

**CHRISTIAN ZIONISM AMONG EVANGELICALS IN THE  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**

by

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# **‘Christian Zionism among Evangelicals in the Federal Republic of Germany’**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Christian Zionism is usually studied within an Anglo-American context. This thesis examines the movement in Germany after 1945. Its emergence from Restorationism, its development, and its present state are described. The movement was not imported from abroad, but to a large extent has German roots.

Analyses of ideaSpektrum, the weekly news magazine of the Evangelical Alliance, and of Evangelical books in German dealing with Israel and the end times explore the broader Evangelical context. German Evangelicals have a more moderate approach to Israel than Americans, but also display a narrower spectrum of views. No institutional voice promotes a non-Zionist position. There exists a large reservoir of pro-Israel sentiments and beliefs, exemplified in the common phrase ‘solidarity with Israel’, but this frequently falls short of a fully developed Christian Zionism.

Based on the literature surveyed, a model of the Christian Zionist system of ideas is developed to explain its coherence and persuasive power. In the resulting narrative, an Israel-centred retelling of the Biblical story and world history, Israel fulfils numerous functions and becomes an object of admiration or even veneration. The model shows that the Jewish-Christian past is far more important in Christian Zionism than commonly recognized. Dispensationalism is less important, at least outside of the United States.

In neo-Pentecostal circles, Christian Zionism takes on a number of unique characteristics, warranting the distinction of a Charismatic variety of Christian Zionism. It is particularly through this variety that Christian Zionist publications and other activities have increased dramatically since 1990, leading to an ‘Israel boom’ after the ‘prophecy boom’ of the 1970s.

The final chapter offers an Evangelical critique of the movement and of the observed structures of popular Evangelical thought, in which interpretation of Scripture and of world events is often dictated by an established tradition more than by anything else.



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Through a fortunate coincidence or an instance of divine providence, depending on one's worldview, the archives of the former Christian magazine Der Auftrag (The Commission) were entrusted to me at the early stages of my research. It consists of 20 large cardboard boxes filled with a wide variety of newsletters and Christian magazines, and proved a veritable treasure box. I am also indebted to the marvellous and very public academic library system in Germany. Since most contacts and enquiries ran through the internet, I did not get to know any of the people who make it work by name, but I am very grateful for everything they did, most of it unseen. Several Bible schools and seminaries (Wiedenest, Chrischona, Korntal, Neues Leben, Liebenzell, and the Bengel-Haus in Tübingen) granted me access to their libraries, for which I am greatly thankful as well.

Marcus Mockler (ideaSpektrum) read an early version of Chapter Four, which deals with the magazine he works for, and provided helpful comments. The Verein für Freikirchenforschung (Association for Research of Free Churches) gave me the opportunity to present my research at one of its conferences, which led to fruitful discussions. Leanne Flack and Hanspeter Bruns helped me to improve the English in this thesis. Rolf and Giovanna Reubi should be mentioned for their hospitality; spread out over three summers, I spent many weeks at their place in Switzerland, writing various parts of this thesis.

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A special thank-you goes to my closest colleagues, Olaf, Torsten, Marco, and Silvia, who have enabled me to withdraw for several years and concentrate on this thesis, and of course to my wonderful wife and most faithful friend Franziska, who always believed I could do it, even at times when I was not so sure myself.

Last but not least I want to express my immense gratitude to our friends and supporters, who, since they are many, must remain unnamed here. Thanks to them, this thesis could be completed without institutional funding. Throughout these years and through their generous support, they have demonstrated to Franziska and me that the concept of the people and family of God is not imaginary and heavenly, but earthly and real.

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

For the second edition, the layout has been changed to single lining, which of course affects pagination. I expect most people who want to print parts or all of the text for reading will prefer this to the double lining of the first edition. The Acknowledgments section has been abbreviated and placed after the Table of Content. In addition, a few minor changes have been made in the text.

At least for the time being, [www.christianzionism.de](http://www.christianzionism.de) will serve as a platform for discussion and questions related to the thesis. You can also reach me at [wilrens@christianzionism.de](mailto:wilrens@christianzionism.de).

## PREFACE

I am an Evangelical from Holland who lives in Germany, where I am involved in teaching the Bible. My spiritual and denominational home is in the Charismatic-Pentecostal movement, which plays a significant role in what follows. Several factors contributed to my choice of Christian Zionism as a research topic. Different from Evangelicalism, it is not part of my background; I have never been a Christian Zionist, nor am I closely associated with people who are. However, in teaching the Bible questions related to Israel are never far away, and I have increasingly run into them in recent years. It has both puzzled and intrigued me that more than a few fellow Evangelicals, with whom I have much in common otherwise, hold very different theological and political views on Israel than I do, views they sometimes adhere to with – for me – perplexing emotional force. This thesis is an attempt to understand this phenomenon.

In addition, my Master's thesis dealt with popular Evangelical eschatology; Christian Zionism is a logical and natural extension of this interest. I particularly enjoyed Paul Boyer's When Time Shall Be No More, a detailed analysis of popular American prophecy literature, and I relished the opportunity to do something similar with a comparable body of literature.

Finally, I have become increasingly concerned about the quality of Evangelical thought in general; Mark Noll's The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind more than any other book addresses this, and had a significant impact on me. Although I most likely would have chosen Christian Zionism as a topic anyway, this book has provided part of the context for my research. Since Christian Zionism reflects extensively on major theological ideas and world events, it provides a fascinating instance of the Evangelical mind at work.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ACD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Christengemeinden Deutschlands (Fellowship of the Christian Churches of Germany)
AKI	Arbeitskreis Israel (Israel Committee)
amzi	Arbeitsgemeinschaft messianisches Zeugnis an Israel (Fellowship for Messianic Witness to Israel)
BEFG	Bund Evangelisch-Freikirchlicher Gemeinden (Union of Evangelical Free Churches)
BFP	Bund Freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden (Union of Free Pentecostal Churches)
BRD	Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Federal Republic of Germany)
Cfi	Christen für Israel (Christians for Israel)
CFI	Christian Friends of Israel
CFRI	Christliche Freunde Israels (Christian Friends of Israel, German branch)
CVJM	Christlicher Verein Junger Menschen (YMCA, German branch)
DIG	Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft (German-Israeli Society)
DMG	Deutsche Missionsgemeinschaft (German Missionary Fellowship)
EA	German Evangelical Alliance
EC	Entschieden für Christus (Decided(-ly) for Christ)
EDI	Evangeliumsdienst für Israel (Gospel Ministry for Israel)
EKD	Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (Protestant Church in Germany)
EmK	Evangelisch-methodistische Kirche (Evangelical Methodist Church)
epd	Evangelischer Pressedienst (Protestant Press Service)
ERF	Evangeliumsrundfunk (Gospel Broadcasting)
eV	<u>Eingesetzter Verein</u> (incorporated association)
EZW	Evangelische Zentralstelle für Weltanschauungsfragen (Protestant Central Office for Worldview Questions)
FeG	Bund Freier evangelischer Gemeinden (Union of Free Evangelical Churches)
FETA	Freie Evangelische Theologische Akademie (Free Evangelical Theological Academy)
FFD	Fürbitte für Deutschland (Intercession for Germany)
FFP	Forum Freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden (Forum of Free Pentecostal Churches)
FTA	Freie Theologische Akademie Gießen (Free Theological Academy Giessen)
GGE	Geistliche Gemeinde-Erneuerung (Spiritual Church Renewal)
ICEJ	International Christian Embassy Jerusalem
IBL	Internationaler Bibellehrdienst (International Bible Teaching Ministry, the German branch of Derek Prince Ministries)
<u>idea</u> <sup>1</sup>	Informationsdienst der Evangelischen Allianz (Information Service of the EA)
JMS	Jugend-, Mission- und Sozialwerk (Youth, Mission, and Social Work)
KAE	Bekenntnisbewegung ‘Kein anderes Evangelium’ (Confessional Movement ‘No Other Gospel’)

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<sup>1</sup> In order to avoid confusion with the English word ‘idea’, idea is consistently underlined.

KBG	Konferenz Bekennender Gemeinschaften in den evangelischen Kirchen Deutschlands (Conference of Confessing Communities in the Protestant Churches of Germany)
KEP	Konferenz Evangelikaler Publizisten (Evangelical Media Network)
KfG	Konferenz für Gemeindegründung (Church Planting Assembly)
LGV	Liebenzeller Gemeinschaftsverband (Liebenzeller Federation of Communities)
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MECC	Middle East Council of Churches
MJAA	Messianic Jewish Alliance of America
NAI	Nachrichten aus Israel (News from Israel)
nd	No date given
PBC	Partei Bibeltreuer Christen (Party of Christians Faithful to the Bible)
RzV	Ruf zur Versöhnung (Call to Reconciliation)
SELK	Selbständige Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche (Independent Lutheran Church)
STH	Staatsunabhängige Theologische Hochschule (Independent Theological Seminary)
VEF	Verein Evangelischer Freikirchen (Association of Evangelical Free Churches)
VGI	Verein Gemeindehilfe Israel (Association for Church Aid to Israel)
WCC	World Council of Churches
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

'Complex social and religious movements cannot be defined in a few words: what has to be offered is not a definition, but an extended description.' (Barr 1977:1)

Considering the volatile nature of the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as the importance of Israel in Christian theology, one would expect a great many studies to deal with Christian Zionism, since it has very pronounced views on both issues and does not hesitate to act on them. This however is not the case, at least not until quite recently; among those acknowledging this relative dearth of research are: Sharif (1983:1, 3), Rubinstein and Rubinstein (1999:ix), and Sizer (2002b:11). If anything, the history of Christian Zionism and its precursors was studied, but most of this research deals with the time before 1948, at times including the founding of the state of Israel, but not going far beyond this (eg Ariel 1991; Culver 1995; Edelstein 1982; Epstein 1984; Merkley 1998; Philipp 1988; Pragai 1985; Rausch 1979; M. Schmidt 1988; Schoeps 1952; Toon 1970; Tuchman 1982). Most other studies are concerned with fundamentalism and the 'Christian Right' in America, and put the spotlight on its political views and influence; this perspective is perhaps best exemplified by Halsell (1989) and Mouly and Robertson (1983).

Christian Zionism as a system of thought or a popular expression of Evangelical faith has received less attention, although this appears to be changing. Contributions that pay at least some attention to this dimension include Dwight Wilson's historical overview of Premillennialist beliefs on Israel and the Soviet Union (1991, first published in 1977), Paul Boyer's study of prophecy belief in the United States (1992), a portrait of Jan Willem van der Hoeven and the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ) by Yaakov Ariel (1997), Gershom Gorenberg's portrayal of various modern apocalyptic worldviews (2000), Paul Merkley's description of Christian attitudes towards Israel (2001), Timothy Weber's study of American Dispensationalists and Israel (2004), and, perhaps most significant, Stephen Sizer's thesis (2002a; 2002b).<sup>1</sup> Sizer has accumulated a wealth of information on several key people and organizations. Like Weber, he treats Christian Zionism as an outflow of Dispensationalism, indeed often as virtually synonymous with it. In fact, much of Sizer's thesis is about the history of Dispensationalism and its literalist hermeneutic, with extensive discussion of people like Edward Irving, John Nelson Darby, and 'Dr' CI Scofield, rather than about Christian Zionism. This history is admittedly highly relevant, but as an exploration of the emergence of Christian Zionism and its system of ideas it is not complete. In his investigation, Sizer does not probe for other roots than literalism and eschatology. His analysis of Christian Zionism, although certainly of great value, is therefore in need of expansion.

Although Christian Zionism is a global phenomenon, virtually all literature devoted to it deals predominantly or exclusively with Great Britain and the United States; one exception is Göran Gunner (1996; 1999), who has studied views of the Swedish free churches on Israel throughout the twentieth century. In relation to Germany, some non-Evangelical theologians briefly address Christian Zionism among Evangelicals, giving it no more than a few pages (Kickel 1984:202-205; Schoon 1986:90-94). In his dissertation on the German Evangelical movement, Friedhelm Jung (1992:145-51, 201-206) likewise devotes a few

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<sup>1</sup> A number of Evangelical publications, often dealing with Christian Zionism in a more indirect and implicit way by addressing the issues at stake, could be added. Some provide readable and well-informed discussions (eg Burge 2003; Chapman 2002; 2004; Johnston & Walker 2000; DE Wagner 1995). Several more general works related to Israel and Zionism also address Christian Zionism (eg Prior 1999b:134-55; Ruether & Ruether 1989:74-191, 173-81).

pages to Evangelical beliefs in Germany on eschatology and Israel. In 2005, Gerhard Gronauer published an analysis of 42 mostly Pietist end-time books and how they understood the state of Israel. To date, no study has taken a comprehensive look at Christian Zionism among German Evangelicals. It would seem that such a study is desirable, both to study Christian Zionism outside of the Anglo-Saxon world and to examine it in the unique context of Germany. This study would be useful not only in its own right, but also to gain a deeper understanding of Christian Zionism in general.

## 1.1 CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

Before proceeding to a discussion of theoretical considerations and of the approach taken, several important concepts need to be introduced and defined, including Christian Zionism itself. Although, as James Barr (1977:1) declared, a movement like Christian Zionism can only be captured in an extended description, a working definition is still useful. This is all the more true in light of the fact that terms like ‘Christian Zionism’, ‘Restorationism’, and ‘Dispensationalism’ are sometimes used rather loosely, as if they were interchangeable. However, they are by no means identical or synonymous; in that case there would be no need for three terms. Not every Dispensationalist or Restorationist is a Christian Zionist, and not every Christian Zionist is a Dispensationalist, although he or she is virtually always a Restorationist. These terms should therefore be carefully distinguished.

Surprisingly, few definitions of Christian Zionism can be found in the relevant literature, and not all of these are helpful. They tend to be too broad and inclusive, they do not enable a clear demarcation between Christian Zionism and related terms like Restorationism and pro-Israel, and they often fail to establish what sort of entity Christian Zionism is – surely it is something more specific than just a form of ‘support’ for a particular cause, in spite of Walter Riggans’s (1988:19) description:

The label is generally used for any Christians who support the Zionist aim of the sovereign State of Israel, its army, government, education etc; but it can describe a Christian who claims to support the State of Israel for any reason.

The second part of this definition broadens the scope of the term unnecessarily. By this standard, even a Christian merely supporting the state of Israel’s right to exist as a matter of principle seems to qualify as a Christian Zionist. This renders the term exceedingly vague and weak. Not every Jew in history who said, ‘Next year in Jerusalem!’ can be meaningfully classified as a Zionist; likewise not every Christian who ‘claims to support the State of Israel for any reason’ is thereby necessarily a Christian Zionist. In addition it should be pointed out that Christian Zionism belongs to a more specific category than ‘support’, whether of Israel or of Zionism.

Bishara Awad (nd) of Bethlehem Bible College states: ‘Christians who strongly and actively support Jewish claims of return to Palestine, and continue to offer support for the Jewish State, are known as Christian Zionists.’ This is more accurate, since here not every kind of support suffices; it has to be strong and active. In addition, the support is not of Zionism, but of the state of Israel and of a Jewish return to Israel. However, Awad has defined Christian Zionist, not Christian Zionism.

In an article explicitly devoted to defining Christian Zionism, Donald Wagner (nd) offers two definitions: ‘Briefly stated, Christian Zionism is a movement within Protestant fundamentalism that understands the modern state of Israel as the fulfilment of Biblical prophecy and thus deserving of political, financial, and religious support.’ And: ‘As for a working definition, Christian Zionism is a nineteenth and twentieth century movement within Protestant fundamentalism that supports the maximalist claims of Jewish political Zionism, including Israel’s sovereignty over the entirety of historic Palestine including Jerusalem.’ Although it is a step forward to define Christian Zionism as a movement rather

than as support, the reference to fundamentalism is unfortunate, both because it is a problematic term and because it is too narrow. In addition, this defines Christian Zionism as support of a maximalist form of Jewish Zionism. Just as not all Jewish Zionists are territorial maximalists, neither are all Christian Zionists.

Colin Chapman (2002:274) defines Christian Zionism as ‘Christian support for Zionism that is based on theological reasons’. Sizer (2002b:5), quoting Chapman but dropping the ‘theological reasons’, concurs: ‘At its simplest, Christian Zionism is a political form of philo-Semitism, and can be defined as “Christian support for Zionism.”’ However, Christian Zionists do not necessarily support Jewish Zionism. It should also be asked, as noted above, whether Christian Zionism is not something more or other than ‘support’. Still, what makes Chapman’s definition appealing is its simplicity; by avoiding specific theological content, the definition becomes broad enough to include all varieties of Christian Zionism, and does not have to worry about exceptions.

Based on this brief survey, the following ingredients for a definition seem desirable: (1) Chapman’s ‘theological reasons’; (2) the general aim of support, either of Zionism or of a Jewish state or commonwealth, which after 1948 of course becomes Israel; and (3) an understanding of Christian Zionism as a movement. The latter is crucial, since it establishes the category to which Christian Zionism belongs.

What does it mean to say that Christian Zionism is a movement, and what sort of movement is it? A movement is a network of organizations and individuals who share certain beliefs and aims. Christian Zionism is a religious movement in the sense that it is a movement that is first and foremost determined by religious considerations. Because its programme clearly has a social and political dimension, it is appealing to think of Christian Zionism as a social movement as well. Social movements have been defined as ‘(1) informal networks, based (2) on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilize about (3) conflictual issues, through (4) the frequent use of various forms of protest’ (Porta & Diani 2000:16). Such a network usually includes both organizations and individuals in a loose structure, involved in a campaign to bring about social change or to prevent such change. This fits Christian Zionism, albeit with the peculiarity that it draws its constituency almost exclusively from the Evangelical movement; it is a movement within a movement. In addition, the religious impulse clearly dominates; even its political and social activities, while explicit and central, are thoroughly determined by it. As a movement, it is therefore religious first, and only to a lesser extent is it political. Still, this is its characteristic which more than any other distinguishes it from Restorationism and Dispensationalism.

In addition to the three requirements listed above, the definition should facilitate differentiation between Christian Zionism and Restorationism, and between Christian Zionist and pro-Israel. Obviously, these terms do not represent clear-cut categories separated by sharp dividing lines; they describe parts of a spectrum or continuum. Boundaries are vague, there is substantial overlap, and in individual cases it may not be easy to decide which is which, but this is no reason to ignore the distinction. As will become clear throughout the thesis, Restorationism cannot be equated with Christian Zionism, and does not necessarily imply membership in the Christian Zionist movement. The same is true of a pro-Israel attitude. All these terms will be used extensively in this thesis, and are defined below. Dispensationalism is a slightly different case, because, at least in its classical forms, it is more sharply defined.

1. ‘Restorationism’ is belief in a Jewish restoration to Israel/Palestine as part of the eschaton.<sup>2</sup> As such, it is a foundational element in both Christian Zionism and in

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<sup>2</sup> Sizer does not define Restorationism in the body of his thesis, but he does offer a definition in the Glossary: ‘The conviction that the Bible predicts and mandates a final and complete restoration of the Jewish people to Israel’ (Sizer 2002b:316).

Dispensationalism. Where Restorationism is used in this thesis in comparison with or contrast to Christian Zionism, it always refers to those representatives of Restorationism who are not at the same time Christian Zionists. Different from Christian Zionism, Restorationism in the latter sense does not have a political or activist dimension; it is an expectation and a belief, and it is largely limited to the realm of faith and theology.<sup>3</sup> It is usually traced to Puritan origins in the sixteenth century, and therefore significantly predates both Christian Zionism and Dispensationalism. Among post-war German Evangelical theologians, this theology is often called heilsgeschichtliche Theologie (salvation-historical theology), which in this context not only refers to a particular theological perspective or understanding of Biblical theology, but always implies a specific eschatological and Premillennial content.

2. 'Pro-Israel' describes an attitude towards Israel which is positive and supportive, but has not hardened into a conscious system of ideas, and does not constitute a movement.

3. Christian Zionism, in contrast, is more than a belief, a mentality, or an attitude; it is both a movement and a consciously articulated system of beliefs, ideas, and aims – it has a programme. One could think of this body of ideas, convictions, values, and aims which informs the movement, its programme, and its strategy as an ideology, or use the composite 'theology-ideology' for this belief system. This would make explicit that Christian Zionism is not limited to theology in the obvious or narrow sense. However, the term 'ideology' is open to misunderstanding. In everyday language, ideology tends to have a negative connotation, because of its use for totalitarian movements. In the social sciences, the term is frequently tilted towards a Marxist understanding, which sees it as mere superstructure, false consciousness, the ideas through which people are deceived and deceive themselves. To avoid these negative associations, I will generally use the more neutral phrase 'system of ideas'. This system of ideas can be considered a theology, if the latter term is understood broad enough to incorporate the aims of the movement, which flow from its theology, as well as its programme for action. Since theology is often used in a more limited sense, the term 'system of ideas' will serve as a reminder that Christian Zionism is more than theology in a narrow sense.

'Christian Zionism' is therefore best defined as a movement which, for theological reasons, actively supports either Zionism or the state of Israel (before 1948: the aim of establishing a Jewish state or commonwealth), or both; it can also be used to refer to the theology or the system of ideas of this movement. This definition provides clear criteria to distinguish between Christian Zionism on the one hand, and Restorationism and a pro-Israel attitude on the other: (1) Christian Zionism is a movement and a network, characterized by consistency, continuity, and sustained association; short-lived ad hoc reactions and initiatives do not qualify as Christian Zionism; (2) it has a political dimension; (3) it is activist; it has aims which constitute a programme for action; and (4) it is a consciously articulated system of ideas, not just an attitude. As a corollary, pure eschatological speculation on Israel or a simple belief in a special future for the Jewish people is not in itself Christian Zionism.

4. 'Dispensationalism' is a system of theology that divides salvation history into a number of distinct dispensations, each with its own characteristics; in addition, it makes a distinction between God's programme for the church and God's programme for Israel. It is

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<sup>3</sup> On this point, there is a problem in dealing with the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Especially in Britain, Restorationism displayed a tendency to become politically active. It would seem anachronistic to call this Christian Zionism, and this aspect is often included in the term Restorationism. Strictly speaking it would be preferable to speak of proto-Christian Zionism, a term used by Sizer (2002b:5, 21, 24; 2004:19), albeit only a few times. In a recent article, Ariel (2006:74) uses the term 'proto-Zionists', but does so only once. For the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the period dealt with in this thesis, Restorationism and Christian Zionism can – and should – be distinguished more consistently.

always Restorationist, but it entails considerably more than an understanding of Israel and the church as separate or distinct. In its classic formulations, this includes an elaborate scenario of end-time events, the most conspicuous of which is the rapture of the church as occurring before the visible return of Christ to earth. People and groups who do not stand in historical continuity with Dispensationalism, and who do not share its basic tenets, should not be considered Dispensationalist merely because they distinguish Israel from the church as in some way still special. Historic Premillennialists and many Pietists do this without being Dispensationalists.

One more term needs to be introduced. Throughout, I have used ‘Charismatic-Pentecostal’ as a broad and inclusive denominator for those movements – Pentecostal, Charismatic, and neo-Pentecostal – that emphasize the gift and the gifts of the Holy Spirit and usually trace their origin back to the 1906 Asuza revival. Only rarely is more precise terminology needed; this will then follow the terminology introduced in 2.1. Where a distinction needs to be made, the remaining part of the Evangelical movement is referred to as non-Charismatic.

## **1.2 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS, APPROACH, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This thesis is a study of Christian Zionism among Evangelicals in Germany after 1945 through the lens of relevant literature published by Christian Zionists and by the wider Evangelical movement. It limits itself to the period after the Second World War and to the Federal Republic of Germany (BRD); the German Democratic Republic (DDR) had a very different history, and left little room for a Christian Zionist movement to develop.

The focal interest of the study is the emergence and the development of Christian Zionism as a system of ideas in the post-war period. The overall aim is to produce a description and an explanation, or an understanding, both of its emergence as a movement and of its system of ideas. Considering the growing influence of Christian Zionism in the Evangelical movement and the far-reaching consequences of its theology, such an understanding, together with an assessment of its validity as an Evangelical position, is especially important for Evangelicals.

The focus of this study is therefore theological (the system of ideas, which is largely though not entirely theological) and historical (the development of these ideas and of their organizational embodiment). The historical investigation of the movement’s emergence in Germany is valuable in its own right, especially in light of the fact that it has not been studied before. At the same time, this study of history is likely to cast its own, supplementary light on the system of thought as well.

Basic to the theoretical approach taken is the conviction that Christian Zionism as a system of ideas, like any such system, needs a broader explanation or theory than just one or a few factors (cf. Barr 1977). In the case of Christian Zionism, explanation is often limited to literalism and eschatology, something that will be discussed in more detail at the beginning of Chapter Six. However, neither a reductionist description (that is, a simple list of elements) nor a reductionist explanation (consisting of one or two factors, in this case eschatology and literalism) can do justice to it. It is explained and understood much better and more fully by an extensive narrative which incorporates many factors and elements, and brings out the ‘syntax’, so to say, which turns the individual elements into a whole that is larger than its parts. Such a narrative will enable increased understanding of how Christian Zionists see Israel and the world, and why they (re-)act the way they do.

It was noticed early on in the research project that most of the material in Christian Zionist literature deals with one of three larger themes: eschatology and a theology of Israel, Jewish-Christian relations, and modern Israel and the Middle East; in Chapter Six, they will reappear as the three dimensions of the overall narrative. It seemed to me that in this

system or narrative, Dispensationalism and eschatology are less important, Jewish-Christian relations and a particular reading of recent Middle East history are significantly more important than is commonly recognized. This is a hypothesis which is investigated and tested throughout much of the thesis, and it is included in the research questions below.

Generally speaking, the study of a movement requires a study of context, history, organizations, and ideas. This is the order the thesis follows: context (Evangelicals in Germany; the historical relationship between Germany and Israel) in Chapter Two; history and organizations in Chapter Three; more context and more on organizations in Chapter Four; and ideas in Chapter Five (an analysis of relevant books, which also includes history) and Chapter Six. A critique of the movement follows in Chapter Seven. It should be pointed out that this does not describe the chronological order of research, but the logical sequence and structure of the thesis. Especially the information contained in Chapter Three and Six was collected throughout the research project.

Corresponding with this general outline and the theoretical understanding of Christian Zionism as a complex system of ideas, the research project has in its entirety been guided and informed by the following research questions:

- When did a distinct Christian Zionist movement (re-?) appear in Germany? How did it originate? Which organizations and publications promoted it, and promote it today? Who are its key people? What explanation can be given for its rise and development?
- How is Christian Zionism in Germany different from Christian Zionism in other nations? How do German authors differ from non-German and especially American authors? Which historical shifts and developments can be detected?
- In this system of ideas, how important are various factors: Dispensationalism, eschatology, the history of Jewish-Christian relations, and the reality of the Middle East?
- Which repeated elements, ideas, beliefs, and arguments can be found in Christian Zionist publications available in German? Are any of these typical or original for Germany? How do these ideas link with each other, and how is the resulting system or narrative to be understood? What clues does an investigation of Christian Zionist literature provide to understand the persuasive power and cognitive appeal of Christian Zionism?
- How does one critically assess Christian Zionism in the light of its own, Evangelical presuppositions and theology?
- What does a study of Christian Zionist literature reveal about popular Evangelical thought and its interaction with the world?

These research questions were pursued through a thorough study of relevant publications: the body of literature produced by the Christian Zionist movement and by German Evangelicalism. To include the latter seems particularly important in light of the fact that Christian Zionism is a movement within a movement. The broader context of the – in this case German – Evangelical movement should therefore be taken into account. It is striking that studies of Christian Zionism habitually limit themselves to the core of the movement, those people and organizations that unquestionably are Christian Zionist and often do not hesitate to use this as a self-designation. This makes for a clear topic, but does not explore the boundaries of Christian Zionism, which are not clear-cut, or its place within the larger Evangelical context; it also fails to fully explore the diversity that exists. Available sources for this study include books, websites, and a large number of newsletters and magazines. In addition, in a few instances audio-tapes, Christian Zionist events that were visited, and

formal and informal conversations were taken into account to complement the information collected from written sources.

In what follows, the approach taken is presented in more detail. Chapter Two, a basic introduction to the broader German and Evangelical context, does not present original research, but is an overview based on secondary literature. Chapter Three describes relevant biographies, the organizational development, and the present state of the movement in Germany. This chapter is based on all the sources used, and offers a historical and organizational description of Christian Zionism in Germany. The synthesis at the end of the chapter seeks to uncover which factors played a role in the relatively sudden burst of Christian Zionist activity in the 1970s.

Chapter Four presents an analysis of relevant articles in ideaSpektrum, a weekly news and information magazine published by the information service of the German Evangelical Alliance (EA).<sup>4</sup> Chapter Five presents an analysis of all Evangelical books available in German on Israel, the end times, or both. Since publication of these sources was spread out over many years, they document shifts and developments that occurred. Because the methodology of these analyses is determined by the material studied, these methodologies and related issues will be discussed extensively in Chapter Four and Five. Both chapters examine Christian Zionism within the broader context of the Evangelical movement. Chapter Four provides insight into the relative strength of Christian Zionism in Germany and into the stance of German Evangelicals on Israel. In Chapter Five, books are used to detect historical shifts in a number of factors, as well as to determine the relative importance of these factors.

Based on all the sources that were surveyed, Chapter Six constructs a model of the Christian Zionist system of ideas. As was argued above, to comprehend a system such as Christian Zionism requires an extended narrative. Such a narrative can be attained through a careful and empathetic reading of the movement's texts. An empathetic reading is neither gullible nor uncritical, but seeks to understand the internal logic of a position before it reflects critically. Christian Zionism deserves a fair hearing, and should not be dismissed out of hand. An informed critique is more effective than the sharp instruments of polemics or the blunt voice of prejudice. For such a critique, a fair and full description of the movement is a prerequisite. There is no point in basing a critique on a portrayal in which Christian Zionists do not recognize themselves.

For describing and understanding the Christian Zionist system of ideas, Evangelical books are a particularly excellent source. They are the place where the system finds its clearest formulation. Most of them deliberately set forth these ideas, in a manner that is orderly and comparatively well thought through; their authors go to great lengths to tell their readers what they think, and how they view the world. This is about as direct an access to these ideas and to the Christian Zionist mind one can expect. Other written sources were consulted in the process as well.

How can an extended narrative describing and explaining the movement's system of ideas be constructed? The main ideas can be found by paying attention to the larger themes and to what is repeated or occurs in many sources. Next to a description of these elements, an empathetic understanding is to be attempted. This is accomplished by asking how these ideas connect, why a particular element is there, and what function it has in the overall structure. The resulting synthesis sets forth how elements relate to each other and together make up the whole, thus offering an explanation of the coherence and the meaning of what Christian Zionists tell each other about Israel and the world. The ultimate test for the quality and truthfulness of such an explanation, next to logical consistency and an ability to

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<sup>4</sup> In this thesis, EA always refers to the German EA. The capitalization of ideaSpektrum has varied somewhat with the years, and originally it included a dash; I will consistently use ideaSpektrum.

make sense of all the data, is precisely its ability to make this coherence and the cognitive appeal of the ideas comprehensible.

This process is not unlike that of exegesis and Biblical theology, except that the texts and the theology are those of Christian Zionists, not of the Biblical authors. This is one reason why every Evangelical, this author included, should submit the theology incorporated in this system of ideas to a critique in the light of precisely these Biblical authors. This is something that will be attempted at the very end of the thesis, in Chapter Seven. This final chapter will also offer a critique of the underlying structures of popular Evangelical thought and its interaction with the world that were observed in the course of this research project, based on information collected for the book analysis in Chapter Five and for the construction of the model in Chapter Six. This includes the selection and interpretation of Scripture, the practice of historiography, and the use of sources as reflected in the bibliographies included in Christian Zionist literature.

