has a

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<sup>84</sup> Interview with David Walker, op.cit.

<sup>85</sup> Email from Isaac Reyes, op.cit.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with David Walker, op.cit.

right to exist as a Jewish state and her citizens have a right to feel secure within her borders. As expressed in various UN Resolutions, including the adoption of the original partition plan on 27 November 1947 (Resolution 181(II)),<sup>87</sup> which was accepted by the Jewish authorities but rejected by the Arab leaders, the Palestinians also have a right to their own sovereignty and a peaceful, secure existence. Arguments based on support for Israel from a biblical basis risk becoming quite illogical, but as already indicated in this research, Reyes is far from alone in supporting a view that Israel should be supported for biblical reasons. To cite another example, Marina Soliz, an undergraduate at Alvin Community College in Texas, believes that as Israel is 'mentioned pretty much everywhere in the Bible ... and believing in God's word completely, CUFI allows me to stand with Israel.'<sup>88</sup> Another student, Brennan Thorpe, an undergraduate at Portland State University and a Zionist, eschews Jewish secular organisations as his Zionism is biblically based and CUFI allows him 'to work for a higher purpose in supporting Israel.'<sup>89</sup>

Some, however, elucidate more mainstream reasons for supporting Israel. Deji Olajide is a university senator at Azusa Pacific University located near Los Angeles – the largest evangelical, Christian university (9,972 students) in the U.S. Council for Christian Colleges and Universities.<sup>90</sup> Olajide's support for Israel has more of a 'value' base that is not directed solely at Israel.

'I think the U.S. should be supportive of any nation seeking to pursue values and ideologies that are similar to ours. ...

Standing with Israel is most practical due to its ability to defend

<sup>87</sup> United Nations Resolution 181(II), retrieved 16 June 2015, <

[<http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/181\(II\)>](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/181(II)).

<sup>88</sup> Email from Marina Soliz, Alvin Community College, 5 September, 2015.

<sup>89</sup> Email from Brennan Thorpe, Undergraduate, Portland State University, 2 September, 2015.

<sup>90</sup> National Center for Education Statistics, *Azusa Pacific University*, retrieved 20 June, 2015, <  
<http://nces.ed.gov/globallocator/index.asp?search=1&State=CA&city=&zipcode=&miles=&itemname=Azusa+Pacific+University&sortby=name&College=1&Status=Search+Finished&Records=0&CS=5CFF3A1D>>.

a democracy in a region that is strongly in need of such a change.<sup>91</sup>

The value base notwithstanding, Olajide is supportive of CUFI on Campus and Walker's efforts to train more Christian leaders, particularly those who are seeking a political career. Olajide 'sees issues through a biblical world view [and believes that] not only do we need more Christian leaders in Congress but we need those who have a solid theological background.'<sup>92</sup> In another indication of just how active the Christian right and CUFI on Campus have become, Walker indicates that training is extensive and the chapter numbers are growing:

'Our undergraduates receive training at CUFI's annual summit in Washington DC, and we provide hundreds of scholarships to assist with travel and accommodation costs; and we also conduct a SALT, which stands for Student Advocacy and Leadership Training. This semester, we've also had two BDS boot camps where we've taught the students how to fight BDS and how to be a strong voice for Israel on campus.'<sup>93</sup>

Success is measured by the number of chapters established, and the number of events on campus, and at present there are 143 CUFI on Campus chapters. 'This semester [2014] we did over 90 events,' Walker explained, 'which is a record for us, so we're continuing to grow strongly and to win people to our side, one campus at a time.'<sup>94</sup>

### **Ralph Reed and the Faith and Freedom Coalition**

The third tier of the Christian right campaign for support for Israel and election of more Christian leaders in national and state legislatures is being conducted in the wider community – a campaign which, as this research

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<sup>91</sup> Email from Deji Olajide, University Senator, Azusa Pacific University, 3 September, 2015.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Interview with David Walker, *op.cit.*

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.*

attests, is one that is gathering momentum in the United States. As an example of the community level campaign, Ralph Reed's Faith and Freedom Coalition was chosen – firstly, because of Reed's high profile and secondly, because of his Coalition's recent strong growth. In this final section, we will briefly examine Reed's background, before moving on to the growth of Reed's Coalition and its potential influence on elections. The stance of the Faith and Freedom Coalition on U.S. policy toward Israel will be examined, as will the campaign to get more Christians appointed to Congress and state legislatures.



**Ralph Reed**

Ralph Reed is articulate, intelligent, persuasive and a staunch Christian. In a candid interview, he explained what he thought 'ailed America', and what he is planning to do about it. A key part of his strategy is to get more Christian candidates into state legislatures and Congress. To explain the name of his organisation, Reed draws on a

quote from de Tocqueville:

"Freedom regards religion as the companion in all its battles and all its triumphs as the very cradle of its infancy and the source of all its claims.... because religion alone is the safeguard of morality, and morality is the best and surest pledge for the survival of freedom."

- Alexis de Tocqueville

Reed advised George W. Bush during the latter's campaigns for the White House. Three of the candidates for the GOP's 2016 presidential nomination, Senators Rand Paul and Marco Rubio, and ex-Governor of Arkansas, Mike Huckabee, have endorsed Reed's latest book: *Awakening – How America Can Turn From Economic and Moral Destruction Back to Greatness*.<sup>95</sup> In the foreword to the book, Mike Huckabee wrote: 'the ultimate answer to what ails America isn't found in politics but in repentance and moral renewal. That's what [Reed's] *Awakening* is calling us to.'<sup>96</sup> In the light of Huckabee's remarks, the first question the author put to Reed was "What ails America?" Reed put the 'ailment' into a context of economics, foreign policy, and the need for a Christian spiritual renewal. The economy of the United States is outside the scope of this thesis, although Reed did concede that under Obama, it appeared that America had turned the corner. He was less sanguine about the moral climate in the U.S. and he, like Bauer, Grewe, Brog and others, believes America is losing its way:

'From a moral and a spiritual standpoint, you look at the decline in marriage – we kind of all get distracted over the fight over same sex marriage, but a much deeper and pervasive long term problem for our culture is a decline in heterosexual marriage which as the sunset follows the sunrise leads to a declining birth rate which starts to make you demographically look a lot more like Western Europe. Coupled with that, there's a rise in the so-called 'nones' who don't affiliate with any religion so I think what Mike [Huckabee] was talking about – what I say in the book is the answer is not a legislative or a political victory but a spiritual re-birth and renewal.'<sup>97</sup>

## **Growth and Potential Influence on Elections**

The Faith and Freedom Coalition opened its headquarters relatively recently in Atlanta in 2009, yet in just six years nearly one million people have signed up,

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<sup>95</sup> Reed, R., *Awakening: How America Can Turn From Economic and Moral Destruction Back to Greatness*, Worthy Publishing, Tennessee, 2013.

<sup>96</sup> Huckabee, M., in Foreword to Reed, R.E., *Awakening – How America Can Turn From Economic and Moral Destruction Back to Greatness*, Worthy Publishing, Brentwood, Tennessee, 2014, p ix.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Ralph Reed, op.cit.



mirroring the growth of Pastor Hagee's Christians United for Israel. In Reed's view, his new coalition is unlikely to get the same attention from the mainstream media as Pat Robertson's earlier Christian Coalition, because it's no longer a new phenomenon, but he is unequivocal on the issue of the Christian right's growing influence:

'I think those elements of the media who have announced the death of the Christian right are doing so somewhat prematurely, because when you're talking about one in every four or one in every three voters depending on the election – higher in midterms obviously than presidential years but still very potent regardless – and you look at what Faith and Freedom Coalition is doing to register, educate, mobilise and turn out those voters, there is no question that for a variety of reasons including the rise of the internet, of big data, of technology, social media – there is no way to begin to describe it. It represents phenomenal growth.'<sup>98</sup>

Given the growth of the Faith and Freedom Coalition in particular, and the resurgence of the Christian right in general, Reed was asked how his staff went about targeting new members and voters. It comes as no surprise that digital technology is being employed, but what is perhaps surprising is the (legal) use potential voters' search histories.

'I hate to say it, but I probably have his [the voter's] search history – I don't personally have it, but companies do and as a result, we have their search history. The bottom line is this – if you subscribe to certain magazines and listen to certain radio shows and watch certain TV shows – all of which is obtainable and you go to certain internet sites for your news – it's game set and match. When I left the Christian Coalition we had two million people on our files and a million were donors – here at Faith and Freedom we now have about a million on our files of which about a half-a-million are donors, and the main reason is because of all these things we're talking about – technology, big data, micro targeting, and data analytics. Today, we have about 32 million evangelical voters on our national database, and

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<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*

when I was with the Christian Coalition, I never had more than about 6 million.’<sup>99</sup>

The statistics of one in every three or four voters have been quoted earlier in this thesis and it means that the evangelical vote retains the potential to remain a powerful influence on American politics. It was also noted earlier that after the 2000 election, Karl Rove famously said there were 4 million evangelicals who hadn’t voted, and given that Reed was one of George W. Bush’s key advisors, Reed was asked how important that evangelical vote was in the 2000 election.

‘Well, it was important, but it should have been more important. The core conservatives weren’t excited about compassionate conservatism per se, or no child left behind or any of those kind of things or Bush’s stance on education. They were for him because he was a conservative. They were for him because he was pro-life. They were for him because he was going to appoint conservative judges, and we didn’t really stress those things as much as we probably should have. Whether or not that 4 million figure is accurate or not, I don’t think we’re ever going to know, but we carried every state in the South including Gore’s home state of Tennessee, and you don’t do that without evangelicals voting for you; but if you go back and you look at the exit polls, I think Bush he got about 68% of the evangelical vote and he got about 78% four years later. So that ten point difference translates into about two points on the national ballot.’<sup>100</sup>

Reed’s comments (cited earlier) that the evangelical vote would be important in 2016 are supported by the fact that no fewer than six of the 2016 Republican candidates opted to address 7,000 evangelicals on 18 October, 2015, in Plano, Texas, at the Prestonwood Baptist mega-church – a church that claims nearly 40,000 members.<sup>101</sup> Senator Ted Cruz, former Senator Rick Santorum, former governors Mike Huckabee and Jeb Bush, retired neurosurgeon Doctor Ben Carson and businesswoman Carly Fiorina addressed

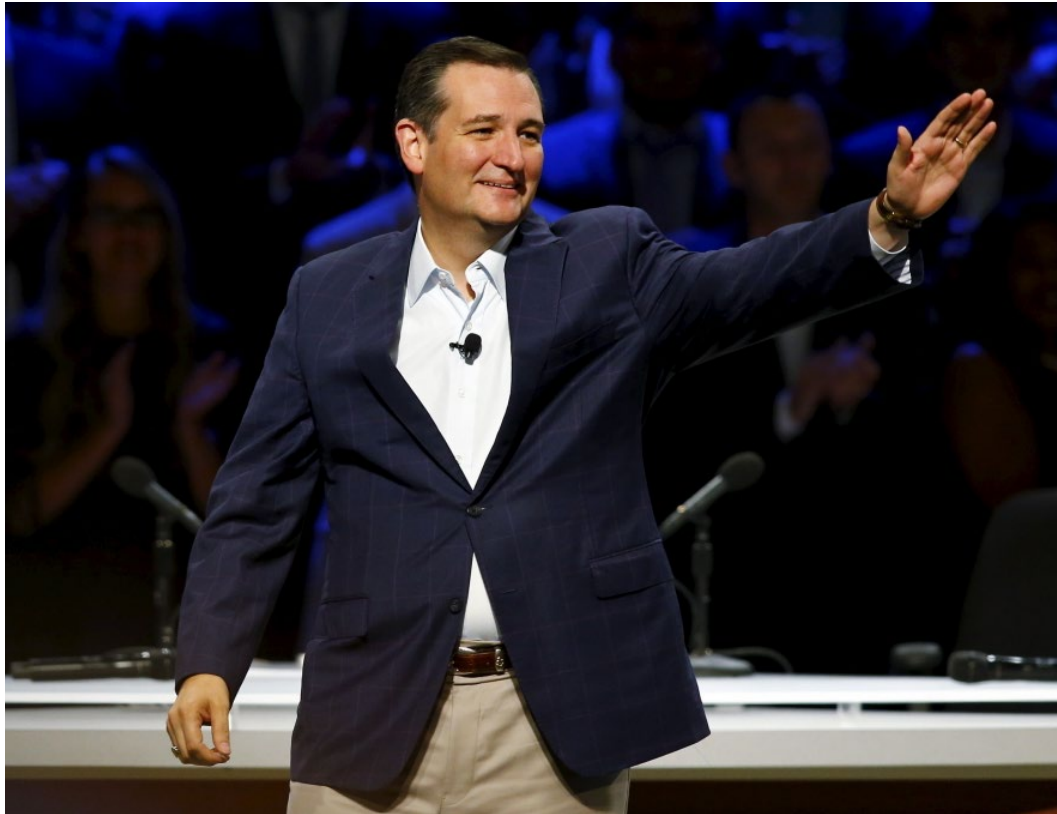
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<sup>99</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> CBS News, *GOP candidates seek evangelical vote in Texas*, 19 October 2015, retrieved 28 October 2015, < <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/gop-candidates-seek-evangelical-vote-in-texas/>>.

the rally that was organised by the Faith and Freedom Coalition. It is interesting to note that as the 2016 election approaches, as well as this rally being reported on by Christian outlets such as the *Christian Post*,<sup>102</sup> the mainstream media is once again focusing on the potential power of the Christian right, with reports like that from the *CBS News*.<sup>103</sup>



**Senator Ted Cruz at the Prestonwood Baptist Megachurch Rally**

From their attendance and the remarks of the candidates themselves, it is reasonable to conclude that they and their campaign teams recognise the importance of the Christian right and the importance of U.S. policy toward Israel. Senator Cruz, for example, garnered a standing ovation when he mentioned his support for the Jewish state. Cruz maintained that:

“America has receded from leadership in the world, and it’s making the world a much more dangerous place.” ... Cruz

<sup>102</sup> Barhheart, M., *GOP Candidates Seek Evangelical Votes at Southern Baptist Megachurch*, 19 October, 2015, retrieved 28 October, 2015, < <http://www.christianpost.com/news/gop-presidential-candidates-evangelical-votes-southern-baptist-megachurch-147977/pageall.html>>.