In closing, there are epistemological limits posed by an approach based on literature which need to be pointed out. There is an epistemological grey zone, in which conclusions based on texts become increasingly tentative and even speculative. In principle, texts can convey information, and can therefore lead to conclusions, on just about anything, but they are not always the best avenue to take. Especially on the interaction between Christian Zionism and the society in which it lives, its political activity, its motives, the community behind the movement, its practices, and the how and why of people joining the movement, much will remain hidden. Although even on these some insight can be gleaned from written sources, this is the point where sociological research and methodologies such as interviewing, narrative inquiry, and participant observation will have to take over.

In addition, one drawback of the approach taken is that one primarily gains access to leaders and teachers of the movement, and far less to the minds of its ordinary members. It is definitely true that sociologists are better equipped to study the latter, and it may even be asked whether the approach taken opens access to the broader community at all. On this, it is worth quoting a reflection on studying popular culture by Christopher Partridge (2004:53). In his terms, such a body of literature is ‘both expressive and formative’; it is ‘both an expression of the cultural milieu from which it emerges and formative of that culture, in that it contributes to the formation of worldviews and, in so doing, influences what people accept as plausible.’ Although these written sources do not capture the thinking of the broader community directly, they do both shape and express what it commonly thinks and believes, and it is highly unlikely that substantial shifts would take place in one without corresponding change in the other.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE GERMAN CONTEXT

'The guilt of the German Reich under Hitler's leadership establishes our responsibility. We Germans of today are not personally guilty, but we have to carry the political legacy of the guilty, in this lies our responsibility.' (Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Auschwitz-Birkenau, 23 November 1977, quoted in Jaeger 1997:19)<sup>5</sup>

According to Bebbington (1989:2-17), Evangelicals have four features in common: conversionism, biblicism, activism, and crucicentrism. Since Evangelicalism as a movement is wildly diverse, making further general statements which are true of the movement in its entirety is difficult, if not impossible. An alternative approach would be to define Evangelicalism based on its structure and organizational forms, and describe the groups and organizations which are part of it. The following sketch of the Evangelical movement in Germany combines these two approaches and takes both structural and theological criteria into account. Together with information on Germany's developing relationship with the state of Israel, this establishes the context in which Christian Zionism developed in Germany.

#### 2.1 THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

The most useful analysis of German Evangelicalism for the present purpose is the dissertation of Friedhelm Jung (1992), which describes Evangelical identity and organization as it emerged in the period 1966-85. Although the movement was by no means new, it developed a stronger self-understanding and new forms of organization and expression under the influence of several factors, including social change, theological developments (especially Rudolf Bultmann's theology), and Evangelical impulses from the United States (F Jung 1992:23, 35). Jung distinguishes three main branches in the movement: the alliance Evangelicals, the confessional Evangelicals, and the Pentecostal Evangelicals.

1. Alliance Evangelicals are those groups and individuals that tend to identify with the EA and do not belong to the confessional Evangelicals. These include the descendants of German Pietism, many of whom were impacted by the revival and holiness movements of the nineteenth century, and joined with others touched by these movements; they are sometimes called neo-Pietists. Pietists and neo-Pietists are mostly organized in the Gemeinschaftsbewegung (community movement), which numbers around 300,000. A unique feature of German Evangelicalism is that to a large extent it has remained within the Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (the Protestant<sup>6</sup> Church in Germany, hereafter EKD). It developed its own structures, but did not found new denominations. The most important Pietist institution is the Gnadauer Verband (Gnadau Federation), founded in 1897, an umbrella organization which incorporates approximately 30 federations of Gemeinschaften (communities), including the Liebenzeller Gemeinschaftsverband (Liebenzeller Federation of Communities, LGV), several theological training institutions, and a number of other organizations.

Alliance Evangelicals also include the non-Pentecostal free churches, many of them branches of international churches established from overseas. The latter include Baptists,

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<sup>5</sup> All quotations from German sources have been translated by me.

<sup>6</sup> Although it is common practice to translate 'evangelisch' with 'Evangelical', as in 'the Evangelical Church' (EKD), this thesis will consistently use the term 'Protestant', to avoid confusion with the more common usage of 'Evangelical' in English for a movement within Protestantism, rather than Protestantism as a whole.

organized in the Bund Evangelisch-Freikirchlicher Gemeinden (Union of Evangelical Free Churches, BEFG)<sup>7</sup>, Methodists<sup>8</sup>, Open Brethren, Seventh-Day Adventists, and the Church of the Nazarene. In addition there are several Mennonite groups, the Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine (Moravian Church), and the Bund Freier evangelischer Gemeinden (Union of Free Evangelical Churches, FeG). Most of these free churches are members of or have guest status in the Verein Evangelischer Freikirchen (Association of Evangelical Free Churches, VEF), founded in 1926. VEF churches claim 240-260,000 members, including approximately 30,000 Pentecostals; the number of Sunday worshippers may be significantly higher.<sup>9</sup> A special case is the Selbständige Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche (Independent Lutheran Church, SELK), which functions as a free church, but theologically belongs to the confessional Evangelicals.

2. Confessional Evangelicals are theologically conservative Lutheran and Reformed believers who emphasize the historical Protestant creeds and the reliability of the Bible in opposition to theological liberalism, rationalism, and the historical-critical method; they are also called Bekenntnisbewegung (confessional movement).<sup>10</sup> Although confessionalism has a long history in German Protestantism, its present organizational form emerged from the 1960s onward. An important catalyst for this was the critical theology and hermeneutic of people like Bultmann; it was, in a sense, ‘a belated outbreak of fundamentalism’ (E Busch 2000:543), although confessional Evangelicals do not necessarily subscribe to Biblical inerrancy. In 1966, the Bekenntnisbewegung ‘Kein anderes Evangelium’ (No Other Gospel, KAE) was founded; it considered the confrontation with modern theology a second Kirchenkampf (Church Struggle).<sup>11</sup> Next to KAE, the confessional movement also includes a number of regional Sammlungen (gatherings) within the EKD, most of them founded in the mid-1960s, as well as the Notgemeinschaft Evangelischer Deutscher (Emergency Fellowship of Protestant Germans), in which some of Germany’s pre-war conservative nationalism lives on – it feels deeply about the German ‘fatherland’, and rejected, among other things, the official 1990 renunciation of German claims to the former eastern territories of Germany by the German Parliament. An umbrella organization was founded in 1970, Konferenz Bekennender Gemeinschaften in den evangelischen Kirchen Deutschlands (Conference of Confessing Communities in the Protestant Churches of Germany, KBG). The Ludwig-Hofacker-Vereinigung<sup>12</sup>, founded in 1965, is also a KBG member, although it is Pietist rather than conservative Lutheran. Many in the movement also identify with the EA, and there are numerous relationships with Pietists, although some are quite exclusive and judgmental of others, particularly of Charismatic-Pentecostals (F Jung 1992:138-41, 165f); the movement has a certain reputation for contrariness and doctrinal harshness. Tellingly, in 1991 the more moderate Gnadauer Verband gave up its membership in the KBG. The number of confessional Evangelicals is difficult to ascertain; estimates range from 200-500,000.

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<sup>7</sup> Due to historical reasons, the BEFG includes a number of Brethren assemblies and several Elim Pentecostal churches.

<sup>8</sup> The official name is Evangelisch-methodistische Kirche (EmK).

<sup>9</sup> ‘Zusammenarbeit mit Pfingstgemeinden’ 21.11.1991 ideaSpektrum /47:11; ‘1.500 “neue” evangelische Gemeinden: Eine Umfrage: Mehr Protestanten in Deutschland – Doppelt so viele Freikirchler’ 8.9.1999 ideaSpektrum /36:6. The latter article argues members plus relatives (mostly children) actually number 400,000.

<sup>10</sup> For the Bekenntnisbewegung and its history, see especially F Jung (1992:88-141), Holthaus (1993:145-218), Scheerer (1997), and RJ Busch (1995).

<sup>11</sup> Kirchenkampf designates the struggle of the Confessing Church in Nazi Germany with the regime.

<sup>12</sup> Vereinigung means association; it is called after Ludwig Hofacker (1789-1828), a Pietist Lutheran pastor and revival preacher.

3. Charismatic-Pentecostal Evangelicals are those Evangelicals who put special emphasis on the ministry and the gifts of the Holy Spirit, although they do not necessarily insist on the need for a second experience after conversion and on glossolalia as the essential sign of having received this experience.<sup>13</sup> In Germany, the Pentecostal movement suffered from a particularly unfortunate start; soon after its arrival in 1907, it developed extreme manifestations, resulting in severe controversy. In 1909, a number of individuals, many leading members of the Gemeinschaftsbewegung and the EA, drew up the influential – to Pentecostals infamous – ‘Berliner Erklärung’ (Berlin Declaration), which condemned the movement as demonically inspired. This forced Pentecostals into isolation for decades. As a result, the divide between Charismatic-Pentecostals and other Evangelicals was and is deeper in Germany than in most other nations. The situation has improved dramatically since the 1980s, although some still condemn everything Charismatic, and Charismatics sometimes still promote extreme manifestations that stir up controversy. In 1996, the EA and the Bund Freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden (Union of Free Pentecostal Churches, BFP), the largest union of Pentecostals in Germany, issued a joint declaration as a basis for future cooperation.<sup>14</sup>

It is common to distinguish:<sup>15</sup> (1) classic Pentecostals, usually organized in Pentecostal churches and denominations or unions; the most important of these is the BFP, but there are several smaller ones;<sup>16</sup> (2) the Charismatic renewal movement in the mainline churches, which arrived in Germany in the mid-1960s; within the EKD it is organized in the Geistliche Gemeinde-Erneuerung (Spiritual Church Renewal, GGE);<sup>17</sup> and (3) neo-Pentecostals, sometimes confusingly also referred to as Charismatic movement (eg Großmann 2004:127f). To add to the confusion, sometimes either ‘neo-Pentecostal’ or ‘Charismatic’ is used for (2) and (3) combined (eg Hempelmann 1994:215; Synan 1997:220-33). Neo-Pentecostals in Germany are usually organized in independent, non-denominational churches and interdenominational organizations. More or less typical characteristics include strong dualism, leading to an emphasis on spiritual warfare and demonology, and an emphasis on worship, on the authority of leadership, on Israel, on experience, and on spiritual manifestations like falling or being slain in the Spirit (Hempelmann 1998:132; Spornhauer 2001:101-121). In Germany, this threefold division works quite well,<sup>18</sup> although the boundaries are not clear and are easily blurred; Kern (1997:149) even states that in the 1970s and 1980s ‘the different currents increasingly condensed into a unified Charismatic-Pentecostal scene.’ In the framework of this thesis it is therefore neither useful nor possible to consistently differentiate between the various branches of the movement. For this reason, the term ‘Charismatic-Pentecostal’ was adopted (1.2) to refer to all three branches combined; the far more important distinction is that between Charismatic-Pentecostal and non-Charismatic Evangelicals.

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<sup>13</sup> The oldest Pentecostal union in Germany, Mülheimer Verband, and the GGE do not (F Jung 1992:164f).

<sup>14</sup> This declaration, ‘Erklärung zu Grundlagen der Zusammenarbeit’ (Statement on Foundations for Cooperation), is included in Hempelmann (1997:380-82).

<sup>15</sup> See the discussion in Spornhauer (2001:17-20).

<sup>16</sup> From 1948-54 the BFP was called Arbeitsgemeinschaft pfingstlicher Gemeinden in Deutschland (Fellowship of Pentecostal Churches in Germany), from 1954-82 Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Christengemeinden Deutschlands (Fellowship of the Christian Churches of Germany, ACD). In 1979 ACD/BFP and several smaller unions formed the Forum Freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden (Forum of Free Pentecostal Churches, FFP).

<sup>17</sup> The Charismatic movement in the Roman Catholic Church is not considered in this thesis; its relationship with other Charismatic-Pentecostals is not overly close. It should be pointed out that there is a significant Charismatic movement in Baptist (BEFG) and Methodist churches (EmK) as well.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Zimmerling (2001) maintains the distinction throughout his study of German Charismatic and Pentecostal movements, although he is inclined to use ‘Third Wave’ rather than ‘neo-Pentecostal’.

As for numbers, most difficult to determine is that of the Charismatic movement in the EKD (F Jung nd-b puts them at 50,000) and the number of neo-Pentecostals organized in independent churches. For the Charismatic-Pentecostal movement as a whole, Hempelmann (1998:41f, 102) assumes a total of 100-150,000; Kern (1997:5, 157) speaks of 150-200,000. An ideaSpektrum article in 2001 puts the total at just over 200,000, of which 25,000 are independent neo-Pentecostals and 40,000 are Charismatics in the EKD.<sup>19</sup>

4. An important fourth branch of the Evangelical movement in Germany, not yet recognized in Jung's 1992 dissertation, consists of independent churches not associated with any of the groups introduced so far.<sup>20</sup> This includes approximately 200 churches organized in the Konferenz für Gemeindegründung (Church Planting Assembly, KfG, founded in 1983), with 20-30,000 people attending Sunday services. The KfG is strongly influenced by the Brethren movement, and includes many 'Open' Brethren.<sup>21</sup> Numerically more important are the so-called Spätaussiedler or Russlanddeutsche: people from German descent who emigrated to Eastern Europe in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. They have often maintained their distinct identity, their language, and their religion, and were granted the right of return by the BRD. After the Second World War, there were approximately four million, half of them in the Soviet Union. By now, most have returned to Germany, especially in the early 1990s, when this suddenly became much easier. They tend to be far more religious and theologically conservative than other Germans. Of the two million who returned in 1989-99, one million were Lutherans, 600,000 were Catholics, and 350,000 came from free churches, mostly Baptist and Mennonite. Those who are Evangelical are poorly integrated in the German Evangelical movement. Culturally and theologically they have often not felt at home in the existing churches, and have therefore founded their own churches (over 400), unions, and institutions. Including relatives who are not official church members, their number may be as high as 300,000, although this has been questioned.<sup>22</sup> Because they have established their own independent structures, they are easy to overlook. In the literature consulted for this thesis, they hardly become visible. It may be assumed, however, that they overwhelmingly hold to classic or Dispensational Premillennial eschatologies, and that many are Restorationists. I have found no evidence that they have made the transition to an active, truly Christian Zionist stance *vis-à-vis* Israel, or have set up organizational structures for this.

The total number of Evangelicals in Germany, then, may be put at approximately one million for the time before 1990. After 1990 the number increased to 1.3 million (so F Jung nd-b; nd-c).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Mockler M 30.5.2001 'Was haben die Charismatiker verändert? Die vor mehr als 30 Jahre gegründete charismatische Bewegung ist selbstkritischer geworden' ideaSpektrum /22:20f. The statistics were provided by Paul Schmidgall, president of the FFP, who some years earlier put the number at 285,000 (1997:127), but apparently corrected them downwards. All these numbers include 25-35,000 Charismatic Baptists and Methodists also counted as alliance Evangelicals. For the convention of including newsletter and magazine articles in the footnotes rather than in the References, see the introduction to the References. IdeaSpektrum titles are often complex: next to a main title and a subtitle, they frequently include a pre-title. In all cases, the main title is given first. Additional titles are also included, unless they do not add meaningful information or lead to a nonsensical sequence.

<sup>20</sup> The following information is largely based on F Jung (nd-c) and: 'Die Angst vor einer "Verwässerung": Über 312.000 rußlanddeutsche Aussiedler gehören zu freien Gemeinden' 29.9.1999 ideaSpektrum /39:12.

<sup>21</sup> 10,000 'Open' Brethren have remained within the BEFG; 14,000 Brethren are part of the KfG. In addition, there are around 16,000 'Exclusive' Brethren (F Jung nd-c).

<sup>22</sup> Rust, HC 27.10.1999 'Eine fragwürdige Mitgliederstatistik' ideaSpektrum /43:5.

<sup>23</sup> What remains unclear in these numbers and the literature surveyed is how many Evangelicals from the DDR joined the BRD through reunification.

### **2.1.1 Numbers and Strength of Christian Zionism**

The numerical strength of Christian Zionism is difficult to assess. It is strong among Evangelicals in the United States, who number around 70 million, but it is not ubiquitous. In a 2002 survey taken by Stand For Israel and the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews, almost two-thirds of Evangelicals expressed support for Israel, meaning one third did not. This compared to a robust 54 per cent of the general population supporting Israel; support among Evangelicals was therefore not that much higher (Hertz 11.6.2003; Huber 2004; Lobe 10.2002). Significantly, 56 per cent gave political reasons for their support, and only 35 per cent cited eschatology. Hertz concluded that many American Evangelicals were not well informed on the issues, and, while generally supportive of Israel, did not show strong opinions. DE Wagner (nd) gives an estimate of 20-25 million Christian Zionists for the United States; Sizer (2002b:10) speaks of 25-30 million. For Christian Zionism worldwide, Prior (1999:103) speaks of 90 million adherents. This number appears high, and must be based on a broad definition of Christian Zionism. Such a broad definition is explicit in Merkley's estimate (2001:200), which may well be accurate: 'The whole constituency of Christian pro-Zionists is therefore many times larger than the membership lists of the Christian Zionist organizations and should be numbered in the tens of millions.'

For Germany, no numbers are available, but there are indications that here, too, Christian Zionism among Evangelicals is not quite as strong as it may appear, especially considering the extent to which Christian Zionism dominates the printing presses (see Chapter Four and Five). Ramon Bennett (1996c:31, 236) may be extreme with his implausible complaint that the churches – he explicitly includes Evangelical and Charismatic churches – are increasingly turning their back on Israel, and that those rejecting the theology of the 'new Israel' (meaning supersessionism) are few and far between. However, more moderate versions of this complaint – that in many churches Israel is only a 'marginal' topic,<sup>24</sup> that Israel is ignored and its friends are obstructed, that Christian Zionists are really only a minority in the Evangelical church – appear regularly:

Since in the churches in Germany teaching about Israel still only happens very marginally, young people in particular have little opportunity to become informed about the spiritual meaning of and the true political situation in Israel. Accordingly, young people in Germany are even less interested in Israel than the rest of the church. We want to take steps to remedy this deplorable situation.<sup>25</sup>

Written and spoken messages leave one with the impression that many pastors are less than eager to give Israel supporters in their congregation a free hand, or any hand, in promoting Israel prayer groups and other Israel-related activities. Illuminating in this respect is the foreword by Harald Eckert, an important Christian Zionist leader in Germany, in a new edition of a book by Derek Prince which had first been published in 1982. He notes (in 2001) that in recent years Israel has become the object of far more attention than ever before. 'At the same time, however, this positive development is still very much in its beginnings, and it is threatened: for many Christians and in many groups where interest in Israel has awakened anew, this happens with more or less obvious discord' (Prince 2001:4). Revealing is also the information on budgets and newsletter editions included in the next chapter. Although information is not available for every organization, it does show that the total budget of Christian Zionist organizations in the BRD amounts to some millions, but not to tens of millions; their address lists add up to tens of thousands of recipients of their periodicals, but not to hundreds of thousands. Considering there are

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<sup>24</sup> So 'Positive Entwicklung hat sich fortgesetzt' 10.2003 Israel Heute – Israel aktuell Freundesbrief /16:1f.

<sup>25</sup> 'Projekte der Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem' 1.2006 Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem /38:29-31.

approximately 1.3 million German Evangelicals, these numbers are significant, but not huge.

### **2.1.2 Setting the Stage: Developments in eschatology**

As part of this section, a brief discussion is in order of (1) the development of Evangelical beliefs in Germany relating to eschatology and Israel before 1945; and (2) Evangelicals in the Third Reich. The introduction above makes clear that the main roots of German Evangelicalism are to be found in Lutheranism, Pietism, and Anglo-Saxon Evangelicalism, especially the nineteenth-century revival and holiness movements (so F Jung 1992:23-34; nd-a). It is especially the latter two that have shaped its eschatological beliefs.

Jakob Philipp Spener (1635-1705), one of Pietism's most influential founding fathers, published his programmatic Pia Desideria in 1675. It included a remarkably positive attitude towards Jews. In practice, this did not have a great effect, at least not immediately, as Martin Jung's (1992) study of Württemberg Pietism and the Jews bears out, but in theory at least it put Pietism on a different foundation in its relation to Jews than other Lutherans. Although it was not a new idea, belief in a future conversion of the Jews has always been strong among Pietists, many of whom adopted Premillennialism as well. Especially among the more radical or mystical Pietists this could also include belief in a future restoration of the Jews to Palestine (M. Schmidt 1988:116f, 122). As a result, Pietism has often been philo-Semitic, Premillennialist, and Restorationist.

No comprehensive study of German Evangelical views of eschatology in the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century has been published, but available publications touching on the subject indicate that Premillennialism and the expectation of a Jewish end-time conversion continued to be widespread, albeit less so among confessional Evangelicals, with many, but not all, also expecting a restoration of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine (Heinrichs 2000:262-310; Hölscher 1989: 74-130; Holthaus 1993:373-451; 2001; Raedel 2004; Railton 2000:195-248). Holthaus (1993:449) even speaks of a 'broad consensus' among Premillennialists regarding a prophesied restoration of Israel during the great tribulation. With few exceptions (eg Railton 2000:196, 199, 206, 242f), the only action following from these beliefs was evangelistic outreach to Jews.

Especially around the middle of the nineteenth century, relations between British and mainland Evangelicals became very close – so close, it could seem there was 'No North Sea' (Railton 2000). As a result, John Nelson Darby's Dispensationalism and British eschatological speculation drew substantial interest in Germany. However, as Holthaus (1993:373-451; 2001; see also Hölscher 1989: 74-130) demonstrates, Germans were quite capable of producing their own speculation as well, and although Dispensationalism gained a following in Germany, many, especially German Pietists, remained non-Dispensationalist Premillennialists. Especially in Methodist circles, there was also a measure of American influence (Holthaus 1993:429, 432-6, 440-42; 2001:110-115; Voigt 2004:75-85).

As for Darby, between 1854 and 1878 he visited Germany a total of eight times (Jordy 1979:86-8), which contributed to the emergence of a vibrant but small Brethren movement in Germany, today counting approximately 40,000 adherent (F Jung nd-c). Their history has been extensively documented by Gerhard Jordy (1979, 1981, 1986). The German Brethren did not slavishly follow leads from England or from Darby (Jordy 1979:88f). They avoided many of the splits that afflicted the movement in Britain (Jordy 1979:111-114; 1981:67-70). Theologically, they went their own way as well. Erich Sauer, their best-known and most influential theologian, developed his own, moderate form of Dispensationalism, and in his writings paid little attention to the Middle East or Zionism (see 3.1.1). As for CI Scofield, his study Bible was not translated into German until 1972, and was published by Mitternachtsruf in Switzerland. In 1992, Brockhaus issued a new edition, based on the revised Elberfelder translation rather than the Luther Bible of 1912.

Its influence in Germany is therefore late and comparatively small. Darby and Scofield were far more successful in spreading their ideas in the United States than in Germany.

As a result, although the large majority of German Evangelicals were Premillennialists, Dispensationalism remained a minority view. It was only after the Second World War that Dispensationalism gained a substantially larger following (1) through increased contacts with North America;<sup>26</sup> (2) through a number of newly founded Bible schools, often under American Dispensationalist influence (Gut 2003:3f; Ott 2001:27-56, 97-9); (3) through independent organizations and their leaders like Wim Malgo and Mitternachtsruf (Midnight Call, see 3.3.5); and (4) through a steady stream of translated American Dispensationalist literature after 1969 (Holthaus 1993:436f, 448-51, 456; for the increase in American translations see also Chapter Five of this thesis).

### **2.1.3 Setting the Stage: Evangelicals in the Third Reich**

Overall, Evangelicals did not stand out either positively or negatively during the Third Reich. Based on available studies,<sup>27</sup> the following generalizations can be made. Evangelicals proved not immune to National Socialism. Although there were many who were critical, especially because of anti-Christian elements in its ideology, there was also enthusiastic support for the movement. Most Evangelical leaders did not embrace Nazi ideology, but they could be effusive in their positive evaluations of Adolf Hitler. Especially during his initial successes, many were swept along in the general national excitement, in spite of the fact that many Evangelicals actually professed to be apolitical. This was particularly true of the Brethren, for whom this profession was a matter of theological principle. However, as Railton (1998:36) notes:

It is highly symbolic of the general sympathies of German evangelicalism that the traditionally politically abstinent Plymouth Brethren, who refused to join the Evangelical Alliance for Biblical reasons, joined the Nazi organizations in large numbers. They were involved in the NSDAP as well as the SA and SS. The Brethren Assembly in Düsseldorf could count over fifty members of the Nazi Party.

One of their own, writing many years later, offers this reflection on a particularly striking example of the behaviour of his predecessors:

The blending of Jesus' petition in the High Priestly Prayer, 'that they may all be one', with the propaganda phrase of the National Socialists, 'Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer', conveys the shameful insight how blind Christians can become when they get involved in the politics of this world. (Jordy 1986:254f)

Strangely then, for all their political abstinence, many did not hesitate to ascribe theological or spiritual meaning to what was happening, such as seeing in Hitler's rise to power an intervention by God to save Germany from Bolshevism. Those who had no sympathy for Nazi ideology nevertheless felt, based on Romans 13, that they had to submit to the authorities. For Evangelical leaders, the overriding concern in dealing with the authorities was the continuation of the ministry, especially that of evangelization. To ensure this, they were prepared to make significant compromises. Political resistance or opposition was not considered; it was simply outside of their scope.

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<sup>26</sup> F Jung (1992:23, 35) refers to this; it is exemplified by the five German crusades held by Billy Graham in 1953-66.

<sup>27</sup> These include Zehrer (1986) and Voigt (2004:163-86) for the free churches in general, Railton (1998) for the EA, Ruppel (1969) for the Gemeinschaftsbewegung, Jordy (1986) for the Brethren movement, Strübind (1995) for Baptists and the BEFG, and Strahm (1989) for the EmK. For Pentecostals, no extensive study is available, but Schmidgall (1997:64-83) provides a brief overview.

Evangelicals also proved far from immune to anti-Semitism.<sup>28</sup> Ironically, many explicitly rejected anti-Semitism, yet were thoroughly imbued with anti-Semitic stereotypes. When Jewish rights were curtailed and persecution began in earnest, some considered this good and right, since the Jews had too much power and were a corrupting influence. Others did not agree with the measures and deplored them, but at the same time considered them inescapable and necessary, since they were part of the prophetic scenario: the Bible predicted this, and it would serve to convert the Jews or bring them back to Palestine. The long-standing tradition of eschatological and Restorationist speculation continued unabated, as described by Railton (1998:19):

All these evangelical papers had sections in them devoted to analysing and interpreting social and political events, in which political opinions mingled with eschatological convictions were presented as binding truth ... The men were, to use a modern analogy, the Hal Lindsey's of their age, end-times specialists whose articles, tracts and books were very influential in the period of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. Studying the prophetic scriptures to find clues about one's position in the divine timetable was popular not only with individual Christians and the hobby continued throughout the Third Reich.

Restorationism, the predominant Evangelical position before the Second World War, may therefore be assumed to be the starting point for a large majority of German Evangelicals after 1945.

## 2.2 GERMANY AND ISRAEL

The development of Christian Zionism in Germany not only took place in the context of the German Evangelical movement, but also against the backdrop of developing relations between two peoples and their states. An overview of this relationship provides important background information to understand Evangelical reactions and concerns related to Israel during the period under consideration. The two states were founded only one year apart, in 1948 and 1949, and were inexorably linked by a common and traumatic past. In 1952, responsibility for this past found an early and important expression in the BRD's agreement to pay compensation to Israel. For Chancellor Adenauer, this was a moral issue, but also an important step towards restoring Germany's standing in the world and recovery of full membership in the community of nations (Lavy 1996:1-13; Sachar 1999:32-52; Weingardt 2002:173f). Germans were far from unanimous in supporting compensation; Adenauer needed votes from the oppositional Social Democrats to get the agreement passed through parliament, since too many in his coalition did not support it (Deutschkron 1992:56-8). Although controversial in Israel as well, it provided crucial aid in building the new state, which faced the challenge of integrating hundreds of thousands of immigrants. Diplomatic relationships, however, were not established until 1965, and this was not because Israel needed so long to accept these; the main reason was that the BRD wanted to prevent formal recognition of the DDR by Arab states, and feared that recognizing Israel might provoke them to do so. Perhaps to compensate, or perhaps out of a sense of responsibility for Israel's security, from 1959 on the BRD secretly provided Israel with weapons, until this was uncovered in 1964. This embarrassing incident at least had the positive effect of accelerating the move to full diplomatic relations in 1965.<sup>29</sup>

For German society at large the term 'collective amnesia' has been coined to describe the virtual absence of serious interaction with the past during the 1950s (cf. Conway 1990:19; Weingardt 2002:137). A few statements by the EKD acknowledged a measure of

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<sup>28</sup> On this, especially Railton's chapter on 'The Jewish Question' (1998:171-89) is sadly illuminating.

<sup>29</sup> This episode is extensively discussed in Weingardt (2002:115-25, 147-64) and Lavy (1996:48-58, 90-129).

responsibility for what had happened, but this was not much.<sup>30</sup> This began to change around 1958, in part because a new generation wanted its questions answered, and was able to look at the past with less personal and emotional involvement. Especially influential was the Eichmann Process in 1961 in Israel. It confronted Germans with the darkest side of the Nazi era, and did much to put this past, and particularly the Holocaust, on the agenda: ‘... in late August 1961, a German opinion poll disclosed that 26 percent of its respondents had read every single one of the daily dispatches written about the trial. Indeed, no other event since the end of the war had so riveted public attention in West Germany’ (Sachar 1999:125; cf. Weingardt 2002:136-8).

Indications of a new sensitivity had already appeared earlier. One of these was Aktion Sühnezeichen Friedensdienste (Action Reconciliation Service for Peace), a Protestant organization founded in 1958 to perform acts of reconciliation in those countries that suffered through Nazi Germany, including Israel. From 1961 onward it offered young people an opportunity to work in social institutions in Israel. A comparable initiative was Nes Ammim (Sign for the Nations, Is. 11:10), a Christian village which was established in northern Israel in the early 1960s predominantly by Dutch, Swiss, and German Christians. Its aim was to contribute to reconciliation between Christians and Jews, and between Europeans and Israelis. A German Nes Ammim association was established in 1963.

The Kirchentag, a large biannual national congress or rally for members of the EKD, first paid significant attention to Jewish-Christian relations in 1959, with the involvement of both the Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary (3.1.3) and Helmut Gollwitzer. This was an interesting partnership between conservative Evangelicals and progressive theologians that continued into the early 1960s (see also 3.2.1). Jewish-Christian relations were put at the forefront of the 1961 congress, where also the new Arbeitsgemeinschaft Juden und Christen beim deutschen evangelischen Kirchentag (Fellowship of Jews and Christians at the German Protestant Kirchentag) first came together; it exercised significant influence in the EKD, and illustrates the increase in theological reflection on the Holocaust and its repercussions for Christian theology in Germany around this time. Eventually, in 1967, the EKD set up an official committee, Kirche und Judentum (Church and Judaism), which in 1975 published a foundational study of and directive for the relationship between Christians and Jews; further studies would follow in 1991 and 2000 (Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland 2002).<sup>31</sup>

After diplomatic relations were established, travel, interaction, and various sorts of exchange programmes were greatly intensified; this was of course also due to increasing economic possibilities. The influential Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft (German-Israeli Society, DIG), for instance, was founded in 1966. The result of all these developments was that Israel became immensely popular in Germany in the 1960s. Among social democrats

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<sup>30</sup> Well-known statements that were issued include: ‘Stuttgarter Schulderklärung’ (Confession of Stuttgart) in 1945, ‘Das Darmstädter Wort’ (Word, or Statement, of Darmstadt) in 1947, ‘Wort der EKD zur Judenfrage’ (Word, or Statement, of the EKD on the Jewish Question) in 1950; these are printed in Oberman *et al.* (1999:187, 195f, 217). Like the population in general, Evangelicals for the most part seemed unable or unwilling to face their past: ‘In the post-war period one can detect a stubborn resistance to facing up to historical truths and learning the correct moral lessons’ (Railton 1998:211; cf. Voigt 2004:190-97). The EA issued a declaration resembling the ‘Stuttgarter Schulderklärung’ in 1946 (F Jung 1992:41f; the text of the declaration is included in Beyreuther 1969:160-62). A few free churches issued statements in the 1940s (Voigt 2004:190-97). Otherwise, little happened until 1980, when more serious study, reflection, and confession related to free church behaviour under National Socialism began to take place: BEFG (1984, 1997), Jordy (1986), Strahm (1989), Strübind (1995), Hitzemann and Strübind (2003).

<sup>31</sup> Beginning with a declaration of the Rhineland Synod in 1980, many statements were made on the regional rather than the national level (Oberman *et al.* 1999:307-320). The Rhineland statement proved particularly controversial among Evangelicals, because it was the first which explicitly rejected any Christian mission to Jews.

especially, to whom Israel appeared to realize the ideals of a democratic socialism not in existence anywhere else, it had become a land of promise already in the 1950s (Frister 1992:167-70). Israel's popularity reached a climax in 1967 (Jaeger 1997:25). At the time of the Six Day War, numerous rallies and other initiatives expressed solidarity and sympathy with the threatened Jewish state; in international comparison, the level of German identification with the Jewish state was exceptional (Lavy 1996:146-58; Lichtenstein 1992:116f; Weingardt 2002:189f, 237). However, this was soon to change.

Already in 1966, before the Six Day War, Willy Brandt, the new foreign minister, began to prepare significant changes in Germany's Middle East politics, which became increasingly noticeable after Brandt became chancellor in 1969.<sup>32</sup> Ausgewogenheit (balance, in Germany's relations to Israel and to Arab states) became the new motto, in part made possible by Israel's far more secure position after 1967. The BRD embarked on a more pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian course, while still acknowledging Germany's special responsibility to Israel. Eventually, in 1973, Brandt coined the catchphrase 'normal relations with special character' for Germany's relationship with Israel. Naturally, this transition did not take place without friction. The murder of 11 Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972 by Palestinian terrorists and the later release of the surviving terrorists in exchange for hostages was one of several crises in the relationship. Beyond question however was Brandt's personal integrity as one who had consistently opposed National Socialism before and during the Second World War, and unforgettable was his genuflection at the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial in 1970, where he knelt down and remained on his knees for several minutes.<sup>33</sup>

Under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (1974-82) the shift towards the Arabs intensified.<sup>34</sup> An important motive, but by no means the only one, was economic: Germany needed Arab oil and Arab business, and in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War an oil embargo seemed a real possibility. Relations with Arab states improved substantially, the Europeans gradually accepted that the PLO was a party that had to be included in negotiations, and Palestinian self-determination became a foundational principle of German and European Middle East policy.

Relations with Israel, in contrast, suffered stagnation, especially after Menachem Begin came to power in 1977. The relationship between Schmidt and Begin was difficult from the start, and eventually led to the Begin-Schmidt Controversy, a decidedly low point in the evolving relationship. In 1980, news leaked of plans for German weapon sales (tanks) to Saudi Arabia; since his party was against them, they did not take place, but Schmidt supported them. Possibly to compensate for the failed weapon sales, he visited Saudi Arabia and made statements supportive of Palestinian rights. This led to strong Israeli reactions, in which Begin personally attacked Schmidt, making insinuations about Schmidt's past as an officer during the Second World War; in Germany Begin's response was widely rejected and criticized (Jaeger 1997:130-40; Weingardt 2002:280f, 290-304).

Begin's settlement policy, the annexation of East Jerusalem (1980) and the Golan Heights (1981), his handling of the Palestinian question, and Israel's military actions in Lebanon culminating in the Lebanon War put additional strain on the relationship between Germany and Israel. However, Israel's security and right to exist continued to be cornerstones of

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<sup>32</sup> For Brandt's Middle East politics, see the discussions in Weingardt (2002:180-240), Jaeger (1997:51-60), and Lavy (1996:163-91).

<sup>33</sup> In Germany, 48 per cent of the population considered this 'exaggerated' (Weingardt 2002:217).

<sup>34</sup> For an extensive discussion of Schmidt's Middle East politics, see Weingardt (2002:241-304) and Jaeger (1997:61-170; pp. 82-170 (!) deal with the Schmidt-Begin era, 1977-82).

German foreign policy, and Germany repeatedly functioned as Israel's advocate within the European Community.<sup>35</sup>

Sentiments in society at large also changed after 1967. Among left-wing intellectuals in the West, sympathy and partisan support for the Palestinian cause increased dramatically; Kloke (1990:71-5, 82-111; see also Jaeger 1997:29f) has extensively documented how dogmatic anti-imperialism gave birth to radical anti-Zionism on the extreme left in Germany. The more moderate left and large sections of the general population also reconsidered their views of Israel, even if not to this extreme:

In the government and in the population of Germany, however, the feeling of solidarity with Israel decreased more and more, whereas it continued to increase *vis-à-vis* the Palestinians. (Weingardt 2002:286)

The 'idealization of Israel' in the Federal Republic had 'broken down'. In a protracted process West German public opinion began to develop a more differentiating awareness of the Middle East conflict – especially in relation to the Palestinian question, which until then had suffered relative neglect. (Jaeger 1997:30)

In the 1970s then, it became commonplace in Germany to consider Palestinian needs, fate, and rights (Weingardt 2002:276, 278, 281-5). During the 1980s, Israel's image further deteriorated through the Lebanon War, which drew strong criticism from German politicians and media (*ibid.*:380, 296-9), and – after 1987 – through the Intifada (*ibid.*:337-40). Occasionally, parallels were drawn between Israel's behaviour in Lebanon, Israeli treatment of Palestinians, and crimes committed under National Socialism (*ibid.*:298f; Jaeger 1997:152-5); to some, the Jews had become the new Nazis.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl (1982-96) started off with a measure of clumsiness, especially in respect to the German past.<sup>36</sup> Claiming the 'Gnade der späten Geburt' (grace of late birth) insufficiently considered Israeli – and Jewish – sensitivities. Like Schmidt, Kohl considered, and seriously pushed for, weapon sales to Saudi Arabia, upsetting the Israelis and failing much like Schmidt. Eventually, however, Kohl found his bearings, and official relations stabilized, a stability that continued and perhaps even improved under Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and his Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer (1996-2005).<sup>37</sup> Although it is too early to evaluate Angela Merkel's chancellorship, she has already affirmed Germany's special responsibility for Israel's existence quite emphatically on several occasions.

During the 1990s, a number of incidents caused new strains, especially around the time of the Gulf War, leading to a new low in the early 1990s (so Deutschkron 1992:71; Meroz 1992:262): 'The relationship between Germany and Israel was massively disturbed. In both countries the other state obtained the lowest sympathy scores in surveys, both in historical comparison as well as in comparison with other states' (Weingardt 2002:349). Particularly disrupting, because of the associations with Auschwitz, was the discovery of the involvement of German companies in Iraq's production of poison gas and medium range

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<sup>35</sup> The problem of the triangle Germany – Israel – Arab world, which Brandt and Schmidt attempted to tackle, is of course a difficult and perennial one for Germany. The telling but untranslatable phrase 'Quadratur des Dreiecks' has been coined for this conundrum (Jaeger 1997: title; Weingardt 2002:415). It is a play on the proverbial and equally untranslatable expression 'die Quadratur des Kreises', which represents an impossibility: one cannot describe the 'square-ness' of a circle. Neither can Germany do full justice to each party within the triangle. Demands of moral responsibility frequently clash with the demands of Realpolitik. One tactic has been to let relations with Israel and with the Arab world run on separate tracks: primarily bilaterally with Israel, primarily through the EU with the Arab world (Weingardt 2002:427-9). Lavy (1996:205-210) makes plausible that on a number of occasions, moral responsibility took priority over national interest.

<sup>36</sup> For Kohl's Middle East politics, see the discussions in Weingardt (2002:305-375) and Jaeger (1997:171-238).

<sup>37</sup> See Weingardt (2002:376-95).

missiles; without German technology, they would not have been able to reach Tel Aviv. The fact that demonstrations against the Gulf War showed no consideration of the threat to Israel, did not protest against Hussein's anti-Israel rhetoric, and expressed no support for Israel's right to exist was also noted in Israel, with bitterness. In addition, a number of violent incidents in Germany aimed against foreigners, especially in the newly added states in the east, raised questions about a possible re-emergence of Nazism. However, relations between the two governments were affected less, and after the Oslo Accords substantial German aid flowed into the Palestinian territories with the full approval of Israel; economic progress was deemed a necessity to make peace work.

This divergence between official circles and parts of the general public is symptomatic for the present state of relations between Germany and Israel. In politics, in church leadership, and among intellectuals who are not overly conservative, a special German responsibility to remember the past and to support Israeli existence is widely accepted and on various occasions ritually expressed. In the general population, there are many who feel that this is exaggerated or abused; they want to draw a Schlussstrich (the line that closes a text) under the past.<sup>38</sup> They may even resent being held responsible for a past in which they did not participate, and they have difficulty understanding the actions of the Israeli state. For most of them, the Holocaust, now more than 60 years ago, is not even a distant memory; it is something they only know from a history book – or from television. For many Israelis, it seems to have happened yesterday, it could happen again tomorrow, and they see no valid alternative to the tough stance their government habitually takes. Further occasional friction between Germany and Israel is therefore all but guaranteed, and so is continuing Israeli, but also Evangelical, concern that Germany may be drifting from its special moral and historical responsibility to Israel.

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<sup>38</sup> In a survey in 1992, 62 per cent expressed support for this; only 20 per cent rejected it (Weingardt 2002:435; see also 376f). The divergence described above is also noticed in Kaiser and Kriener (1996:9).

## **SOULS ON FIRE: THE EMERGENCE, DEVELOPMENT, AND ORGANIZATION OF CHRISTIAN ZIONISM IN GERMANY**

Proceeding decade by decade, the present chapter seeks to capture the emergence and development of Christian Zionism in Germany after 1945, as well as to present an overview of the organizations and leading personalities that constitute the movement. In a final synthesis, an explanation is presented for the observed development.

### **3.1 THE LATE 1940S AND THE 1950S**

One Evangelical activity resumed soon after the war was the publication of end-time books. Perhaps understandably: in such a time, a word of hope must have been more than welcome, and in many places, no imagination was needed to envision apocalyptic scenes. Although most of this material is by no means Christian Zionist as defined in Chapter One, it is relevant here, because it confirms Restorationism as the point of departure for post-war developments.

#### **3.1.1 Earliest Publications**

Several of the earliest volumes to be published were reprints of books that had first appeared before the war. One of these was a 1937 work by Erich Sauer, which reappeared in 1946. It would later be translated into English and go through a number of editions overseas, no mean accomplishment for a German Evangelical book (Sauer 1973; the first English edition appeared in 1951). Sauer had been a teacher at the Wiedenest Bible School<sup>1</sup> associated with the German branch of the Brethren movement since 1920, eventually becoming its leader. In his theology, he was in many ways closer to the progressive Dispensationalists of a later period (eg Blaising & Bock 1992) than to the more rigid and dogmatic Dispensationalism of Dallas Theological Seminary and like-minded institutions.

It is striking that this book could be reprinted after the war with little change. According to his younger colleague Ernst Schrupp (1998:12), one section (Sauer 1946:172-4) was added to affirm Israel's continuing election; a sentence denying pogroms in Germany was deleted (Holthaus 1999a:131f). Beyond this, it provides no clue that anything major had happened in between the original edition of 1937 and its republication in 1946, with the exception of a single footnote mentioning the 'murder of at least hundreds of thousands of Jews in the second world war [sic]' (1946:155; also included in 1973:137). If nothing else did, the prophetic scenario apparently survived the war unscathed. Significantly, the footnote appears in a chapter entitled 'Signs of the Time' (1973:131), the only section that discusses the history of Zionism and of the Jews after AD 70 – in less than two pages.

Also in 1946, Karl Huhn's book on the rapture, first published in 1940, was reissued; it contains nothing on Israel except for a short passage on the budding fig tree as a sign of the time (Huhn 1946:100f). A book by Markus Hauser (1958), first published in 1916, reappeared in 1948. A 1938 work by Fritz Hubmer, a Bible teacher who had been a student of Erich Sauer, was reprinted in 1949. Like Sauer, it is Dispensational and quite theoretical, although later editions include a relatively extensive endnote with a history of Zionism and Israel (1987a:143-7). A commentary by Karl Hartenstein (1948; 1954), a

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<sup>1</sup> Its full name today is Missionshaus Bibelschule Wiedenest eV. For a short biography of Sauer, see Holthaus (1999).

Pietist Lutheran pastor, on the book of Revelation, first published in 1940, was reprinted in 1948 and completely revised in 1954. It is neither Dispensational nor speculative, and at one point it is quite critical of present-day Israel (1969:105). This is even more true of Israel im Heilsplan Gottes (Israel in God's Plan of Salvation), which denies that the ethnic and national dimension is an essential aspect of salvation history (1952:21, 30, 73). This makes his works quite untypical of post-war Evangelical books that touch on Israel.

Not many new books appeared this early; among these, most interesting are those by Fünning and Poljak (see also Einhaus 1948; Schmitz 1947; L Vogel 1947). Albert Fünning (1871-1950), a retired American Lutheran pastor by then in his late 70s and originally from Germany, was employed by the United States Army to minister to German prisoners of war in North America. His first book was published there, before it was also printed in Germany (1948a:4, 344). It combines Dispensationalism with universalism (Allversöhnung), a combination not unknown in German Pietism (Holthaus 1993:439-45). His final two books (1949; 1950) interact more or less extensively with the new state, albeit within a strongly eschatological framework: Israel is a sign of the nearness of the end. Abram Poljak (1946; 1947a; 1947b; 1949a; 1949b) contributed several works before 1950 (and more later), a few of which were published in Switzerland; he is the only one at this early stage to move beyond pure Restorationism, and will be introduced below. In addition, many booklets and pamphlets appeared in the late 1940s, dealing with the overall plan of salvation or with a particular element, not infrequently from a Dispensational point of view (eg Fucksch 1948; Hering 1947; 1949; Schieder 1948; Zilz 1950).

During the 1950s, most publications continued to be thoroughly eschatological and theoretical (eg Conrad 1953; Hubmer 1958; Rienecker 1958; Schmitt 1956), thus confirming the overwhelmingly Restorationist starting point of post-war development. Some authors began to interact more extensively with the new reality, either in a travel report (Huigens 1962; A Salomon 1956)<sup>2</sup>, a book on Jewish Christians (Majer-Leonhard 1955), or otherwise (Schäble 1950; 1957; Schlink 1967, first published in 1958); Schäble, Schlink, and Huigens must have been particularly widely read, since their books went through several editions. Most of these authors stuck to a purely Restorationist framework and an observant mood.

The same picture emerges from perusing issues of the EA magazine Evangelisches Allianzblatt (EA Bulletin), publication of which was resumed in 1949. Only a few articles in these early years take up the topic of modern-day Israel. These betray an interest in missionary outreach to Jews,<sup>3</sup> in the affairs of the new state,<sup>4</sup> and in its eschatological significance.<sup>5</sup> Especially the article by Horn<sup>6</sup> is based on a classic Restorationist view, but is also fascinated with what it perceives as the miracle of the new state. Apart from a concern for missions, none of these articles move beyond passive Restorationism. Early issues of Bibel und Gemeinde (Bible and Church), a journal founded in 1894 to combat

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<sup>2</sup> Huigen's travel book first appeared in 1959; A Salomon really only visited the part of Palestine that had come under Jordanian control. Not included here, because he was not an Evangelical, is Hermann Maas (1950; 1955). Maas was not so much a Christian Zionist, but rather a non-Jewish Zionist who also happened to be a Christian. In 1903 he attended the sixth Zionist congress in Basel, where he 'converted' to Zionism. During the Third Reich, he actively helped persecuted Jews until he was arrested. As a result, he was the first German to be officially invited to visit Israel in 1950 (Maas 1955:8, 13; Pragai 1990:246-8). He was the first German author to write a book about the state of Israel based on first-hand experience.

<sup>3</sup> Eg Frank, D 1949 'Gottes Stunde für Israel' Evangelische Allianz /2:8f. Until October 1949, the Allianzblatt appeared under this name.

<sup>4</sup> Eg Brandenburg, B 1.1951 Evangelisches Allianzblatt 54/1:12-15.

<sup>5</sup> Eg Horn, W 1.1951 'Israel' Evangelisches Allianzblatt 54/1:9-12.

<sup>6</sup> See previous footnote.

Biblical criticism and in that sense classic fundamentalist (Holthaus 2000), likewise did not move beyond Restorationism and eschatological theory. A certain Dr Flemming did write about Zionism and the new state, but all within this same theoretical framework.<sup>7</sup> Another important Evangelical periodical at the time, widely read in Pietist and Evangelical Lutheran circles, Licht und Leben (Light and Life), likewise paid little attention to Israel. When it did, it was out of interest in the new state or to present a cautious and restrained form of Restorationism.

Of all the authors mentioned in this section, the only ones to move beyond pure Restorationism as forerunners of a yet-to-emerge movement were Poljak and Schlink; they are therefore discussed in more detail below.

### **3.1.2 Abram Poljak and the Reichsbruderschaft**

A peculiar episode, notable because it came so early, is the attempt of Abram Poljak (1900-1963) to initiate a Jewish-Christian movement which would, in preparation for the conversion of the Jews and the beginning of the millennium, establish kibbutz-like Jewish-Christian settlements in Palestine. It proved largely abortive, but for some years Poljak became a voice to which many Evangelicals in Germany paid attention.<sup>8</sup>

Poljak, who was born in Russia, but grew up in Germany, became a believer in Jesus when briefly imprisoned by the Gestapo in 1933. Shortly afterwards, still in the 1930s, he founded several short-lived Jewish-Christian organizations. Poljak developed and published the outline of his ideas around this time, before the war (1937; 1941; the latter was first published in 1938). As a symbol of the movement he chose the Star of David with a cross in the centre, which fittingly sums up his vision of a Jewish Christianity (Judenchristentum). His theology shows clear Dispensational origins, but Poljak developed his own unique understanding of eschatology. John Nelson Darby had separated God's plan for the church and for Israel chronologically (in the present, the church; after the rapture, Israel), while expecting Jewish and Gentile believers before the rapture to participate in the same church. Poljak's new twist was an argument for two bodies which were to exist simultaneously as two different churches: the Gentile-Christian Leibesgemeinde (body church) and the Jewish-Christian Reichsgemeinde (kingdom church). In Poljak's view, the time had come to restore the Reichsgemeinde in preparation for the conversion of Israel and the millennial kingdom of God.

After the war, which he mostly spent in Allied internment, he lived in London, where he re-established a Jewish-Christian church, and in Israel, where one of his followers had established a small Jewish-Christian church in Jerusalem in 1946. Around this time, Daniel Zion, a Jewish rabbi originally from Bulgaria, had come to believe in Jesus as the Messiah, and on preaching this in his synagogue had been removed from office. In 1950, Zion led a small conference in Jerusalem, bringing together approximately 60 Jewish Christians, including Poljak (Vereinigte Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche Deutschlands 2000:2.4.12). They founded a Messianic union in Israel. For a moment, Poljak's vision seemed to be heading for fulfilment, but the union fell apart within a year; the brief cooperation between Zion and Poljak came to an end at the same time.

Disappointed, Poljak returned to mainland Europe in 1951, where his message drew significant interest, especially in the south of Germany. Conferences in Basel, Strasbourg, and Stuttgart in 1951-4 drew up to 5,000 participants. In 1951 Poljak founded his own

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<sup>7</sup> Flemming 1-3.1957 'Der Staat Israel – ein Alarmruf Gottes!' Bibel und Gemeinde 57/1:10-13; Flemming 4-6.1957 'Der Staat Israel – ein Alarmruf Gottes!' Bibel und Gemeinde 57/2:8-12.

<sup>8</sup> For biographical information on Poljak and a summary of his theology, see Hutten (1982:227-38).

publishing company, Patmos-Verlag,<sup>9</sup> and in 1952 he founded yet another Jewish-Christian organization, the *Judenchristliche Reichsbruderschaft* (Jewish-Christian Kingdom Brotherhood), which in 1954 changed its name to *Reichsbruderschaft Jesu Christi*. In 1955, a settlement was founded in Möttlingen, Germany, from where the work was continued.

Poljak quickly proved controversial among Evangelicals. In the *Evangelisches Allianzblatt* of January 1952, two articles appeared. Gottlob Lang, its editor, offered a moderate criticism of Poljak's teachings.<sup>10</sup> He did notice positive aspects: Poljak reminded the church of God's unfinished dealings with Israel. But Lang also noticed some curious elements, including Poljak's date setting (1954 Third World War; 1994 Second Coming and beginning of the millennium). In addition, he rejected the concept of a Jewish-Christian church completely separate from the Gentile church, which reminded him of the racial church of South Africa and of Hitler's *Arierparagrafen* (Aryan paragraphs).<sup>11</sup> The second article included biographical information and offered a more positive assessment.<sup>12</sup> Its author, a Dispensationalist, did not see a problem in the distinction between church and kingdom. Already a month later, in a second article by Lang, the tone had changed.<sup>13</sup> Lang pointed out that Poljak had declared the founding of a Messianic union in Jerusalem in 1950 'the breakthrough in Israel', an obvious gaffe in light of its rapid demise. Worse than this, Lang had now attended one of his meetings, and was shocked by his anti-church rhetoric; Poljak attacked

... with the storm of his passion everything that resisted him or seemed to resist him: the leadership of the church as well as representatives of missions to Jews and of the press. In the same condemnation, however, was also included our brother Heitmüller, whom he attacked personally and with special force ... Of missions to Jews he spoke as if its messengers were only 'paid agents', and 95 per cent of those it had baptized hypocrites.

Poljak's low opinion of the state of Gentile Christianity was also noticed by the *Evangelische Zentralstelle für Weltanschauungsfragen* (Protestant Central Office for Worldview Questions, EZW).<sup>14</sup> In addition there was criticism of the role prophetic revelations played in the *Reichsbruderschaft*; apparently, this was one reason why the movement suffered from substantial internal discord, as an article in *Licht und Leben* brings out.<sup>15</sup> As a result, already by the end of the 1950s the *Reichsbruderschaft* was in decline: '... already before his death [in 1963] the time in which many considered him the only and true voice of the Jewish Christians was long over.'<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, in 1980 its magazine *Judenchristliche Gemeinde* (Jewish-Christian Church) still appeared in a German edition of 3,000 copies and in a French edition of 1,000.<sup>17</sup> However, its original momentum never recovered, and the settlement in Möttlingen was dissolved in 1992. The

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<sup>9</sup> *Verlag* means publishing house.

<sup>10</sup> Lang, G 1.1952 'INRI: Ein Wort zu der Poljak-Bewegung' *Evangelisches Allianzblatt* 55/1:7-11.

<sup>11</sup> Nazi legislation used to exclude Jews from the civil service in 1933.

<sup>12</sup> Müller, P 1.1952 'Wer ist Abram Poljak und was will er?' *Evangelisches Allianzblatt* 55/1:11-13.

<sup>13</sup> Lang, G 2.1952 'Noch einmal Abram Poljak' *Evangelisches Allianzblatt* 55/2:23f.

<sup>14</sup> 'Judenchristliche Gemeinde: "Wir wollen nichts mit ihnen zu tun haben"' 1.4.1960 *Materialdienst (EZW)* 23/7:79-81.

<sup>15</sup> 'Streit unter Propheten' 11.1956 *Licht und Leben* 67/11:175f.

<sup>16</sup> 'Reichsbruderschaft Jesu Christi: Nach Poljaks Tod' 1.4.1964 *Materialdienst (EZW)* 27/7:82f. Any text in quotations placed in square brackets is my addition, unless indicated otherwise.

<sup>17</sup> "'Judenchristliche Gemeinde" – nur für Heidenchristen?' 1.1.1982 *Materialdienst aus der EZW* 45/1:18-20.

proceeds went into funding a cultural and religious community centre for Ethiopian immigrants in Beersheba.<sup>18</sup>

In contrast to Herzl, whom he greatly admired (Poljak 1937:82), Poljak's vision did not get far; no Jewish-Christian settlement was ever established in Palestine. Too extreme were some of his ideas, too questionable appeared his theology to leading Evangelicals, too contentious and negative was his criticism of the Christian churches, and too great was his inability to bring and hold together a broad movement. Also, too few Jewish Christians were ready to join in at the time. Next to his personal weaknesses, this issue of timing proved fatal; Poljak was too far ahead of his time. Not until after 1967 would an authentic and more lasting Jewish-Christian – as well as a Christian Zionist – movement spring into being.

### **3.1.3 Evangelische Marienschwesternschaft**

In 1947 Dr Klara Schlink (1904-2001), together with eight other women, founded the Evangelische Marienschwesternschaft (Protestant Sisterhood of Mary), which is essentially a Lutheran monastic order.<sup>19</sup> She changed her name to Mother Basilea and became the 'mother superior' of a community in Darmstadt, Germany. Although the community is Lutheran and is counted among confessional Evangelicals, it is also Charismatic; Schlink had first experienced the gifts of the Spirit during the Second World War (Jansson & Lemmetyinen 1997:29), and in her teaching for the community often referred to divine revelations she had received (*ibid.*: 15).

The movement has always remained small; in the mid-80s there were approximately 24 locations with, in 1989, 189 fully committed sisters (*ibid.*:36, 39). However, from the start it had a clear vision, it developed a strong sense of identity, and consistently applied its foundational values, thus producing a strong, well-ordered, unified, and effective community. Through Schlink's publications, which began in the 1950s and eventually appeared in 90 languages,<sup>20</sup> and through video and film the Sisterhood has exercised influence far surpassing its numerical strength. In the process, it has practised near perfect branding and 'product' management; this includes its own special font used in all its publications, as well as its own architecture, writing style, and terminology. To outsiders this style may appear emotional, overly sentimental, and embellished, as it did to Scheerer (1997:153f) in his study of confessional Lutherans. Among Evangelicals, the organization arouses controversy as well; the leadership of the EA has been quite critical on more than one occasion.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, the sisters have won the hearts of millions, and other respected Evangelical leaders, like Horst-Klaus Hofmann, have come out in defence of the Sisterhood.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> 'Patmos-Siedlung der "Judenchristlichen Gemeinde" in Möttlingen aufgelöst' 1.3.1992 Materialdienst der EZW 55/3:88-90.

<sup>19</sup> There are more such communities in Germany. One of them, the Jesus-Bruderschaft (Jesus Brotherhood) in Gnadenthal, has had a representation in Latrun, Israel, since 1973. However, its activities have to do with retreats, contemplation, and reconciliation, not with an active support of the state, and it enjoys good relations with many Arab Christians.

<sup>20</sup> 'Gründerin der Marienschwestern †' 28.3.2001 ideaSpektrum /13:10.

<sup>21</sup> 'Marienschwesternschaft: Alle an einen Tisch' 12.11.1997 ideaSpektrum /46:12; 'Was lehren die Marienschwestern? EKD-Beauftragter pro Marienschwestern, Evangelische Allianzleitung kontra' 7.1.1998 ideaSpektrum /1-2:10; 'Alles (un)geklärt: Keine Einigung im innerevangelikalen Streit um die Evangelische Marienschwesternschaft' 11.2.1998 ideaSpektrum /7:18. The second article includes a reference to similar talks in the 1970s, which also ended without agreement.

<sup>22</sup> Hofmann, H-K & Baginski, H 11.6.1997 'Pro & Kontra: Sind die Marienschwestern noch evangelisch?' ideaSpektrum /24:23.

Two former members of the community have published a critical analysis of Schlink's theology, especially as it is taught internally, to members only (Jansson & Lemmetyinen 1997). They argue that the movement is a return to the medieval principle of mortificatio and that Schlink's understanding of love and repentance (the two elements of her thought they consider central) are rather different from what mainline Protestants understand by the terms. Love means bridal union with Christ (ibid.:37), repentance becomes a human activity, a long process of overcoming the self and completing the atonement of one's sin through acts of love and sacrifice, suffering over sin, and willingly bearing the consequences.<sup>23</sup> It is certainly true that repentance has always been a central concern of Schlink and the Sisterhood, and that they have a more involved understanding of it than most Evangelicals. This includes the belief that unconfessed sin has collective spiritual consequences, leaving a nation under God's judgment, an idea already expressed in Schlink's first book on Israel (1967:66). The Sisterhood has this outlook in common with other Charismatic-Pentecostal exponents of Christian Zionism (see 6.8.9). Needless to say, these ideas play an important role in its approach to Israel and to the German past: coming to terms with this past (die Vergangenheit aufarbeiten) requires an intensive process of repentance and confession.

The Sisterhood is well known for its commitment to Israel. It is one of two German Evangelical pro-Israel organizations mentioned by Kickel (1984:202f) in his overview of Christian views of Israel, and the only German organization mentioned in Merkley (2001:183), who states:

Considerable numbers of American and Canadian Lutherans draw their Christian Zionist sympathies from the literature of the Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary, whose headquarters are in Germany, and which maintains affiliates in North America ... Originating in the contrition of those German Christians who see a duty to keep the memory of the Holocaust alive, publications of the movement present the history of the creation of the state of Israel in the light of classical Christian Restorationism and urge Christians to understand the need for support of Israel's present cause.

Beyond this brief mention of contrition, neither publication elucidates what makes the Sisterhood's Christian Zionism unique. Next to the theology and practice of repentance described above, this includes the fact that the sisters' special concern for Israel, by their own reckoning, dates back all the way to 1955.<sup>24</sup> Already in 1957, the first sisters went to Israel to serve in Israeli hospitals and old people's homes. Also in 1957, the Sisterhood first published the Israelgebet (Israel Prayer; Schlink 1995), a confessional and intercessory liturgy for the Jewish people, which it used for a weekly service on Friday evening, the beginning of the Jewish Sabbath, for a number of years. In 1959 the Sisterhood was instrumental in placing Israel on the agenda of the Kirchentag (2.2). In 1961, the Sisterhood founded a home in Israel for Holocaust survivors, Beth Abraham, as an expression of repentant love and a sign of reconciliation. Schlink's first and most important book on Israel also appeared early, in 1958, a time when few Evangelicals were writing about Israel other than in the Dispensational abstract, as a component in their eschatological scenario. Israel / My People already contains typical elements of later Christian Zionist literature, such as Israel's miraculous victories over the supposedly vastly superior Arab armies, and a lack of concern for Palestinian refugees (1967:22, 91-4). It is also worth noting that the book begins not with eschatology, but with German – and Christian – guilt due to the Holocaust. In this unequivocal confession of German and Christian responsibility for the Holocaust, Schlink was ahead of her time, especially among German Evangelicals.

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<sup>23</sup> The German terms used for this are 'Sühneleistung' and 'ableiden' (Jansson & Lemmetyinen 1997:248).

<sup>24</sup> '40 Jahre Israelauftrag' 4.1995 Was geschieht auf Kanaan und draußen? 2-4.

In 1995 the community experienced a renewal of its commitment to Israel: ‘The love for Israel, our firstborn brother, which God had given us in 1955, was rekindled, and also finds expression in this, that we are keeping our Israel Prayer again on Friday evening – at the beginning of the Jewish Sabbath.’<sup>25</sup> Following this, the Sisterhood has indeed increased its activities pertaining to Israel. Its emphasis continues to be in the realm of repentance and confession, quite in line with Schlink’s understanding. It promotes communal expressions of repentance, and even provides a liturgy for a church service of repentance (Bußgottesdienst; Evangelische Marienschwesternschaft 2001). In 1997, Sister Pista, one of the leading sisters, spoke on this topic at the ICEJ feast of tabernacles, leaving a deep impression; one fruit of this presentation was a national service of repentance initiated by Christian Friends of Israel on 1 November 1999 in London to commemorate the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290.<sup>26</sup> In 2000, the Sisterhood organized a ‘weekend of remembrance, repentance, and worship’ in Darmstadt (Schwester Pista *et al.* 2000: cover). In April 2001 it organized a conference of confession in Jerusalem called Pflüget ein Neues (Break the Fallow Ground) with 750 participants, almost half of them from Germany, and with over 20 other countries present, in order to confess before God Christian sin towards Jews. Especially Israeli and American mainline media took notice and reported on the event.<sup>27</sup>

The Sisterhood of Mary therefore represents a uniquely German contribution to Christian Zionism, demonstrating both at an early date and in the present the importance of the Jewish-Christian past in Christian Zionism. For the Marienschwestern, deep concern regarding this past goes hand in hand with strong partisan support of the state of Israel.