<sup>103</sup> CBS News, *GOP candidates seek evangelical vote in Texas*, op.cit.

asserted that Evangelicals have a responsibility to engage in the political arena and pastors should be leading the movement.<sup>104</sup>

## Foreign Policy and Israel

Writing in *The American Studies Journal*, David Goldfield observed that during the 2012 election, foreign policy issues were not emphasised, although 'Republicans ... evinced unambiguous support for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's rightist government, a popular position amongst the party's evangelical Protestant base.'<sup>105</sup> Despite this position, the author suggested to Reed that the Faith and Freedom Coalition and other Christian right groups' stand on foreign policy, and especially policy toward Israel, was often obscured by domestic issues. Reed agreed, indicating that the Faith and Freedom Coalition was committed to educating, equipping and mobilising people of faith and like-minded individuals to be effective citizens. There was, in his view, a requirement to influence public policy and enact legislation that strengthened families, promoted time-honored values, protected the dignity of life and marriage, lowered the tax burden on small business and families, and required the government to tighten its belt and live within its means.<sup>106</sup> Reed did not agree, however, that policy toward Israel was in any way second tier. Reed maintains he has always been a strong supporter of the Jewish state. He holds strong views on foreign policy in general, and Israel in particular. In indicating that support for Israel amongst the Faith and Freedom Coalition was also very strong, Reed mirrored Senator Cruz's

remarks on the weakness of American leadership in the world:

'In terms of foreign policy and the role of the U.S. in the world, I would argue that what ails America is that we are in a weaker position relative to both our friends and our

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<sup>104</sup> Barnhart, op.cit.

<sup>105</sup> Goldfield, D., *What We Can Learn About America from the 2012 Presidential Election*, American Studies Journal, No 58, 2014.

<sup>106</sup> Interview with Ralph Reed, op.cit.

adversaries than we've been at any point since the end of the Cold War. I don't think I need to go through the litany of it, but Libya's a basket case, then there's ISIS, Boko Haram, Iran, Iraq and on and on it goes. And with Israel surrounded by hostile nations and Iran on the threshold of gaining a nuclear weapon, it is now more important than ever for the United States to support Israel.'<sup>107</sup>

Reed's words are backed up by actions. For example, Gary Marx, the Executive Director of the Faith and Freedom Coalition has posted on the Coalition's website, a petition letter to the President for signature, urging the Faith and Freedom membership to send a strong message on the need to support the Jewish state. The pre-amble outlines the threats to Israel from Iran and terrorists and reads, in part:

'We must always remind our leaders that support for Israel is paramount. ... As pro-family and pro-freedom Americans, we stand firmly in support of Israel [and] we have to promote leaders who understand America's bond with Israel and seek to strengthen it.'<sup>108</sup>

The letter itself reads, again in part:

'Dear President Obama,

For decades the United States and Israel have had an unbreakable partnership, fostered by our leaders and people, and it is incumbent upon you to ensure this relationship is not further damaged ... we expect your administration to express nothing but support for Israel. And, we call upon you – the leader of the free world – to stand shoulder to shoulder with Israel.'<sup>109</sup>

There is also ample evidence to corroborate Reed's assertion that he has always been a very strong supporter of the Jewish state. In 2002, for example, Mark Dankof wrote a piece for the Lutheran *Christian News*, critical

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<sup>107</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Faith and Freedom Coalition Website, *Petition To Stand With Israel*, retrieved 29 October, 2015, <<http://www.ffc Coalition.com/petition-to-stand-with-israel>>.

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.*

of a 2 May, 2002 Anti-Defamation League full-page advertisement in the *New York Times*, and Reed's stance alongside Israel. Regardless of the merits of Dankof's critique, Dankof observed that 'the advertisement was entitled "We People of Faith Stand Firmly With Israel," and is penned in its entirety by erstwhile Christian Coalition [now known as the Christian Coalition of America] President Ralph Reed.'<sup>110</sup> For the record, it should be noted also, that Dankof is far from the only critic of the Christian right leader. In 1999, Reed began to assist lobbyist Jack Abramoff, who was later convicted of corruption in relation to Native American casino gambling, and sentenced to six years in prison. Reed was implicated, but not charged, leaving the Christian Coalition to form Faith and Freedom. In 2011, in the run up to the 2012 presidential elections, Lee Fang from the political news blog *ThinkProgress*, reported that Reed's Public Relations firm, Century Strategies, had links to The Israel Project (TIP), a pro-Israel lobbying firm located in Washington and that Century Strategies had been paid \$140,000 for a public affairs contract. At the same time, Fang attempted to link the same payment to Reed's Faith and Freedom Coalition, with a headline: 'Exclusive: As Ralph Reed Steers 'GOP Israeli Primary,' Documents Reveal Right-Wing Israeli Group Is Paying Him'. Fang went on to claim that 'hawkish pro-Israel positions have become a litmus test for Republican candidates in the 2012 election campaign,' and that Reed's Faith and Freedom Coalition had 'actively encouraged Tea Party activists and GOP politicians to champion far right Israeli priorities. Deputy Speaker of the Knesset Danny Danon helped headline Reed's last Faith and Freedom conference, where nearly every GOP presidential candidate spoke.'<sup>111</sup> Fang's tabloid attempt to link Reed's Faith and Freedom Coalition and payment for work done by Reed's PR company is tenuous at best, but it does serve to again highlight Reed's support for, and connections with Israel, regardless of the merits or motivation.

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<sup>110</sup> Dankof, M., *Ralph Reed, The ADL, and the "Family Values" President*, Christian News, May 2002, retrieved 26 June 2015, < [http://www.markdankof.com/family\\_values.htm](http://www.markdankof.com/family_values.htm)>.

<sup>111</sup> Fang, L., *As Ralph Reed Steers 'GOP Israel Primary,' Documents Reveal Right-Wing Israeli Group Is Paying Him*, ThinkProgress, 15 July, 2011, retrieved 8 May 2015, < <http://thinkprogress.org/security/2011/07/15/269029/the-israel-project-ralph-reed/>>.

In Reed's view, the membership of his Faith and Freedom Coalition in particular, and evangelicals in general, have always been pro-Israel. In the 35 years Reed has been involved in the evangelical community, he says 'it's been interesting to watch how central Israel has become to the concerns of our community.'<sup>112</sup> Reed also argued that the last Republican President of the United States, George W. Bush, was a great friend of Israel. As an advisor to George W. Bush, Reed knew the president reasonably well, and he pointed to Bush's first visit to Israel (mentioned earlier) which cemented the future president's views on the Jewish state:

'Between the time that he [George W. Bush] was re-elected as Governor in November of '98 and the time he announced his candidature in March of '99, he went to Israel for the first time. Ariel Sharon, who was then a back bencher and out of power, took George W. on a helicopter tour – which if you've ever been there and I'm sure you have – if you're up there in a helicopter, there is Damascus right there and there's the Mediterranean and there's Beirut right there - it helps you to understand the strategic importance of the Golan and how vulnerable Israel really is to attack. So he turned out to be the most pro-Israel president – arguably ever, but certainly since Harry Truman, and that made a difference for the evangelical community. They would have been there for him regardless, but there was a tremendous amount of appreciation for that aspect of his leadership.'<sup>113</sup>

September 11 reinforced that issue, Reed says, in that general security fears for Americans, including support for Israel, suddenly became personal:

'September 11 changed everything in the sense that it brought a struggle against an insidious evil that Israel had been dealing with for over a half century to our shores. In a lot of ways, Israel's struggle was always our struggle, but in a much more intimate and experiential way, that became true. So you had the entire war on terror that came about and it raised on the spectrum of *all* voters' concerns: foreign policy, terrorism and national security and that usually leads to a greater appreciation for Israel.'

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<sup>112</sup> Interview with Ralph Reed, op.cit.

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.*

Mirroring the views of Walter Russell Mead and others, evangelical concern for Israel is not only theological, Reed says, but it stems from a range of issues. Firstly, there is a humanitarian response from evangelicals and from the broader American community, in that Jews have historically been persecuted wherever they've been and they need a homeland and a place they can feel safe. Secondly, he says, there is a shared set of values and a democratic way of life. And finally, Reed asserts that a theological connection, and the eschatology of the end times are factors, but not ones that are held across the whole of the evangelical community:

'In our community, Israel is a big issue, and there are a lot of people who think that support has more to do with our eschatology or our view of the end times. I wouldn't deny that's a strand, but I've never found that to be significant. There is, however, a strong connection to the Holy Land and that can be Jewish or Christian or just a respect for the history. From our standpoint we believe that God gave that land to the Jews and that promise was irrevocable.'<sup>114</sup>

One of the many problems with the Christian right's approach toward policy on Israel is its intractable and inflexible nature. A starting point of a God-given promise of land to the Jews that is irrevocable, leads to a mix of religion (of whatever hue) and international peace negotiations that can quickly become unworkable. Yet neither the Christian right (immoveable for religious reasons), nor Netanyahu and an increasing majority of those on the right of Israeli politics (largely immoveable for political reasons), can see the dangers inherent in their current approach. George Joff  put it to the author this way:

'If Netanyahu wins the election, and continues with his current policies, then the prospects of a Palestinian state are slim. Mahmoud Abbas has few, if any further concessions to make and has effectively given up on Netanyahu, turning to the international community for recognition, and the peace process is firmly stalled. If this situation continues, and a majority of

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<sup>114</sup> *ibid.*



Israelis continue to demand a Jewish state with no acceptance of an independent Palestinian state, then the two-state solution is dead and one of two things will happen. The most likely is a single Jewish state, in which Palestinians will be disenfranchised, or a series of Palestinian enclaves under Israeli control. Both will ultimately threaten the original ideals of the Zionist cause, and a more rapid Palestinian population growth will threaten the Jewish state itself.<sup>115</sup>

The 34<sup>th</sup> government of Israel is comprised of Netanyahu's Likud; the ultra-Orthodox United Torah Judaism; the ultra-Orthodox Shas; the centrist Kulanu; and the religious Zionist Jewish Home parties. In failing to honestly negotiate a peaceful settlement, the hard line, right wing approach of Netanyahu and his government, buttressed by an increasingly active Christian right in the United States is, it is suggested, short sighted and threatens the very nature of Israel.

### **The Campaign to Influence Elections for Christian Candidates**

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, any foreign policy which is fashioned, even partially, from a biblical standpoint – Reed's insistence that God's promise of land to the Jews was irrevocable, or Hagee's Genesis 12:3, for example, is not without its absurdities. With that in mind, Reed was asked to confirm whether or not one of his aims was to get more Christian candidates into politics, and how a particular candidate might be backed with money or other support.

'Yes,' he said. 'We want more Christian candidates in the Congress ... and we do something that is indispensable. We are able to go and do a Congressional district, a state legislative district or a state, and identify and educate every voter of faith. Now clearly we're not going to get every one of them to vote, and I'm not at liberty to share internal numbers, but I can tell you that the level we are able to get these voters to go to the polls is astonishing.'<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with Professor George Joffé, op.cit.

<sup>116</sup> Interview with Ralph Reed, op.cit.

It is clear that extraordinary efforts are being made by the Christian right, at the high school, campus and community level to train as many Christian right leaders as possible and prepare them for service in state legislatures and even more importantly, in Congress. It is equally clear that the campaigns are highly sophisticated. For reasons outlined previously, the mainstream media and as a result, the general public, remain largely unaware of these programs or dismiss them as activities conducted by an irrelevant, fundamentalist fringe element of Christianity. It is also clear that many among the Christian right demand a supportive U.S. policy toward Israel, but one that is often based on intractable biblical foundations.

# CHAPTER SIX

## CONCLUSIONS

Several scholars and analysts have argued that the power and influence of the Christian right has faded, with historian Michael Kazin, to cite just one, asserting that the Christian right has little chance of achieving its goals. In the light of those arguments, the core aim of this research has been to determine whether or not the Christian right is still influential in American politics. A second aim has been to determine the Christian right's attitudes to, and influence toward, U.S. foreign policy on Israel. The conclusions in relation to these two overarching questions will appear at the end of this chapter after conclusions are drawn from the various areas of research.

### **The Importance of Religion in the United States**

There is little doubt, as Walter Russell Mead points out, that from the time of the Spanish, French, Dutch and British colonization, religion has played, and continues to play, a major role in shaping the identity and values of the American people. In-depth analysis from the Pew Center and other research agencies clearly indicates that Americans, and particularly older Americans, remain religious and it is reasonable to conclude that religion continues to have a significant influence over the conduct of both public and private life in the United States.

There is also clear evidence, however, that the religious landscape in America is changing. As previously cited, between 2007 and 2014, the Christian share of the population fell from 78.4% to 70.6% with the majority of that decline being felt among Protestants and Catholics. Another survey indicated that nearly three quarters of the American public think religion is losing influence over public life, with the majority of those believing this is not good for the

nation. The evangelical Protestants however – the Christian group that arguably has the most impact on U.S. policy toward Israel –has shown far greater resilience to change, falling from 26.3% of the adult population in 2007 to 25.4% in 2014. The research also shows that the change in America's religious landscape is particularly evident among the Millennials, who are much less likely to have a religious affiliation and less likely to support Israel than their parents. The research revealed that this changing landscape is cause for universal concern amongst the leaders of the Christian right with Gary Bauer, David Brog, Ralph Reed and Joel Grewe, for example, all expressing concern that America is losing her moral compass, providing a catalyst for more, rather than less Christian right activity. Interestingly, although the general population may be tending in a less religious direction, those in Congress reportedly maintain a strong religious disposition. The 114<sup>th</sup> United States Congress (as at 2015) is overwhelmingly Christian with 491 out of 535 members or 91.8% declaring a Christian affiliation, compared to the previously mentioned 70.6% of the general adult population.

### **The Faith of the Presidents**

An analysis of the faith of presidents elicits a number of conclusions. All presidents from Truman to Obama – to varying degrees – were men of faith. This is perhaps not surprising. In a country like the United States where religion still plays a significant role in American life, it is inconceivable that an atheist or agnostic would have a strong chance of being elected President. As to who might be (or have been) more devout, that is a little more complex, although some reasonable judgments can still be made. Presidents who were men of deep and even overt religious conviction include Truman, Carter, George W. Bush, and arguably, Gerald Ford.

At the other end of the spectrum – and this conclusion is based on biographies and presidential papers – we could place Eisenhower and Johnson. Perhaps the most difficult to draw conclusions on are Kennedy and

Nixon. In Kennedy's case, as Richard Hutcheson put it, no president in history has adhered more rigorously to the classic pattern of moderation and to the gentlemen's agreement to keep personal faith separate from public life than Kennedy. In Nixon's case, it is difficult to determine whether that final evening with Kissinger, where Nixon requested his Secretary of State to join him in a tearful prayer on their last night in the White House, was a demonstration of piety, or that of a brandy-fuelled, desperate president. Of the remainder, Reagan, George H. W. Bush, Clinton and Obama, there is no doubt all four were men of faith, albeit with no overt or marked demonstration of their religious beliefs.

### **Presidents' Faith and Israel**

A second conclusion to be drawn from this analysis concerns whether or not a president's faith influenced decisions on policy toward Israel, and in many cases, there is no evidence that faith was a factor. Eisenhower did not hesitate to take a firm stance toward Israel if circumstances demanded. As a man who kept his personal faith separate from his public duties, Kennedy is another president who was not greatly (if at all) influenced by his faith in decisions he made concerning Israel. Any attachment Johnson had for Israel was sentimental rather than religious, grounded in his grandfather's advice to 'look after the Jews'. Notwithstanding his Quaker upbringing, his relationship with Pastor Billy Graham, and church services in the White House (however laced with political hypocrisy), there is no evidence to suggest Nixon's faith, whatever it may have been, played any part in influencing him on decisions in relation to the Jewish state. Reagan lost patience with Israel and for President George H. W. Bush – his was a pragmatic approach.