### 3.1.4 Liebeswerk Israel ‘Zedakah’

The organization Liebeswerk Israel ‘Zedakah’<sup>28</sup> was founded on the threshold between the two decades by a Lutheran pastor belonging to the LGV, Friedrich Nothacker, together with his wife Luise. After his health had forced him to retire from the Liebenzeller Mission, the Nothackers founded a small conference centre in 1936, Haus Bethel, close to Liebenzell, which in 1954 took the legal form of an association: Christlicher Hilfsbund eV (Christian Aid Association). It was here that they made the acquaintance of Helene Wymann, a Jewish Christian, in 1955. Wymann had been engaged in missionary work among Jews for several decades; when she first met the Nothackers, she was already 77 years old. In Luise Nothacker’s words, she ‘shook us out of our indifference in relation to Israel’ (Christl. Hilfsbund eV mit Liebeswerk Israel ‘Zedakah’ 1985:4). She persuaded Nothacker to join her for some weeks on a trip to Israel in early 1958, which had a profound influence on Nothacker, and again in 1959 (*ibid.*:4-6). This time she settled in Haifa to begin her new ministry of love in the form of a guest house serving survivors of the Holocaust.

When she died that same year, the Nothackers felt a calling to adopt Wymann’s vision of a guest house where victims of the Holocaust could spend a restful time of recovery. Towards the end of 1959, they bought a house in Nahariya with nine rooms, and called it

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.:3.

<sup>26</sup> ‘Tausend Jahre wie ein Tag: Unsere Stellung zu Gottes auserwähltem Volk im Jahr 2000’ 10-12.2000 Gemeinde Erneuerung /97:26-9.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Und Er führt es herrlich hinaus’ 9.2001 Kanaan-Nachrichten 8-12.

<sup>28</sup> Liebeswerk means work of love; zedakah is Hebrew for righteousness. General information on Zedakah and its beginnings can be found on its website at [www.zedakah.de](http://www.zedakah.de), in Christl. Hilfsbund eV mit Liebeswerk Israel ‘Zedakah’ (1985), in Koch (1967a:73-8), and in Nothacker’s writings cited in the text.

Beth-El. Operations started in April 1960; that same year Liebeswerk Israel<sup>29</sup> officially became a new branch of the Christlicher Hilfsbund. Ever since 1961, the organization has also conducted tours to Israel for Christians from Germany, with the express purpose to increase their love for Israel and their understanding of what the Bible has to say about Israel. An additional project, building and maintaining a home for approximately 100 mentally handicapped children, was carried out from 1963 until 1967, when the home passed into Jewish hands.

Nothacker died in 1968, but the work continued. In 1969 Zedakah moved to Shavei Zion into a newly-built home with 30 rooms close to the beach. Ever since, 400-500 people per year have spent eleven days of leisure there. In 1983 an old people's home was added in Maalot, and called Beth-Eliezer. All the work is done by volunteers from Germany; Zedakah sees this as a work of love and reconciliation after the terrible crimes against Jews perpetrated by Germans. The organization's motto is taken from Isaiah 40:1, and fits this ministry: 'Comfort, comfort my people, says your God'.

Clearly, the German past is a prime motivating force in this organization. It is an important topic in the booklet published by the Christlicher Hilfsbund (1985: esp. 6, 21f, 30f) on the occasion of its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary, and Nothacker often refers to it in his writings (eg 1966a:4, 7, 11f; 1966b:3, 27-34, 43, 74). At the same time, he also adopts Zionist historiography (1966b:15-19) and argues that the church has a responsibility to bless Israel and assist in the fulfilment of the promises; in other words, it is to play an active role (eg 1966a:6, 11; 1966b:76). It is obvious from his writings that his visits to Israel had profound influence on his views and commitment. In Nothacker's case, a ministry of reconciliation went hand in hand with nascent Christian Zionism, making him a significant forerunner of today's Christian Zionist movement in Germany.

## 3.2 THE 1960S

### 3.2.1 Mary Hajos

Mary Hajos was born in 1903 into a Jewish family in Hungary.<sup>30</sup> Through a Scottish pastor in Budapest, George Knight, she became a Christian in 1938, together with her husband Emil Hajos. They quickly became actively involved in the life of the church, especially reaching out to Jews, both in religious ministry and, as the situation deteriorated, in attempts to save Jews from deportation. After the war, Mary and Emil continued their evangelistic outreach to Jews. In these years a revival took place in the Reformed Church of Hungary, which also affected many Jews and in which Mary and Emil were fully involved. This first period of ministry, with a focus on Hungarian Jews, came to an end with Emil's death in 1958.

A year later – she was 56 – Hajos left Hungary for the West, planning to settle in London. Around this time she wrote her first book, which is largely an account of her ministry years in Hungary (Hajos 1970). It was translated and published in Germany in 1960. During a visit to Frankfurt am Main (before she was able to move to London) she met Corrie ten Boom, who invited her to become her partner in her travelling ministry.<sup>31</sup> In prayer, she sensed that she should turn down this offer and, much to her surprise, stay in Germany. It

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<sup>29</sup> The name 'Zedakah' was added a few years later (Christl. Hilfsbund eV mit Liebeswerk Israel 'Zedakah' 1985:13).

<sup>30</sup> The following overview of her life is mainly based on her autobiography (1982).

<sup>31</sup> Corrie ten Boom, a travelling evangelist and lecturer from the Netherlands, had spent time in a German concentration camp because her family had hidden Jews during the war; she wrote the foreword to Hajos's first book.

took her a while to figure out what for. Gradually it dawned on her that her assignment in Germany was not evangelism, but rather to help the church to change its thinking about the Jewish people, and to be a witness of God's faithfulness to his people, the Jews. The fact of the matter is, she came to Germany at a crucial juncture, as she found out at this point. German theologians<sup>32</sup> were increasingly turning their attention to the Holocaust, its causes, and the repercussions it should have for Christian theology. As noted in 2.2, this was the main issue of the Kirchentag in 1961 (2.2). A new openness to face the sins of the past emerged, and with it came a new interest in things Jewish. Mary Hajos fitted right in, and began to speak wherever she was invited throughout Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. In the 1970s she began to speak in the United States as well. Eventually she decided to move there, which she did in 1976. This closes the second ministry period, which stretches from her arrival in Germany in 1960 to her departure in 1976. At that time she was 72. In the States, she continued to travel and speak. When the autobiography comes to an end – by that time she was 78 or 79 – she was still pursuing this itinerant ministry.

When considering her theology of Israel,<sup>33</sup> it needs to be kept in mind that Mary Hajos was no theologian; she saw herself first of all as an evangelist. Her faith strikes one as deep, simple, and genuine, but not intellectual or reflective. The net result is that the exact nature of her view on Israel and the church is not completely clear; it is difficult to fit some of her statements together. What emerges clearly, however, is her central concern, the things she was most eager to communicate. She felt a deep love for the Jewish people, who continue to be God's chosen people, even though they are presently blind to the gospel. God is faithful to his promise and his covenant. He loves the Jewish people, he has not rejected them, and she wanted Gentile Christians to know this and to turn away from teaching to the contrary. For an Evangelical lay theology, this may not sound revolutionary, but in the 1960s to many German ears it was; besides, Mary Hajos was an effective communicator of this new attitude, especially through her personal testimony of suffering as a Jew under Nazi rule and of leading Jews to faith in Christ.

Hajos pays surprisingly little attention to the state of Israel and to eschatology. For long stretches of text one wonders if she even has a position on Israel and Zionism. However, the following statements, in which she moves considerably beyond her core message of love for the Jews, offer a revealing peek into her thinking:

We have the great privilege of living at the time in which, through the re-establishment of the state of Israel, our attention is redirected to the land of promise. And again it is as before: the enemies round about rage and have already, in vain, resisted this intervention of God in three wars. The Lord, who is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, stands by his people through victory and miracles. (1973:36)

What, really, is the KERYGMA of the entire Scriptures? Everyone reading the Bible with an open heart from beginning to end, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, can satisfy himself that the KERYGMA of the entire Scriptures, the main message of the Bible, is illustrated or made visible in the history of Israel. The entire history of Israel is itself the KERYGMA. (1960:4; see also 3 and 27)

So what contribution did Mary Hajos make to the German church and to Christian Zionism in Germany? She was an early and influential voice; at least two of her books went through a number of editions (1970; 1973). No doubt she helped many to embrace a more positive theology of the Jewish people. As a Jew coming to Germany, she also served as a messenger of reconciliation, probably helping many Germans to face their past as a nation

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<sup>32</sup> Among them Helmut Gollwitzer, who wrote the foreword to her third book (Hajos 1973, first published in 1968); this illustrates the unusual partnership that existed for a few years between theologically conservative and progressive Christians on the issue of Christians and Jews (2.2); cf. Grolle (1969), which was published by the Evangelical publishing house R Brockhaus.

<sup>33</sup> The two main sources for this are Keine Kirche ohne Israel (No Church without Israel, 1960) and Das Staunen der Beschenkten (The Astonishment of the Ones Who Receive, 1973).

more openly. She may not have done much to promote Christian Zionism directly, at least not in her writings, but she did perform important groundwork for those who came after her.<sup>34</sup>

### 3.2.2 Paul Taine and Feigenbaum

Paul Taine (1903-1987) was born into a Jewish family in Lemberg, and moved to Germany when he was 26 (Taine 1976:15, 18). He was arrested by the Gestapo in 1941 (*ibid.*:22), but was inexplicably released in 1942, and managed to survive the war in Germany (*ibid.*:26). After the war, in 1950, he emigrated to Australia (*ibid.*:31), where he felt a calling to become an evangelist among Jews. To this end he founded Hebrew Christian Witness in 1957. In 1961 he moved back to Germany, where he founded Feigenbaum-Verlag (Fig Tree Publishing House) in 1962; its name was later changed to Feigenbaum eV (Fig Tree Association). It does not have branches in other countries. Significantly, his autobiography (1976) was first published in 1961, in German; an English translation appeared shortly afterwards. This is around the same time Hajos began to minister to Christians in Germany. The aim of his autobiography and of his itinerant ministry among non-Jews is to arouse love for Jewish people among Christians, to correct their attitude towards Jews, and to help them understand God's purposes for the Jewish people (*ibid.*:7-10; see also Taine 1969) – concerns similar to those of Hajos.

In Taine's view, Jews are the special and chosen people of God for all eternity (1976:45, 120f). The Middle East plays a minor role in most of his books (1970; 1976; 1978); they are purely Restorationist. One book (1969), however, pays more attention to Israel, describes his first journey there in 1962 (*ibid.*:64-78), and expresses more explicit Christian Zionist viewpoints, climaxing in the claim that every Christian should be a Zionist (*ibid.*:102). However, its greater concern still is with Christian attitudes towards and beliefs about Jews. That such a high view of the Jewish people easily leads to Christian Zionism shows in the fifth edition of his autobiography (1976). Taine added a new chapter, in which he argues that the nations are under obligation to help the Jews in times of need (*ibid.*:118). In later years, he expressed even stronger Zionist positions. In 1982, while on a speaking tour in West Germany, he offered a strong defence of Israel, including its invasion of Lebanon, through which, so he claimed, Israel had fulfilled God's will. Israeli protests against the war were brushed aside as 'marginal phenomena, which do not represent the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the people.'<sup>35</sup>

This Christian Zionist stance also marks the organization and its magazine, Sehet den Feigenbaum (See the Fig Tree; cf. Mk. 13:28), in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>36</sup> Feigenbaum did not start off as a Christian Zionist organization, but increasingly became one when the modern Christian Zionist movement emerged, presumably by reacting to events and developments in the Middle East. Today, Feigenbaum is not a particularly visible or influential organization, but it continues its ministry, which includes educational activities in Germany and a variety of projects in Israel (including Zedakah's Beth-Eliezer), with patient consistency. Its magazine appears in an edition of 3,000 (Hempelmann 1997:168).

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<sup>34</sup> One person profoundly influenced by Hajos is Robert Währer, president of Verein Gemeindehilfe Israel (Association for Church Aid to Israel, VGI), a Swiss organization founded in 1982 (Berger *et al.* 2002:19; Währer 1994:9, 30). It supports Messianic Jews and their fellowships in Israel, and is closely associated with Benjamin and Ruben Berger, two Messianic Jewish leaders who often speak in Germany. However, VGI is not known there.

<sup>35</sup> 'Judenchrist: Libanonkrieg ist Erfüllung von Gottes Plan' 18.8.1982 *ideaSpektrum* /33:8.

<sup>36</sup> This is also brought out by two letters in *ideaSpektrum* by the president of Feigenbaum-Verlag: Sensche, K 27.9.1989 'Israel unterstützen' *ideaSpektrum* /39:24; *id.* 26.4.1990 'Angriff auf Israel' *ideaSpektrum* /17:35.

### 3.2.3 Shlomo Hizak and the Jerusalem Bible Center

Shlomo Hizak is an Israeli born in Jerusalem. In 1962, after coming to believe in Jesus as the Messiah, he founded the Jerusalem Center<sup>37</sup> for Biblical Studies and Research, often simply called the Jerusalem Bible Center; since it was located on the Mount of Olives from 1967 to 1983, it is often known in Germany as the Ölberg-Bibelzentrum (Mount of Olives Bible Center). Later the abbreviation AMI, standing for the Hebrew words land, people, and Scripture, was added to the name: AMI – Jerusalem Center for Biblical Studies and Research.

What makes Hizak important for this study is that he was an early and influential voice in Germany, as well as an early link between German Evangelicals and Israel. Already in 1975, Fritz May (1975:10; see also 147-50, 168-75) considered him ‘one of the best known Jewish Christians in Israel and abroad’. In addition, he caught the early attention of idea and of the EZW.<sup>38</sup> In spite of his substantial and early influence, Hizak is not mentioned in studies of Christian Zionism.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, he began to publish news and information from Israel from a Jewish-Christian perspective in 1981, indicating the Bible Center moved to a more active and political stance more or less simultaneously with others.

From the start, the Bible Center’s most important activity has been Bible distribution, especially in Israel, the Arab world, and communist and post-communist countries, under the motto that ‘the Word of the Lord shall go forth from Jerusalem’. Already by 1972 it had printed 220,000 Arab New Testaments; by 1986 it had printed 100,000 complete Bibles in Arabic.<sup>40</sup> It is claimed that by 2003 almost 2,000,000 Bibles and New Testaments had been distributed (Kerken.com nd), which sounds quite high, considering that during ‘good’ years in the 1980s 30,000-40,000 Bibles a year were distributed within Israel,<sup>41</sup> but it is not impossible. A lower number of 1,350,000 Bibles also appears (Rel-News nd). Perhaps the higher number includes other Christian literature besides Bibles.

The Bible Center has other goals besides Bible distribution. One of these is to build bridges of understanding between Christians and Jews. To this end, courses, conferences, and seminars are offered in Jerusalem and elsewhere. Several hundreds of pastors and church leaders, especially from Eastern Europe, have been given scholarships to participate in these in Jerusalem. The Bible Center has also been involved in a number of social projects in Israel; the most noticeably of these is the Bnei Arazim Child Care Center in Rishon le-Zion, which provides care for children who have been traumatized or are otherwise in need of psychological help. It appears that the Bible Center raised most of the funds needed for the construction of Bnei Arazim between 1993 and 2000, approximately \$1,000,000.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> I have adopted the Jerusalem Center’s own, American spelling.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Kurzmeldungen’ 24.1.1977 idea /4:9f; ‘Israelische Synagogen öffnen sich dem Evangelium’ 21.2.1977 idea /8:10. ‘Bäume und Bibeln für Israel’ 15.2.1976 Materialdienst aus der EZW 39/4:58f. Idea is the information service of the EA, and will be discussed in Chapter Four. In order to avoid confusion with the English word ‘idea’, it is consistently underlined. The second article points out the cooperation of Ludwig Schneider and Israel-Hilfe (3.3.6) with the Bible Center.

<sup>39</sup> I am not aware of any that mention him or his organization.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Eine Familienaffäre’ 7-8.1986 Hier in Israel /61:4.

<sup>41</sup> ‘Tummelplatz der Terroristen’ 9.1987 Neues aus dem Jerusalem Center 1f. In 1982, the EZW spoke of 25,000 Bibles per year; ‘Zwanzig Jahre Ölberg-Bibelzentrum’ 1.9.1982 Materialdienst aus der EZW 45/9:266f.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Warum hat alles so lange gedauert?’ 3-4.1998 Bulletin des AMI – Jerusalem Centers für biblische Studien und Forschung 2f; ‘Was sehen Sie?’ 6.1998 Bulletin des AMI – Jerusalem Centers für biblische Studien und Forschung 1f; ‘Unsere Verbindung zu Bnei Arasim’ 7.2000 Bulletin des AMI – Jerusalem Centers für biblische Studien und Forschung 2.

The work of the Bible Center is not without theological substance. A week of meetings between Jews, Arabs, and Christians on the Mount of Olives in 1975 included none less than David Flusser, Schalom Ben-Chorin, and Naim Ateek as speakers; the lectures were published in Germany (Falk *et al.* 1976). A long-time friend of the Bible Center is the Swedish theologian Göran Larsson, who for 15 years was director of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem. He has contributed especially through his writing, including several books published by the Bible Center (Larsson 1990; 1994). In 1994 he joined the Bible Center as full-time staff.<sup>43</sup>

The Bible Center has offices in the Netherlands, Sweden, the United States, Japan, and Switzerland. A German office was established as early as 1976, but moved to Basel, Switzerland, in 1982, from where it continues to serve Germany. It publishes two newsletters. Inside Israel (German: Hier in Israel) mainly contains news, information, and commentary somehow related to Israel, and has appeared monthly since 1981. The Bulletin (German: Neues aus dem Jerusalem Center, since 1994 Bulletin des AMI – Jerusalem Centers für biblische Studien und Forschung), reports on the activities of the Bible Center. What stands out in Hier in Israel is how little is written about the end times. The history of modern-day Israel is interpreted as the fulfilment of prophecy, but the newsletter rarely addresses unfulfilled prophecy or engages in apocalyptic speculation. It is definitely pro-Zionist, however; it frequently defends the state of Israel with arguments that are not always credible. In this, it reflects the challenge many Israeli-Jewish Christians and Messianic Jews face in relating aspects of their religious, ethnic, and national identity to each other and to the reality of the Middle East. However, style and tone are usually more moderate than those of younger representatives of the Christian Zionist movement, and the Bible Center has managed to consistently serve people desiring a Bible while maintaining relationships with Arabs for well over 40 years, no mean accomplishment in this polarized part of the world.

### **3.2.4 Friedrich Hänssler and Hänssler Verlag**

Hänssler Verlag was founded in 1919 as a printer of music. When Friedrich Hänssler Junior took over from his father, also named Friedrich, in 1959, he broadened the scope of the company and turned it into one of the largest Christian publishing houses in Germany; it is also the largest distribution centre for Christian books and music. Throughout, Hänssler, who studied both theology and musicology, maintained a deep Pietist faith. Due to a combination of unfortunate circumstances and business decisions, the company had to file for bankruptcy in 2002, and, although continuing under the name of Hänssler, is no longer in possession of the Hänssler family.

One manifestation of the Hänsslers' Pietism has been a positive attitude towards the Jewish people and Israel, both personally and in the company. Friedrich Hänssler himself has actively sought contacts with Jews and with the state of Israel. Part of Hänssler's printing was done in Israel for this reason, and Hänssler has handled a number of publications of the Israeli government in Germany. Israel gets special emphasis in its Christian publishing, and not primarily for economic reasons: the company sees it as a central part of its mission (Hänssler 2003:136; Hänssler Verlag nd).<sup>44</sup> Its well over 100 Israel-related publications<sup>45</sup> show significant diversity, and certainly do not all qualify as Christian Zionist. However,

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<sup>43</sup> See: 'Jubiläumsjahr 1998' 2.1998 Bulletin des AMI – Jerusalem Centers für biblische Studien und Forschung 1f.

<sup>44</sup> 'Eine "Antwort auf die Judenverfolgung": Hänssler-Verlag bringt Buch über die "Operation Babylon" heraus' 7.10.1992 ideaSpektrum /41:26.

<sup>45</sup> 'Jeden Monat etwas Neues über das Judentum: Israel Botschafter dankt evangelikalem Verleger für die "moralische Unterstützung"' 18.9.2002 ideaSpektrum /38:28.

they do amount to a substantial expression of practical support for the state of Israel, and they are a major opinion-shaping contribution to the Evangelical movement in Germany. One of the ways Israel has demonstrated its gratitude is by awarding Hänssler the title of Friend of the City of Jerusalem in 1999, only the second German to receive this honour.<sup>46</sup>

### 3.3 THE 1970S

During the 1970s, several individuals began to speak out emphatically and sometimes militantly in defence of Israel, displaying a fully developed Christian Zionism. They did not necessarily have an organization behind them, and in only one case (Ludwig Schneider) founded an organization specifically for this purpose. Although the roots and sometimes the first beginnings can be traced back to the 1960s for some, any such activity was minor compared with its development in the 1970s.

#### 3.3.1 Samuel Külling

Samuel Külling (1924-2003) was a Swiss Reformed theologian with many links to conservative and confessional Evangelicals in Germany. However, unlike many belonging to that branch of the Evangelical movement, he was also open to Pentecostals.<sup>47</sup> Külling was the editor of Bibel und Gemeinde from 1965 until 1979. In 1970, Külling was involved in founding the Free Evangelical Theological Academy (FETA) in Basel, Switzerland, and became its principal for many years. His own conservatism was firmly imprinted on the FETA, which has remained a bulwark of conservative theology and Biblical inerrancy. Later its name was changed to Staatsunabhängige Theologische Hochschule (Independent Theological Seminary, STH); the STH is as important to Germany as it is to Switzerland.

From an early date, Israel was an important cause to Külling, and he turned his position at Bibel und Gemeinde to its service. The journal clearly reflects the deep impression made by the Six Day War. An eschatological interpretation was offered by Willy Pasedag before the end of 1967.<sup>48</sup> Readers were told that Külling was on the road with a slide show about Israel after the Six Day War.<sup>49</sup> His wife underlined the importance of the event in a review of Basilea Schlink's 1968 book on Jerusalem.<sup>50</sup> Together with his wife, Külling led a number of educational excursions to Israel with a focus on the Bible, but also aiming to get to know the state and its people; they were advertised in Bibel und Gemeinde.<sup>51</sup> Contributions dealing with Israel, which often defended Israel, increased after 1970, peaking in 1974 in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War. Külling also reacted to the

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<sup>46</sup> 'Ehrung für evangelikalen Verleger: Der zweite deutsche "Freund der Stadt Jerusalem"' 30.6.1999 ideaSpektrum /26:27. Interestingly, the first German to receive this honour was also a publisher: Axel Springer, best known as the founder of Germany's number one – and under his leadership decidedly pro-Israel – tabloid, the Bildzeitung.

<sup>47</sup> For instance, Külling lectured at a Swiss national conference of the Pentecostal churches – on Israel; Jörns, M 1.1.1984 'Israel und die Gemeinde: 10. Bundes-Konferenz des Bundes Pfingstlicher Freikirchen der Schweiz (BPF) vom 24. bis 27. Oktober 1983' Wort und Geist 11.

<sup>48</sup> Pasedag, WJ 10-12.1967 'Israels Kampf in biblischer Sicht' Bibel und Gemeinde 67/4:339-54.

<sup>49</sup> 'Mitteilungen' 1-3.1969 Bibel und Gemeinde 69/1:91.

<sup>50</sup> Külling, A 10-12.1968 'M. Basilea Schlink, "Um Jerusalems willen", Evangelische Marienschwesternschaft Darmstadt-Eberstadt, 1968' Bibel und Gemeinde 68/4:407.

<sup>51</sup> Eg 'Reisplan der biblischen Studienreise' 1-3.1965 Bibel und Gemeinde 65/1:74-7; Külling, A 7-9.1974 'Israel-Reise 1974' Bibel und Gemeinde 74/3:273-6.

United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism.<sup>52</sup> After he stepped down as editor in 1979, contributions dealing with Israel decreased significantly.

Külling found a new platform in the STH journal Fundamentum, which was founded in 1980 and took an even stronger position on Israel.<sup>53</sup> He published a strong defence of Israel's annexation of the Golan under Begin,<sup>54</sup> for instance, and of its involvement in Lebanon in the early 80s.<sup>55</sup> He maintained this commitment to Israel to the end of his life, as indicated by his lecture at the Third International Christian Zionist Congress in Jerusalem in 1996, which was published in revised form by idea (Külling 1996). It is a defence of Christian Zionism, and in part a response to Colin Chapman (1992). In Külling's black-and-white world, Chapman's critique of Christian Zionism can only be understood as a 'direct assault' (Külling 1996:8). His paper is a rare occasion of a Christian Zionist responding academically to a critic, but he offers little more than literalism, plus an ugly ad hominem argument: anyone who denies, reinterprets, or bends the fulfilment of the promises (which to his mind must apply to Chapman), 'commits a spiritual Holocaust' and 'makes God a liar' (ibid.:20).

### 3.3.2 Rudolf Pfisterer

Another individual who spoke out forcefully in defence of Israel in the 1970s and beyond was Rudolf Pfisterer (1914-2005), who became an esteemed theologian after the war. This esteem included a French honorary doctorate in 1963 for his efforts towards French-German reconciliation, an official title of professor bestowed on him by his home state Baden-Württemberg, and the Otto Hirsch Medal in 1991 for his efforts on behalf of Jewish-Christian relations. These efforts included the translation of several theological works related to this field from French into German, as well as strong opposition to anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism.

Pfisterer also became a defender of the state of Israel, although, for an Evangelical, an untypical one. The driving force behind it was not popular eschatology, which plays a minor role in his writings, but rather the German past, anti-Semitism, and anti-Zionism, which in his view is essentially the same thing (Pfisterer 1992:32). Untypical is also his fundamental rejection of Jewish evangelism (Burchartz 1997a:71f). Pfisterer often seems closer to mainline pro-Israel theologians like Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt (eg 1978) than to Evangelicals. Indeed, Münz (1995:253) mentions Pfisterer in one breath with Marquardt, Johann-Baptist Metz, and Martin Stöhr, and links them with the 'Holocaust theology' (Münz's term) of people like Gregory Baum, Paul van Buren, Marcel Dubois, Alice and Roy Eckardt, and John Pawlikowski. Still, Pfisterer had the ear of Evangelicals, and as will become clear in 4.2, ideaSpektrum proved a willing platform for his fervent apologetics of Israel, which made him an influential voice.

### 3.3.3 David Jaffin

David Jaffin, a Jewish Pietist Lutheran pastor, has become a voice of importance especially among German Pietists. Several factors combine to make him unique. He was born in 1937

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<sup>52</sup> Külling, S 10-12.1975 'Was steckt hinter der Anti-Zionismus-Resolution der UNO?' Bibel und Gemeinde 75/4:343-5.

<sup>53</sup> It was discontinued in 2002.

<sup>54</sup> Külling, SR 1982 'Warum Begin recht hatte: Über die Annexion der Golan-Höhen' Fundamentum /3:103-105.

<sup>55</sup> Külling, SR 1982 'Warum die PLO Libanon verlassen muß: Eine Entgegnung auf Gerd H. Padel: Die Freunde Israels haben es schwer ("Basler Zeitung" vom 10. Juli 1982)' Fundamentum /3:106-110. See also: Cohn, A 1983 'Befreiung – nicht Invasion' Fundamentum /1:94-101.

into an American Jewish family. He is a poet, and has published 13 volumes (listed in the bibliography of Jaffin 2003) with a highly modern form of poetry. And before becoming a Christian and a theologian, he had earned a doctorate in history.

His first visit to Germany took place in 1961, when he met his future wife, whom he married that same year; after a year in the States they settled in Germany (Jaffin 1995b:56-63). He himself describes his conversion to Christianity as a gradual process (*ibid.*:70). In 1971 he moved to Tübingen to study theology (*ibid.*:71), and eventually became a pastor in Germany (*ibid.*:82). Jaffin did not found an organization, but became well known through lectures and publications. Most of the latter take up Biblical and Jewish themes without paying much attention to Israel; it is more important to him to increase Christian understanding of Judaism and Jewish history. However, two of his books do address Israel at some length (1987; 1995a), taking a decidedly Christian Zionist perspective on the Middle East, as do his letters and articles in *ideaSpektrum*. A sample: ‘Clinton has emphasized that the blame for the failure [of negotiations in 2000] is 100 per cent on Arafat’s side.’<sup>56</sup> And on Palestinian terror: ‘[It] has absolutely nothing to do with the present so-called “occupation”. It began long before the state of Israel was founded – for instance in 1929 in Hebron.’<sup>57</sup> When it comes to Israel, Jaffin, like many Messianic Jews (an epithet he does not use to describe himself), is an unequivocal defender of the Jewish state and its policies.

### **3.3.4 Marius Baar**

Marius Baar spent 25 years as a missionary among Muslims in Chad before he returned to France in 1977 and began to publish end-time books with an emphasis on the role of Islam in the last days (1980; 1991; 1993; 1995; 2002a, 2002b). His first book went through six editions in five months (Stuhlhofer 1992:194), and has been translated into English; his second book (1993, first published in 1984) had gone through six editions by 1993. This success is remarkable, because Baar lacks the easy-to-read style of a Hal Lindsey or the clarity and well-structured logic of a Derek Prince. His writing is heavy-handed, somewhat disjointed, with many associative jumps, and shows a circular rather than a linear structure; this does not make it easy to follow his train of thought.

His main point is clear enough, however, since it is often repeated. In Baar’s view, the prophetic scenario of Scripture identifies Islam as the main antagonist of Israel and of God in the end times. Islam consistently appears as a dark and ominous threat with no redeeming features, a threat the West fails to recognize or reacts to with appeasement. In the light of the fact that Baar spent many years as a missionary among Muslims, it is surprising that he shows little concern for the people involved and for their conversion, something one would expect of an Evangelical missionary. But Baar’s concern is with Islam as a power, which, and this was fairly unique for an Evangelical in 1980, he identifies as the origin and the initial power base of the Antichrist, who is thus neither a Jew nor a European. The ‘abomination of desolation’ (Mt. 24:15) is the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque (1980:133, 165); the beast is Islam, or more precisely, Babylon restored, that is, Iraq (*ibid.*:202-212). The root of this conflict is to be found 4,000 years ago, in the antagonism between Ishmael and Isaac; this becomes Baar’s main key to the interpretation of history and the Middle East, a rather extreme reduction of a complex situation. The application of the Isaac-Ishmael narrative in Genesis as the explanation for Arab enmity is common in Christian Zionist literature, but Baar takes it further than most.

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<sup>56</sup> Jaffin, D 18.10.2000 ‘Gott kommt mit Israel an sein Ziel: Der israelisch-palästinensische Konflikt aus biblischer Sicht’ *ideaSpektrum* /42:16f.

<sup>57</sup> Jaffin, D 8.5.2002 ‘Israel: Wem gilt die Verheißung Gottes?’ *ideaSpektrum* /18:4.

The foreword by Prof. Dr Michael Dieterich to the third book (Baar 1991) places Baar in the tradition of Erich Sauer and Fritz Hubmer, which really is not justified. Like Sauer, Baar's focus is eschatological, but Sauer might well have shuddered at such speculative reading of prophecy. The statement contains a grain of truth, however, in that Baar often seems closer to the older Restorationist school than to modern Christian Zionism. Still, there is enough Israel and enough Christian Zionism in his books to earn him a place in this overview; that they are many, bulky, and well known makes him a voice of importance.