One of the most outwardly religious presidents in the recent history of the United States, George W. Bush, might be expected to be in the category where faith may have influenced his decisions. That is possible, but unlike faith influencing his decisions to go to war in Afghanistan and Iraq, there is

no evidence to make a similar conclusion with regard to the Jewish state. A reasonable conclusion *can* be made, however, on the influence and power of the Christian right. In 2002, when Bush asked Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to halt incursions into Palestinian-controlled areas, the Christian right mobilised, generating tens of thousands of emails along with letters from influential Christian right leaders, and the White House fell silent. The final president who has not been influenced by faith is the current occupant of the White House, Barack Obama. He has remained resolutely opposed to the official Israeli position on Iran and his decisions have been those of a pragmatic, cautious politician – a president who has kept his faith private, and out of the Oval Office.

President Ford is interesting in that he arguably fitted into both camps – influenced, yet not influenced. We can reasonably conclude that Ford's support of Israel was based on strategic and political reasons, but his own religious convictions may also have played a part, as his familiarity with the Old Testament might attest. One president who has changed his position on Israel is Jimmy Carter. He may have held an early belief that Israel was the fulfillment of biblical prophecy but once he left the White House, he became one of Israel's more strident critics. Another conclusion to be drawn from research into the Carter presidency concerns the important evangelical bloc of voters. Carter's Baptist association and strong faith should have meant the Christian right would have supported him for a second term, particularly against a candidate like the divorced Ronald Reagan, but by 1980, evangelicals had turned away from Carter. Religion, of course, was not the only factor in play, but the Christian right perceived Carter as having failed to live up to their expectations when he became president. We can reasonably conclude therefore, that any candidate who gains the support of today's evangelicals and the evangelical element of the Tea Party, and then fails to deliver on core evangelical issues, runs the risk of losing that key-voting bloc in a subsequent election.

As for those presidents whose decisions were possibly influenced by their personal faith, Truman carried a prayer in his wallet that he read each day and scholars like Andrew Preston have claimed that in the face of strong opposition from the State and Defense Departments and towering figures like General George Marshall, without religion it is unlikely that Truman would have acted as he did. Truman's strong faith and his support for the Zionist cause were undoubtedly not the only influences at play in his decision to recognise Israel, but it is probable they were factors. Finally, some might disagree with concluding that President Clinton's foreign policy decisions may have been influenced by his faith. As noted earlier however, there is some evidence for this in Clinton's autobiography, with Clinton drawing attention to the words of his pastor, W. O. Vaught, with whom he visited Israel: 'God will never forgive you if you don't stand by Israel.'

A second issue that often influences the White House is the Jewish vote, particularly when presidents are standing for re-election. We can conclude that despite making up less than 3 percent of the population, the Jewish vote can be decisive – although not necessarily because Jews are more active in politics or make campaign donations. It is the swing states like Florida, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania where the effects of a Jewish swing away from or towards a candidate are likely to be felt most, and where the issue of support for Israel can be critical. The power of this bloc is likely to continue.

In summary, presidential decisions on policy toward Israel are made against a background of complex competing interests, and those decisions are often influenced by a requirement to court the Jewish vote, but the Christian faith too, can play a part and it is clear that lobbying by the Christian right can be effective. In addition, when a president does not live up to the expectations of the Christian right, as was the case for President Carter in his first term, the Christian right can turn against that president and can influence the outcome of an election in favour of a candidate who gains their endorsement.

Policy toward Israel is still very much an issue in American politics, evidenced by the various pro-Israel positions taken by *all* candidates in the lead up to the 2016 presidential election.

The most important conclusion to be drawn from this area of the research is that despite the majority of presidents not demonstrating any particular faith-based favouritism toward Israel, some have. We can conclude, therefore, that a president *can* be influenced, not only by the power of the Christian right, but also by a personal Christian faith and biblical links to the Holy Land. The potential remains, therefore, for a president's faith to influence policy toward Israel, particularly given the strong religious convictions and connections to Israel of some of the 2016 presidential candidates.

### **Christians United for Israel (CUFI)**

Conclusions relating to CUFI's overall influence on American politics and foreign policy will be included in the major conclusions reached at the end of this chapter, but in terms of CUFI itself, we can conclude that CUFI is getting stronger rather than weaker. Hagee's Cornerstone mega-church, with over 18,000 members, is thriving. The membership of CUFI has also grown exponentially. It is now the largest pro-Israel organisation in the United States, and it is therefore reasonable to conclude that Hagee's messages are striking a chord with a sizeable number of people. CUFI activities provide another indication enabling us to conclude that far from being a spent force, the Christian right is continuing to mobilise. In addition to the 5,000 members who descend on Washington to attend the annual CUFI Summit and to lobby members of Congress, CUFI has now held over 1700 pro-Israel events, such as a 'Night to Honor Israel', and these are now running at over 40 per month. In addition, CUFI on Campus is now active on over 300 university and college campuses.



At the outset, it has been noted by this author that Hagee is a powerful orator, which may be a factor in CUFI's growth. With sermons based on Genesis 12:3 – the biblical verse that essentially translates: those who bless Israel, God will bless and those who curse Israel, God will curse – Hagee's messages are intractably pro-Israel. For Hagee, it is a verse that is unequivocal and immutable. In his own words, Hagee came from a home where nothing was done unless it conformed to the Bible and he believes he has been directed by God to stand for Israel. Based on those positions to date, it is reasonable to conclude that Hagee will not be satisfied with any U.S. policy on Israel that allows for a Palestinian state, much less one with al-Quds as its capital. Nor will Hagee countenance a peace plan that might involve a right of return, or a cessation of settlement building or any consolidation of the over two hundred Israeli settlements and outposts built on Palestinian land. For Hagee, Israel is not an *occupier* of the land, but the *owner* of the land and he is in lockstep with Netanyahu's assertion that 'not one meter' of land is to be transferred to the Palestinians. Any foreign policy sculptured through a biblical prism like Hagee's runs the risk of validating Jenkins's argument that the American religious right (along with candidates like Cruz and Huckabee) is making the Middle East peace process impossible.

The exponential growth of CUFI raises a number of questions, including why the mainstream media dismisses Hagee and CUFI as being on the fringe of Christianity; and why, in the face of his sometimes bizarre and offensive statements, Hagee's membership continues to grow so strongly. In terms of the media and general public dismissing Hagee and CUFI as largely irrelevant, it is reasonable to conclude that the content of Hagee's sermons and some of his statements are a major factor. In the opinion of this author, Hagee's biblical exegesis is suspect at best. Any God who would engender a holocaust and employ Hitler to hunt the Jews back to Israel is not the sort of God that many reasonable people would want to know. In addition, the basic scientific data provided in this thesis in relation to the frequency of the four 'blood moon' phenomena and the spread of Ebola, for example, run counter to

Hagee's biblical explanations. In a further example, Hagee's description of Katrina as 'God's punishment' against gays in New Orleans, runs counter to reasonable logic.

As to the question of why CUFI's membership continues to grow, we know that many Christians are theologically disposed toward the Holy Land. As Gary Bauer put it, theologically conservative Christians feel a particular bond with Israel, as well as wanting a strong American foreign policy and significant defense spending, and these issues are undoubtedly factors. In addition, the staff in CUFI (like those in many other Christian right organisations in the U.S.) has mastered the digital age, so some of this growth can be put down to effective marketing campaigns. That does not, however, completely explain why so many people are attracted to both Hagee's mega-church and to CUFI, and why his sometimes bizarre sermons are greeted with enthusiastic applause. The author has postulated that in addition to clever marketing and Hagee's oratorical skills, a 'theology of fear' may also be in play. Hagee, it is suggested, skillfully uses the fear of what might lie ahead in the afterlife, particularly for those who have not accepted Jesus as their Saviour. He continually airs his strong eschatological views, stressing that the 'end times' are close at hand. None of this – Hitler as God's servant; Ebola and Katrina as God's punishments; or an approaching doomsday – would greatly matter were it not for the potential for Hagee and his large and growing membership to influence both elections and foreign policy in the world's most powerful country.

### **The Tea Party Movement**

Myriad analysts and commentators have both forecast and declared that like the Christian right, the Tea Party movement is dead. Yet other analysts and academics, such as Lawrence Rosenthal, Peter Montgomery and Walter Russell Mead are firmly of the view that although elements of the movement may fracture, the emerging ideology that has underpinned the Tea Party's

formation as 'the political phenomenon of the Obama presidency' is here to stay.

An analysis of the movement draws a conclusion that the Tea Party is both strongly Republican and strongly evangelical in its makeup. Only 5 percent of the movement identifies as Democrat. Polls vary slightly, but from the research cited, we can also reasonably conclude that roughly half of the self-identified members of the Tea Party are conservative evangelicals (noting that poll figures will vary as support for the movement waxes and wanes). The Tea Party movement analysis has also revealed a belief, particularly amongst the Christian right element, that there is a Constitutional and biblical requirement for limited government, providing further evidence of religion and religious beliefs being mixed with American politics. The movement itself is primarily focused on domestic policies and foreign policy is not front and centre, but there is abundant evidence that across the Tea Party spectrum support for Israel is strong, and any deviation or perception that the U.S. is not supporting Israel will cause the movement to mobilise. There is also evidence that members of both the Tea Party and the religious right are more likely to be engaged in politics, and more likely to vote than the average American. This constitutes a powerful voting bloc that presidential and other candidates find difficult to ignore.

### **Influence of the Christian Right on U.S. Policy Toward Israel**

The research shows that support for Israel remains robust and resilient, with over 60% of Americans supporting the Jewish state. Amongst evangelicals, who account for some 23% of the population, support for Israel is underpinned by biblical beliefs and a theological link to the Holy Land so we can conclude that there are other reasons in play in the broader community. Those reasons include: a recognition that Israel, surrounded by hostile nations, has a liberal democracy with similarities to the democracy in the United States; that Israel is America's closest ally in one of the world's critical

and most unstable regions; and that America and Israel share common enemies. As mentioned earlier, we can also conclude that the dynamics of that support are changing, with support for Israel dropping amongst the younger generations like Generation X and the Millennials, with just 36% of those younger than 30 sympathising with Israel, while 19% sympathise more with the Palestinians – one of the reasons the Christian right is investing so much time, money and energy into efforts to facilitate the election of Christian candidates to Congress and the state legislatures.

The CUFI Washington Summit, which includes addresses from influential Republicans and conservatives, as well as the Israeli Prime Minister, provides more tangible evidence of the efforts to influence U.S. policy toward Israel. It has been noted that since 2006, some 5,000 CUFI members have attended and have been trained to lobby their representatives on Capitol Hill. The briefings underpinning the lobbying efforts are unbalanced, but as cited earlier, in the view of Walter Russell Mead and others, CUFI continues to gain influence in Washington. This conclusion is supported by evidence of CUFI having an effect on specific legislation, with 'bumps' in co-sponsorship of particular bills recorded after CUFI lobbying on Capitol Hill.

The issue of a nuclear-armed Iran, as both a threat to Israel and the wider world, has been at the centre of a bitter debate in the United States. CUFI is one of the most powerful lobby groups and has been at the forefront of those supporting Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu's opposition to the deal negotiated between Iran, the P5 + 1 and the European Union. The analysis by this author and other analysts indicates that the concerns being voiced over the potential for Iran to obtain a nuclear weapon are not unfounded. Given the complexities of the construction of a heavy water reactor for example, the Iranians' claims that their nuclear program is for peaceful purposes are debatable. Despite this opposition, with over 350,000 CUFI emails being sent to the White House and Congress, those opposing the plan have failed in their bid to overturn the U.S. commitment, but that is not to

say they have failed completely. Drawing on the statements of leaders like David Brog, academics like Walter Russell Mead, and advisors like Senator Cruz's Victoria Coates, it is possible to conclude that CUFI's influence over members of Congress is sufficient to have them take notice and there is evidence for victories in other instances. When it became known, for example, that Netanyahu had accepted Speaker Boehner's invitation to address both Houses of Congress, CUFI and other pro-Israel groups lobbied hard against any boycott. It is notable that of the 57 representatives who didn't attend the speech, all bar one (Independent, Bernie Sanders, Vt) were Democrats. Republicans, who are strongly supported by evangelicals, all attended.

In terms of the Tea Party movement and Israel, it is difficult to define a clear Tea Party foreign policy. However, in the light of the polls cited, we can conclude that Tea Partiers maintain the most hawkish overall foreign policy of any U.S. demographic. This is reflected in their attitudes to Iran for example, and the Patriots 'End the Iran Deal Toolkit' is representative of their approach. There is evidence that candidates like Senator Cruz, who courts both the Tea Party and evangelical voting blocs, are similarly hawkish, with Cruz announcing that on winning office he would rescind any deal with Iran. From the analysis of 2016 presidential candidates supported by the Tea Party, and Republican candidates in general, we can conclude that every one of them is a strong supporter of Israel. Mike Huckabee is of the view that the Palestinians do not want peace, and he is arguably at the very right of the Israel support spectrum, but others who fit Mead's descriptor, cited earlier, of 'keeping the Tea Party on the reservation' are very aware of the importance of Israel to Tea Party supporters and this is reflected in their campaign statements to date.

In addition, there is evidence of considerable overlap between the Christian right and the Tea Party. This overlap has been recognised and significant effort is being made by Ralph Reed, Tim Phillips and other Christian right

leaders to harness the synergy between the two, embedded in which is a decidedly pro-Israel stance. Illustrations of this are also to be found on the Tea Party News Network, for example, which has produced a plethora of anti-Obama, pro-Israel articles. We should note, however, that any direct impact the Tea Party may have on U.S. foreign policy is dependent in large part on how much influence they maintain within the Republican Party.

The campaigns to train the next generation of Christian leaders and politicians not only contain a strong leadership element, but also inculcate support for Israel. For Generation Joshua participants, this occurs at a young age with up to five hundred high school students attending the political training camps. In discussions on foreign policy, 'Israel is a given', in that Israel will always feature in any foreign policy scenario. Interestingly, without any formal connection, many of the students base their thinking on the same Bible verse employed by Pastor Hagee – Genesis 12:3 and the blessing of Israel and her supporters. We should also note that there is a second strand of student opinion matching those in the broader community – support for Israel on the basis of it being the only country in the region which is independent, free, democratic and a trustworthy ally (given the Pollard case and other incidences of Israel spying on the United States, the latter is debatable). We can therefore conclude that 'the policy perspectives produced by the students are going to be pro-Israel,' and this is all the more powerful as it is not only presented by Senators and other conservative role models like Michele Bachmann, but has peer group endorsement.

On university campuses, it can be concluded that this is where some of the strongest anti-Israel and anti-Semitic activities and protests occur in the United States. Students for Justice in Palestine are very active, and we can also conclude that the BDS movement is gathering strength on campus, with several student governments voting for divestment of university funds in companies that support, for example, the Israeli military. There has been a rise too, in pro-Palestinian, anti-Israel content in lectures from some faculty

members. We can also conclude, however, that the Christian right is fighting back, and quite strongly. Faculty members who can present a counter argument are being invited to speak on Campus. The BDS movement is being opposed by an active campaign to elect pro-Israel students to student government bodies, and by the formation of Campus Maccabees, financed by very wealthy businessmen. CUFI on Campus itself pursues a major goal of building greater support for Israel amongst university students.

Out in the broader community, Christian right movements like Ralph Reed's Faith and Freedom Coalition continue to promote a strong pro-Israel platform, elements of which are quite inflexible. Not only does Reed (who has always been a strong supporter of Israel) advocate that it is more important than ever for the United States to support Israel, but as cited earlier, from his and his membership's standpoint, 'God gave the land to the Jews and that promise was irrevocable.'

### **The Rising Involvement of the Christian Right in American Politics**

This research has uncovered very strong evidence that far from receding, the involvement of the Christian right in American politics is rising, and in some cases, like Ralph Reed's Faith and Freedom Coalition for example, involvement is rising quite sharply.

### **Elections**

From research into past presidential elections we can conclude that religious groups have been used very effectively as a means of motivating people to get out and vote. Karl Rove, for example, recognised the voting power of the evangelical bloc in getting George W. Bush elected in 2000, and again in 2004. We can further conclude that the evangelicals are a very important voting bloc in the American electoral cycle. Indeed, analysts of the standing

of John Green assert that no Republican can be elected president without strong support from the Christian right – an influence that is now increasing. In the lead up to the 2016 presidential election, there is another indicator that the influence of the Christian right involvement in American politics is gathering strength – exemplified by the very significant efforts being put toward influencing the outcome of midterm and future presidential elections by organisations like CUFI. In July 2015, CUFI set up a 501(c)(4) Action Fund which is specifically designed to support candidates who vote for CUFI-supported bills in Congress and conversely, to target sitting members of Congress who do not support CUFI policy, Iran being a prime example. Gary Bauer, who was appointed to head this fund, made it very clear that anyone in either party who voted for the Iranian nuclear deal put their career in jeopardy. CUFI's plan is for local and state CUFI Action Fund offices to be opened in every Congressional district and county in America with a view to securing at least a million new voters who are supporters of the U.S.-Israel alliance.

The Tea Party movement, with its very significant evangelical element, provides more evidence of their influence, and potential future influence on the outcome of elections. It is reasonable to conclude that, in a country where voting is not compulsory, the Tea Party gains power from two areas. Firstly, a movement that is fired up to vote can have a disproportionate influence on the outcome of elections as they have in Republican primaries, voting out candidates who are, in their view, insufficiently conservative. Secondly, there is evidence of substantial financial backing from wealthy right wing donors like the Koch brothers who founded the Tea Party group, Americans for Prosperity. Members of the House of Representatives are up for election every two years, along with one third of the Senate and we can conclude that interest groups like the Tea Party, with their very substantial evangelical component and who are most effective in mobilising their supporters, stand the best chance of applying pressure on those who are up for re-election.



In a further indication that the Christian right is growing in strength and influence, Generation Joshua is by their own assessment, also having an impact on the election process. The high school Student Action Teams, made up of well-dressed and well-spoken students, who are deployed into the field prior to elections are estimated by Generation Joshua to be 150% more effective than other volunteers. In a country where it is not compulsory to vote, that 'personal interaction' with voters who have already been targeted as Christian right and likely Republican supporters can, and does have an influence.

Gary Bauer's Faith and Freedom Coalition provides yet another example of both the continuing growth of the Christian right, and the Christian right's involvement in the electoral process. In six years, nearly one million evangelicals have signed up for membership, and the importance of the Christian right's electoral influence is borne out by statistics cited earlier – depending on the election being midterm or presidential – with between one in three and one in four voters identifying as evangelical. The general public may not be aware of Faith and Freedom's focus on getting more Christian candidates into Congress, much less their ability to identify and educate 'every voter of faith' in a Congressional district, but when no fewer than six Republican challengers opt to address a large evangelical rally, we can also conclude the importance of the evangelical vote is recognised by the candidates themselves.

## **Digital Age**

There is no doubt that Christian right organisations have embraced the digital age. For example, CUFI, in addition to maintaining a very active website, also maintains a strong presence on Facebook, and regularly issues 'talking points' and email alerts.

In an open admission, Bauer indicated that his Faith and Freedom coalition staff goes to some lengths to identify and target potential voters by gaining access, through third parties, to their online search histories. With some 32 million evangelical voters on Faith and Freedom's national database, digital technology is being used to maximize the accuracy of phone calls and door knocking at election time – again, with a view to getting people to the polling booth when it's not compulsory.

### **Leadership Training**

One of the strongest, yet least publicised indications of the gathering strength of the Christian right is to be found in their long term programs to train more Christian leaders for election to state legislatures and Congress. Those analysts who have written the Christian right off as a force in American politics appear to be unaware of the long-term strategies and extraordinary efforts being made to train the next generation of Christian leaders for political careers, while at the same time inculcating support for Israel, often from a biblical base. The campaigns are sophisticated and are being carried out at all levels – high school, university and in the general Christian community. As noted previously, a major driver behind this effort is a philosophical one – a feeling amongst many Christian right leaders that America has 'lost her spiritual way' and that one of the ways to fix this is to have more Christian politicians elected to Congress.

At the high school level, Generation Joshua has been established with the specific aim of training the next generation of Christian leaders to 'positively influence the political processes of today and tomorrow.' There is little doubt that this 'positive influence', in the view of the Director, Joel Grewe, has a biblical foundation. Far from being 'dead', Generation Joshua is quietly expanding in all 50 states and the high school membership now stands at over 10,000 students, with the majority home schooled in a Christian environment. Home schooling, which is not without its critics in the U.S., is

also growing with some 2 million students under home tutelage. There is a danger that a Bible-based home school curriculum (especially if it has been influenced by fundamentalists) runs the risk of participants receiving a narrower education than their public-schooled peers. On the political training camps run by Generation Joshua, not only do the majority of participants come from a Bible-based home schooling environment, the narrowness of their education has the potential to be narrowed further. Senators and Representatives like Michele Bachmann, who are invited to speak at the camps, are likely to leave a lasting impression on their young audience. If their views are unbalanced, there is a risk that the developing views of the students will be as well. This conservative, Bible-based education is further reinforced at Colleges like Patrick Henry, which have been specifically set up to train home schooled Christian high school graduates for a career in politics. Should graduates gain influential positions of leadership, and particularly political leadership, we can conclude there is a risk that policy toward Israel, crafted through a biblical prism, will be unbalanced to the detriment of the Palestinians and the peace process.

At the university level, we can conclude that training for future Christian leaders continues with an increasing tempo. Hundreds of scholarships are provided to undergraduates to attend the CUFI Washington summit; a full Student Advocacy and Leadership Training or SALT program is conducted at CUFI's headquarters in San Antonio; and BDS boot camps, training undergraduates how to combat BDS, have been introduced. On the surface, there should be no reason to criticise programs that train Christian leaders, or secular leaders, or leaders of any other persuasion, *provided* the curriculum for that training is balanced. However, when policy toward Israel is seen through the biblical prism, then the molding of those future leaders has implications far beyond a university campus. In the words of David Walker, Christian leaders are important to the future of the Christian right. CUFI itself also runs national leaders courses for pastors and chapter leaders (with up to

300 attendees), providing further evidence of increasing leadership training activity within the Christian right.

## **Final Conclusions**

It is clear, both from the paucity of recent serious journal articles and the derisive tone of many in the mainstream media who do comment on the Christian right, that the movement has been largely relegated to the fringe of Christianity in the United States. The fundamental conclusion reached here, is that far from being a spent force in American politics, the Christian right is increasing its involvement and influence. Their activities have already influenced the outcome of minor elections and they have the potential to influence future Senate and presidential races. Reed summed it up very well when he stated that those elements of the media who have announced death of the Christian right are doing so somewhat prematurely.

As can be seen from the conclusions drawn above, there are numerous pointers to the increased activity, involvement and influence of the Christian right in American politics. These include: the exponential growth of organisations like CUFI and Ralph Reed's Faith and Freedom Coalition; the continuing ideology, if not the numerical support, of the Tea Party movement with its strong evangelical component; the significant lobbying efforts, particularly by CUFI, including motivation for hundreds of thousands of emails and the attendance of some 5,000 members in Washington each year; the quiet but powerful campaigns to train the next generation of Christian political leaders at high school, university and general community levels; the effective embrace of the digital age, including very specific targeting of Christian voters; and the most recent direct forays into the election cycle by way of providing finance to both oppose the election of those candidates who may have voted against specific bills in Congress, and to support candidates who have been endorsed by the Christian right.

This renewed activity also has the potential to influence U.S. policy toward Israel, particularly if more Christian right candidates are elected. In the past, Christian right candidates like Carter (or at least those supported by the Christian right), have gained the White House, only to disappoint the evangelical bloc. On the other hand, there is evidence that presidents like George W. Bush blurred the lines between Church and State so the potential for a president to influence an unbalanced, favourable policy toward Israel remains. This potential is heightened if candidates like Senator Cruz were to implement their foreign policy.

The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians has now entered its 7<sup>th</sup> decade, and despite the efforts of well-intentioned actors and brokers over the years, there is still no peace agreement in sight. Any solution will require compromise. The 1947 partition plan itself was a compromise and it is worth reflecting on the words of Golda Meir when 33 nations (including the United States and the Soviet Union) voted in favour of the partition plan on 29 November, 1947. It was evening in Jerusalem, and Golda Meir – at the time the acting head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency – was sitting by her radio, writing down the votes as they came through. When the result was announced at midnight, Golda Meir recorded in her biography that she went to her office in the Jewish Agency where the compound was already jammed with people:

'It was an incredible sight: hundreds of people, British soldiers among them, holding hands, singing and dancing ... I remember walking up to my office alone, unable to share in the general festivity. The Arabs had turned the plan down and talked only of war. The crowd, drunk with happiness wanted a speech and I thought it would be wicked to dampen the mood by refusing. So from the balcony of my office I spoke for a few minutes. But it was not really to the mass of people below me that I talked; it was once again to the Arabs. "You have fought your battle against us in the United Nations ... the partition plan

is a compromise: not what you wanted, not what we wanted.  
But let us now live in peace and friendship together.'"<sup>1</sup>

Just as the partition plan was a compromise, any solution will require compromise, but when the actors and brokers are not well-intentioned, a peace agreement is impossible. As we have seen, in the dying days of the Clinton presidency, Ehud Barak made generous concessions in an attempt to broker a deal at the Bolling Air Force base talks in December 2000. The Palestinians were offered control of 95 percent of the West Bank, and all of an enlarged Gaza, and a secured land-link in between; the Arab sections of Jerusalem would become the capital of a Palestinian state; Palestinians would have full authority over Muslim and Christian holy places; Israel would withdraw from sixty-three settlements in the West Bank; and there would be limited return of refugees, with compensation from a \$30 million repatriation fund. Arafat refused. Abba Eban, at the end of yet another peace conference (Geneva, 1973) when attending as Israel's Foreign Minister, famously remarked, 'the Arabs never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity.'<sup>2</sup>

The conflict has been replete with missteps and intransigence on both sides, but the current hardline approach of 'not one meter' by Netanyahu and his right wing coalition will only result in a continuation of the conflict with its accompanying bloodshed. As George Joffé has pointed out, if there is no acceptance of a Palestinian state, then a single Jewish state or Palestinian enclaves under Israeli control may well threaten both the original ideals of the Zionist cause and ultimately, the Jewish state itself. Writing for *Haaretz* on Israel's missed opportunities, Khaled Diab again quoted Abba Eban, a quote that sadly, has a ring of truth: 'History teaches us that men and nations only behave wisely once they have exhausted all other alternatives.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Meir, G., *My Life*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1975, pp 210-211.

<sup>2</sup> Diab, K., *Israel's Missed Opportunities*, Haaretz, 22 October 2012, retrieved 10 November 2015, <<http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/israel-s-missed-opportunities.premium-1.471479>>.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*.

The Christian right in the United States are becoming more, not less active and influential in American politics. The movement often fashions a foreign policy toward Israel from a biblical foundation of an irrevocable, Godly promise of land for the Jews and a command to bless Israel, coupled with an immutable approach to the key stumbling blocks for peace – issues such as land, settlements and Jerusalem. Minorities in the Congress can muster a lot of sway and if the Christian right's efforts examined during research for this thesis are successful, a biblically based, inflexible policy toward Israel will forestall any meaningful negotiation toward an equitable and just solution to the Israeli Palestinian problem.

## **GLOSSARY OF THEOLOGICAL TERMS**

The terms listed are defined with the meanings that are applicable for the purpose of this thesis.

### **Baptist**

It is a popular misunderstanding that the chief concern of Baptists focuses on baptism. The administration of baptism (with full immersion, as distinct from infant baptism) is part of the doctrine of the Baptist church, but the convictions of Baptists are based primarily on the spiritual nature of the church. The church is composed of those who have been born again by the Holy Spirit and who have been brought to personal and saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup>

### **Born Again Christian**

An inner re-creating of fallen human nature by the gracious sovereign action of the Holy Spirit. The Bible conceives salvation as the redemptive renewal of man on the basis of a restored relationship with God in Christ, and presents it as involving a radical and complete transformation wrought in the soul by virtue of which the Christian becomes a new man/woman no longer conformed to this world, but in the knowledge and holiness of the truth created after the image of God.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ellwell, W. A. (ed), *The Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, Baker Books, Michigan, 1984, p 122.

<sup>2</sup> Warfield, B. B., *Biblical and Theological Studies*, Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, Phillipsburg, New Jersey, 1952, p 351.



## **Catholic**

A transliteration of the Greek *katholikos* – ‘throughout the whole.’ A universal church – meaning wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church. In Reformation times, the word became a badge of those churches that adhered to the Papacy, in contrast to those groups that identified themselves with the Protestant cause.<sup>3</sup>

## **Congregational Church**

As outlined in the main thesis, a branch of Puritanism, known as the Congregationalists, consisted of a ‘collection of sovereign congregations loosely knit together as a federation,’<sup>4</sup> which demanded the right for a local congregation to appoint their ministers in accordance with local doctrinal ideas of worship. Authority came, not through an hierarchical structure, but directly from God. Congregationalists were included amongst the Pilgrims who made the famous voyage on The Mayflower from Plymouth to the New World in 1620. Today, in the United States, Congregationalists are to be found in three separate movements: the theologically conservative Congregational Christian Conference, the National Association of Congregational Christian Churches, and the United Church of Christ.