### 3.3.5 Wim Malgo and Mitternachtsruf

Although Wim Malgo (1922-92) was born in the Netherlands, he spent much of his life in Switzerland, where he attended the Beatenberg Bible school from 1947 until 1949. Beatenberg was founded in 1934 by Gertrud Wasserzug-Traeder and her husband Saturnin, a Jewish Christian. At the time, it was an institution promoting classic Dispensationalism (eg Wasserzug-Traeder 1938; 1961; 1962; 1967).<sup>58</sup> According to Gut (2003:3f), it was highly instrumental in the spreading of Dispensationalism in Switzerland after 1945. However, it does not come into view as an active agent in the Christian Zionist movement.

After Beatenberg, Malgo settled in Switzerland, but through his publications became well known in Germany. Mitternachtsruf (Midnight Call) was founded in 1955 as an evangelistic organization with radio ministry as its main purpose, an activity which it continues to this day. However, it is probably best known for its 'end times' ministry: interpreting the signs of the times, explaining the prophetic parts of the Bible, and warning that the end is near. Malgo himself has published numerous books on eschatological topics, filled with popular-Dispensational prophetic speculation, and frequently became quite specific in his predictions. In retrospect, these have often missed the mark, something for which he has drawn criticism even from fellow Evangelicals (Stuhlhofer 1992:198-212). Malgo seems intrigued with Israel predominantly because of its role in the prophetic scenario, and perhaps also because of the evidence it provides that his claims are true (so W Malgo 1981: back cover). Malgo's earliest end-time books appeared in the late 1960s (1968; 1969; ca. 1968), and most titles were first published before the late 1980s (1972; 1973; 1974; 1975; 1976; 1978; 1980; 1981; 1982a; 1982b; 1982c; 1984; 1986a; 1986b; 1987a; 1987b; ca. 1976; ca. 1981a; ca. 1981b). Frequent Israel-related themes in these books include the Six Day War, the Yom Kippur War, Arab hostility, oil, the growing military strength of the USSR, and UN prejudice against Israel. It is likely these contemporary issues exerted a profound influence on Malgo and stimulated activity on behalf of Israel.

Mitternachtsruf Switzerland added an Israel branch in 1969 called Beth-Shalom-Verein (House of Peace Association), through which it actively supports Israel. Although legally separate, in many ways the two function as one. In Germany, Mitternachtsruf eV represents both; there is no separate Beth-Shalom-Verein. A 1977 article in idea mentions several medical and kindergarten projects in Israel that were funded by Beth Shalom.<sup>59</sup> Immediately following the Yom Kippur War, it launched an initiative 'Sofort-Hilfe für Israel' (immediate aid for Israel), which collected over 800,000 Swiss francs within a few months from various European countries.<sup>60</sup> According to an article in Fundamentum, by the end of 1980 Beth Shalom and Mitternachtsruf had raised 8,000,000 Swiss francs for

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<sup>58</sup> For more information on Wasserzug-Traeder, see Holthaus (1999b).

<sup>59</sup> 'Aktion "Sofort-Hilfe für Israel" spendet für medizinisches Lehrzentrum in Tel Aviv' 24.10.1977 idea /43:7.

<sup>60</sup> 'Aktion "Sofort-Hilfe" für Israel' 21.1.1974 idea /3:4.

Israel.<sup>61</sup> Activities today include Israel seminars and conferences, a hotel 'Beth Shalom' in Haifa (since 1975), organized tours to Israel, and humanitarian aid projects. Significantly, tours were first offered in 1969;<sup>62</sup> according to ideaSpektrum, by 1992 17,000 people had participated.<sup>63</sup>

Mitternachtsruf publishes the magazine Mitternachtsruf, Beth Shalom Nachrichten aus Israel (News from Israel). Publication of Mitternachtsruf began in 1955 or 1956. By 1972 it appeared in four languages and an edition of 37,000;<sup>64</sup> in 2003 this had risen to ten languages and a monthly edition of 300,000 (Schmid & Schmid 2003:109f). Nachrichten aus Israel is exclusively devoted to Israel, which confirms Israel's importance for the organization. In 1992 it appeared in seven languages and an edition of 50,000.<sup>65</sup> After Malgo's death, leadership passed to Norbert Lieth and three of Malgo's sons, Peter, Conno, and Jonathan.

A survey of the two magazines for the years 2002-2005 shows that Mitternachtsruf has become considerably more cautious than Malgo used to be. Nachrichten aus Israel even habitually carries a kind of disclaimer on page 3 of each issue, stating, with reference to 1 Corinthians 13:9, that all our knowledge is patchwork, and that the authors present their personal views. There is still a strong eschatological focus and a schematic approach to things to come, combined with interest in measuring the world's 'progress' towards the Antichrist. Specific predictions of the kind Malgo made are avoided, however, even though the end is still stated to be near. This takes the form of wondrously ambiguous statements like: 'This development would show us how far we already are in the end times and that Jesus has to come back soon!'<sup>66</sup> And: 'One is almost tempted to say: the rapture of the church of Jesus has to happen today or tomorrow, although of course no one knows when the hour is there.'<sup>67</sup> On this point, change after Malgo appears limited to more cautious formulation. When Hugo Stamm, a well-known Swiss journalist who specializes in cults and religious movements, accused the organization of having made false predictions for 40 years, Mitternachtsruf published a response, in which it admitted that in details it had 'not always hit the "bull's eye"', but the core of the message, that Jesus is returning, was still right; it had sometimes 'overshot the mark' a little, but maybe it would still happen, at a later time and in a slightly different way.<sup>68</sup> Such understatements appear too weak considering the sometimes colossal mistakes of the past, but confirm that the organization has made adjustments. Significantly, with one exception (1982a), Malgo's eschatological writings are not available from Mitternachtsruf anymore; time has rendered them obsolete.

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<sup>61</sup> Möller, R 1981 'Sollten wir die Judenmission abschaffen? Einige Gedanken zur Judenmission aus Anlaß eines Interviews mit Dr. h. c. Wim Malgo' Fundamentum /1:78-90. It is not clear from the article whether this is from Switzerland only or from all of Europe.

<sup>62</sup> Reimer, H-D 1.10.1972 'Missionswerk Mitternachtsruf' Materialdienst aus der EZW 35/19:293f.

<sup>63</sup> 'Israelfreund: Wim Malgo gestorben' 19.8.1992 ideaSpektrum /34:14.

<sup>64</sup> Reimer, H-D 1.10.1972 'Missionswerk Mitternachtsruf' Materialdienst aus der EZW 35/19:293f.

<sup>65</sup> 'Israelfreund: Wim Malgo gestorben' 19.8.1992 ideaSpektrum /34:14.

<sup>66</sup> Malgo, C 1.2002 'Arafat als Lügner entlarvt: Israel greift durch' Nachrichten aus Israel /1:18-20.

<sup>67</sup> Malgo, C 5.2002 'Israelis von allen verlassen? Weltweite Welle des Judenhasses' Nachrichten aus Israel /5:15f.

<sup>68</sup> Lieth, N 10.2002 'Falsche Prophezeiungen' Mitternachtsruf /10:20f. Stuhlhofer's (1992:198-212) critique of Malgo provoked a similar reaction from Lieth (Graf-Stuhlhofer 2001:168f).

### 3.3.6 Ludwig Schneider, Israel-Hilfe, and Jesus-Haus

Ludwig Schneider<sup>69</sup> was born in 1941. It is unclear whether Schneider is of Jewish descent or not. In Evangelical circles in Germany he is commonly known as a Messianic Jew, but I have not found any printed evidence proving that this claim is made by Schneider himself.<sup>70</sup> Once, when asked in an interview whether the rumour that he had Jewish grandparents was true, he declined to answer the question.<sup>71</sup> His conversion took place in 1960 through Erich Weinmann, a Jewish Christian. Schneider was trained to be a pastor at Beröa, the main Pentecostal seminary in Germany.<sup>72</sup> He spent some time working on a kibbutz in Israel in the 1960s, but in 1968 returned to Germany and became pastor of a small Pentecostal church in Düsseldorf, which experienced a measure of revival. The church purchased a former cinema in Düsseldorf, which was renovated and became fully operable in early 1976 under the name Jesus-Haus.<sup>73</sup> It has always had a strong focus on Israel, which for many years included a monthly Israel-related event, often with a Messianic Jewish speaker. Many well-known Messianic Jewish and Christian Zionist personae at one point or another made their appearance in the church.

Several years before the Jesus-Haus was opened, in December of 1973, Israel-Hilfe (Israel Aid) was founded. Since this is even earlier than G. Douglas Young's newsletter Dispatch from Jerusalem (first sent in 1976) and his organization Bridges for Peace (incorporated in 1979), it makes Israel-Hilfe one of the very first organizations with a purely Christian Zionist objective.<sup>74</sup> The date suggests that the impact of the Yom Kippur War earlier that year had something to do with it. Schneider (1974:87-91) had been in Israel at the time and reported on the war. The second issue of Jesus in Israel (February 1974) included some of Schneider's observations on the aftermath of the war, as well as a report on the volunteers who had been recruited by Israel-Hilfe to replace kibbutz workers on duty in the army. A major activity of Israel-Hilfe was fundraising – for tree planting, Bible distribution in Israel (in cooperation with Shlomo Hizak), and wheelchairs for a home in Jerusalem. It also continued to send young people to the kibbutzim, lent out films about Israel, and offered lectures and conferences on Israel. It remains unclear in Jesus in Israel how much (or how little) money was actually passed on; for 1978, idea speaks of 1,000,000 German marks in yearly donations, yet by then a total of only 10,000 trees had been financed.<sup>75</sup> In order to cover expenses and pass on donations without having to subtract costs, a for-profit branch was set up, Schalom Israel-Reisen und Verlag (Shalom Israel Travels and Publishing House), selling products from Israel, travel packages, and literature.

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<sup>69</sup> Biographical information on Schneider can be found in Spornhauer (2001:436f) and Kashi and Glatz (2000).

<sup>70</sup> Occasionally, it is claimed in print that Schneider has said as much; so Kloke (2000:15), Pülz (1995:163), and: 'Jerusalem – Hauptstadt des Islam: Skeptisch über Friedensgespräche' 1.6.1994 ideaSpektrum /22:10; 'Judenmission: "Nicht mit dem Holzhammer"' 14.12.1994 ideaSpektrum /50:11.

<sup>71</sup> 'Interview mit Pastor Ludwig Schneider' 2.1978 Jesus in Israel /1:32f.

<sup>72</sup> 'Bäume und Bibeln für Israel' 15.2.1976 Materialdienst aus der EZW 39/4:58f.

<sup>73</sup> 'Das Jesus-Haus wurde eingeweiht!' 2.1976 Jesus in Israel /1:22.

<sup>74</sup> Other organizations before Israel-Hilfe had included Christian Zionist activities (in the sense of active political and other support of Zionism or the state of Israel) as a secondary objective, but none had been founded for a purpose that was completely limited to such activities.

<sup>75</sup> 'Israel-Hilfe: Jährlich bis zu 25 Prozent Zuwachs' 5.6.1978 idea /23:5. In addition, in 1979 the wheelchair project was completed, but it is not clear whether the originally envisioned number of 270 wheelchairs (at 850 German marks each) were financed. Even in that case, it would still add up to only 230,000 marks, spread out over several years; 'Rollstühle' 4.1976 Jesus in Israel /2:24f; 'Kfar Haschwedi: Unser Ziel ist erreicht!' 1.1979 Jesus in Israel /1:27.

Israel-Hilfe must have been the right idea at the right time. The 35,000 copies of the first issue of Jesus in Israel were in high demand, and out of stock within days. In February 1976, circulation had increased to 60,000. Its magazine conveys the impression of buzzing activity and a steady flow of new ideas and projects, but there were also signs that not all was well. Several times, the magazine mentions ‘embarrassing delays’ in answering mail.<sup>76</sup> There emerges a pattern that may be that of a classic Charismatic meltdown: in the midst of hyper-activity, with the leader and his staff already substantially overextended, a new vision is born, larger than everything that has gone before – a sign that the organization is losing its touch with reality. In the August 1977 issue, out of the blue, Schneider shared a vision for a Seminar für Gemeinsamkeit von Juden und Christen (Seminary for Commonality of Jews and Christians), complete with blueprint. Germany’s 60 million people needed to be instructed on Judaism and the Jews, otherwise anti-Semites would do it. The article reports that the vision was confirmed by Jan Willem van der Hoeven, who would later be one of the founders of the ICEJ, and asks people to pray for a building site, the support of churches and universities, and the financial means ahead of time, ‘because we want to build without going into debt’.<sup>77</sup> The announcement is repeated a few times in later issues, but nothing seems to have come of it.

In the issue of September 1978 the bomb dropped. It includes a personal statement by Schneider, in which he writes:

The past years, especially the last two years, were extremely turbulent for my family and me, strenuous, even burdened with some failure – and filled with activity. So it seems almost overdue to have time again for rest, reformation, and reflection. Therefore my family and I would like to move to Israel for a longer time period, where I will perfect my language skills and expertise, and will continue to promote the work of Israel-Hilfe eV<sup>78</sup>

Years later, Schneider would speak of this as the moment ‘when everything collapsed’.<sup>79</sup> In 1978 Schneider moved permanently to Israel with his family, and became founder of the news agency Nachrichten aus Israel (News from Israel, NAI), to be discussed in 3.4.4. In the following issue of Jesus in Israel (January 1979), Schneider’s name no longer appears in the imprint as the founder. Only two issues instead of four were published that year. The December issue made clear that the organization was in financial difficulty. At this point, the trail stops; Israel-Hilfe went bankrupt, and no further issues appeared.<sup>80</sup>

### 3.3.6.1 Israel-Dienste and *Jesus in der Welt*

In 1982, a new organization was founded, called Internationaler Hilfs & Missions Fonds Israel-Dienste eV (International Aid and Missions Fund Israel-Ministries). Its magazine was Jesus in der Welt (Jesus in the World), and first appeared in 1984. Its name, the logo used (the Star of David with the name of Jesus written in Latin and Hebrew script), and its appearance clearly show it to be a continuation of the earlier magazine Jesus in Israel.

Its publisher was Egon Kreß, who had taken on the leadership of Israel-Hilfe after Schneider had left. The new organization had a different, broader goal: it supported missionary aid projects, especially in Israel, Lebanon, Haiti, and India. This made for a

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<sup>76</sup> Eg ‘Unsere Jahreslosung’ 2.1976 Jesus in Israel /1:3.

<sup>77</sup> ‘Eine Vision’ 8.1977 Jesus in Israel /3:27.

<sup>78</sup> Schneider, L 9.1978 ‘In eigener Sache’ Jesus in Israel /3:17.

<sup>79</sup> Schneider, L nd ‘21 Jahre “nai”’ Available at <http://nai-israel.com/israel/artikel/default.asp?CatID=6&ArticleID=43> Accessed 10.11.2003.

<sup>80</sup> The Jesus-Haus continues to have an active Israel-Arbeitsgruppe (Israel Committee), however, which on a smaller scale has carried on some of the activities that were originally part of Israel-Hilfe.

vision that was less focused, an observation that also applies to its magazine. Next to news from Israel, it included reports on projects in India and Haiti, and contained numerous contributions of a general edifying nature. Like Israel-Hilfe, Israel-Dienste also operated a for-profit branch, with a similar name (Schalom Israel-Dienste) to cover operating costs.

At some point the name of the magazine was changed to Jesus in Israel, and the focus on Israel was renewed. In 1989, however, Krefß was arrested for illegally receiving unemployment benefits.<sup>81</sup> Around this time, the magazine and the organization must have come to an end.<sup>82</sup> From the start, the new organization had lacked the focus and visionary drive of Israel-Hilfe. It is clear that the real successor of the original Jesus in Israel is Nachrichten aus Israel, published by Schneider and carrying on many of the interests and concerns first embodied in Jesus in Israel.

### 3.3.6.2 Gerhard Bially and Charisma

The fact that the Jesus-Haus church gave birth to yet another significant advocate of Christian Zionism in Germany underlines its importance as a centre of the emerging movement. This advocate is the magazine Charisma, founded by Gerhard Bially. Its main purpose is coverage and promotion of the Charismatic and neo-Pentecostal movement. In some ways it is the German counterpart of the US magazine Charisma & Christian Life, although there are no formal bonds, and the German magazine is much smaller and less professionally produced.

Bially joined the Pentecostal church in Düsseldorf, which would soon become the Jesus-Haus, as its second pastor in 1973; in 1975 he became its senior pastor, a role he later passed on to Klaus-Dieter Passon (Spornhauer 2001:120f, 436). Already earlier, during a stay in the United States, he had felt a call to publish a magazine for the budding Charismatic and neo-Pentecostal movement in Germany. In October 1974, the first issue appeared in a circulation of 50,000; the second issue had a circulation of 15,000. This proved not sustainable, and for some years Charisma appeared as the church bulletin of the Jesus-Haus, with regional rather than national significance.<sup>83</sup> From 1981 onwards, the magazine has appeared as a national periodical; its edition grew to 14,000 in 1984.<sup>84</sup> Charisma was then, and still is today, essentially a two-man enterprise, edited by Bially and Passon.

Charisma includes Christian Zionist support of Israel as an important and explicit objective. For many years, until 1993, Charisma listed in each issue as one of its priorities 'Israel-related articles, including areas like: Messianic Judaism, God's work in Israel, news, and other topics.'<sup>85</sup> Issues have usually included one to three pages covering such topics, always from an unmistakably Christian Zionist perspective.

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<sup>81</sup> 'Unter Betrugsverdacht in U-Haft: Leiter des Internationalen Hilfs- und Missionsfonds Israel-Dienste verhaftet' 12.1.1989 ideaSpektrum /2:3.

<sup>82</sup> According to the library catalogue of the Deutsche Bibliothek (the German national library) in Frankfurt am Main the final issue appeared October 1988.

<sup>83</sup> '10 Jahre "Charisma": Die Geschichte der Zeitschrift "Charisma" und des "Jesus-Hauses"' 10-12.1984 Charisma /45:11.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. Also: Reimer, H-D 1.3.1983 'Die Zeitschrift "Charisma" und die "Jesus-Haus-Gemeinde" in Düsseldorf' Materialdienst aus der EZW 46/3:89-92.

<sup>85</sup> Included in the colophon in each issue.

### 3.3.7 Fritz May and Christen für Israel (Cfi)

Probably the most influential German Christian Zionist among non-Charismatic Evangelicals is Fritz May. May has habitually described himself as a pastor and a theological journalist. In this capacity, he tried his hand at several other issues, including the environment (1970; 1973), before he started to publish on Israel in 1975. His works on Israel and the Jews, most of them of respectable size for popular literature, include a study of anti-Semitism and Jewish suffering (1988), two works of rather mixed content that have some characteristics of a travel guide (1991; 1994), a book on Messianic Jews in Israel (1998a), one on the return of the Ethiopian Jews (1998b), and two books dealing with Israel (1975) and Jerusalem (2001) more in general. May's books are well known and widely distributed; several of them have gone through more than one edition.

May is an exuberant admirer of Israel, which he considers the world's most beautiful country (1991:40); it is a living miracle (*ibid.*: title), and the only country which includes God (El) in its name (1975:85f). He is also a fierce defender of Israel's right to the land and to Jerusalem. To him this right is beyond a shadow of a doubt (eg 1991:95f). One is struck by the rigid and doctrinaire, but also passionate nature of his outlook. His militancy continues unabated in his later works; to him, the Dome of the Rock is a 'pagan stain on Mount Zion', 'a continuous provocation for Jews and Christians. And not least for God as well' (May 2001:176); Sharon's Temple Mount visit of September 2000 was not just his right, but also his duty: 'For if Israel does not exercise its sovereignty over the holy sites in the Old City of Jerusalem, it will soon also lose its sovereignty over the entire city and over Tel Aviv and Haifa as well' (*ibid.*:162).

That May's first book on Israel appeared in 1975 makes it an interesting case study, since it was written during the transition period in which Restorationists began to move beyond theoretical interest, increasingly paid attention to Israel and the Middle East, became politically active, and gave birth to a new movement. By 1975, May had already made several trips to Israel, and his book deals extensively with Israelis and Jews – but not with Arabs: no conversation with Palestinians is recorded, not even one.<sup>86</sup> There is more interaction with reality than in older books, at least with the Israeli side of it. That May operates like an investigative reporter and quotes interviews at length, contributes to this feature of his book. It also offers the beginning of a programme for action, although the activities are not yet fully developed (1975:187f). On the other hand, the eschatology, which appears mainly in the fourth and final part, remains standard popular Premillennialism. May presents the entire repertoire on Gog and Meshech, China, Antichrist theology, and so on. As such, it is in partial dissonance with the rest of the book; suddenly, the reader is in a prophetic scenario, no longer in the real world. This tension between the final part and the preceding three perhaps indicates an as yet incomplete transition; in his later writings, the integration of modern-day Israel and eschatology is more complete.

Christen für Israel (Christians for Israel, Cfi, not to be confused with CFI, Christian Friends of Israel, or CFRI, CFI's German branch) was founded in 1980. In a sense, it functions as an extension of Fritz May; the only other representative with a noticeable public profile is Rainer Schmidt, a reporter based in Israel who for some time was associated with Cfi. Cfi does not appear to be well-integrated in the movement; it does not cooperate much with other Christian Zionist organizations, and is not involved in the Christian forum of Israel-related organizations founded in 2002 (see 3.5.10).<sup>87</sup> In 1993, its

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<sup>86</sup> On page 207, May refers to his 'conversations with Israelis and Arabs', but without any specifics.

<sup>87</sup> Considering this, Evangelical criticism of May for being too much at the centre (one critic speaks of 'Personenkult', a personality cult) becomes understandable. Several Evangelical leaders have expressed such criticism to me in personal conversation without having been asked about May. See: Berger, D 15.6.2000

newsletter was sent to 15,000 addresses.<sup>88</sup> By 2000, on the occasion of its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Cfi claimed it had supported 245 projects in Israel, including the planting of 80,000 trees, and that its basis of supporters numbered 55,000 people,<sup>89</sup> although this may include many non-active or former supporters. On the same occasion, May presented a cheque of 200,000 German marks for an additional 10,000 trees. Cfi has made donations of this magnitude more often, for instance 50,000 German marks for reforestation in 1990,<sup>90</sup> 150,000 for the integration of Russian Jews also in 1990, and 250,000 for the integration of Falashas (Ethiopian Jews) in 1991.<sup>91</sup> In 1997, Cfi financed a medical professorship at the Bar Ilan University, costing 500,000 German marks.<sup>92</sup> An interesting new development relating to Cfi is the establishment of the Institut für Israelologie at the Freie Theologische Akademie Gießen (Free Theological Academy, FTA) in 2004, to be discussed below (3.5.12). Israel has known how to show its appreciation. In 1998, May was the third German to be awarded the title of Friend of the City of Jerusalem by the Jerusalem city council; in 1999 the Bar Ilan University bestowed an honorary doctorate on him (Kloke 2000:18).<sup>93</sup>

### **3.3.8 Friedrich Vogel and Bibel-Center Breckerfeld**

Friedrich and Christa Vogel<sup>94</sup> graduated from the same Bible school in Beatenberg, Switzerland, where Malgo received his education. The beginnings of the Bibel-Center go back to 1956, when the Vogels founded a Bible school in Hagen. In 1970 it was expanded to a 3-year full-time programme, which in 1978 moved from Hagen to Breckerfeld to become the Bibel-Center. Already in the 1960s, the school began to organize tours to Israel, which it has continued to do; this marks the beginning of its active involvement in the emerging Christian Zionist movement.

Its magazine Bibel-Center Aktuell has appeared since 1988, and regularly voices strong Christian Zionist opinions; it appears in an edition of 27,000 (Hempelmann 1997:54). In 1996, a new branch called Endzeitkompass (End-Time Compass) was initiated, offering monthly teaching on prophecy and Israel in relation to recent news. In 1999 Friedrich Vogel stepped down as chairman, and his son Johannes succeeded him; the same year, the Bibel-Center began to support several projects in Israel related to the integration of young Russian and Ethiopian immigrants (Bibel-Center Breckerfeld nd-a). No other Bible school in Germany has given Israel a central place in its identity,<sup>95</sup> but Breckerfeld has, increasingly so in recent years. Even though Bible school training in a variety of formats remains its main focus, it has also become an active promoter of Christian Zionism.

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‘Enttäuschung über Israel-Kongreß’ ideaSpektrum /24:4. See also the following letters to the editors: Meyer, A 12.11.1997 ideaSpektrum /46:4; Pülz KM 26.11.1997 ideaSpektrum /48:4.

<sup>88</sup> ‘Ganz auf die Seite Israels stellen’ 9.6.1993 ideaSpektrum /23:12.

<sup>89</sup> “‘Christen für Israel’ trugen zur Versöhnung bei: In 20 Jahren 245 Hilfsprojekte in Israel gefördert – 80.000 Bäume gepflanzt – Gegen Judenmission’ 18.5.2000 ideaSpektrum /20:15.

<sup>90</sup> ‘50.000 DM für Aufforstung des Heiligen Landes’ 27.9.1990 ideaSpektrum /39:30.

<sup>91</sup> ‘250.000 DM für die “schwarzen Kinder”’ 19.12.1991 ideaSpektrum /51-52:34.

<sup>92</sup> ‘Zeichen der Liebe zwischen Juden und Christen: “Christen für Israel” (Wetzlar) finanzieren medizinischen Lehrstuhl in Israel’ 29.10.1997 ideaSpektrum /44:13.

<sup>93</sup> In 2004, May also received the Bundesverdienstkreuz, a decoration awarded by the BRD for special contributions to the German state.

<sup>94</sup> Unless indicated otherwise, historical information is taken from Bibel-Center Breckerfeld (nd-b).

<sup>95</sup> This does not mean that there are no Christian Zionist tendencies or representatives at other Bible schools, but that none of them present themselves as active supporters and advocates of the movement.

### 3.3.9 Klaus Moshe Pülz and ZeLeM

Klaus Moshe Pülz, of Jewish descent, was born in Germany in 1936. In 1967 he moved to Israel, just two months before the Six Day War, which was a most significant event in his spiritual biography. He tells his readers more than once that ‘on the occasion of my first visit to Jerusalem on 21-5-1967 I prayed that the Lord would give us back the eastern part of Jerusalem as well as Judea and Samaria, which was fulfilled three weeks later’ (Pülz 1995:32).<sup>96</sup> Eventually, he became the pastor of a Messianic Jewish fellowship in Herzliya, Israel. According to Pülz (1995:504) himself, it was in 1976 that he began to deal with Christianity and Judaism on a full-time basis; his first book appeared a few years later (1998, first published in 1979). In 1980, he founded the Messianische Bekenntnis-gemeinschaft in Israel (Messianic Confessing Community in Israel), a non-Charismatic counterpart of the Messianic Jewish Alliance of Israel. In 1981 he also founded the Institut für Israels universale Berufung (Institute for Israel’s Universal Calling), which seeks to evaluate current events in the light of the Bible and to correct Christian theology in its understanding of Jews and Israel; this is necessary because of media bias and replacement teaching (Pülz 1995:503). The phrase ‘Israels universale Berufung’ is a key term in his thinking, and sums up his view of Israel: it is to be a ‘kingdom of priests’ and a ‘blessing to all nations’ (*ibid.*:8, 147, 507). His organization in Germany, founded in 1986, is ZeLeM – Verein zur Förderung des Messianischen Glaubens in Israel eV (Association for the Promotion of Messianic Faith in Israel). Its magazine is Bote neues Israel (Messenger New Israel). Pülz is well known in confessional Lutheran circles (Bekenntnisbewegung), where his main basis of support in Germany is located.

In Israel, Pülz is an active evangelist among Jews, particularly through full-page advertisements in Hebrew and Russian newspapers; one of his books (Pülz 1995) mainly consists of the texts of these rather elaborate essays, complete with pictures of the original printed versions. When dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the future, he espouses clear Christian Zionist positions (especially clear in Pülz 1998). This includes the peace process, which he rejects as being in conflict with God’s prophetic word (eg 1995:32, 44, 94, 334-8). At the same time, he can be surprisingly critical of Israeli politics and society, arguing for a more consistent separation of religion and state, and for religious freedom for Jewish Christians. The accompanying criticism of the Orthodox does not always strike one as kosher. He refers to their business acumen, their bad reputation, and their financial scandals (1995:16), calls them fanatical (*ibid.*:18), arrogant, and loveless (*ibid.*:83, 110), and points out that they are always out for money for their institutions (*ibid.*:58; see also 2000:151-73). One rarely comes across such sharp criticism of Israel in German Evangelical literature:

The Jews, once classified as ‘Untermenschen’ [literally ‘underpersons’, people who are racially or otherwise inferior], having returned to the land of the fathers, have themselves become a ‘Herrenrasse’ [master race] which pillories everyone who does not fit its narrow-minded design of a Mosaic system of redemption. (Pülz 1995:22)

I do not know a nation in which people deal with one another in a ruder and less loving way than among the people which the LORD has chosen as a ‘light to the nations’. (*ibid.*:136)

Pülz is also highly critical of many Christian Zionists, especially those who refrain from evangelizing Jews. He accuses them of Israelschwärmerei (Israel enthusiasm) and Israel euphoria (eg 2000:178, 193), and reproaches them:

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<sup>96</sup> Repeated almost verbatim in: Pülz, K 19.9.2001 ‘Auch Israel muß zu Jesus Christus umkehren’ ideaSpektrum /38:4f.

In contrast to other – non-reflecting – Israel-related organizations we are not blind followers of the Jewish state with its militant anti-Christian Torah-guardians, who would love to turn the state of Israel into a halacha state.<sup>97</sup>

Would it be a help to Israel if, in its unspiritual state, one would bless and encourage it? Have Israel's prophets acted in such an opportunistic way? (Pülz 1995:98)

From reading Pülz, one gets the impression he enjoys controversy.<sup>98</sup> This contrarian stance has even been noticed abroad (Hoef 2000). However, his insistence on evangelism has also earned him a measure of respect among conservative Evangelicals, who are often unhappy with the EKD tendency to distance itself from Jewish evangelism.

### **3.3.10 Herbert Hillel Goldberg and LeMa'an Zion**

The influence of Herbert Hillel Goldberg, a Jew born in Germany, and his organization, LeMa'an Zion (For the Sake of Zion), in Germany is limited to his lecture tours and the German edition of his magazine 'Haschiwah' – Die Rückkehr (The Return), which, according to its imprint, is distributed in 70 countries. The organization was founded in 1972, and is incorporated in Canada and the USA, not in Germany. Goldberg lives in Israel, and in its religious and cultural ethos LeMa'an Zion represents one of the most Jewish of the organizations introduced here; in Goldberg's view, Jewish Christians who are not living as Jews are deserters who have abandoned their people: 'A Jew should for ever remain a Jew, and love his people and the land of his fathers.'<sup>99</sup> Not surprisingly, it is thoroughly Zionist in its views.

### **3.3.11 Arbeitskreis Israel eV**

The Arbeitskreis Israel eV (Israel Committee), not to be confused with an organization within the LGV bearing the same name (3.5.7), was founded in 1978. Its activities include fundraising for projects in Israel and lectures on Israel. It very much keeps in the background; in all the Evangelical literature surveyed for this thesis, references to it are virtually absent. Its newsletter appears in an edition of 2,000 (Hempelmann 1997:50).

### **3.3.12 Dienste in Israel**

Dienste in Israel (Service in Israel) is a branch of Evangelisch-Freikirchliches Sozialwerk Hannover eV (Social Ministry of the Evangelical Free Church, the largely Baptist BEFG), and was founded in 1975. Since 1978, the organization has sent volunteers to Israel to work in kibbutzim and in various social institutions (eg hospitals, old people's homes); on average, 60 volunteers are sent each year (Evangelisch-Freikirchliches Sozialwerk nd; Dienste in Israel nd-a).<sup>100</sup> It stands in the tradition of reconciliation ministries (cf. Zedakah), not of explicit Christian Zionism, and it is arguable whether it should be included in this chapter. It is not so much a reaction to events in the Middle East, but rather to the German past, which is frequently addressed in its newsletter, Brückenbauer (Bridge Builder, since 2004 Brückenbauer-Magazin). It is more interested in the Jewish people and

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<sup>97</sup> Pülz, K 4.9.2002 'Christen müssen auch Israel zur Umkehr rufen!' ideaSpektrum /36:4f. To which Johannes Dieckmann (RzV) replied: 'It is regrettable that Klaus Mosche Pülz once again uses the opportunity of a letter to the editor in idea to vent his irritation over other Israel-related organizations that do not match his notions.' Dieckmann, J 11.9.2002 'Der Islam wächst, und Christen streiten miteinander' ideaSpektrum /37:5.