## **Charismatic**

A movement that began in the 1950s and was often termed neo-Pentecostal. It refers to those who place particular emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit. There is a recognition of baptism with the Holy Spirit as a distinctive Christian experience. It is viewed as an event where the believer is filled the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Members may be liberal or

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<sup>3</sup> Ellwell, W. A. op.cit., p 199.

<sup>4</sup> Olmstead, C. E., op.cit., p 63.

conservative, some of whom speak in tongues – a communication with God in a language that is other than one known to the speaker.<sup>5</sup>

## **Christian**

The name by which followers of Jesus Christ are known, both amongst themselves and the wider world. The name originated in Antioch (Acts 11:26).<sup>6</sup>

## **Christian Zionist**

As outlined in the main thesis, this is a belief that is firmly based on biblical prophecy. Those of this group, who seek to influence American policy toward Israel, fervently believe that Christ cannot return until biblical prophecies in books such as Zechariah, Daniel, and the Book of Revelation are fulfilled. Such prophecy includes the return of the Promised Land (including Gaza and the West Bank) to Israel. Many Christian Zionists believe we are now in the end times and awaiting the second coming of Christ. For them, 'the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, the conquest of the West Bank and the reunification of Jerusalem are considered signs that Christ's return is imminent.'<sup>7</sup>

## **Episcopal Church**

During the American Revolution Anglican clergy were suspected of loyalism to the Mother country and the Church of England was dis-established.<sup>8</sup> The surviving church was renamed the *Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, but as outlined in the main thesis, only after the Mother church in England agreed to consecrate American bishops. This enabled the

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<sup>5</sup> Ellwell, W. A. op.cit., pp 205-208.

<sup>6</sup> ibid, p 216.

<sup>7</sup> Marsden, op.cit., p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Carrol, B. E., op. cit. p 33.

consecration of American-born clergy on (U.S.) home soil. Today, it is part of the worldwide Anglican Communion and more commonly known as the Episcopal Church – whose members are known as Episcopalians. The Episcopal Church is liberal. For example, on 18 June, 2006, Katherine Jefferts Schori was elected as Presiding Bishop – the first female primate in the Anglican Communion – and in 2015 the General Convention passed resolutions allowing the blessing of same-sex unions.

## **Evangelical**

The movement in modern Christianity, transcending denominational and confessional boundaries, that emphasises conformity to the basic tenets of the faith and a missionary outreach of compassion and urgency. Evangelicals are characterised by: conversionism: the belief that lives need to be transformed through a 'born-again' experience; an acceptance of Jesus Christ as Saviour; missionary activity to spread the 'good news' of the Gospels; and an obedience to the Bible as the ultimate authority.<sup>9</sup>

## **Fundamentalism**

A movement that arose in the United States during and immediately after the First World War in order to reaffirm orthodox Protestant Christianity and to defend it militantly against the challenges of liberal theology, Darwinism and other threats to American Christianity. Post Reagan, the 'enemy' has become secular humanism. Fundamentalists believe this is eroding churches, schools, universities, the government and above all, families. They fight all enemies they consider to be the offspring of secular humanism: evolutionism, liberalism, loose personal morality, sexual perversion, socialism, communism, and any lessening of the absolute, inerrant authority of the Bible.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ellwell, W. A., op.cit. p 379.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, pp 433-435.

## **Methodists**

A name designating several Protestant groups. Methodism has its roots in the work of John and Charles Wesley, and an Oxford classmate, George Whitefield. The Methodist church originated as part of the renewal of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Church of England, from which it split from after Wesley's death in 1791. It has long been distinguished by an emphasis on practical faith, the primacy of scripture, and an assurance of salvation.<sup>11</sup>

## **Pentecostalism**

An evangelical, charismatic reformation movement that usually traces its roots to an outbreak of tongue-speaking in Topeka, Kansas, in 1901 under the leadership of Charles Fox Parham, a former Methodist preacher. In the Christian church, Pentecost is the anniversary of the coming of the Holy Spirit after the ascension of Jesus when the Spirit appeared to a group of 120 who were praying in an upper room in Jerusalem, fifty days after the death of Jesus. They began to speak in other languages and to preach. Pentecostals believe that the experience of the 120 on the Day of Pentecost, known as 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit,' should be normative for all Christians.<sup>12</sup>

## **Protestantism**

In its broadest sense, Protestantism denotes the whole movement within Christianity that originated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Reformation and was later focused in the main traditions of Reformed church life – Lutheran, Reformed (Calvinist/Presbyterian), and Anglican-Episcopalian. The term derives from the 'protestation' submitted by a minority of Lutheran and Reformed

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<sup>11</sup> *ibid*, p 712-714.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid*, pp 835-836.

authorities at the German Imperial Diet at Speyer in 1529 when they dissented from a clamp down on religious renewal.<sup>13</sup>

## **Puritanism**

A loosely organised reform movement originating during the English Reformation of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The name comes from efforts to further 'purify' the Church of England by those who felt the Reformation had not gone far enough in purifying the church from Roman Catholic practices. Central to their theology was the concept of personal Bible interpretation through the Holy Spirit; moral purity; and the exaltation of Jesus Christ. The movement split into those who remained in the Church of England, and the Separatists – those who separated from it, claiming the church had remained corrupted. Along with some Congregationalists, the latter made up part of the voyage on The Mayflower from Plymouth to the New World referred to above.

## **Religion**

In this thesis, religion is taken to mean the Christian religion: a set of beliefs in a transcendent God, grounded in an authoritative sacred text, and expressed by a body of believers through the performance of certain rituals and adherence to a specific moral code.<sup>14</sup>

## **Religious Right/Christian Right**

A movement that is evangelical in both religious and political contexts, commissioned to evangelise and convert believers of other faiths or none, to a narrow version of Christianity in which a conversion experience, being born

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<sup>13</sup> *ibid*, p 888.

<sup>14</sup> Lambert, F., *op.cit.*, p. 11.

again, is the minimum requirement for entry.<sup>15</sup> In the political sense, it is a social movement that attempts to mobilise evangelical Protestants into conservative political action.<sup>16</sup> In this thesis, it should be noted that the terms 'religious right' and 'Christian right' are used interchangeably.

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<sup>15</sup> Marsden, L., *op.cit.*, p 5.

<sup>16</sup> Wilcox, C., and Larson, C., *op.cit.*, p 6.

## Appendix B

**NOTES ON THE LITERATURE REVIEW**

In carrying out a review of the literature pertinent to this research, a thorough search was made of books, journal articles and articles from the mainstream media. Myriad journal articles have been published, but those dealing with the Christian right (with the exception of the Tea Party movement) are dated, with many published during what was considered to be the zenith of the influence of the Christian right at the time of Reagan's election and in the decade following. Recent commentary on the Christian right is to be found in some journals, but mainly in the mainstream media. Many essays and books have been published which are germane to this research, and some of the key publications are listed below, with further details to be found in the bibliography.

**History of Religion in the United States**

Questions raised by the review included: why is religion important in the United States; to what extent; who are the key influencers and actors; and what impact does it have on politics? This area of research was underpinned by the views of Walter Russell Mead and others, that religion has always had a major influence on not only American culture, but more narrowly, on U.S. foreign policy toward Israel. One of the most comprehensive works in the history of religion in the U.S. is *A Religious History of the American People*,<sup>17</sup> by Professor Sydney E. Ahlstrom, Samuel Knight Chair in American History and Modern Religious History at Yale. Ahlstrom traces the history and influence of religion in the United States from Columbus at a time when 'America became the Great Frontier of Western Christendom in 1492,'<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ahlstrom, S. E., *A Religious History of the American People*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1972.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid*, p 17.

through the waves of the Great Awakening, and up to (with an additional chapter by historian David D. Hall) the present day. The additional chapter includes a discussion of sociologist Robert Wuthnow's arguments on the restructuring of Protestantism into two camps: liberals and conservatives. In the latter case, the evangelicals are prominent, raising the question of *how* prominent and what their foreign policy objectives might be, particularly toward Israel.

With that in mind, another work of note is *Sword of Spirit, Shield of Faith*,<sup>19</sup> by Andrew Preston that examines how religion has influenced American foreign relations. Echoing Mead's view, Preston argues that 'since the late sixteenth century, long before the United States existed, religion has played an important role in shaping Americans' perceptions of the wider world.'<sup>20</sup> As indicated in the main body of this thesis, the analysis of Truman's role in the recognition of the State of Israel in May of 1948 brought Preston to the view that 'without religion ... it is unlikely that Truman would have acted as he did in the face of ferocious and nearly unanimous opposition from the State and Defense Departments ... [and unlike other presidential decisions] the recognition of Israel required nothing more than a presidential directive.'<sup>21</sup> In Preston's view, understanding Truman's personal motives is essential to understanding his decision (on Israel) and this too, raises additional questions about the influence of religion on those who have occupied the White House from the time of Truman, analysed in Chapter Two.

Other important publications include *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*.<sup>22</sup> David Campbell and Robert Putnam argue that America has experienced three seismic shocks: the revolution of the 1960s, during which the influence of religion declined; the 1970s and 1980s, when a conservative reaction to the 1960s saw the rise of evangelicalism and the Christian right;

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<sup>19</sup> Preston, A., *Sword of Spirit, Shield of Faith*, Alfred E. Knopf, New York, 2012.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid*, p 4.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid*, pp 435-436.

<sup>22</sup> Campbell, D.E., and Putnam, R. D., *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2010.



and the period following the 1990s, when young people were turned off by the linkage between faith and politics (which exists to a greater extent today, something that Green and Rosenthal both attested to when interviewed). In the resultant polarisation, 'the ranks of religious conservatives and secular liberals have swelled, leaving a dwindling group of religious moderates in between.'<sup>23</sup> This raises the issue of whether or not religious conservatives are still influential, and perhaps more importantly, what future influence less religious younger generations might have on U.S. policy toward Israel.

Matthew Sutton's *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism*,<sup>24</sup> is billed as the first history of modern American evangelicalism to appear in a generation. That may be problematic, but it is certainly one of the most recent studies, covering as it does, the politics following 9/11; the rise of the mega-churches; the involvement of the Christian right in presidential races and the influence of apocalyptic thinking in what many Americans see as an increasingly unstable world.

A contrary view to those espoused above is contained in Kevin Kruse's *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America*,<sup>25</sup> in which he argues that the idea of a 'Christian America' is an invention – one that had its genesis in the 1930s when businessmen enlisted religious activists in their fight against FDR's New Deal, although most scholars dispute this view.

### **Christian Zionism and Christian Nationalism**

As indicated in the main body of the thesis, the Christian right can be divided into two separate theological streams: Christian Zionism and Christian Nationalism. Research into Christian Zionism revealed that the groups having

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid*, frontispiece.

<sup>24</sup> Sutton, M. A., *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Kruse, K.M., *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America*, Basic Books, New York, 2015.

the most impact on American politics, such as Pastor Hagee's Christians United for Israel, are based on Christian Zionism. The links between Christian Zionists in the U.S. and Israel constitute an important element in the Christian right's campaign for U.S. support for Israel, and two useful works are Victoria Clark's *Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism*,<sup>26</sup> in which Clark describes Christian Zionists as the West's religious fundamentalists; and Timothy Weber's *On the Road to Armageddon: How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend*,<sup>27</sup> in which Weber explores the historical relationship between evangelicals and Israel, the dispensational theological roots of the relationship and the implications for future American foreign policy.

Media interest in the Christian right and Christian nationalism can sometimes be less than scholarly, but there are some respected journalists in the United States who have followed this aspect of American politics for many years including Sara Diamond and Michele Goldberg. Diamond, a graduate of UC Berkeley, who has lectured in journalism at that university, has written extensively on both the Christian right and Christian nationalism. In *Roads to Dominion*,<sup>28</sup> Diamond includes an exploration of Dominionism that is based on the view that until Christ returns, Christians are the only ones who are biblically mandated to fulfill secular institutions, including the White House. Michele Goldberg, a senior contributing writer at *The Nation*, who for some years has followed the intersection of religion and politics, argues in *Kingdom Coming*, that 'it makes no sense to fight religious authoritarianism abroad while letting it take over at home.'<sup>29</sup> Although these are the views of investigative journalists, their work is useful to gain an understanding of the past, current and potential influence of the Christian right on both domestic and foreign policy.

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<sup>26</sup> Clark, V., *Allies for Armageddon: The Rise of Christian Zionism*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 2007.

<sup>27</sup> Weber, T. P., *On the Road to Armageddon: How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend*, Baker Academic Press, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2004.

<sup>28</sup> Diamond, S., *Roads to Dominion*, Guilford Press, New York, 1995.

<sup>29</sup> Goldberg, M., *Kingdom Coming: The Rise of Christian Nationalism*, Norton, New York, 2006, p 210.

## The Christian Right and American Politics

This thesis is concerned with what influence the Christian right has on American politics *today*, and Frank Lambert, Professor of History at Purdue University has written a perceptive history: *Religion in American Politics: A Short History*,<sup>30</sup> arguing that from 'the election of 1800, when Federalist clergymen charged that deist Thomas Jefferson was unfit to lead a "Christian nation", to today, when some Democrats want to embrace the so-called religious Left in order to compete with the Republicans and the religious right, religion has always been a part of American politics.'<sup>31</sup> William Martin's *With God On Our Side*,<sup>32</sup> traces the rise of the Christian right in America and its impact on post-war politics, as does Daniel Williams' *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian right*,<sup>33</sup> which focuses on the influence of the Christian right on the Republican Party. *Religion and Politics in the Contemporary United States*,<sup>34</sup> is a collection of essays from *The American Quarterly* that cover religion and politics from a wide variety of viewpoints. In *American Theocracy*,<sup>35</sup> Kevin Phillips takes an uncompromising view of the Bush administration, arguing that religion assumed an unprecedented role under George W. Bush, as more and more Republicans thought in apocalyptic terms and sought to shape both domestic and foreign policy around religion.

## The Influence of Religion on American Elections

The examination of religion and American politics prompts another question as to what sort of influence the Christian right may have on American elections. The 2004 presidential election, for example, is often referred to as

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<sup>30</sup> Lambert, F., *Religion in American Politics: A Short History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid*, frontispiece.

<sup>32</sup> Martin, W., *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*, Broadway Books, New York, 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Williams, D., *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian right*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010.

<sup>34</sup> Griffith, R. M., and McAlister, M., *Religion and Politics in the Contemporary United States*, Essays from the American Quarterly, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2008.

<sup>35</sup> Phillips, K., *American Theocracy*, Viking, New York, 2006.

'the values campaign' and David Campbell's edited essays in *A Matter of Faith: Religion in the 2004 Presidential Campaign*,<sup>36</sup> and *The Values Campaign: The Christian right and the 2004 Elections*,<sup>37</sup> by John Green, Mark Rozell and Clyde Wilcox contain an analysis of the role of the religious right in that election, including their strategies, such as micro-targeting (something that Ralph Reed discussed with the author) to mobilise the faithful.

### **The Faith of the Presidents**

Presidents have significant influence over foreign policy and the public papers of the Presidents of the United States, together with autobiographies, biographies and other sources have been researched in some detail with a view to determining what role religion may have played in influencing the various presidents' foreign policy decisions in relation to Israel, starting with Truman and the formation of the State of Israel in 1948. There are, unsurprisingly, myriad biographies on U.S. Presidents, but relatively few of these focus on their religious faith. Bush is an exception, given his public 'road to Damascus' moment with Pastor Billy Graham. Stephen Mansfield's works, including *The Faith of George W. Bush*,<sup>38</sup> and *The Faith of Barack Obama*,<sup>39</sup> provide an insight into how Bush and Obama's faith might have influenced their decisions on U.S. foreign policy. Paul Merkley, in his *American Presidents, Religion and Israel*,<sup>40</sup> argues that while faith alone does not determine action, religious belief does play a role in the policies that presidents, and the nation, adopt toward the Jewish state.

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<sup>36</sup> Campbell, D. E., (ed), *A Matter of Faith: Religion in the 2004 Presidential Election*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C., 2007.

<sup>37</sup> Green, J., Rozell, M. J., and Wilcox, C., *The Values Campaign*, Georgetown University Press, Washington, 2006.

<sup>38</sup> Mansfield, S., *The Faith of George W. Bush*, Penguin, New York, 2003.

<sup>39</sup> Mansfield, S., *The Faith of Barack Obama*, Thomas Nelson, New York, 2011.

<sup>40</sup> Merkley, P.C., *American Presidents, Religion and Israel*, Praeger, Connecticut, 2004.

## Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy

The literature review confirmed the links between religion and U.S. foreign policy, revealing a number of articles from key journals, amongst them *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, which publishes, inter alia, essays on religion and U.S. foreign policy. *Faith and Foreign Policy: A View From The Pews*,<sup>41</sup> is a case in point, in which the authors survey religious groups' attitudes to U.S. foreign policy. *Survival*, the journal of the UK International Institute for Strategic Studies, is a leading forum for analysis of debate on international and strategic affairs, and in 2014, Paul D. Miller's essay *Evangelicals, Israel and US Foreign Policy*, was published, in which he postulates that America's Middle East policy has been a haphazard blend of hard-headed realism, idealism and dispensational theology – a mix that has not, he argues, served America well.<sup>42</sup>

Lee Marsden, in *For God's Sake: the Christian right and US Foreign Policy*,<sup>43</sup> argues that religious fundamentalism can be a powerful force, not only in influencing domestic politics but also influencing the way America acts abroad, and in his view, it's an influence that no politician in America can afford to ignore,<sup>44</sup> reinforcing the need for this research. An indication of this influence was seen at Pastor Hagee's most recent 2015 CUFI National Summit, with *Algemeiner* reporting on presidential candidates 'making their pitch to Christian Zionists',<sup>45</sup> including former Florida governor, Jeb Bush; former Arkansas governor, Mike Huckabee; former New York governor, George Pataki; former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum, and Senators

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<sup>41</sup> Guth, J. L., Green, J. C., Kellstedt, L. A. & Smidt, C. E., *Faith and Foreign Policy: A View From the Pews*, *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Vol 3, Iss 2, 2005.

<sup>42</sup> Miller, P., *Evangelicals, Israel and US Foreign Policy*, *Survival*, Vol 56, Iss 1, 2014.

<sup>43</sup> Marsden, L., op.cit.

<sup>44</sup> Marsden, L., op.cit. p 1.

<sup>45</sup> Kamaras, J., and JNS.org, *Presidential Candidates Make Their Pitch to Christian Zionists*, *Algemeiner*, 15 July 2015, retrieved 16 July 2015, <<http://www.algemeiner.com/2015/07/15/presidential-candidates-make-their-pitch-to-christian-zionists/#>>.

Lindsay Graham and Ted Cruz, with the latter calling the [Obama] administration's policy on Israel "heartbreaking".<sup>46</sup>

Professor Mark Amstutz has contributed to the field with *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy*,<sup>47</sup> albeit on a broader canvas which includes human rights, global poverty and missionary activities. As this research points out, American policy toward Israel has many complex facets, and although Amstutz backs Hagee's views on the importance of Genesis 12:3 (God will bless those who bless Israel) and the evangelical link to the Holy Land, he also acknowledges the role more generally, of the shared democratic values between Israel and the American people.<sup>48</sup>

## The Tea Party

The review revealed that the Tea Party has a substantial evangelical base, and as a result, the Tea Party was chosen as a case study. One of the most comprehensive publications on the links between the Tea Party movement and the evangelicals has been written by David Brody who was interviewed as part of this research. As noted in the main thesis, Brody, the Chief Political Correspondent for the Christian Broadcasting Network (founded by televangelist and presidential candidate, Pat Robertson), has followed the Christian right for over two decades. With a foreword by 2016 presidential candidate, Mike Huckabee, his aptly titled *Teavangelicals: The Inside Story of How The Evangelicals and The Tea Party are Taking Back America*,<sup>49</sup> charts the rise of a movement that has found a partner in the evangelical cause, drawing in Christian conservatives from across the country. In addition to domestic policies like smaller government, less taxes, and less regulation, many Tea Party groups are stridently critical of Obama and American policy toward Israel and they aim to ensure there is greater support. Whilst Brody's

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<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Amstutz, M., *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2014.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Brody, D., *Teavangelicals: The Inside Story of how The Evangelicals and The Tea Party are Taking Back America*, Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2012.

description of the Tea Party as a movement made up of one half evangelical members, with the remaining half as libertarians is challenged (rightly in this author's opinion), it is nevertheless a work written as a result of a long, close association with the Christian right.

In 2010, following the shock appearance of the Tea Party movement on the American political scene the previous year, Peter Montgomery, a Senior Fellow at People for the American Way, published an insightful journal article entitled *The Tea Party and Religious Right Movements: Frenemies with Benefits*,<sup>50</sup> in which he, like Brody, charts the influence of the movement and the religious right component within it. Montgomery was also interviewed, as was Doctor Lawrence Rosenthal, Executive Director of the Berkeley Center for Right Wing Studies and the co-editor of *Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party*.<sup>51</sup> Unlike Brody, Montgomery has a more nuanced view of Tea Party composition, which is examined in the case study. *Tea Party Patriots: The Second American Revolution*,<sup>52</sup> was also of interest, principally because it was co-written by Jenny Beth Martin, who as an unemployed mother of two, co-founded the Tea Party Patriots, one of the largest grassroots Tea Party groups in the U.S.

Essays like *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*,<sup>53</sup> published in *Perspectives on Politics* provides arguments that the emergence of the Tea Party energised a post-2008 demoralised Republican Party, reshaping many GOP primaries and enhancing voter turnout, albeit with mixed results in the 2010 midterms. *Tea Party Influence: A Story of Activists*

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<sup>50</sup> Montgomery, P., *The Tea Party and Religious Right Movements: Frenemies with Benefits*, People for the American Way, November 2012, retrieved 23 January, 2015, < <http://www.pfaw.org/rww-in-focus/the-tea-party-and-religious-right-movements-frenemies-with-benefits>>.

<sup>51</sup> Rosenthal, L., and Trost, C. (eds), *Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2012.

<sup>52</sup> Martin, J.B., and Meckler, M., *Tea Party Patriots: The Second American Revolution*, Henry Holt & Co, New York, 2012.

<sup>53</sup> Coggin, J., Skocpol, T., and Williamson, V., *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*, *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol 9, March, 2011.

*and Elites*,<sup>54</sup> published in *American Politics' Research* is one of many other insightful papers in which the authors argue that understanding how the Tea Party has affected congressional elections helps understand, not only an important political movement, but how movements affect politics more generally.

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<sup>54</sup> Bailey, M., Mummolo, J., and Noel, H., *Tea Party Influence: A Story of Elites*, American Politics Research, Vol 40, September 2012.



## Appendix C

**A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR THREAT****The Iranian Nuclear Program**

According to a 2013 report by Ali Vaez from the Federation of American Scientists and Karim Sadjadpour from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace – the first to tabulate the costs of Iran’s nuclear program, including lost foreign investment and oil revenue, Iran’s half-century nuclear odyssey has been marked by enormous financial costs, unpredictable risks, and unclear motivations with costs measured in today’s dollars exceeding US\$100 billion.<sup>55</sup> The Bushehr reactor alone has taken nearly four decades to complete, making it one of the most expensive reactors in the world.

As the map on the following page shows,<sup>56</sup> Iran’s nuclear facilities are extensive and go well beyond that required for domestic power supply or peaceful research. Iran operates three Uranium mines including a mine at Saghand which commenced operations in 2004 and produces 50 tonnes of low grade ore a year.<sup>57</sup> It should be noted, however, that this is a long way short of what is required for a nuclear weapon. Uranium consists overwhelmingly ( $\approx 99.3\%$ ) of Uranium 238 ( $U_{238}$ ) which is non-fissionable and therefore of no use in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Fissionable Uranium 235 ( $U_{235}$ ), the atom of which contains just three less neutrons than  $U_{238}$ , is critical for a nuclear capability. Less than 0.3% of it occurs naturally in Uranium ore, so countries wishing to obtain kilograms of weapons-grade

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<sup>55</sup> Sadjadpour, K, and Vaez, A., *Iran’s Nuclear Odyssey: Costs and Risks*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2 April 2013, retrieved 20 March 2015, <<http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/04/02/iran-s-nuclear-odyssey-costs-and-risks/fvui>>.

<sup>56</sup> Fitzpatrick, M., *What is Iran Hiding at Parchin*, The Institute for International Security (ISIS), 22 February 2012, retrieved 20 March 2015, <<https://www.iiss.org/en/iiss%20voices/blogsections/2012-6d11/february-2012-a44c/what-is-iran-hiding-at-parchin-0d37>>.

<sup>57</sup> Nuclear Iran, The Institute for International Security (ISIS), retrieved 20 March 2015, <<http://www.isisnucleariran.org/sites/detail/uranium-mining/>>.



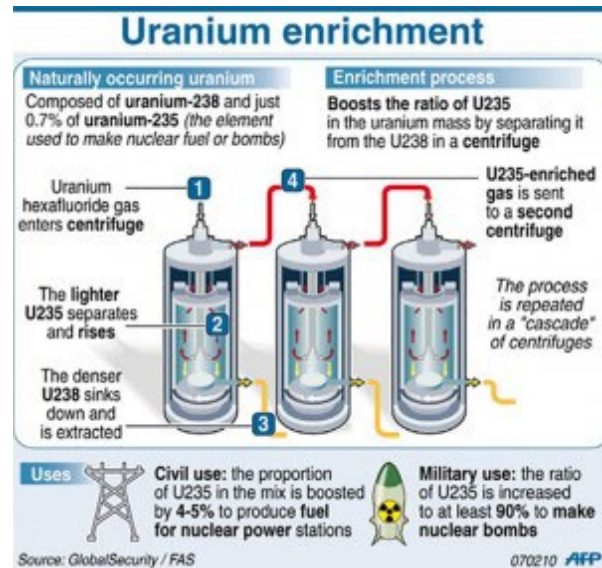
**Iranian Nuclear Facilities**<sup>58</sup>

material must enrich this minute amount to a purity of greater than 95%. This is a time-consuming and very expensive operation which is difficult to conceal from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and Western intelligence agencies, but the Iranians have put in place some 15,000 centrifuges which over time, gives Iran that capability.

To enrich Uranium ore, the ore must first be converted to a gas by combining it with Fluorine, an extremely reactive, highly toxic gas to form Uranium Hexafluoride. This operation is carried out at the Iranian's purpose-built conversion plant at Esfahan. The gas is then fed into centrifuges – tall, thin cylinders that spin at over 90,000 rpm. The technology is highly complex, as at that speed, a thumbprint is enough to throw the centrifuges off their finely

<sup>58</sup> Fitzpatrick, M., op.cit.

engineered bearings and destroy them (a speed weakness that the Stuxnet virus attack exploited by invading Iran's Siemens computers and destructively



varying the centrifuge speeds).

The extraordinarily high speed is essential to allow the U<sub>238</sub>, with only three extra neutrons, to sink to the bottom of the centrifuge.

The lighter U<sub>235</sub> *tends* to separate and rise to the top from where it can be extracted. Still highly impure, it is fed into another centrifuge, and another, and yet

another – many thousands of times over before weapons-grade purity of >95% can be achieved. The enrichment plant at Natanz reportedly contained some 7,000 centrifuges<sup>59</sup> in a hardened facility designed to take up to 50,000 machines. Whilst the enrichment plant at Natanz is encased in hardened concrete, it is the plant at Fordow that has caused most concern. Unknown to Western intelligence agencies until 2009, the Fordow plant near the ancient city of Qom has been buried deep in a mountainside tunnel, to



<sup>59</sup> Albright, A, and Shire, J., IAEA Report on Iran, 5 June 2009, retrieved 20 March 2015, <[http://www.isisnucleariran.org/assets/pdf/Iran\\_IAEA\\_Report\\_Analysis\\_5June2009.pdf](http://www.isisnucleariran.org/assets/pdf/Iran_IAEA_Report_Analysis_5June2009.pdf)>.

protect it against the U.S. 'Massive Ordnance Penetrator' bomb – a 30,000 kg bomb which despite its size, may not be powerful enough to destroy Fordow.<sup>60</sup> As outlined in the main thesis, of even greater concern is the construction of a heavy water reactor at Arak, some 240 km to the south west of Tehran in western central Iran. Conventional reactors (the Bushehr reactor is a conventional reactor) are cooled and moderated by ordinary 'light' water – H<sub>2</sub>O.

Less than 8% of the world's reactors<sup>61</sup> are moderated by heavy water or D<sub>2</sub>O where normal hydrogen is replaced by deuterium – an isotope of hydrogen which has an extra neutron. As only one part in 5,000 of ordinary water contains D<sub>2</sub>O it is time consuming and very expensive to produce, raising the question as to why Iran would be going to all this effort. The answer may be two-fold. Firstly, heavy water reactors run on un-enriched Uranium, which is not subject to monitoring by the IAEA. Secondly, all reactors produce plutonium as a by-product but unlike ordinary reactors, heavy water reactors do not have to be shut down to extract it, again avoiding scrutiny by the IAEA. Iran already possesses missiles capable of reaching Israel with a nuclear warhead and possession of enriched Uranium (>95%) and Plutonium would give Iran a dual path to the development of a warhead, mirroring the Allied program in the lead up to the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Hiroshima was hit with a 9,000 pound Uranium-235 bomb known as 'Little Boy' and Nagasaki was bombed with a more powerful 10,000 pound Plutonium-239 bomb known as 'Fat Man'. Just 1 kilogram of Plutonium-239 is equivalent to nearly 20,000 tonnes of TNT, and 10 kilograms of Plutonium would be enough to destroy large parts of cities like New York, London, Sydney, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The Iranian nuclear program also raises the possibility of terrorists from organisations such as the Iranian-supported

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<sup>60</sup> Barnes, J. E. and Entous, A., *Pentagon Seeks Mightier Bomb vs Iran*, Wall Street Journal, 28 January 2012, retrieved 20 March 2015, <<http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203363504577187420287098692>>.