<sup>98</sup> See especially his letters to the editor in ideaSpektrum discussed in 4.3. Also: 'Aufruf an Juden: Kehrt zu Christus zurück!' 4.12.2002 ideaSpektrum /49:28.

<sup>99</sup> 'Ein messiasgläubiger Jude' 7-9.1982 Charisma /36:16. The words were part of a lecture in the Jesus-Haus.

<sup>100</sup> Schäfer, E 5.2004 'Pastor Ralf Zintarra neuer Leiter von Dienste in Israel' Brückenbauer-Magazin /82:2.

in Jewish-Christian dialogue than in political support of the state of Israel. This fits well with the stated position of the BEFG National Council, which is in many ways close to statements by the EKD; it speaks appreciatively of the Jewish people, but does not equate the state of Israel ‘uncritically with the salvation-historical entity Israel’ (BEFG 1997). The following two statements by Dienste in Israel illustrate its focus:

The unspeakable suffering that was inflicted on the Jewish people through the centuries (especially by the church) has created an almost insurmountable gap between Jews and Christians. We see it as a mission from God to build bridges to the Jewish people through Dienste in Israel. Our aim is to create new mutual relationships, and oppose anti-Semitic tendencies. The injustice committed against the Jewish people can never be compensated through sympathy or financial aid, but our goal is to make clear through our attitude and through our personal effort – however small it may appear – that we deeply respect Judaism. We should like to learn from this people, which is also the root of Christianity, and we should like to set a sign of love through the service of our volunteers, and reduce and overcome prejudice and misunderstanding. (Dienste in Israel nd-b)

Dienste in Israel wants to give young Christians an opportunity to get to know daily life and Judaism in Israel through an internship, and build bridges of trust between Germans and Israelis, Christians and Jews. We see such an internship as a great opportunity and an important experience to work reconciliation, to awaken insights into the continuing existence of the Jewish people and its return home to the land of promise, to understand Israel as a sign of God’s faithfulness, as well as to get to know the Jewish faith and to understand the roots of our Christian faith. (Dienste in Israel nd-a)

Christian Zionism, unlike Restorationism, is not explicit in these statements. Different from many Christian Zionists, Dienste in Israel is not opposed to the peace process,<sup>101</sup> and supports, believably in my estimate, ‘the insight that solidarity with Israel does not mean to be against the Palestinians’ (Dienste in Israel nd-c). However, it does display devotedness to Israel as ‘God’s people’ and other features typical of Christian Zionism, like the complaint about media bias and distortion,<sup>102</sup> or reference to Isaiah 40:1 and Genesis 12:3 to explicate its ministry.<sup>103</sup> Occasionally one comes across statements like these: ‘Peter Hahne (a television presenter) states: “There is absolutely no historical doubt that the undivided Jerusalem is the legitimate capital of Israel, since 3,000 years!”’<sup>104</sup> This, however, appears untypical; most of its energy goes into building bridges between Christians and Jews, and between Germans and Israelis.

### **3.3.13 Declarations by Evangelical Organizations Not Focused on Israel**

At this point, it is interesting to take a look at the reaction to the Yom Kippur War of several mainline Evangelical organizations in the form of official declarations (I am not aware of any that were issued in response to the Six Day War). The following declaration was issued by the board of the EA in its meeting on 4 December 1974, just over a year after the war:

In a time of increasing isolation of the state of Israel by the peoples of the world, the board of the German Evangelical Alliance stands by Israel’s right to exist [Lebensrecht] within secure borders in the land of its fathers.

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<sup>101</sup> ‘Kurz notiert’ 11.2002 Brückenbauer [Electronic version] /78 Available at <http://www.dienste-in-israel.de/bm/2002/3/bm4.htm> Accessed 25.7.2003.

<sup>102</sup> Eg ‘Kurz notiert’ 11.2001 Brückenbauer [Electronic version] /75 Available at <http://www.dienste-in-israel.de/bm/2001/3/bm3.htm> Accessed 25.7.2003.

<sup>103</sup> Adomeit, A 11.2002 Brückenbauer [Electronic version] /78 Available at <http://www.dienste-in-israel.de/bm/2002/3/bm1.htm> Accessed 25.7.2003.

<sup>104</sup> ‘Gedenke’ 11.2000 Brückenbauer [Electronic version] /72 Available at <http://www.dienste-in-israel.de/bm/2000/3/bm1.htm> Accessed 25.7.2003.

The governments of the nations see themselves forced through the so-called oil weapon of the Arab states and by ideological movements to take a pro-Arab position against Israel.

The board of the EA calls upon all members of the church of Jesus to recognize the Biblical aspects of these events. God is acting today with his people Israel, to whom he has promised the land of its fathers.

We are convinced that the Middle East crisis cannot be solved through terror and military actions. In the conflict of Israel with the Palestinians we pray God for a solution that makes possible for both the people of Israel and the Palestinians the full development of their lives.

In this hour of increasing pressure we call for intercession and for financial aid for Israel. At the same time we see that the Arab peoples also stand under a promise of God (Is. 19:19-25), in which a peaceful coexistence of all peoples in the Middle East unto a blessing for the whole world has been pledged.<sup>105</sup>

The declaration illustrates the effect the war and increasing pressure on Israel were having on German Evangelicals. It is clearly Restorationist, particularly in the third paragraph, and sounds virtually Christian Zionist. However:

- It includes a real and sincere attempt to do justice to both sides in the conflict. Already the title of the idea article, 'Intercession for Israel and the Arab Peoples', bears this out, as do the two final paragraphs, which acknowledge the Palestinians and even express faith in a special blessing for the Arabs.
- It needs to be kept in mind that at this time oil-producing Arab states were putting pressure on other countries to distance themselves from Israel. Among left-wing intellectuals in the West, sympathy and partisan support for the Palestinian cause increased dramatically after 1967, as noted in 2.2, and the relationship between the German and Israeli governments, warm during the 1960s, cooled down considerably in the 1970s. The statement is thus a reaction to perceived one-sidedness and unfair bias against Israel, rather than the expression of an ideological or political commitment.

The statement is therefore not as Christian Zionist as it may appear at first sight. Besides, it did not exert any lasting influence, and did not resurface later. It was a one-time action, quite different from the statement made by the EA much later on Jewish evangelism and Jewish-Christian relations (Deutsche Evangelische Allianz 1999; it will be discussed in 4.3.2), which continues to be available both in print and on the internet. The EA did not persevere on this path, nor did it follow up with the kind of ideological hardening that can often be observed in Christian Zionism.

The Pietist Ludwig-Hofacker-Vereinigung also issued a statement, on 7 December 1974:

We are dismayed by undisguised purely pro-Palestinian and thereby anti-Israeli statements that have been made recently by representatives both of the ecumenical movement as well as of our state. We sense a bond with Israel, especially with the part of Israel which has returned to the land of the fathers – not least because of our debt to this people and our love for this people, through whom salvation in Jesus has also come to us. We uphold the state of Israel's right to exist [Lebensrecht], and urgently ask those carrying responsibility in state and church to support us in this concern.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> 'Fürbitte für Israel und die arabischen Völker' 9.12.1974 idea /47:II. An English translation was published five weeks later, but since it leaves to be desired, I have here included my own; 'Board of the German Evangelical Alliance Holds Autumn Meeting' 15.1.1975 idea /2:6.

<sup>106</sup> 'Ludwig-Hofacker-Vereinigung nimmt zum Israelproblem Stellung' 9.12.1974 idea /47:7.

The Albrecht-Bengel-Haus in Tübingen published a leaflet on the war, more or less in the same vein.<sup>107</sup> Here, too, Christians were called upon to support Israel based on the immediate and pressing need. This could well have led these organizations into full-blown Christian Zionism, but by and large did not, judging by the results of the ideaSpektrum analysis to be presented in Chapter Four. It does illustrate, however, that 1973 made a deep impact, and others would go where the EA and like-minded organizations did not want to tread.

### 3.4 THE 1980S

From this point on, representatives of the Charismatic-Pentecostal movement dominate developments in Germany. As the remainder of this chapter demonstrates, support for Christian Zionism is strongest among Charismatic-Pentecostals, and it is particularly supported by many of their leaders, quite different from non-Charismatic leadership, which tends to be more cautious and restrained (see Chapter Four).

#### 3.4.1 Steve Lightle

An important landmark in this development was set by an outspokenly Charismatic visionary: Steve Lightle, author of Exodus II (Lightle 1983), the essence of which is a spectacular vision of the Jews leaving the Soviet Union. ‘This new Exodus will dwarf the Exodus led by Moses both in size and significance,’ the front cover tells us. Lightle received this vision while in Germany, and his book – surprisingly – was originally written and published in German, and only later translated into English.

Lightle, an American Jewish Christian, gave up his business in 1973 to commit himself to full-time Christian work in Europe. For some years, he was the European coordinator of the Full Gospel Business Men’s Association, one of the most important catalysts of the neo-Pentecostal movement in Germany (Spornhauer 2001:87). In his book he recounts how he spent some days fasting in Braunschweig, Germany, in 1974, which led to a deep emotional and religious experience. In his own words, the sense of God’s power and presence was so great, he could not get up; others who entered the room were not able to bear it and had to crawl out (Lightle 1983:51). The vision he saw during these days was that of hundreds of thousands of Jews leaving the Soviet Union. This exodus was accompanied by

... ministries that God raised up, that were as great as or even greater than that of Moses in Egypt. And they began to proclaim to the Soviet authorities, ‘Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, let My people go!’ And the Soviets refused. Then God, through these ministries, brought great judgment upon the Soviet Union. (ibid.:56)

Following these catastrophes the Jews were released, travelling west through Poland towards Berlin, Braunschweig, and Hanover, and also into the north of Holland, from where the Jews sailed to Israel by ship. Everywhere along the route people were ready to help them (ibid.:55-7).

For the next 8 years Lightle hardly ever spoke about the vision, but in 1982 he sensed it was time to share it with a larger audience. He began to travel through Europe and proclaim the vision in Christian meetings (ibid.:76f). Part II of the book, really written by his co-author Eberhard Mühlán, a well-known German Evangelical, describes how through sharing his vision Lightle came into contact with many people who had had similar impressions, and who were actively preparing for this mass exodus of Jews coming through their area (ibid.:86-136). Mühlán reports numerous cases of people who had prepared housing and transportation, stored substantial amounts of food, clothing,

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<sup>107</sup> ‘Gebet um Bekehrung Israels einziger Weg’ 7.1.1974 idea /1:2.

medicine, and Russian Bibles (200,000 were brought to Berlin for this purpose when it became clear they could not be smuggled into the Soviet Union; *ibid.*:119), or were learning Russian in order to be able to communicate with the Russian Jews.

On the surface, developments in the Soviet Union appear to provide some fulfilment of the vision. The USSR went through a severe crisis, eventually falling apart. The nuclear accident in Chernobyl in 1986 was indeed a terrible catastrophe. In the end, the Jews were free to emigrate to Israel in large numbers. The vision received apparent Biblical confirmation through the common identification of the Biblical 'land of the north' (eg Zech. 2:6) with Russia or the Soviet Union: 'Surely all Bible-believing Christians will agree that the Bible indeed testifies to the coming exodus of the Jews out of "the country of the north"' (*ibid.*:84). On this basis, Old Testament statements on a Jewish return from the north readily serve as Biblical proof for Lightle's vision-based claims.

It needs to be pointed out, however, that the vision was more than a general announcement of Jewish emigration; it included specific routes. There does not appear to be any evidence that any Jews travelled the routes seen in Lightle's vision, let alone in the large numbers he predicted. One has to conclude that the elaborate preparations were in vain. Even if the remaining Jews were yet to come out all at once, preparations made in the 1970s and 1980s still make no sense. In spite of this, Lightle's book continued to be available throughout the 1990s, and he has exercised substantial influence both in Germany and abroad, as witnessed by references to him or his vision:

In 1973, Steve Lightle gave up his business and began to travel throughout Europe and Russia, speaking prophetically about the imminent release of the Russian Jewish population. In 1983 he wrote Exodus II to encourage continued readiness. (Finto 2001:181)

Some of my friends are actually building shelters – secret hideaways – to house Jewish people in the coming persecution. Christians in Finland and the rest of Scandinavia have stored food and clothing, bought vehicles for transportation and made other preparations for the next great exodus of Israel's children coming from Russia and the Eastern bloc nations. (*ibid.*:180)

On the third night of the meeting in Hanover [February 2000] ... I gave a word to Germany: 'The Russians are coming.' I explained that a God-sent Russian invasion of Jews was about to descend on the nation. (Goll 2001:157)

For decades [!], faithful believers have gathered and secretly stored supplies vital to the survival and comfort of refugees – particularly for Russian Jewish people fleeing the Land of the North. There are storehouses and secret shelters hidden in Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, Iceland and throughout Europe awaiting the flood of Jews making aliyah. (*ibid.*:173)<sup>108</sup>

### 3.4.2 International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ)

The International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ)<sup>109</sup> was founded in 1980 after Israel declared Jerusalem its undivided capital and all states which still had an embassy in Jerusalem withdrew these from the city. It is probably the most professionally led Christian Zionist organization, and certainly the one that has spread most widely. It has offices and branches in over 100 countries. It has been extensively described elsewhere (eg Ariel 1997; Merkley 2001:172-9; Sizer 2002b: passim; DE Wagner 1995:96-113).

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<sup>108</sup> Summaries and a defence of the vision were still available on the internet in 2004 (eg CFRI nd; Hornung 1998b; Joseph Project nd).

<sup>109</sup> The older organization Bridges for Peace (BfP) does not appear here, since its presence in Germany is largely limited to a website (www.bfpgermany.com) offering information and some of Clarence Wagner's letters in German translation.

A German branch was founded in 1982, and for over 20 years Christian and Joliene Stephan functioned as its leaders. Since Stephan had retired early, he was able to pour his entire energy into mobilizing German support for Israel and the ICEJ, with substantial success. This particularly became visible when Russian Jews started to emigrate to Israel in large numbers. In the course of four months in 1990, ICEJ Germany raised 260,000 German marks for flights from the Soviet Union to Israel,<sup>110</sup> and in 1991-4 2,600,000 German marks were raised for 20 flights, bringing 4,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union to Israel.<sup>111</sup> In 2003, a total of €630,000 was raised and transferred to Israel.<sup>112</sup> If Burge (2003:242) is correct in putting the ICEJ's yearly budget at \$8,000,000, Germany is a significant contributor.

Stephan's successor is Jürgen Bühler, by training a medical doctor, who is based in Jerusalem, but frequently visits Germany. At larger pro-Israel events, he enjoys the same visibility as Ludwig Schneider and Harald Eckert, with whom he frequently shares the stage. Indeed, the ICEJ is an important initiator of such manifestations, and a well-integrated member of the Christian Forum for Israel (see 3.5.10). Otherwise, due to the ICEJ's centralized leadership, ICEJ Germany does not differ markedly in vision or activities from the ICEJ elsewhere.

### **3.4.3 Arie Ben Israel and Ruf zur Versöhnung (RzV)**

Arie Ben Israel<sup>113</sup> was born in 1950 into an orthodox Jewish family in the Soviet Union. His parents had survived the concentration camps, and in 1960 managed to emigrate to Israel. Because of the sufferings of his family and of the Jews, Ben Israel intensively hated Christians and Germans. The fact that his father revealed to him at some point that he believed in Jesus as the Messiah was deeply disturbing and confusing to him. It took him until 1975, 11 years after his father's death, to reach the same conclusion. While visiting Munich that year, he ran into a group of Christians doing street evangelism. He relished the opportunity to confront them with all the crimes committed against his people, but he was not prepared for the response of the girl with whom he spoke: she admitted her own and her nation's guilt, and asked him to forgive. This led him to read the Bible, beginning with the Gospel of Matthew, which made such an impact on him that he accepted Jesus as the Messiah. Some time later, during a visit to Yad Vashem, God helped him (in his words) to face and overcome his remaining hatred for Germans, and healed his bitterness. At the same time, this was the beginning of a vision: Germany as the key to revival in Israel, through Germans and other Europeans confessing the sins of the past on behalf of their respective nations:

Now the LORD wants to use a Germany cleansed and healed through repentance and forgiveness to keep the Jewish people from the Eternal Fire. As planned and systematic as the execution of the persecution and extermination ... in just as thorough and focused a way, with the use of all good skills, the Almighty wants to use the German people to help and rebuild Israel. In the realm of the spirit, Israel and Germany are related to each other like key and lock. When Germany lets itself be used as a key in the end times, a lock will be opened, behind which are hidden wonderful treasures for the good of the entire world. (Ben Israel 1990:19f)

With this vision, Ben Israel moved to Germany in 1976, and in 1984 founded Ruf zur Versöhnung (Call to Reconciliation, RzV). RzV became nationally known when it called

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<sup>110</sup> "‘Israel muß vernichtet werden’: Die Juden und der Staat Israel werden massiv bedroht’ 26.7.1990 [ideaSpektrum](#) /30:1f.

<sup>111</sup> ‘Judenmission: “Nicht mit dem Holzhammer”’ 14.12.1994 [ideaSpektrum](#) /50:11.

<sup>112</sup> Bühler, J & Bühler, V 1-2.2003 ‘Grußwort aus Deutschland’ [Wort aus Jerusalem](#) 10.

<sup>113</sup> Most of the biographical information is taken from his autobiography (1990).

for a special event, Nürnberg 85, also called a ‘Day of Reconciliation’, on 15 September 1985. This was exactly 50 years after the proclamation of the racial Nuremberg Laws at the yearly Nazi party rally in Nuremberg, which had excluded Jews from German citizenship and forbidden mixed marriages. The programme of the day included a silent march through Nuremberg, a mass demonstration in the square where the Nazi party rallies had taken place, and a feast of praise and thanksgiving in the evening.<sup>114</sup> A highlight was the declaration of repentance which was read during the rally.

For once, Evangelicals – and Charismatics – found a language that many non-Evangelical compatriots could understand. The resonance and reception were remarkable, even though there was also criticism, particularly from Lutheran and Catholic officials, and from the Jewish community; especially the involvement of Messianic Jews proved a stumbling block.<sup>115</sup> Each of the three events drew at least 5,000 participants; all in all Ben Israel speaks of 10,000 (1990:23), as does *Fürbitte für Deutschland* (Intercession for Germany, FFD).<sup>116</sup> This included many members of mainline churches. The numbers are relatively small, but there were follow-up meetings in various churches, which increased the number of people impacted by the event.<sup>117</sup> There was significant and largely positive coverage by the media; the two main national television channels made it a headline in the evening news.

An event in Berlin in 1988, again initiated by RzV, also commemorated a historical event 50 years earlier: the conference held in Evian-les-Bains in 1938, where 32 nations debated the problem of Jewish refugees, and most nations declined to take any. In addition, 1988 was the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the state of Israel. It was a smaller event, a conference rather than a rally, and had a more ‘spiritual’ character, as indicated by the centrality of prayer and spiritual warfare for the Jews, as well as of identification with the Jews and their fate, with reference to the Biblical promises; all of this suggests a more openly Christian Zionist agenda than Nürnberg 85.<sup>118</sup> The conference took place from 29 June until 3 July. According to Ben Israel (1990:38f), 3,000 Christians participated. A resolution<sup>119</sup> was passed that condemned the inactivity of the world community at the time; in it, ‘the delegates of the nations’ also declared themselves guilty, asked the Jews for forgiveness, and pledged their solidarity with the Jewish people and the state of Israel (Ben Israel, 1990:40).

For 20-22 January 1992, Ben Israel planned another conference in Berlin, also referred to as Project Mordechai 92. This event was to commemorate the infamous Wannsee Conference, which decided the Final Solution of the Jewish question on 20 January 1942, exactly 50 years earlier. Again, the focus was to be not only on the past, but also on present identification with Israel.<sup>120</sup> From the RzV magazine, it appears that the conference did not actually take place. A later FFD newsletter only calls for a day of prayer and fasting on the

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<sup>114</sup> ‘Nürnberg 85 – Tag der Versöhnung am 15. September’ 3.1985 FFD Rundbrief 3f.

<sup>115</sup> Ten years later, commemorating the event, RzV spoke of substantial ‘resistance of the traditional churches and unfortunately also from the Israelite community’; Dieckman, J 1995 ‘Liebe Israelfreunde und Partner unserer Arbeit’ RzV /3:3.

<sup>116</sup> ‘Nürnberg 85’ 1.1986 FFD Rundbrief 1f.

<sup>117</sup> For instance in the Lutheran church of Frankfurt, led by the Charismatic pastor Klaus Jakob Hoffmann, where the declaration was also read (Hoffmann 1989:102-105).

<sup>118</sup> ‘Berlin 1988’ 6.1987 FFD Rundbrief 7; “‘Berlin ’88” – Internationale Konferenz vom 11.-15. Mai 1988’ 7.1987 FFD Rundbrief 7.

<sup>119</sup> Printed in: Külling, SR 1988 ‘Ein vierzig- und ein fünfzigjähriges Jubiläum’ Fundamentum /3:4-7.

<sup>120</sup> Eckert, H 10.1990 ‘Ein neuer Tag: Bericht von der FFD-Konferenz vom 19.-22.9.90 in Berlin’ FFD Rundbrief /4:1-3; ‘Hinweise: “Projekt Mordechai” vom 20.-22.1.1992 in Berlin’ 2.1991 FFD Rundbrief /1:4.

50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Wannsee Conference (20 January).<sup>121</sup> In addition, a group of young Germans travelled to Yad Vashem for an act of confession and repentance on that date, which was explicitly seen as a continuation of Nürnberg 85.<sup>122</sup>

Further initiatives of commemorative repentance have followed, but these were no longer initiated by RzV.<sup>123</sup> Arie Ben Israel passed away in 1993, only 43 years of age. Johannes and Christel Dieckmann took over the leadership of the organization. Although no longer a forerunner of the movement, it continues to emphasize reconciliation, supports a number of projects in Israel, and enjoys good relationships with other organizations. Its magazine Ruf zur Versöhnung appears in an edition of 6,000 (Hempelmann 1997:295).

#### **3.4.4 Ludwig Schneider and Nachrichten aus Israel (NAI)**

The same year Ludwig Schneider left Israel-Hilfe (3.3.6) and moved to Israel, he started Nachrichten aus Israel (News from Israel, NAI); in his own words:

Since I had worked as a war reporter in 1973 during the Yom Kippur War, I worked as a journalist again, and already on 15 September 1978 I published the first paper with press reports, 'Nachrichten aus Israel'. At first it consisted of only two blue sheets, which I sent to 100 German editorial offices with the request to reimburse me for published articles. The beginning was very sluggish. We had to scrimp and save for the money for postage and paper (Schneider nd).

In the 1980s, Schneider began to send his press reports directly to readers abroad, which proved more successful. Since 1993, NAI is printed in colour and in regular magazine-format; it appears monthly, and is sent directly from Israel. Until the end of 2001 the magazine went by the name Nachrichten aus Israel – Israel heute; this was changed to Israel heute – Nachrichten aus Israel. The magazine also appears in English as Israel Today. Israel heute contains a motley mix of illustrations, news, information, and a startling array of trivial bits and bytes from Israel. Since 1990 Schneider has also published the yearly Israel Jahrbuch (Israel Year Book), with additional facts, reports, and trivia about Israel. Schneider frequently travels through Germany to speak in churches and at conferences about Israel. NAI also offers religious and other products from Israel for sale in Germany.

In addition, NAI organizes tours to Israel. According to an advertisement in Israel heute, one such tour was to include a visit to an Israeli military base to 'demonstrate our solidarity by practical assistance', as well as a visit to Jewish settlers in Samaria 'to convey our solidarity and our blessing'.<sup>124</sup> This is quite illustrative of the general tone and outlook of Israel heute. At one point, NAI's unequivocal position to the right of Likud even brought it into difficulties with the Israeli authorities. Following Rabin's death, Israel heute complained that the assassination was being abused in a left-wing campaign against

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<sup>121</sup> Becker, B & Eckert, H 12.1991 'Gebets- und Fastentag am 20. Januar 1992 zum 50. Jahrestag der "Wannseekonferenz"' FFD Rundbrief /5:3-5.

<sup>122</sup> Eckert, H 4-6.1992 'Versöhnungstag in Jerusalem am 20. Januar 1992' Charisma /80:8f; id. 2.1992 "'Jetzt ist die Zeit, um Zion zu segnen!'" (Ps. 102,14): Bericht von der internationalen Fürbittekonferenz vom 14.-21.1.92 in Jerusalem sowie dem Versöhnungstag in "Yad Vashem" am 20.1.1992' FFD-Rundbrief /1:1-3.

<sup>123</sup> Eg 40 days of prayer and fasting on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the 61<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the Reichskristallnacht (Eckert 2000b:4f), as well as prayer days on 14-15 September 2005 on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Nuremberg Laws; 'Gebetsstage ... und Schritte zur Versöhnung – 70 Jahre Nürnberger Gesetze' [Brochure] 2005 Hebertshausen, Germany: Christliche Freunde Israels eV See also: 'Israelisch-deutsches Leitertreffen verabschiedet das "Wannsee-Dokument 2000"' 1-3.2001 Charisma /115:40; 'Versöhnung nach über 60 Jahren: Treffen mit Überlebenden eines jüdischen Flüchtlingsschiffes' 4-6.2002 Charisma /120:31.

<sup>124</sup> Israel heute – Nachrichten aus Israel 1.2002 /281:48.

conservatives and settlers, speaking of a ‘hysterical witch hunt’,<sup>125</sup> and drew a parallel with the murder of Ernst von Rath by a Jew in Paris in 1938, which the Nazis used as a pretext for the Kristallnacht.<sup>126</sup> It thought Israel’s democracy was in danger.<sup>127</sup> This led to left-wing demands in parliament to close NAI down.<sup>128</sup> Kloke (2000:23) even claims the authorities temporarily banned Israel heute; however, monthly publication was not interrupted.

The stated aim of NAI is to make ‘true, objective information about Israel’ available and to function as a ‘correction to the press ... nai also brings what others leave out’ (NAI nd). In reality, Schneider and his team present an unequivocal Christian Zionist perspective on Israel and the Middle East.

### 3.4.5 Fürbitte für Deutschland (FFD)

Numerous organizations do not have Christian Zionism as their main purpose, yet do consider it an important cause; they are secondary advocates or supporters of the movement. Some of these stand out because they put special emphasis on Israel. To these belong the Marienschwestern and Fürbitte für Deutschland (Intercession for Germany, FFD).

As early as 1969 Denis Clark, a British evangelist, had founded Intercessors for Britain. This organization functioned as a model for Berthold and Barbara Becker when they founded FFD in 1978. A regular newsletter has appeared since 1984. Part of their motivation was the realization that Germany needed repentance for its past and present; from the beginning, repentance for anti-Semitism and ‘identifying repentance’ (see 6.8.9) were central elements. In fact, ‘identification’, ‘repentance’, and ‘representative’ are recurrent terms in the FFD newsletter, and are basic to its understanding of intercession: prayer in which the one praying identifies with the ones being prayed for.<sup>129</sup>

The 1984 FFD conference drew only 34 participants;<sup>130</sup> this soon grew to several hundred. At that time, around 300 newsletters were sent out.<sup>131</sup> This, too, grew, to 2,000 sent out to 800 addresses in October 1986,<sup>132</sup> to 6,000 in January 1989,<sup>133</sup> and to 10-12,000 in the early 1990s.<sup>134</sup> A legal body was formed in February 1987, Verein Interkonfessioneller Christlicher Förderkreis eV (Interdenominational Christian Support Group Association), to be able to deal properly with legal and financial issues.<sup>135</sup> Interestingly, Harald Eckert (see

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<sup>125</sup> ‘Die Hexenjagd muss aufhören’ 1.1996 Nachrichten aus Israel – Israel heute /209:4f.

<sup>126</sup> ‘Jitzhak Rabin’ 11.1995 Nachrichten aus Israel – Israel heute /207:3; ‘Das böse Alibi’ 11.1995 Nachrichten aus Israel – Israel heute /207:30.

<sup>127</sup> ‘Wie empfindlich ist Israels Demokratie?’ 12.1995 Nachrichten aus Israel – Israel heute /208:4.

<sup>128</sup> ‘Linke fordern Schliessung der NAI-Redaktion!’ 1.1996 Nachrichten aus Israel – Israel heute /209:4.

<sup>129</sup> This is explicitly stated in two of the earliest, undated issues, which must have been published in 1984, and in: Becker, B 5.1984 ‘Der Charakter der Fürbitte’ FFD Rundbrief 6. In addition, ‘Nürnberg 85 – Tag der Versöhnung am 15. September’ 3.1985 FFD Rundbrief 4f is especially clear on this point; German guilt and the need to pray for forgiveness are explicitly mentioned.

<sup>130</sup> ‘Liebe Fürbitter’ 5.1984 FFD Rundbrief 1f.

<sup>131</sup> ‘FFD-Arbeit’ 11.1984 FFD Rundbrief 9.

<sup>132</sup> ‘Briefe’ 10.1986 FFD Rundbrief 5f.

<sup>133</sup> ‘Finanzen’ 1.1989 FFD Rundbrief 2-4.

<sup>134</sup> Becker, B 12.1990 ‘Ein Wort zum Thema “Finanzen”’ FFD Rundbrief /5:4; id. 12.1991 ‘Liebe Fürbitter’ FFD Rundbrief /5:1-3.

<sup>135</sup> ‘FFD-Arbeit’ 3.1987 FFD Rundbrief 4. In 2006, this association was dissolved and replaced by the Kainos Stiftung (Kainos Foundation, from Greek, Kainos = new).

3.5.3) joined FFD early in 1990.<sup>136</sup> In 1995, sixty citywide or regional prayer ministries and hundreds of prayer groups were part of the FFD network.<sup>137</sup>

Since the FFD newsletter responds to current trends and events, topics for intercession that are included come and go, but the most consistent area of interest next to Germany clearly is Israel; there are few newsletters in which it is not mentioned. There is no inherent reason why involvement in this kind of intercession would lead to a particular view on or even a special interest in Israel; this is a consequence of the people involved. Names that appear with some frequency in the FFD newsletter, notable for their connection with Israel, are Derek Prince, Arie Ben Israel, Lance Lambert, Steve Lightle, Kjell Sjöberg, Johannes Facius, and Gustav Scheller, plus a number of leaders of the Charismatic and neo-Pentecostal movement in Germany.

FFD does not present its own perspective on the situation in Israel, but rather borrows from organizations and individuals more directly involved. Its contribution in terms of ideas is more in the area of repentance and reconciliation, which, as indicated above, is a foundational concern. FFD was involved in or endorsed several events related to this aspect (see RzV, 3.4.3), including Nürnberg 85. FFD's involvement was substantial; Berthold Becker was one of the speakers, and pictures of the march show him at the front of the column, right next to the initiator, Ben Israel.<sup>138</sup> FFD felt that a door had been thrown open for Germany in the heavenlies.<sup>139</sup>

All in all, it is clear that FFD is not part of the core or centre of the Christian Zionist movement, but it is not marginal either. It has consistently shown itself a willing and active supporter of the cause.<sup>140</sup>

## **3.5 THE 1990S AND BEYOND**

### **3.5.1 Gustav Scheller and Ebenezer**

The Ebenezer Emergency Fund International (Ebenezer) was founded in 1991 by Gustav Scheller (1929-2000), who was Swiss, but lived in England. Steve Lightle had significant influence on Scheller after they first met in Jerusalem in 1982. Together, they did a series of meetings in Great Britain in 1983, in which Lightle presented his vision of Jews leaving the Soviet Union (3.4.1; Scheller 2001:17-26). Ebenezer has also been influenced by the international intercession movement. There were many contacts with Johannes Facius and other leaders in this movement; indeed, Facius succeeded Scheller as president of Ebenezer

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<sup>136</sup> 'Organisation' 1.1990 FFD Rundbrief/1:2; Eckert, H 3.1990 'Liebe Geschwister' FFD Rundbrief/2:1f.