<sup>61</sup> *Heavy Water Reactors: Status and Projected Development*, International Atomic Energy Agency Technical Report 407, Vienna, 2002, retrieved 20 March 2015, <[http://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/publications/PDF/TRS407\\_scr/D407\\_scr1.pdf](http://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/publications/PDF/TRS407_scr/D407_scr1.pdf)>.



Hezbollah or Hamas coming into possession of nuclear devices which would take Jihad and suicide missions to a catastrophic level.



**Part of the Iranian Heavy Water Reactor at Arak – the towers of the heavy water plant are at right**

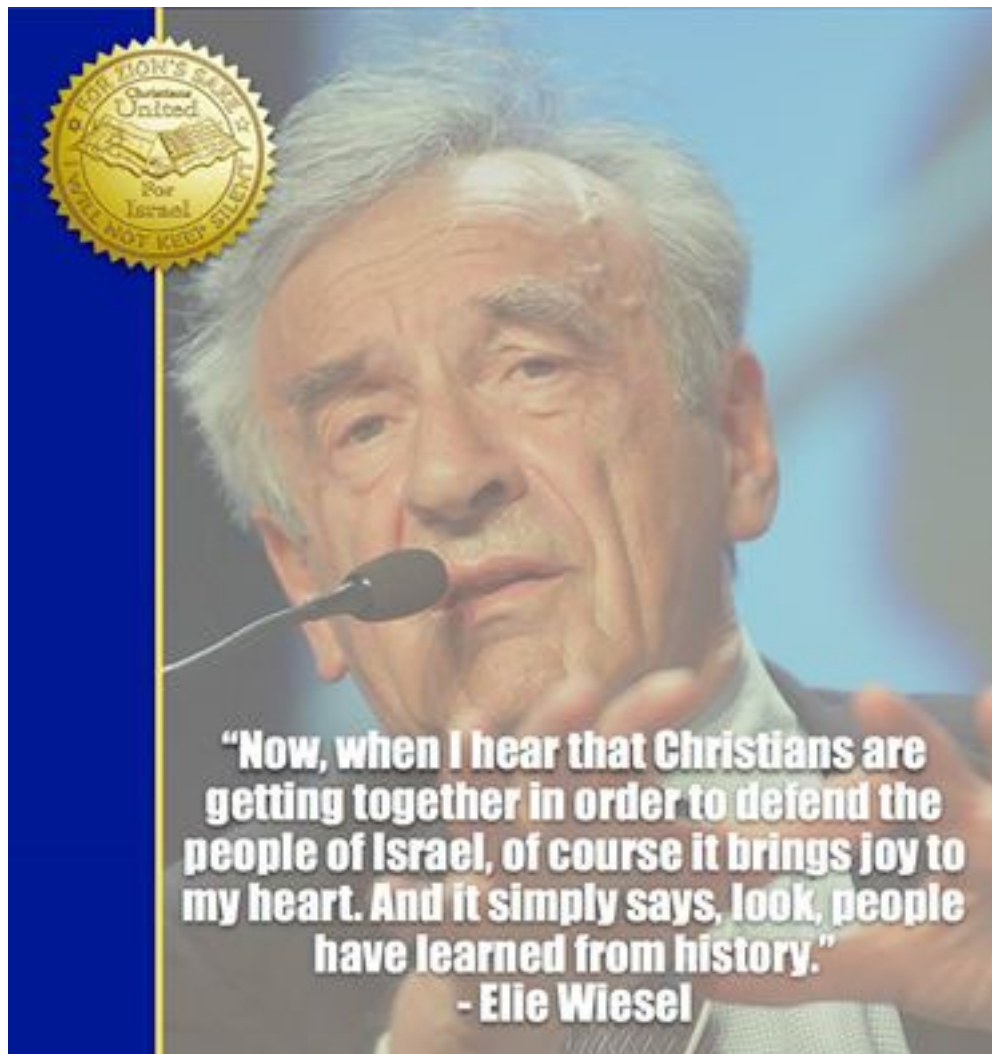


**The dome of the reactor in the foothills of the mountains surrounding Arak**

## Appendix D

**CUFI FACEBOOK, ACTION ALERTS AND TALKING POINTS****Facebook**

CUFI maintains a very active Facebook site.<sup>62</sup> The importance of this can be seen from the typical example below that not only has 4,047 CUFI Facebook fans 'liked' the post, but even more importantly, 998 people have shared it, generating more shares and an exponential endorsement expansion. Digital and social media is a powerful marketing tool that CUFI uses very effectively.



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<sup>62</sup> Christians United for Israel Facebook site, retrieved 1 December 2015, <<https://www.facebook.com/ChristiansUnitedforIsrael/>>.



4,047 people like this.  
998 shares



**Denise Loeffler** I am honored to defend Israel. The apple of Gods eye!

Like · Reply · 50 · November 29 at 12:01am



**Pauline Clapperton** I'll always stand with Israel.

### Rapid Response Action Alerts

Many of CUFI's action alerts have been issued whenever the Obama Administration has moved toward reaching an agreement on Iran's nuclear capability, an example of which appears below. As the author is on the CUFI alert list, the emails are addressed personally, as they are to all others on the CUFI membership list.<sup>63</sup>



Dear Adrian,

This may well be the most important historical juncture of our lifetimes. Congress is in the midst of deciding whether or not to support President

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<sup>63</sup> Christians United For Israel Action Alert Email, 5 August, 2015.

Obama's disastrous agreement with Iran that will put \$150 billion in the hands of the world's leading sponsor of terror and will birth a Middle East nuclear arms race.<sup>[L][L][L][SEP]</sup> Over the last few weeks you and other CUFI members have sent over 200,000 emails to Capitol Hill asking Congress to vote against this dangerous deal. **[If you haven't sent an email to Congress, please click here to do so now.](#)**<sup>[L][L][L][SEP]</sup> **Now we need to take our effort to the next level. We need to flood the Hill with phone calls. [Please click here to call your members of Congress to ask them to vote against the Iran Deal.](#)**

**Congress needs to hear that the majority of Americans oppose this bad deal and oppose it enough to take the time to call. [The few minutes you spend making calls can make a profound difference on the outcome of the vote.](#)**

<sup>[L][L][L][SEP]</sup> **[Click here for your members of Congress' phone numbers and a suggested script.](#)**

<sup>[L][L][L][SEP]</sup> In addition to **[sending emails](#)** and **[making calls](#)**, we are organizing meetings with members of Congress in their home offices during the August recess. If you are interested in meeting with your members of Congress to discuss the Iran deal please email us at [townhalls@cufi.org](mailto:townhalls@cufi.org).

We are also organizing CUFI members to ask questions about the Iran deal at their representatives' town hall meetings. If you sign up at the above address, we will also notify you about relevant town hall meetings near your home and enable you to attend and speak out against the deal.<sup>[L][L][L][SEP]</sup> We can think of nothing more important to the future of America and Israel than defeating this dangerous deal.

Pastor John Hagee  
Chairman

David Brog  
Executive Director



## Talking Points

CUFI regularly issue 'Talking Points' by email, an example of which appears below, issued on 4 September 2015 following agreement for the Iran deal.<sup>64</sup>



### **Be outraged and join us as we fight on**

In the wake of President Obama receiving enough support in the Senate to uphold his disastrous Iran nuclear deal, the free world is now facing an invigorated foe. Tehran's tyrants no doubt believe that they have won. But we must be fearless, we must stand up and we must fight on. And that is precisely what CUFI intends to do. First of all, we will continue to fight for every Democratic vote to ensure that President Obama will be forced to use his veto. In addition, we will continue to fight against Iran's support of international terrorism. While the Iran nuclear deal inhibits our ability to sanction Iran for its nuclear activities, the Islamic Republic remains the world's leading sponsor of terror. And this leading sponsor of terror will soon receive billions more with which to spread death and destruction. CUFI will lead the charge in efforts to sanction Iran for its backing of organizations like Hezbollah, Hamas and those who have killed so many of our soldiers in Iraq. Finally, the sequence of events that led up to the now imminent advancement of the Iran nuclear agreement has brought into stark relief the old axiom that elections have consequences. We can never again allow a president so disconnected from the realities of the Middle East to occupy the White House. Therefore, we simply cannot sit and watch as people who share our values sit at home on Election Day.

The fight is not over. Do not cower; do not lick your wounds, do not throw up your hands. Rather, be outraged and join us as we fight on.

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<sup>64</sup> Christians United for Israel Talking Points Email, Friday 4 September, 2015.

## Appendix E

**ANALYSIS OF PASTOR HAGEE'S FOUR BLOOD MOONS EXEGESIS**

As outlined in the main thesis, Hagee's most recent prophetic warning concerned an eclipse of the sun on 20 March, 2015 and the accompanying 'four blood moons' of 2014 and 2015 – 15 April, 2014, 8 October, 2014, 20 March, 2015, and 28 September 2015). Hagee believed that eclipse of the sun, accompanied by the 2014-15 blood moons were a sign from God pointing 'to a world-shaking event that would happen between April, 2014 and October 2015.'<sup>65</sup>

In the light of these warnings, it is pertinent to provide a brief scientific summary, to counter (in the author's view) Hagee's suspect biblical exegesis. Based on data from NASA, we find that total eclipses of the sun occur once every one to three years – infrequent, but hardly rare.<sup>66</sup> Every one to three years, conditions exist to satisfy the solar element of Hagee's biblical

<sup>65</sup> Hagee, J., *The Four Blood Moons*, John Hagee Ministries, 2 September 2013, retrieved 3 March, 2015, < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RoVJkeHuzuE>>.

<sup>66</sup> Espenak, F., *Solar Eclipses: 2011 – 2020*, NASA Eclipse Website, retrieved 30 April 2015, < <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEdecade/SEdecade2011.html>>.

prophecy – that the sun will darken. Tetrads occur less frequently. In the last century there were five: 1909-10; 1927-28; 1949-50; 1967-68; and 1985-86.<sup>67</sup> As far these tetrads are concerned, there was a total eclipse of the sun amongst every one of them: in 1910, in 1927, in 1950, in 1967, and in 1985.<sup>68</sup> According to NASA's internationally renowned Emeritus astrophysicist, Fred Espenak, who specialises in the prediction of eclipses and after whom Asteroid 14120 Espenak was named in 2003, 'during the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there are 8 sets of tetrads, so I would describe tetrads as a frequent occurrence in the current pattern of lunar eclipses ... but this has not always been the case. During the three hundred year interval from 1600 to 1900, for instance, there were no tetrads at all.'<sup>69</sup> Interestingly, the 2014-15 tetrad on which Hagee is placing so much significance has already been preceded by this century's first tetrad which occurred in 2003-04, accompanied by a total solar eclipse on 23 November 2003. The first tetrad of the century would also have satisfied the requirements for Hagee's current prophecy that, inter alia, the Son of Man is coming soon. The other six tetrads are expected in 2032-33, 2043-44, 2050-51, 2061-62, 2072-73, and 2090-91,<sup>70</sup> of which, all but one are accompanied by a total solar eclipse (the 2050-51 tetrad has a total solar eclipse occurring the following year in March of 2052).<sup>71</sup> In summary, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century there have been five tetrads or 'blood moons', each accompanied by a total solar eclipse. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there are eight 'blood moons' and with the exception of 2050-51, all are accompanied by a total solar eclipse.

On the one hand, Hagee argues that there have only been three tetrads concerning Israel in 500 years. On the other, he maintains that blood moons

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<sup>67</sup> Espenak, F., *Five Millennium Catalog of Lunar Eclipses: 1901 to 2000*, NASA Eclipse Website, retrieved 30 April 2015, < <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/LEcat5/LE1901-2000.html>>.

<sup>68</sup> Espenak, F., *Five Millennium Catalog of Solar Eclipses: 1901 to 2000*, NASA Eclipse Website, retrieved 30 April 2015, < <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEcat5/SE1901-2000.html>>.

<sup>69</sup> Espenak, F., *A Tetrad of Lunar Eclipses*, NASA Science News, 27 March, 2014, retrieved 30 April 2015, < [http://science.nasa.gov/science-news/science-at-nasa/2014/27mar\\_tetrad/](http://science.nasa.gov/science-news/science-at-nasa/2014/27mar_tetrad/)>.

<sup>70</sup> Espenak, F., *Five Millennium Catalog of Lunar Eclipses: 2001 to 2100*, NASA Eclipse Website, retrieved 30 April 2015, < <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/LEcat5/LE2001-2100.html>>.

<sup>71</sup> Espenak, F., *Five Millennium Catalog of Solar Eclipses: 2001 to 2100*, NASA Eclipse Website, retrieved 30 April 2015, < <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/LEcat5/LE2001-2100.html>>.

are a warning to Israel, failing to explain why the numerous other blood moons were apparently not directed toward Israel. As the author's brief scientific summary demonstrates, Hagee's biblical exegesis does not stand up to the scientific record. Leaving aside there was no tetrad in 1948 as Hagee claims (it was 1949-1950), blood moons occurring with total solar eclipses have occurred on no fewer than five occasions last century and will occur seven times (eight including 2050-51) this century. Finally, Hagee also claimed the fact that the 2014-15 lunar eclipses fell on Jewish holidays is significant. Doctor Hugh Ross, a Christian astronomer who appeared on a panel to discuss the blood moons with Hagee, argued that 'the blood moons cannot have any prophetic significance ... sets of four [lunar eclipses] are common and it's a statistical certainty that you're going to find some historical [date] significance with any set of blood moons.'<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Ross, H., *Christian Astronomer Debunks John Hagee's 'Blood Moons' Theory*, RWW News, 6 April 2015, retrieved 30 April 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rviCjwRN3XI>>.

## ANTI-SEMITISM, BOYCOTTS, DIVESTMENT AND SANCTIONS, AND STUDENTS FOR JUSTICE IN PALESTINE

### Anti-Semitism

The major long-term threats facing Israel today include a nuclear-armed Iran and Iranian proxies like Hezbollah, but just as worrying from the point of view of Netanyahu, the Republican Party, the Christian right and other pro-Israeli



groups is an insidious rise of anti-Semitism. For example, the anti-Semitic marches in London in July 2014, (at left and below) mirror the anti-Semitism of 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe at the time of the Dreyfus trial, following which, Theodore Herzl wrote *Der*

*Judenstat – The Jewish State*. At that time, anti-Semitism was a catalyst for Herzl's formation of the World Zionist Organisation which first met in Basel in 1897. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it would seem unconscionable that fifteen or even ten years ago, Europe would tolerate protesters carrying banners embossed with "Hitler – You Were Right", "Gas the Jews", "God Hates Jews" or "God Hates Israel", but such signs are now appearing in London, Paris and other major cities in Europe.



This disturbing trend is supported by reports from the Anti-Defamation League, the colleges and universities themselves, as well as recent research by the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law and Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut.