<sup>137</sup> Becker, B 1995 'Bericht zur Entwicklung von FFD' FFD Rundbrief/3:2-4.

<sup>138</sup> RzV 1995 /3:4f.

<sup>139</sup> 'Nürnberg 85' 1.1986 FFD Rundbrief 1f. Johannes Facius likewise felt that Nürnberg 85 'had changed the spiritual climate over Germany.' Facius, J 1993 'Bekämpfung des Antisemitismus' RzV /3:9.

<sup>140</sup> A second, but smaller and less visible organization involved in intercession for Israel is Fürbitte für Israel eV (Intercession for Israel), founded by Eckhard Maier in 1981. It coordinates a network of prayer groups for Israel, which it provides with information through its quarterly prayer letter. Its position is comparatively moderate; it does not reject 'land for peace', for instance, and is more interested in reconciliation and Messianic Judaism than in politics; Maier, E 4-6.1994 'Israel im Focus' Charisma 20/88:19; *id.* 10-12.1996 'Israel im Focus: Ein aktueller Kommentar' Charisma 22/98:27. Fürbitte für Israel works together with EDI and amzi (Hempelmann 1997:178f). For many years, Maier wrote short contributions for Charisma. In 2005, yet another prayer initiative, the organization Eagles' Wings, established a German branch to promote its annual day of prayer for Israel in Germany; see: [www.tagdesgebets.de](http://www.tagdesgebets.de); Mockler, M 29.6.2005 "'Wünschet Jerusalem Glück!' Ein Amerikaner motiviert weltweit zehntausende Gemeinden zum Gebet für Israel' ideaSpektrum /26:20f.

for some years. The impulse to start the work of Ebenezer came during an international prayer conference in Jerusalem in 1991 (*ibid.*:42-6).

Ebenezer does not show the scope of activities displayed by most other organizations; it is quite narrow in its ministry focus, and, although this does not necessarily follow, also in its conception. A few phrases and ideas occur with disproportionate frequency, and sum up the philosophy or doctrine of the organization. These include ‘the land of the north’ (Is. 43:6; Jer. 31:8; Zech. 2:6), taken to be a reference to Russia and other former Soviet republics, and ‘fishers and hunters’ (Jer. 16:16). The concept is a common one in Christian Zionist literature, but nowhere does it appear as often or take such a central place. Hunters are those who oppress or persecute Jews, and so force them to move to Israel; fishers are those who seek to persuade Jews peacefully to ‘return’, which of course includes Ebenezer. In the language of statutes this is expressed as ‘the support of needy Jewish returnees (especially those in the areas of the former Soviet Union) who want to depart for Israel’, although this does not bring out the active role Ebenezer takes to generate this ‘want’.<sup>141</sup>

To accomplish this, it sends out teams of volunteers from its ‘fishing bases’ as ‘fishers’ to go ‘fishing’. About 100 volunteers per year go out for a minimum of three months (Ebenezer nd-b). They travel into the most remote corners of the former Soviet Union to make contact with people of Jewish descent. These volunteers bring them a gospel, but it is a different gospel from the one Evangelical missionaries normally preach. Not salvation through a decision for Christ, but a call to ‘return’ to the land of the fathers is its content: ‘Volunteers take home unforgettable experiences, having sought out and ministered to the lost sheep of Israel, urging them from the prophetic Scriptures to return to the Land of Promise’ (Ebenezer nd-b). That Ebenezer anticipates a significant increase in anti-Semitism lends urgency to the task. Scheller (2001:136) himself was convinced that those who would not go now would one day have to flee from the ‘hunters’ to save their lives. To him and his wife, empty cabins on the ship bringing Jews from Odessa to Haifa could equal lost lives in the future (*ibid.*).

In the first 10 years of its existence, Ebenezer organized 120 crossings by ship from Odessa to Haifa, bringing approximately 30,000 Jews to Israel; it assisted another 30,000 Jews in their journey to an airport from where the Jewish Agency transported them to Israel (Scheller 2001:10). By 2004, it had offices in Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and Switzerland, and national coordinators in 24 countries; well over 100,000 Jews had been helped to ‘make Aliyah’ (Ebenezer nd-a).<sup>142</sup>

The German branch, Ebenezer Hilfsfonds (Aid Fund), is led by Hinrich Kaasman, who has worked with Ebenezer since 1993. The German office of Ebenezer is housed in the Kontorhaus Meßberg 1 in Hamburg, originally built by Jews in the 1920s, and used during the Second World War as a distribution centre for Zyklon B, the gas used by the Nazis in the extermination camps. The present owner initially made the office space available free of charge. Young German conscientious objectors, who have to perform an alternative, non-military service, can do so through working with Ebenezer. This means that young Germans reach out to Jews in places where in the 1940s German soldiers brought death and destruction, as ‘fishers’ instead of as ‘hunters’. Needless to say, Ebenezer sees great significance in such reversals.

The German translation of Scheller’s autobiography (2001:13-16) includes a special preface by Kaasman with a highly personal account of how he, as a German, experienced helping Jews in the Ukraine. The Ebenezer team were in the habit of introducing

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<sup>141</sup> The cited phrase is included in each issue of the Ebenezer Hilfsfonds newsletter. It should be pointed out here that Ebenezer also brings humanitarian aid to needy Jews who continue to live in the former Soviet Union.

<sup>142</sup> Kitson, H winter.2004 ‘Planted in Their Land’ Ebenezer Emergency Fund International 6.

themselves to the prospective emigrants the evening before departure. On this occasion Kaasmann would read Isaiah 60:14, 'The sons of those who afflicted you shall come bending low to you', and do just that, bend down, without further words. This illustrates the importance of the German past in German Christian Zionism, and brings out a positive aspect. Judging by Kaasmann's report, real reconciliation between Jews and Germans as well as emotional healing resulted from these transports.

### **3.5.2 Waltraud Keil and Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem**

Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem (The Bridge Berlin-Jerusalem) was founded in 1990 by Waltraud Keil. Her husband, Günter Keil, joined her later in leadership, but Waltraud Keil is the real driving force; indeed, by and large she is Die Brücke. Activities include conferences, seminars, lectures, prayer initiatives, tours to Israel (often linked with conferences there), and the publication of a newsletter with the same name as the organization. It also supports several projects in Israel financially, and owns an office in Jerusalem. Die Brücke is highly Charismatic, and puts strong emphasis on prophetic words, intercession, and repentance. Its newsletters tend to be bulky, sometimes 50 pages or more, and appear irregularly; by the end of 2005, 37 issues had appeared.

### **3.5.3 Harald Eckert and Christliche Freunde Israels (CFRI)**

Christian Friends of Israel (CFI) was founded in 1985, after disagreements caused a number of people to leave the ICEJ (Ariel 1997:376; Merkley 2001:180). Well-known people associated with CFI include Lance Lambert, David Dolan, and Derek White. Overall, the organization has been less radical in its political views than the ICEJ (Ariel 1997:395), and in Israel it emphasizes humanitarian aid more than politics. A German branch, Christliche Freunde Israels eV, was established in November 1994. Its name is abbreviated CFRI, not CFI, since Cfi was already in use to refer to Christen für Israel. At the end of 1996, Harald Eckert became its chairman and began to work full-time for the organization.

Eckert had been an active participant in the Charismatic-Pentecostal movement for many years before joining CFRI. He was born in 1960, and joined the Agape-Gemeinschaft (Agape Community) in Munich, a neo-Pentecostal church influenced by Derek Prince, in 1976. During the 1980s, he was the editor of Wiederherstellung (Restoration), a magazine closely associated with Derek Prince, which first appeared in 1982 (Spornhauer 2001:441). From 1990 until 1994, Eckert was director of the Internationaler Bibellehrdienst (International Bible Teaching Ministry, IBL), the German branch of Derek Prince Ministries, which distributes the publications and lectures of Derek Prince in the German-speaking world. He combined this with a 50 per cent job as the secretary of FFD.<sup>143</sup> Articles in the FFD newsletter by Eckert often relate to Israel and the German past. So when he left FFD and IBL to take over the leadership of CFRI, he came well prepared and with a special interest in intercessory prayer and national (German) repentance in relation to Israel. Since then, Eckert, no doubt supported by his amiable personality, has become one of the most visible Christian Zionists and participates in many larger Israel-related events.

This has given CFRI a distinct profile, different from CFI in Israel and elsewhere, with a strong emphasis on the Holocaust and the German past. The fact that CFI is not as centralized as the ICEJ, in which the Jerusalem office is clearly dominant, makes this possible. For Eckert, the Jewish-Christian past and German crimes under National

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<sup>143</sup> 'Organisation' 1.1990 FFD Deutschland /1:2; Eckert, H 3.1990 'Liebe Geschwister' FFD Deutschland /2:1f.

Socialism are a central concern, and one of his major aims is to instigate a national process or movement of repentance.<sup>144</sup> This is reflected in CFRI activities. It is also involved in the more usual activities, like educating Christians about the Jewish people and the Middle East, and raising money for projects in Israel; a modest €40,000 was raised in 2001, with an ambitious objective of increasing this fivefold.<sup>145</sup> But at the same time, CFRI is involved in organizing the yearly National Prayer Conference for Israel in Altensteig (3.5.11). In addition, by 2003 over 1,000 people received its monthly prayer letter (not identical with its newsletter), and a network of approximately 12 regional working groups for Israel had been established, in order to pursue support of Israel on a regional basis;<sup>146</sup> judging by the programme of the group for South Baden, these too put special emphasis on prayer initiatives and the ‘process of dealing with historical guilt’ (Aufarbeitung von historischer Schuld; Israel Arbeitskreis Südbaden nd-a, nd-b). In this sense, CFRI displays a more ‘spiritual’ focus than CFI international, although this does not render it apolitical. Articles on CFRI’s website do cover the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Middle East, but it is other issues that dominate.

In a surprise announcement in 2005, Eckert communicated he would resign from CFRI with the approval of the international CFI leadership to become president of Israel Heute (see next section). Eckert took his vision and much of his network (including regional teams) with him; CFRI is to continue with a new leadership team, and will align more closely with the vision and activities of CFI in Jerusalem to support its ministry there.<sup>147</sup>

#### **3.5.4 Israel Heute – Christen an der Seite Israels**

Israel Heute – Christen an der Seite Israels eV (Israel Today – Christians on Israel’s Side) is the German branch of an organization which originated in the Netherlands in 1979, Christenen voor Israel (Christians for Israel). President of Christians for Israel International is a Dutch Reformed pastor, Willem J. J. Glashouwer. Israel Heute was founded in 1998, and until 2005 was presided over by Theo Ellesat, who at an earlier date was the secretary of RzV. Ellesat, who turned 80 in 2005, stepped down that year, and was succeeded by Harald Eckert (3.5.3).

Besides a newsletter, Israel Heute publishes an extensive magazine in newspaper format, called Israel Heute – Israel aktuell. It publishes news on anything related to Israel and Jewish people. The edition, 25,000 in 2002,<sup>148</sup> had grown to 33,000 in 2005;<sup>149</sup> until 2006, this has been its most important contribution. As a result, a large part of its budget is used for publication; out of an income of €416,000 for 2002, only €121,000 was used for projects in Israel and abroad.<sup>150</sup> It also organizes a annual conference about Israel and tours of Israel, and offers lectures on Israel to churches. Education of Christians has apparently been a more important goal, at least in practice, than direct involvement in Israel. All of

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<sup>144</sup> ‘Auf dem Weg zur nationalen Buße: Nehemias Vorbild ist eine biblisch fundierte Ermutigung zur Umkehr von nationaler Schuld auf nationaler Ebene’ 5.2003 Rundbrief der CFRI 1-5. See also: ‘Unsere Vision und Auftrag’ 12.2001 Rundbrief der CFRI [Electronic version] Available at <http://www.christliche-freunde-israels.de/ueberuns1.htm> Accessed 22.11.2004.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Eckert, H 10.2003 ‘Schritt für Schritt dem Ziel entgegen’ Rundbrief der CFRI 1f. By October 2004 there were 15; Rundbrief der CFRI 10.2004 6.

<sup>147</sup> Eckert, H 14.10.2005 [Letter]; Eckert, H 11.2005 ‘Harald Eckert stellt sich als neuer 1. Vorsitzender den Freunden von Israel Heute e.V. vor’ Israel Heute – Israel aktuell Freundesbrief /22:1f.

<sup>148</sup> ‘Israel Heute e.V.: Unsere Arbeit wächst’ 7.2002 Israel Heute – Israel aktuell Freundesbrief /11:3.

<sup>149</sup> ‘Impressum’ 8.2005 Israel Heute – Israel aktuell 8/29:2.

<sup>150</sup> Van der Rijst, A 12.2003 ‘Übersicht für die Jahre 2001/2002’ Israel Heute – Israel aktuell Freundesbrief /16:4.

this is bound to change, and its activities are likely to broaden, under Eckert's leadership; CFRI's specifically German activities will now run under Israel Heute.

### **3.5.5 Winfried Amelung and Sächsische Israelfreunde**

Sächsische Israelfreunde (Saxonian Friends of Israel) was founded in 1998. Although its sphere is limited to the state of Saxony in the former DDR, its annual conference surprisingly draws up to 1,000 visitors.<sup>151</sup> 'Saxony is an Israel stronghold'.<sup>152</sup> It claims to represent 5,000 members and friends of Israel in Saxony.<sup>153</sup> Its president is Lothar Klein; Winfried Amelung, its best-known representative, is co-founder and board member. Amelung was born in 1934, and became a pastor with the Seventh-Day Adventists. After a conversion experience in 1969, he joined the Lutheran Church, and served there as a pastor from 1972 until his retirement (Mein Buch nd). Next to his involvement with the Sächsische Israelfreunde, he is president of the Arbeitskreis Hilfe für Israel (Aid for Israel Committee), a local organization in the east of Saxony.

A hallmark of Amelung is his rejection of Israelschwärmerei (enthusiasm) and 'end-time fever'. He has criticized Fritz May for certain eschatological speculations, calling them a 'horror vision' on the level of tabloids,<sup>154</sup> and his book on Israel (2001) includes surprisingly little eschatology. He likewise professes to reject one-sided and uncritical support of Israel, and to seek a position 'Between Schwärmerei and Indifference'.<sup>155</sup> At the same time, his position is thoroughly Christian Zionist; it is emotional and spiritual exaggeration he abhors.<sup>156</sup> As the ideaSpektrum articles referred to in the preceding footnotes make clear, speakers and messages at conferences of the Sächsische Israelfreunde are not more moderate than at events organized by other organizations.

### **3.5.6 KEP, Israelnetz, and Johannes Gerloff**

Like idea, the information service to be discussed in Chapter Four, the Konferenz Evangelikaler Publizisten (KEP) is a subsidiary organization of the EA. Its name is difficult to translate. Konferenz here means assembly or union rather than conference, and Publizisten includes all those working in the media, not just publishers, writers, or journalists. KEP is essentially a Christian media network, and often describes itself as such: 'Christlicher Medienverbund KEP'. It was founded in 1976, and in 1980 became legally independent of the EA. Its original aim was to coordinate Evangelical efforts in public relations, in order to represent the movement in the mass media. This aim has broadened with time, and today even includes some activities not directly related to media, like fundraising for projects among the poor in Russia.

Unlike idea, KEP takes a clear and active stance on Israel. In 1999 it started its own news agency in Israel, with an office in Jerusalem. The initiative was triggered by something

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<sup>151</sup> At the beginning, in 1998, there were even 1,200. 'Israel dankt den Christen in aller Welt: 1.200 Christen feierten 50jähriges Bestehen des Staates Israel' 8.4.1998 ideaSpektrum /15:6; 'Israel rechnet täglich mit "Erfurt"' 2.5.2002 ideaSpektrum /18:7; 'Judenchrist: Deutschland ist bald moslemisch: Sächsische Israelfreunde warnen bei Israelkonferenz vor einer Verharmlosung des Islam' 7.5.2003 ideaSpektrum /19:8.

<sup>152</sup> 'Gebete wirkungsvoller als Bomben: In neuen Ländern noch viel Information über Israel nötig' 5.5.1999 ideaSpektrum /18:10.

<sup>153</sup> 'Viele Medien sind offen "anti-israelisch"' 1.11.2000 ideaSpektrum /44:9.

<sup>154</sup> Amelung, W 'Israel braucht kein Endzeitfieber' 24.11.1999 ideaSpektrum /47:5.

<sup>155</sup> Amelung, W 12.8.1998 'Israel – zwischen Schwärmerei und Gleichgültigkeit: Der Streit um das Heilige Land spaltet auch die Christen' ideaSpektrum /32-33:22f.

<sup>156</sup> See especially Amelung, W & Ronecker, K-H 12.9.2001 'Pro & Kontra: Sind Christen zu unbedingter Solidarität mit Israel verpflichtet?' ideaSpektrum /37:20f; Arbeitskreis Hilfe für Israel 3.2004:1-3.

Christian Zionists complain about frequently: media bias and distortion in reporting on Israel. The first announcement of the project appeared under the title 'Lies against Israel'; the stated aim included first and foremost 'truthful reporting about Israel'.<sup>157</sup> Johannes Gerloff became its correspondent on location. Gerloff, born in 1963, spent a year in Israel with Liebeswerk 'Zedakah' before he studied theology in Tübingen, Vancouver (Regent College), and Prague. Since 1994, he has lived in Jerusalem with his family, where he worked for the ICEJ for several years. In 1999 he left the embassy to work with the new agency.<sup>158</sup> Gerloff's journalism compares favourably with that of other Christian Zionists (eg NAI, May). His commentary usually reflects a Christian Zionist position, but his reporting can be quite probing and thoughtful, and frequently includes Palestinian voices; he obviously attempts to listen to all sides. His articles appear in numerous Christian media and even in secular media. He is also a frequent lecturer in Germany. Egmond Prill likewise joined the new agency in 1999, but is based in Germany. His main responsibility, next to editorial tasks, is that of a lecturer, which frequently takes him to state schools to speak on Israel and anti-Semitism.

In cooperation with two German publishers, the new service adopted a website called Israelnetz in 2000, which became the name for the entire service. Israelnetz operates an internet portal ([www.israelnetz.de](http://www.israelnetz.de)), and sends out a daily free e-mail newsletter summarizing news from Israel. To show the relative size of this enterprise: the ICEJ offers a similar daily e-mail service in English, the only other such service for pro-Israel Evangelicals of which I am aware; in other words, there is one for the German-speaking world and one for the rest of the world. In addition, Israelnetz publishes Israelreport, which is included in KEP's magazine Pro, and appears four or five times a year. This makes Israelreport the Israel-related periodical with the largest circulation: over 50,000 in 2003.<sup>159</sup>

### **3.5.7 Karl-Heinz Geppert and Arbeitskreis Israel (AKI)**

Karl-Heinz Geppert, born in 1956, studied theology at the Liebenzell Seminary, and spent a study year in Israel and Palestine (Bethlehem) in 1993-4. Together with his wife, he wrote a book about their experience (Geppert & Geppert 1994), which is realistic and true to life, and in which Geppert rubs shoulders with numerous Palestinians. In 1999 Geppert founded the Arbeitskreis Israel (Israel Committee, AKI, but see 3.3.11), which is part of the LGV.

For several reasons AKI does not fit Christian Zionist stereotypes very well. It usually reflects the moderate, solidarity-oriented EA approach (see 4.2 and 4.6), which gives at least some consideration to Palestinian concerns, and values reconciliation ministries like Musalaha (Reconciliation) more than partisan political support of Israel. The theology of AKI is Restorationist; its statement does not speak in Christian Zionist terms, but limits itself to 'the salvation-historical significance of Israel' (AKI nd-a). Among the projects AKI supports are Musalaha, as well as Beth Al Liqa (House of Meeting) in Bethlehem (ibid.). The latter is led by a Palestinian-German couple, Johny and Marlene Shahwan, and was largely financed by donations from Germany; it is an evangelistic and educational

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<sup>157</sup> Baake, W 11.1998 'Lügen gegen Israel' [Letter]. The complaint was voiced publicly by KEP at least as early as 1988: 'Israel leistete Phantastisches: Buchpräsentation protestantischer Verleger: 40 Jahre Israel' 26.5.1988 ideaSpektrum /21:14.

<sup>158</sup> Limpf, U 9.2002 'Der 13-jährige Junge lebt weiter, aber als Krüppel' Chrischona-Magazin [Electronic version] Available at <http://www.chrischona-magazin.org/magazin/0209/begegnung.shtml> Accessed 21.3.2004.

<sup>159</sup> Baake, W 2.2002 'Sonderausgabe und "Sonderausgaben"' [Letter]; id. 9.2003 [Letter].

ministry, as well as a retreat centre and a distributor of aid to Palestinians (AKI nd-b).<sup>160</sup> AKI's Israel tours put special emphasis on meeting believers and churches in Israel, mostly Messianic Jews, but also Arabs. Although Geppert, Shahwan, and AKI do not criticize Israel, they offer a measure of real insight into what it means to be a Palestinian and live under Israeli occupation (esp. Geppert et al. 2001).

At the same time, AKI occasionally takes a more partisan stance, as in a 2002 declaration of AKI and LGV. It is an emotional response to suicide bombing and perceived media distortion, and although it claims that it is not interested in fixing the blame, it does make the Palestinian Authority responsible for the breakdown in negotiations and for the second Intifada (AKI 2002). Also, and most significantly, AKI translates and distributes the German version of the Watchmen from Jerusalem newsletter published by Chuck Cohen, a Messianic Jewish pastor in Jerusalem.<sup>161</sup> The newsletter claims to offer 'a Biblical perspective on the news' from the Middle East, but does so predominantly by quoting and summarizing Christian and Jewish Zionist sources, often from the extreme end of the spectrum.

### **3.5.8 Philippus-Dienst and D-Netz**

In 1998, Christoph and Utta Häselbarth (Josua-Dienst, see next section) visited Israel with Bernd Wustl and his wife; they came back with the vision for Philippus-Dienst (Philip Ministry). Both Häselbarth and Wustl are members of the board. Since 2002, Birger Makatowski, until then involved with Häselbarth's Josua-Dienst, has been working full-time for the organization. Typical of Charismatic-Pentecostals, there is a sense of close kinship with the Messianic Jewish movement (Philippus-Dienst nd-d, nd-f), but it supports projects in both Jewish and Arab churches, including reconciliation ministries (Philippus-Dienst nd-e). This dual target group and the reconciliation focus are central to its statement of purpose (Philippus-Dienst nd-c; Häselbarth nd-b).

Philippus-Dienst cooperates with D-Netz, a network of German-speaking Charismatic-Pentecostals including such well-known church leaders as Rudi Pinke (Frankfurt am Main), Wolfhardt Margies (Berlin), and Peter Wenz (Stuttgart). It coordinates for D-Netz prayer teams going to Israel; here, too, the dual target group includes both Jewish and Arab churches. Significantly, part of the rationale is a prophetic word, according to which Germany will be a special supporter of Israel in the end time (Philippus-Dienst nd-b).

Philippus-Dienst is not a large initiative, but it deserves attention because of its curious mix of Christian Zionism with outreach to Arabs and emphasis on reconciliation; it represents a thoroughly negative view of Islam, yet feels great love for Arab people. Unfortunately, it is difficult to see how reconciliation efforts can go very far when they are accompanied by such a partisan interpretation of Middle East history as in Makatowski's booklet on Israel (1998).

### **3.5.9 Important Secondary Advocates**

A number of organizations include, like FFD (3.4.5), a strong Israel-plank in their platform; they are secondary advocates of the movement.<sup>162</sup> One of these is the Partei

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<sup>160</sup> 'Christliches Zentrum in Israel: Evangelikale eröffnen Begegnungszentrum südlich von Jerusalem 13.8.2003 [ideaSpektrum](#) /32-33:13.

<sup>161</sup> AKI also coordinated Cohen's 2004 lecture tour in Germany; Watchmen from Jerusalem: Deutsche Ausgabe [Electronic version] 2004 /4:5. There are more such Israel-based ministries which publish a German newsletter, eg Jay and Meridel Rawling's Israel Vision and Jerusalem Vistas, Barry and Batya Segal's Vision for Israel; these are not considered in this chapter.

<sup>162</sup> This section is limited to a few of the most prominent. Those that appear to be little more than a website (eg Helmut Ziegler's Miteinander eV, Together) are excluded, as are travel agencies offering Israel tours

Bibeltreuer Christen (Party of Christians Faithful to the Bible, PBC). Its aim is to make the Bible the guiding principle of German politics, in a rather simplistic sort of way. In the PBC Grundsatzprogramm (foundational statement), the first section deals with foreign policy; three out of six points in this section – the first three – deal with Israel (PBC nd). On its website and in its publications, the PBC frequently writes on Israel, always voicing unequivocally Christian Zionist as well as anti-Islamic positions, as in the following appeal to Chancellor Schröder, a microcosm of Christian Zionist thought:

In our responsibility before God and people we should like to point out to you that the land of Israel belongs to God and was given exclusively to the Jewish people as an eternal possession! Behind the demand for the establishment of a 'State of Palestine' stands the intention of the Arab-Islamic world to destroy Israel. Two-thirds of the so-called 'Palestinian people' live in Jordan. With this, the claim to a separate 'State of Palestine' on the territory of Biblical Judea and Samaria, the so-called 'West Bank', which was liberated from illegal Jordan occupation in 1967 during the Six Day War, has become unnecessary. The attempt to divide the land of Israel does not lead to peace in the Middle East, but ends in a great disaster for the nations involved (Joel 3:2). For this reason we ask you not to take part in the division of the land of Israel. Resist the attempt to send German armed forces to Israel. Do not allow our soldiers to be abused for Islamic interests!<sup>163</sup>

Quite a few neo-Pentecostal organizations are to a greater or lesser extent supportive of Christian Zionism. This is especially true of Jugend-, Mission- und Sozialwerk (Youth, Mission, and Social Work, JMS) and the JMS church in Altensteig, founded by Hermann Riefle and now led by Wolfgang Wangler; JMS is one of the organizers of the yearly National Israel Prayer Conference (see 3.5.11). It is also true of the Stiftung Schleife (Ribon Foundation), a church in Winterthur, Switzerland, led by Geri Keller, with significant influence in Germany, especially through its publishing house. It has published German translations of Hess (1999; 2001) and Doron (1999a), and Keller has published his own book on Israel as well (2002).

Finally, the Josua-Dienst (Joshua Ministry), founded and led by Christoph Häselbarth, should be mentioned. An important emphasis in this inner healing, deliverance, and teaching ministry is the need for repentance, particularly for the presence of National Socialism and anti-Semitism in one's family, in order to break the resultant family curse (Häselbarth 1998). Häselbarth occasionally teaches on Israel, and is involved in many Israel-related events.<sup>164</sup>

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with a decidedly pro-Israel slant (eg Schechinger Tours, Tour mit Schanz) and magazines paying regular attention to Israel (eg Factum, Ethos). Ignored are also organizations mainly or exclusively devoted to Jewish evangelism, at least in Germany: Jews for Jesus, Jakob Damkani's Posaune der Rettung Israels (Trumpet of Israel's Salvation; both organizations only have a minor presence in Germany), Beit Sar Shalom (the German branch of Chosen People Ministries), Evangeliumsdienst für Israel (Gospel Ministry for Israel, EDI), and Arbeitsgemeinschaft messianisches Zeugnis an Israel (Fellowship for Messianic Witness to Israel, amzi); for EDI, see 4.3 and Burchartz (1997d). To these may be added Licht im Osten (Light in the East), a German missionary organization working in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, which has also been active in Jewish evangelism there and among Jewish Russian immigrants in Germany. Occasionally, publications of such organizations include statements typical of Christian Zionism, and nothing would preclude a Christian Zionist individual from supporting their work and even participating in their activities. Nevertheless, most of these organizations have not adopted a Christian Zionist stance and are not part of the movement described in this chapter.

<sup>163</sup> 'Appell an Bundeskanzler Schröder' 7.2002 Salz und Licht /2:11f.

<sup>164</sup> Eg Eckert (2000b); Häselbarth (nd-a); Schwester Pista et al. (2000); 'Versöhnung nach über 60 Jahren: Treffen mit Überlebenden eines jüdischen Flüchtlingsschiffes' 4-6.2002 Charisma /120:31. Häselbarth (nd-a) includes the statement: 'Do not say any negative word about Israel or to those who support Israel; it will always come back to you as a curse. Jews make many mistakes, but we are not called to criticize them.'

### 3.5.10 Christliches Forum für Israel

After the beginning of the second Intifada in 2000, Israel faced increasing criticism for the way it handled the crisis. In Europe, this led to an increase in incidents with an anti-Semitic background. A number of Christian organizations pulled together in 2002, and organized several initiatives. These included public demonstrations of support for Israel in Frankfurt (10 May) and Berlin (24 August), which were each attended by several thousand participants. These initiatives were supported by 25 organizations; many churches and pastors, including more than 20 churches in Berlin, were involved as well.<sup>165</sup>

In October of the same year seven Israel organizations met and established the Christliches Forum für Israel – Deutschland an der Seite Israels (Christian Forum for Israel – Germany on Israel's Side). These were: CFRI, Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem, Ebenezer Hilfsfonds, ICEJ Germany, Israel Heute, Jerusalem-Schalom, and RzV. A leadership team was formed with Jürgen Bühler (ICEJ), Harald Eckert (CFRI), Hinrich and Elke Kaasmann (Ebenezer), and Günter and Waltraud Keil (Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem).<sup>166</sup> The Christian Forum for Israel has a threefold statement of purpose. It comes as no surprise that its aims include cooperation between member organizations towards improving the relationship between Germany and Israel, nor that it seeks to provide these organizations with a unified voice. The third aim, however, is less obvious for an organization seeking to support Israel: the Christian Forum for Israel wants to be a platform to deal with guilt towards the Jewish people resulting from the past ('Aufarbeitung von Vergangenheitsschuld').<sup>167</sup> One way the latter finds expression is the promotion of 27 January, the day Auschwitz was liberated, as a day of commemoration and initiatives against anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism.<sup>168</sup>

The Christian Forum for Israel was also involved in the Jesus Day in Berlin, a public demonstration by Christians of their faith in Christ in the tradition of the Jesus March, on 11 September 2004, in which 40,000 Christians participated.<sup>169</sup> The march included seven 'prayer stations', one of which was devoted to German history, the Jews, and Israel. After the march through the city a variety of events had been planned by the Jesus Day committee, one of which was an Israel rally or demo called Israel Chai (Israel Lives), and organized by the Christian Forum for Israel. Ludwig Schneider was the main speaker. As part of the meeting, a declaration was read with an expression of gratitude for and appreciation of the Jewish heritage, a confession of Christian guilt vis-à-vis Jews, a rejection of 'every form of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism', and a commitment to 'stand by the Jewish people and the state of Israel.' Those present, approximately 2,000 people, formed a large Star of David as a tangible expression of this commitment.<sup>170</sup>

Christian Zionist organizations have also come together on the European level. In March 2003 they formed the European Coalition for Israel, with a representation in Brussels. Those involved include CFI, Christians for Israel International, the ICEJ, Christliches Forum für Israel, and several other organizations, particularly from Scandinavia. Its aim is

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<sup>165</sup> Many of these churches and organizations were Charismatic-Pentecostal (Christliches Forum für Israel 2002).

<sup>166</sup> Ibid. Jerusalem-Schalom is hardly more than a website, [www.Jerusalem-Schalom.htm](http://www.Jerusalem-Schalom.htm). By 2004, the Forum included ten organizations.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> 'Aktionstag zum Gedenken an den Holocaust und gegen Antisemitismus und Antiisraelismus' 10.2004 Rundbrief der CFRI 1f.