At one level, in May 2015, the Anti-Defamation League reported that Jewish students have reported feeling safe on campuses.<sup>73</sup> The ADL also commented that an alarming anti-Semitic incident at the University of California was relatively rare. In the incident in question, a Jewish sophomore, Rachel Beyda, had applied to be on the UCLA Student Council Judicial Board – the campus equivalent of a Supreme Court – but was interrogated at interview as to how she could maintain an unbiased view, given she was Jewish. The decision to not appoint her was reversed, with an apology, following intervention by faculty staff. On another level, the ADL also reported that the 2014-15 academic year had seen a significant increase in anti-Israel and anti-Semitic activities across U.S. college campuses, recording '520 anti-Israel events on campuses ... an increase of 38% over the previous year [and the ADL] also counted 29 campaigns related to the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement, noting this was almost double the instances seen in the previous year.'<sup>74</sup>

Internal reports also document anti-Semitic incidents on campus. *The College Fix*, at UC Santa Barbara for example, reports that a protest wall condemning Israeli 'apartheid' was constructed ahead of a student vote on measures to divest from Israel. The report recorded:

'testimony from Margaux Gundzik, who was present at the run-up to the vote: "In those eight hours, I was told that

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<sup>73</sup> Anti-Defamation League, *Anti-Semitic Incidents on College Campuses in 2015*, 26 May 2015, retrieved 30 May 2015, < <http://blog.adl.org/anti-semitism/anti-semitism-on-college-campuses-in-2015>>.

<sup>74</sup> Staff Reporters, *Anti-Israel activity on US campuses sees 'marked increase'*, Times of Israel, 30 May 2015, retrieved 1 June 2015, < [http://www.timesofisrael.com/anti-israel-activity-on-us-campuses-sees-marked-increase/?utm\\_source=The+Times+of+Israel+Daily+Edition&utm\\_campaign=3129663c84-2015\\_05\\_30&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_adb46cec92-3129663c84-55168269](http://www.timesofisrael.com/anti-israel-activity-on-us-campuses-sees-marked-increase/?utm_source=The+Times+of+Israel+Daily+Edition&utm_campaign=3129663c84-2015_05_30&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_adb46cec92-3129663c84-55168269)>.



Jews control the government, that all Jews are rich, that Zionism is racism, that the marginalization of Jewish students is justified because it prevents the marginalization of other minority groups, that Israel sterilizes its Ethiopian women, and that Palestinians in America who speak out against Israel are sought out by the IDF and denied entrance into Israel.”<sup>75</sup>

Further in-depth research adds weight to the Pew research and the other reports. In 2014, Doctor Barry Kosmin and Doctor Ariela Keysar from Trinity College, Connecticut, together with Kenneth L. Marcus from the Louis D. Brandeis Center in Washington, conducted online interviews of 1,157 self-identified Jewish students. This research found that 54% of Jewish students on U.S. campuses had either received or witnessed anti-Semitic attacks.<sup>76</sup> The report points out that ‘since the vast majority of young American Jews spend four or more years studying at universities and colleges, an important policy question is to what extent anti-Semitic victimization is associated with the social climate on the nation’s university and college campuses today.’<sup>77</sup>

As indicated in the main body of this thesis, there is video evidence of faculty on U.S. campuses with a disturbingly one-sided view with, for example, professors lecturing classes at Northeastern and demonstrating an apparent anti-Israel and, at times, anti-Semitic viewpoint.<sup>78</sup> Middle East studies departments, it is claimed, are particularly egregious in their promotion of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism. Shahid Alam for example, Professor of Economics at Northeastern University and a Pakistani citizen, maintains that a mostly Jewish elite group has sought to place American power in the service

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<sup>75</sup> Algemeiner, *Chilling College Reports Highlight Rising Antisemitism (sic) on University of California Campuses*, 7 May 2015, retrieved 1 June 2015, <<http://www.algemeiner.com/2015/05/07/chilling-college-reports-highlight-rising-antisemitism-on-university-of-california-campuses/ucsb-2/>>.

<sup>76</sup> Keysar, A., and Kosmin, B. A., *National Demographic Survey of American Jewish College Students 2014: Anti-Semitism Report*, Louis D. Brandeis Center and Trinity College, Hartford, February, 2015, retrieved 16 May 2015, <<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/anti-semitism/trinityantisemreport.pdf>>.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Peacet, *Denis Sullivan: Anti-Semitic Education at Northeastern University*, retrieved 11 June 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A9mmOicDA4>>.

of Israel.

'I have been teaching here at Northeastern for 22 years, and, you know, 10 years back, if I were to articulate the most modest, mildest criticisms of Israel, there would be a group of students who would jump for my jugular, and not one student would speak for the other side. Today, over the last few years, that situation has been entirely reversed. Completely reversed, so that most of my students, many of my students, understand, know the truth. Young people know the truth. Partisans of Israel have been trying to shut out the truth. The daylight of truth about Zionism, about Israel and the history of these two ... and their crimes against humanity, their war crimes. When I speak, I speak in every course. In all my courses there are matters which allow me to talk about colonialism, and settler colonialism, [and] imperialism. I talk about all those and people listen with great appreciation and attention. And no one disagrees. If there are one or two people who want to say something, they don't because they can sense that they will get no support from the class. You know we should really laugh away [any] accusation of anti-Semitism,' Alam says. 'It has now become laughable. And there may come a time when you almost wear that label as a mark of distinction. Don't be afraid of someone calling you an anti-Semite – laugh at them.'<sup>79</sup>

Professor Alam's 'lecture', which ended in a round of applause, is disturbing. Israel has her critics, but to claim there is some sort of victory in completely reversing a situation from one where it was difficult to criticise Israel to one where none of his students will put a counter to his anti-Israel, pro-Palestinian view, strikes at the heart of what a good university seeks to do – to thoroughly educate undergraduates – and in this case, to encourage them to openly debate both sides of an aspect of international relations without fear or favour; and from the research cited in this thesis, it is evident that Northeastern University is not the only campus where anti-Israel and in some cases, anti-Semitic behavior is growing.

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<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*



## The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement (BDS)

The BDS campaign takes into account three broad sections of the Palestinian people: refugees; those under military occupation in the West Bank; and Palestinians in Israel and the campaign 'urges various forms of boycott against Israel until it meets its obligations under international law by: ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands occupied in June 1967 and dismantling the Wall; recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194.<sup>80</sup> The call for boycotts targets Israeli products and companies, as well as academic, cultural and sporting organisations. In recent months, pro-Israel rallies, both on and off campuses, have involved ugly clashes with pro-Palestinian supporters. In July 2014 for example, a rally outside Israel's consular offices in Boston turned ugly when eleven pro-Israel university student supporters were surrounded by over 100 anti-Israel protestors chanting "Jesus Killers" and asking how many babies the Israelis had murdered.<sup>81</sup>



**Anti-Israel Protestors in Boston**<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> BDS Movement Website, retrieved 8 June 2015, < <http://www.bdsmovement.net/bdsintro>>.

<sup>81</sup> Lebovic, M., *Pro-Israel students 'assaulted' at Boston protest*, The Times of Israel, 13 July 2014, retrieved 10 June 2015, < <http://www.timesofisrael.com/pro-israel-students-assaulted-at-boston-protest/>>.

<sup>82</sup> Staff Reporters, *Anti-Israel activity on US campuses sees 'marked increase'*, The Times of Israel, 30 May 2015, retrieved 10 June 2015, < <http://www.timesofisrael.com/anti-israel-activity-on-us-campuses-sees-marked-increase/>>.

It gets ugly on the streets and campuses, and even uglier on social media, as demonstrated by examples (below)<sup>83</sup> from the comments section (quoted with grammatical and spelling errors) in *The Times of Israel* report on the Boston incident:

**Nader Moghadam**

We are so sick of hearing people say that everyone hates jews .. no one gives a crap about what you guys do as long as its not encroaching on other human rights. I know this is all u heard growing up but it seems like jews hate muslims more than anything. Dont forget ur humble roots... if you want to play by the sword dont come crying when the world begins to change their feelings towards ur people.

**Ulysses Stueck**

Nader, you ignorant Arab fuck, Arabs in Israel have more freedoms and rights then Arabs in any other country with the possible exception of America. Jews don't hate Muslims because of their idiotic religion from the dark ages, they hate and fear their barbaric and murderous culture. You fictional bible, the fucking incredibly stupid Koran, encourages you true believers to deceive. lie to, and kill non-believers, especially Jews. Your people are brought up to hate Jews, and your people dance in the street for every Jewish death. This conflict is not over the 3 murdered Jewish teenagers, it is over the 6000+ missiles your fucking ignorant savage brethren have launched at Israeli population centers. Look in the mirror you ignorant fuck ... Stay in your own sand piles and kill each other, and we'll leave you along. Come for us and we will slaughter you.

## **Students for Justice in Palestine**

As outlined in the main thesis, the National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP) website describes the organisation as a grassroots network composed of students and recent graduates which provides resources and support to Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) chapters on university campuses. SJP chapters at various universities are autonomous and the national movement seeks to embody principles and ideals SJP envisions for a just

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<sup>83</sup> Lebovic, op.cit.

society, standing 'against homophobia, sexism, racism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, classism, colonialism and bigotry and discrimination in any form.'<sup>84</sup>



SJP's claim to be 'against anti-Semitism' is hotly disputed by many other analysts and organisations and backed up by media reports. In September 2014 for example, after just one of several incidents that are increasingly occurring on university campuses in the United States, Chicago's Loyola University Students for Justice in Palestine chapter was suspended after SJP students hurled insults at a group of Jewish students promoting trips to Israel.<sup>85</sup> In August 2014, Daniel Vessal, a Camera on Campus fellow (Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting) and a member of the Jewish fraternity AEPi at Temple University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was punched in the face by an SJP member when he suggested that the Palestinians had a right to a state, but it would not be possible until Hamas ceased firing rockets. According to witnesses, the 'discussion' reportedly escalated, with the SJP members calling Vessal a 'kike' (a derogatory term for a Jew which originated amongst illiterate immigrants on Ellis Island) and a 'baby killer' before an SJP member assaulted him with his colleagues shouting 'You Zionist pig, you racist, that's what you get'.<sup>86</sup> It should be

<sup>84</sup> Students for Justice in Palestine website, retrieved 11 June 2015, < <http://sjpnational.org/about/>>.

<sup>85</sup> Mael, D., *Students for Justice in Palestine at Loyola Univ. Chicago Temporarily Suspended*, Truth Revolt, 29 September 2014, retrieved 11 June 2015, <<http://www.truthrevolt.org/news/students-justice-palestine-loyola-univ-chicago-temporarily-suspended>>.

<sup>86</sup> Mael, D., *Temple Univ. Jewish Student Punched in Face and Called 'Kike' in Anti-Semitic Attack*, Truth Revolt, 20 August 2014, retrieved 11 June 2015, < <http://www.truthrevolt.org/news/temple-univ-jewish-student-punched-face-and-called-kike-anti-semitic-attack>>.

noted that both the references to these incidents are from reports in *Truth Revolt*, which is a pro-Israel publication sponsored by David Horowitz (see below), but similar coverage has appeared in myriad other publications, including *Algemeiner*. There might also be some argument as to what constitutes anti-Semitism, compared to those incidents which are simply anti-Israel, but anti-Semitism can be defined as prejudice against, hatred of, or discrimination against Jews as an ethnic, religious or racial group, and calling a Jew a 'Zionist pig' and a 'racist' falls into the anti-Semitic, rather than anti-Israel category.



**A protest by Students for Justice in Palestine at Maryland University in 2009**

Occasionally however, there is rare common ground between SJP and pro-Israel and Jewish groups on campus. In early 2015, posters linking Students for Justice in Palestine with Jew Hatred and Palestinian brutality were found posted around the UCLA campus. The posters, marked at the bottom with '#JewHater', attempted to link Students for Justice in Palestine with acts of Palestinian brutality.



The poster below depicts Hamas dragging the body of a suspected Palestinian Israeli informer through the streets of Gaza. In an interview with the Jewish Journal, David Horowitz, a fiercely right-wing Jewish critic of Islam and founder of the David Horowitz Freedom Center admitted responsibility for the posters. 'That's correct,' he said. 'It is part of a campaign to raise awareness of the



epidemic of Jew hatred on college campuses like UCLA ... I want SJP to be officially recognised as a hate group and its campus privileges and financial support removed as they would be if it were an anti-black hate group.'<sup>87</sup>

Interviewed for this thesis (see main body), Student Senator Kadifa described Horowitz as an extremist,<sup>88</sup> and Horowitz's hate campaign generated a number of headlines, but the posters were considered to be abhorrent by SJP and Jewish campus groups alike, and the latter reached out to SJP, helping campus police to remove the posters and issuing a statement through the *Daily Bruin*, UCLA's daily newspaper:

'We would like to condemn the posters which were posted on campus this weekend labeling members of Students for Justice in Palestine as 'Jew Haters.' While we have in the past condemned speakers sponsored by SJP for their anti-Semitic rhetoric and believe the inappropriate singling out

<sup>87</sup> Sichel, J., *Conservative activist admits responsibility for #JewHaters posters at UCLA*, Jewish Journal 24 February 2015, retrieved 11 June 2015, <[http://www.jewishjournal.com/los\\_angeles/article/conservative\\_activist\\_david\\_horowitz\\_admits\\_responsibility\\_for\\_posters](http://www.jewishjournal.com/los_angeles/article/conservative_activist_david_horowitz_admits_responsibility_for_posters)>.

<sup>88</sup> Interview with Kadifa, op.cit.

of Israel to be discriminatory, we wholeheartedly condemn these actions and the malicious intent behind them. This sort of hostility and offensive language have no place on a university campus, especially one as diverse as UCLA.<sup>89</sup>

Student Senator Kadifa agreed that at times, protests could turn ugly, although this, he said, was sometimes overstated:

'There's definitely been some shoving and so forth, and before I came to Berkeley, a student from a Zionist organisation punched a Palestinian student, for which he was kicked out of the student government, but the media sometimes make it sound more exciting than it often is. That said, when I authored SB 160 [the Berkeley student Boycott, Divestment and Sanction Bill against companies supporting Israel], it was not an easy thing to go through. I'd walk into a bar and Israeli supporters wanted to punch me. When it comes to BDS, the whole campus is talking about it, so there is a lot of tension. The Senate held three 9-hour meetings that went until 4 and 5 in the morning. They could be quite dramatic, with a lot of emotions, including racism on display, a lot of crying, a lot of strong opinions and it continues to be an intimidating experience, but that's university, that's college, and that's also Berkeley.'<sup>90</sup>

Given the stalled peace process, these sometimes ugly clashes on university campuses are unlikely to abate.

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<sup>89</sup> Editorial, *Communities' unified response to offensive posters a welcome surprise*, Daily Bruin, 26 February 2015, retrieved 11 June 2015, < <http://dailybruin.com/2015/02/24/submission-jewish-groups-at-ucla-condemn-posters-accusing-sjp-of-anti-semitism/>>.

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