<sup>169</sup> 'Jesus-Tag: 40.000 singen und beten in Berlin' 15.9.2004 ideaSpektrum /38:6f.

<sup>170</sup> Christliches Forum für Israel 2004 'Israel lebt! Jesus-Tag Berlin 11.09.2004' [Brochure]; 'Jesus-Tag in Berlin' 2004 Wort aus Jerusalem Jubiläumsausgabe 24f.

to provide EU politicians with ‘truthful information’ about Israel as a counterweight to ‘the one-sided reporting of the European media’.<sup>171</sup>

### **3.5.11 National Israel Prayer Conference in Altensteig**

Next to public demonstrations of support, an important Christian Zionist activity is communal intercessory prayer for Israel (cf. FFD, 3.4.5). One expression of this is the annual National Israel Prayer Conference at the JMS centre in Altensteig, which in 2005 took place for the eighth time and attracts between 500 and 600 Christians. It is significant not because of the number of people involved, but (1) because it represents one of the more extreme expressions of Christian Zionism in Germany; (2) because it involves a cooperation of several organizations for whom Christian Zionism is the primary or an important secondary concern; and (3) because it brings out the intimate link between Christian Zionism and the intercession movement. Responsible for the conference are the German branch of the International Fellowship of Intercessors (Johannes Facius), CFRI (Harald Eckert), and JMS (Wolfgang Wangler), in cooperation with Ebenezer (Hinrich Kaasmann), IBL (Dan Tracy), and Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem (Waltraud and Günter Keil). It is the German version of a similar but international prayer conference in Jerusalem, which first took place in 1983 as an initiative of Steve Lightle, Gustav Scheller, Johannes Facius, and Kjell Sjöberg (Scheller 2001:28), and has become an annual event as well.

The views behind both the international and the German conference are at the extreme end of the Evangelical spectrum. The 2005 conference in Jerusalem had as its motto Psalm 2:1a, ‘Why do the nations rage?’ The announcement speaks of a ‘global conflict’, and ‘a war between Islam and the rest of the world’; to reduce this to a war with fundamentalist Islam only is ‘a politically correct lie’ (Ebenezer nd-c). The motto for the German conference in 2005 was the same as for the international conference, thus betraying international, but not American, influence, and the announcement is in a similar vein; in the words of Johannes Facius, commenting on Psalm 2:

This means nothing else than that the world community rebels against God, rejects him as God, and works hard to liberate itself from his commandments. This fact is so obvious that we do not have to argue this further. The European nations – including our beloved Germany – are governed by godless leaders, who have rejected all [!] moral principles and remove Biblical and godly values from the constitution. The new European constitution will not mention God, and will neither honour nor glorify him. They truly break their bonds and throw off their chains ...<sup>172</sup>

### **3.5.12 Institut für Israelologie**

The FTA is Germany’s most prestigious and academic Evangelical school. It does not endorse or sponsor Christian Zionism the way Breckerfeld does. The most influential view at the institution appears to be heilsgeschichtlich; Helge Stadelman, its rector, certainly holds this view.<sup>173</sup> In 2004, the FTA became host to the Institut für Israelologie (Institute for Israelology). The name is reminiscent of Arnold Fruchtenbaum’s sizeable tome, Israelology (1994),<sup>174</sup> which probably inspired the name as well as its central concern: Israel is such an important topic in the Bible that it calls for its own branch of systematic theology. In Fruchtenbaum’s and the institute’s opinion, the absence of such a discipline is

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<sup>171</sup> ‘Christliche Israelfreunde in Europa vereinen sich’ 24.4.2003 [ideaSpektrum](#) /17:13.

<sup>172</sup> Facius, J 2004 ‘Warum toben die Völker?’ in: ‘Warum toben die Völker? 8. Nationale Israel-Gebets-Konferenz’ [Brochure] Altensteig, Germany: JMS.

<sup>173</sup> Stadelmann, H. 10.4.1991 ‘Widerspruch’ [ideaSpektrum](#) /15:27.

<sup>174</sup> It is based on his PhD thesis.

a stunning omission and a serious flaw in theology, in the training of pastors, and in the teaching and proclamation of the church (FTA nd-a).

Interestingly, the main funding is provided by the Dr. Fritz May-Stiftung,<sup>175</sup> a branch of Cfl (FTA nd-d). However, although the purpose of the institute is Restorationist, measured by the definitions and criteria formulated in Chapter One it is not explicitly Christian Zionist:

The objective of the Institut für Israelologie is to promote in research and teaching an understanding of Israel which is based on Biblical salvation history and is historically sound. It is to take seriously the promises and prophetic statements of Holy Scripture, and theologically reflect on the role of Israel as God's chosen people in past, present, and future, in order to contribute to overcoming the unfortunate history of the church and Israel, which is burdened by the theory of replacement as well as anti-Semitism, and through this to contribute to reconciliation between Christians and Jews. (FTA nd-b)

It remains to be seen what sort of voice the institute will become and where it will lead 'to do research on the Biblical statements regarding Israel's past, present, and future, including the Biblical-prophetic promises with regard to people, state, land, and faith of Israel' (FTA nd-c). Significantly, the institute wants to develop 'standards to assess current events and future developments with regard to Israel' based on a 'Biblical-prophetic perspective', but not – at least this is not mentioned – based on ethical standards (FTA nd-a). A striking omission is noteworthy: the website makes no mention of Arabs or Palestinians; it speaks of dialogue, not trialogue, as if only Christian and Jews are involved. Regardless of the direction in which the institute will develop, it constitutes yet another channel through which German Evangelicals will be informed about Israel.

### **3.6 SYNTHESIS: FROM RESTORATIONISM TO MODERN CHRISTIAN ZIONISM**

This historical overview shows that the majority view of Evangelicals in Germany after the war continued to be Restorationist, something that will find confirmation in the analysis of eschatological and Israel-related books printed since 1945 (Chapter Five). Interest in Israel and Jewish people was predominantly theoretical and, apart from eschatological speculation, passive; the driving force behind it was eschatology. That a Jewish state existed did lead some Evangelical writers after 1948 to engage with this new reality, but this natural curiosity did not lead to active support or defence of Israel, and most books touching on Israel continued to focus on unravelling the prophetic scenario more than anything else.

By the end of the period under investigation, however, even though many Evangelicals were still Restorationists, a strong Christian Zionist movement had also emerged, in which interest in Israel was anything but passive. Much of this development took place in the second half of the post-war period, not earlier. During the 1950s and 1960s, there was little organizational, political, or verbal activity in support of Israel. In the 1970s, a number of individuals became active on behalf of Israel, and spoke out forcefully in its defence. Yet, with the exception of Israel-Hilfe, no significant organization with predominantly Christian Zionist aims was founded in Germany before 1980.

Both this general passivity and the 1970s as a turning point match the development outside Germany, as far as it has been described. Already Malachy (1978:114) drew attention to the Pentecostal movement's 'failure to support Zionism and the State of Israel politically and practically'. Regarding American Dispensationalists, he quoted from a letter written to him by John Walvoord in 1963, in which Walvoord claimed Dispensationalists were in the main sympathetic to Jews and Israel, but went on to state: 'I do not know that

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<sup>175</sup> Stiftung means foundation.

Dispensationalists are actively engaged in support of the Zionist movement as a political movement' (*ibid.*:159). Mouly and Robertson (1983:105) criticized Malachy for looking in some of the wrong places (publications of theologians, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Adventists), and not looking in some of the right places (popular Evangelical publications and activism), and for this reason missing the existing strong support for Israel among American Evangelicals. However, Mouly and Robertson themselves present fundamentalist political action for Israel as a new trend, and if it was new, Malachy was right regarding Evangelical passivity during the 1960s.

Yaakov Ariel, who has written extensively on Evangelicals and Israel in the United States, claims that around 1917 there were no American Christian Zionist organizations, nor was there any substantial financial support from Evangelicals for Jewish Zionist projects (Ariel 1991:88-91). Stephen Sizer (2002b:95f; 2004:77-80, 96f) discusses several American organizations founded around the end of the nineteenth century and associated with both Dispensationalism and evangelistic outreach to Jews, but none of these qualify as Christian Zionist according to the definition and criteria formulated in Chapter One of this thesis.<sup>176</sup> In 1891, William E Blackstone prepared a petition to the American president to support the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, known as the Blackstone Memorial.<sup>177</sup> The Memorial was signed by 413 Jewish and Christian leaders, an indication that in principle more support could be mobilized, and definitely a harbinger of things to come. Blackstone prepared a second petition in 1916 as part of lobbying efforts in support of the Balfour Declaration (Ariel 2006:78f). These efforts, so Ariel (1992:441), were an exception rather than the rule, although in a more recent publication (*id.* 2006:74), he has modified this assessment: 'A large number of clergymen, writers, businessmen, and politicians supported, and at times labored actively for, the restoration of the Jews to Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state.' It remains unclear, however, of what this support consisted. If there were other initiatives and forms of active involvement beyond what is discussed here, they have not yet been documented in the literature on Christian Zionism.<sup>178</sup>

In the nineteenth century, some European Evangelicals had become active politically on behalf of a Jewish restoration to Palestine, most notably Anthony Ashley Cooper (the Earl of Shaftesbury), William Hechler, and Lawrence Oliphant,<sup>179</sup> or had moved to Palestine in preparation for such a restoration. Particularly in Great Britain, Restorationism was widespread, and became politically active to such an extent that, in spite of the anachronism, it seems justified to speak of a Christian Zionist<sup>180</sup> movement in Britain. But even there, Restorationist fervor was more likely to be channelled into missionary activity

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<sup>176</sup> In 1887, William E Blackstone founded the Chicago Hebrew Mission, but its purpose was the evangelization of Jews, not active and financial support of Jewish Zionism. Arno Gaebelein's magazine Our Hope, first published in 1894, often reported on Jewish Zionism, but remained passive-observant. In 1915, the Messianic Jewish Alliance of America (MJAA) was founded. It certainly takes a Christian Zionist stance today, but it is unclear when this started and what its active support, if any, consisted of at this earlier time. Organizations like these, as well as the rise of Dispensationalism itself, definitely laid a foundation and helped prepare the way for a Christian Zionist movement, but they did not in and of themselves constitute such a movement.

<sup>177</sup> Blackstone also made significant donations to the Zionist movement in America (Sizer 2002b:70f).

<sup>178</sup> It is significant that in studies of Christian Zionism one keeps reading about the same, rather limited number of people.

<sup>179</sup> Of Oliphant, Moruzzi (2006:59) writes that he was 'the first really complete example of a modern Christian Zionist, in that he dedicated himself [in 1878] as an evangelical Christian to a project of Jewish settlement in historical Palestine.'

<sup>180</sup> Or, perhaps better, a proto-Christian Zionist movement; so Sizer (2002b:5, 21, 24; 2004:19). Ariel (2006:74) uses the term 'proto-Zionists'. Both, however, use Christian Zionism far more often for this period.

among Jews, which at the time was a significant unifying force among European Evangelicals (Railton 2000:195-248).

Between the First and the Second World War, eschatological speculation continued to thrive on both sides of the Atlantic, but no further initiatives towards a Jewish State were taken or supported by Evangelicals, and the same was true after 1945 (Ariel 1992:442f).<sup>181</sup> Evangelicals displayed great interest in the re-establishment of Israel as the fulfilment of prophecy, but remained remarkably passive (2002:15). Ariel dates the turning point in the 1970s:

With the exception of Woodrow Wilson, American presidents when making their decisions did not have to take into consideration that an important segment of American evangelical Protestantism favored the idea of the restoration of Palestine to the Jews. Such a situation came into being only in the 1970s. (1991:94)

While in earlier decades premillennialist support of Zionism was on the whole passive, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed an attempt on the part of American premillennialists to use their influence on American politics to promote the cause of the Jewish state. As the political potency of this segment of American Protestantism has increased dramatically, its voice is often heard when decision makers in Washington make their choices. (1991:121)

Dozens of pro-Israel fundamentalist organizations emerged in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s. (1992:449)

From the 1970s to 1990s, conservative evangelicals were counted among Israel's most ardent supporters in the American public arena. (2002:16)

Halsell (1989:178), Sizer (2002b:96), and TP Weber (2004:212f) have also pointed out this process of politicization and proliferation of Christian Zionist organizations starting in the 1970s (see also Epstein 1984:129; Nederveen Pieterse 1992a:191). And when Dwight Wilson republished his 1977 study of the Premillennialist response to Russia and Israel – one of the most frequently quoted studies of popular eschatology – he added an extensive foreword, in which he identified the drive for political and other action as the main change in this response since the original publication of his work (D Wilson 1991:xxv-xlii).

Why did it take so long for substantial active support to develop, and what triggered it when it did?

Before pursuing this question, three remarks need to be made, two general, and one pertaining to Germany. Firstly, the aim of this synthesis is not to explain Christian Zionist thought and its rise to prominence, nor to critique it.<sup>182</sup> Its purpose is more modest: it seeks to uncover historical factors that played a role in the relatively sudden burst of organizational activity on behalf of Israel beginning in the 1970s; what triggered it?

Secondly, this change had nothing to do with a new reading of the Bible or of eschatology. On this, there is near perfect continuity between Restorationism and the early Christian Zionist movement. Although Premillennial and Restorationist eschatology is an essential factor in the emergence of a modern Christian Zionist movement, it does not sufficiently explain it.

Thirdly, it should be clear that its development in Germany was not simply an American import. The early leaders and initiatives were German or European, with some Israeli influence. Paul Merkley (2001:163-70) ascribes a prime, pioneering role to Douglas Young, founder of the Holy Land Institute and Bridges for Peace, and claims: 'All of the Christian Zionist organizations acknowledge Dr Douglas Young as their pioneer and Bridges for Peace, under the leadership of Clarence Wagner, Jr, as the senior organization

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<sup>181</sup> Naturally, this excludes initiatives by liberal Christians like Reinhold Niebuhr.

<sup>182</sup> For this, see Chapter Six and Seven.

in the ranks of renewed Christian Zionism' (*ibid.*:170). This, too, does not hold true for Germany, although some organizations there (ICEJ, CFRI) did grow from this root. But it is not the only root, and it was certainly not an important catalyst for the emergence of Christian Zionism in Germany.

The first part of the question, why did it take so long, is difficult to answer. Perhaps part of the answer is that it simply took a while for the penny to drop; the implications of the new reality were not immediately grasped. However, the fact that Evangelicals had by and large not given active support to the Zionist movement before Israeli statehood either does not lend credence to this suggestion. Passivity *vis-à-vis* Zionism and Jews was certainly the norm in the first half of the twentieth century as well, even in the face of Nazi persecution (Railton 1998:171-89). The general Evangelical tendency towards political abstinence most likely played a more important role. It has also been suggested that the secular nature of Zionism and the young state initially presented a hindrance to active involvement (eg Merkley 2001:39). It is certainly noteworthy that several early authors found it necessary to address this issue, pointing to signs of religious life and revival in Israel, including great interest in the Bible and in Jesus (eg Huigens 1962:178; Jakober 1977:151f, 183-5; Maas 1955:30, 192; May 1975:92-148; Schäble 1957:38, 61-3).

For the second part of the question, what triggered it, a more satisfying and complete answer can be constructed. Although no source seeks to develop a comprehensive picture, several factors are mentioned in previous studies, and these need to be considered first. One thing that is quite clear is the overwhelming effect the Six Day War of 1967 had on Evangelical perceptions and feelings. Already Malachy (1978:111) points this out: 'But after the war ended with such amazing results, and especially after the unification of Jerusalem, there was a great change in the interest evinced by the Pentecostals in the State of Israel.' He noticed a rise in the number of articles on Israel in the *Pentecostal Evangel*, which was increasingly supportive of Israel (*ibid.*:112). Halsell (1989:72-4) has documented how the 1967 war contributed to Jerry Falwell's metamorphosis from political abstinent to political activist. Sizer (2002b:83) calls the war 'a significant watershed for evangelical Christian interest in Israel and Zionism,' leading to 'a resurgence of enthusiasm for Eretz Israel among fundamentalists and evangelicals.' Merkley (2001:40f) and Ariel likewise draw out the great significance of the war:

The Six-Day War probably affected American fundamentalist attitudes toward Israel and their perception of history more profoundly than had the birth of Israel in 1948. Since the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there has probably not been a political-military event that has provided so much fuel for the engine of prophecy as this war between Israel and its neighbours in June 1967 which led to the reunification of Jerusalem. (Ariel 1992:446; see also 1991:121; 2002:16)

To many Evangelicals, the war appeared to be a modern-day miracle. When had a war been fought in only six days, leading to a quadrupling of the territory under control of the winning side, and then at such odds, at least in a strictly numerical sense? Whether this amounts to a realistic assessment of the events is a different matter, but it is the perception that counts here; Israel had become a miracle, and Evangelicals were elated.

Merkley points out three additional factors. Firstly, there was a new interest in Judaism as well as in Israel (2001:37), something that definitely played a role in Germany, where serious reflection on the Holocaust and on Jewish-Christian relations did not really get underway until the 1960s and 1970s (the Kirchentag of 1959 and 1961, Werner Keller's 1966 history of Jewish suffering written for a broad audience, broadcasting of the documentary *Shoa* and the television series *Holocaust*; see 2.2), and where increasing numbers of people were able to travel to Israel. Secondly, there was a revival of interest in the end times and Biblical prophecy, which produced a flood of apocalyptic literature throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Merkley 2001:37, 40f), although this was probably a

result as much as a cause. And thirdly, the World Council of Churches (WCC) and many more liberal churches, together with large sections of the press, became more critical of the state of Israel than before (*ibid.*:166; a factor also mentioned in Sizer 2002b:83).

Mouly and Robertson (1983:104) list four factors, partly overlapping with Merkley's: firstly, a decrease in support by liberal Protestants; secondly, developments among American Jews in relation to foreign policy, a factor obviously limited to the United States; thirdly, the coming to power in Israel of Menachem Begin, making Israel look more religious, a factor also mentioned in Sizer (2002b:85); fourthly, the prophecy revival of the 1970s. For Germany only the latter appears important, although the first also played a certain role.

Surprisingly, only TP Weber explicitly mentions the constant threat to Israel's existence as a factor:

Israel, the crown jewel of prophetic speculation, the key piece in the apocalyptic puzzle, always seems to be in danger. Increasingly, dispensationalists want to do what they can to protect Israel, to make sure that it will be where it is supposed to be to carry out its unique role in the end times. (2004:212)

The biggest story in the years following the Six-Day War ... was the way they organized to support Israel in the face of the forces arrayed against it. (*ibid.*:213)

Weber also brings out the importance of tours to the Holy Land, which became big business in America in the 1980s, and were deliberately geared towards strengthening the link between Evangelicals and Israel (*ibid.*:214-18).

At this point, integrating these factors with the results of the historical reconstruction, a more comprehensive picture can be drawn. To some extent the emergence of the modern Christian Zionist movement is the result of developments in the Evangelical movement not directly related to Israel. Beginning in the 1970s American Evangelicals experienced a political awakening, and became more active politically, not just in relation to Israel, but in general. Although this cannot be said in the same way for Germany, if only because Evangelicals do not represent a large block of voters, there was a notable strengthening of confidence and of a sense of Evangelical identity, with numerous new organizations and initiatives springing up, as documented by F Jung (1992).<sup>183</sup> The Jesus movement and the rise of the Charismatic movement also fed into this renewed vitality. This development of course parallels or even copies developments in the broader cultural context, characterized by social unrest and the rise of new social movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

These developments provided a necessary foundation for the shift to active support of Israel. A further contributing cause was a gradual increase in interaction with Israel. An encounter with the state, the land, and its people can have a powerful effect, which increasingly played a role as more and more people travelled to the Holy Land, or were able to watch it on television. There is something infectious, even intoxicating, about the young state and its vibrant commitment to the ideals of Zionism. One senses it most when reading travel reports like Huigens (1961; 1962) and Maas (1955); truly, a literalist hermeneutic is not all there is to explaining Christian Zionism. It shows in the easy adoption of Zionist historiography and apologetics by many Evangelicals. The historical overview above has documented the role of this factor for a number of early leaders and spokesmen (eg Nothacker, Külling, Schneider).

Increasing public acknowledgment of the Holocaust and of the German past, a process in many ways beginning in the 1960s and continuing into the present, also played a role,

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<sup>183</sup> The very term 'evangelikal', a neologism entering common usage after 1965 (F Jung 1992:7; nd-a), is indicative of this, as is Fritz Laubach's *Aufbruch der Evangelikalen* (1972), a title that is difficult to translate; *Aufbruch* means something like awakening, arousal, start.

especially in Germany. More attention was paid to the history of Jewish-Christian relations, and also to the Jewishness of Jesus and of Christian origins. The Jewish roots of Christianity thus became a common theme in Evangelical literature, supported by Hajos, Feigenbaum, Jaffin, Pfisterer, and others.

The prophecy revival mentioned above partially depended on the existence of Israel and its conquest of Jerusalem as major signs of the end times, but it also provided an important impetus for the new movement. In other words, the prophecy revival and Christian Zionism mutually reinforced each other. And just as the rise of Evangelical and Christian Zionist activism fitted the mood of the time, so did the prophecy movement; in the face of looming environmental disasters, 'prophesied' by secular prophets like the Club of Rome, and nuclear war, the near end of the world seemed a realistic scenario even to non-Christians.

All these factors played a role, but most important, and supplying the actual catalyst, was a series of events in or related to the Middle East beginning with the Six Day War. In the view of many Evangelicals, the war provided overwhelming evidence that God was with Israel, and that Israel was God's miracle. The hypothesis is not altogether implausible. Its basic assumption is the Restorationist belief that the Jews continue to be a special people. Against all odds, they survive 2,000 years of dispersion and persecution. After Hitler tries to annihilate them, they seemingly rise from the ashes to found a state. When they are threatened with annihilation again (or so it seems), this time by Arab hordes, they decisively beat down their enemies on every side in less than a week, and take hold of most of the land promised to Abraham, including the city of Jerusalem. After such an unexpected turn of events, the question makes sense: was this a deliverance wrought by God? For many Evangelicals, the answer was a resounding yes. Overnight, a religious interpretation of the state became quite convincing to many who had not considered such an interpretation before, and provided those who had with a powerful confirmation. No critical questions were asked. Any remaining scepticism based on Israel's secular nature evaporated. After 1948 and especially after 1967 certain beliefs regarding the future, which had existed for a long time (originating with, among others, the Puritans, the Pietists, and John Nelson Darby), were increasingly connected with a reality in the present. Considerations concerning a theoretical land in the future, beyond the Second Coming, shifted to interest in an existing state, on this side of the eschaton. In that sense, it did take time for the penny to drop, for the connection to be made; but more important than time was the dramatic event of 1967 and its interpretation as salvation history. In the process, Israel became the focal point of Evangelical attention. Interestingly, a parallel shift occurred among Jews, for whom the state of Israel and the Holocaust became increasingly central to Jewish identity following 1967 (eg Ellis 1994; Finkelstein 2003a:11-38; Novick 1999). In Israel it gave great impetus to religious forms of Zionism (Lustick 1988:17-41).

Then came the Yom Kippur War of 1973. It made clear that God's miracle was not secure but threatened. Add to this the rise of the PLO and its terrorist activity, Arab use of the oil embargo<sup>184</sup> as a weapon against states still on friendly terms with Israel, the adoption by the United Nations of a resolution equating Zionism with racism, and the perceived and increasing hostility of the WCC, liberal churches, the United Nations, and the media against Israel. For Germany, which had been overwhelmingly Israel-friendly during most of the 1960s, the tide turned markedly after 1967, as expounded in 2.2. Government policy became increasingly accommodating to Arab states, and diplomatic relations with Israel cooled considerably. As documented by Kloke (1990), a militantly anti-Zionist movement arose on the extreme left, whereas the more moderate left, which had glorified Israel

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<sup>184</sup> D Wilson (1991:xxxv) provides a hint that the Yom Kippur War and the subsequent oil crisis played a role.

before, became more critical. Based on this list, the impression, whether right or wrong, that the whole world was turning against Israel, and that Israel was being treated by the world community in a way that was eminently unfair, certainly becomes understandable. Evangelicals sprang into action, and the modern Christian Zionist movement into being, both in the name of justice and to partake in a spiritual battle for Israel, on which, according to increasingly popular prophetic scenarios, depended the continuation and consummation of salvation history.

A fuller explanation of the dynamics that make Israel so important to many Evangelicals will have to await a more comprehensive analysis of the system of ideas of this movement (Chapter Six), but this much is clear: it was the combination of Israel's great success with the perception of great threats and injustice that constituted the catalyst for the modern Christian Zionist movement. Together with reflection on the German past and on the history of Jewish-Christian relations, they continue to be important factors both in individuals joining the movement and in its more recent initiatives.

**IDEASPEKTRUM: ECHO AND VOICE**

'We want to resist all enmity and contempt towards the Jews based on religion or ideology ... We uphold Israel's right to live in the dispersion and especially in the land which it was promised by God (Gen. 17:8; Ez. 36:33-8). With all necessary consideration of the rights of the Arab Palestinians, our solidarity with Israel may not waver through considerations of political or economic expediency.'<sup>1</sup>

The amount of literature – books, magazines, and newsletters – published by Evangelicals in Germany is enormous (see Durth 1981 for an overview). The researcher wanting to use this mount of material to evaluate Evangelical views on a particular topic is confronted with a challenge not unlike that of the Near East archaeologist standing in front of the remains of an important ancient city. There is no way he can dig out the entire tell. Excavation has to proceed sample-wise, by digging trenches at promising and representative spots. In the case of Evangelical publications, ideaSpektrum qualifies as such a spot; digging a trench here is bound to provide a valuable cross section of the entire Evangelical movement.

Idea, the publisher of ideaSpektrum, was founded in 1970 as the Informationsdienst der Evangelischen Allianz (Information Service of the EA). It is legally independent of the EA, yet close to it in thought and ethos. Idea and the EA habitually have several board members in common. Co-founder and president of the board from the beginning has been Horst Marquardt, who has also been on the board of the EA for several decades. Idea has taken its place next to the older news agency associated with the EKD, the Evangelischer Pressedienst (Protestant Press Service, epd). Like the epd, idea sees itself as a Nachrichtenagentur (news agency), that is, a mediating service which gathers news and makes it available especially to the editorial staff of various media.

Idea's earliest publication was a weekly selection of news and other information covering the Christian world with an emphasis on Evangelicals, idea Pressedienst, which nowadays appears three times a week. Since September 1979 idea has also published ideaSpektrum, a weekly magazine for a broader readership with news, information, and opinions, likewise covering the Evangelical movement and Christianity in general. In 1987 it had a circulation of just over 14,000 (F Jung 1992:62); in 1990 this had risen to 23,000,<sup>2</sup> by 2004 it was more than 28,000.<sup>3</sup> On initial inspection, ideaSpektrum looked more useful for the present purpose than the Pressedienst with its many short and largely factual news items. The latter has grown substantially in size over the years, which makes meaningful comparisons over time more difficult. Since the size of ideaSpektrum has not changed nearly as much over the years, comparisons are made easier. The more limited amount of material involved makes an analysis of ideaSpektrum more manageable. Last but not least, ideaSpektrum aims at a larger and more Evangelical readership than the Pressedienst, which aims at professionals. The latter must operate within a more rigid journalistic framework, and abide by stricter standards of objectivity and neutrality; ideaSpektrum is therefore more likely to express an Evangelical consensus or majority view, if there is one.

IdeaSpektrum is broader and more extensive in its coverage of the Evangelical movement in Germany than any other magazine, although it underemphasizes the Charismatic-Pentecostal section of the movement. This makes it a valuable source, offering a reflection

<sup>1</sup> 'Mission unter Israel – Auch heute' 19.3.1980 ideaSpektrum /13:11f.

<sup>2</sup> IdeaSpektrum 19.12.1990 /51-52:47.

<sup>3</sup> Matthies, H 15.9.2004 'Was Sie schon immer von idea wissen wollten ...' in: ideaSpektrum 25 Jahre [insert in ideaSpektrum /38] 4f.

or echo of where Evangelical leaders, churches, and organizations stand in respect to Israel. It provides information on the spectrum of Evangelical opinions, including Christian Zionist organizations and Evangelical voices offering an alternative to Christian Zionism and Restorationism, as well as their relative influence.

At the same time ideaSpektrum is an opinion maker, a voice of importance in the Evangelical movement, and as such also warrants closer inspection. Any shifts and developments found in the magazine may or may not reflect changes in how Evangelicals in general perceive and interact with Israel; the latter is difficult to determine, but because of idea's weight, shifts in its reporting would be significant in their own right.

Volker Dettmar (1994) has published a critique of idea as part of a comparative study of the two agencies idea and epd which needs to be considered here. He argues that being a news agency requires a measure of pluralism as well as the inclusion of diverse and conflicting opinions representative of the area covered; in his opinion, idea falls short on both counts. Instead of a mediating agency, he considers idea the 'medium of an opinion group with tendencies to function as a press department'; it is more a medium of the EA than an independent news agency, and is controlled too strongly by its Evangelical presuppositions and EA connections (Dettmar 1994:171, 226, 230, 235-7). In his view, idea is also trying to be too many things at the same time; it pursues apologetic, missionary-evangelistic, pedagogic, and identity building aims, all of which combine poorly with the aim of being a news agency (ibid.:226, 232f).

A weakness in Dettmar's approach is his choice of ideaSpektrum for his study, since this magazine does not presume to fulfil the function of a news service, and is therefore not suitable to test idea's quality as such. It is hardly surprising it does not match the standards of what it does not purport to be. Dettmar's criticism could still be true, especially seeing the close connection between idea and the EA, but the real evidence should have come from idea's Pressedienst. Even if Dettmar is right, however, ideaSpektrum would still be a useful source for the present study, perhaps even more so, since it is the opinion group's views it seeks to understand.

More problematic is another element in Dettmar's critique. He especially criticizes idea's handling of conflicting opinions within its own context: idea 'covers up contradictions ... leaves out what contradicts its own point of view ... prefers or publishes only opinions identical with its own' (ibid.: 237). If this were true, it would limit ideaSpektrum's usefulness as a mirror or reflection of the Evangelical movement. However, the following analysis does not confirm this point of Dettmar's critique, at least not for idea's reporting on Israel. Too many critical letters were published, too many contributions deal with differing perspectives on Israel. Presumably idea does not feel as strongly about Israel as it does about a number of other issues, on which it takes a clearer and perhaps more biased stance.

## **4.1 FREQUENCY AND NATURE OF REPORTING ON ISRAEL**

### **4.1.1 Methodology and Definitions**

For the sake of collecting and managing information on individuals and organizations appearing in ideaSpektrum and relevant to this study, an extensive index of all contributions referring to Israel or to Jews was created. This index also served as the basis for the analysis presented in this chapter. The selection was made manually, that is, through scanning the pages of ideaSpektrum, not by using the yearly index published by ideaSpektrum. One reason for choosing this approach is that such indices have only been published since 1985. Another reason is that this presented an opportunity to find articles overlooked in the printed index and articles not directly referring to Israel which are

nevertheless relevant to this thesis. To qualify for inclusion, a reference to Israel or Jews needed to be included or implied in the title, subtitles, or section titles of the article; in other words, it had to be visible without having to read the article. The amount of relevant material had to be at least several sentences; a mere mentioning of or brief reference to Israel or Jews in a contribution really dealing with a different topic did not qualify as a contribution for inclusion. Archaeological contributions or references to Biblical Israel were ignored.

In order to check the reliability of this manual selection, the results for 1988-90 were compared with the listing for 'Israel' in the yearly indices for these years published in ideaSpektrum. For the years 1996-9 a CD-ROM has been published with all ideaSpektrum issues in Adobe Acrobat (pdf) format (idea nd), allowing for full-text searches for 'Israel'; results of this search were also compared with results of the manual selection. For 1988-90, 13 qualifying contributions in the printed index referring to Israel were missing in the manually constructed index, which totalled 133 manually found contributions. For 1996-9, 18 significant occurrences of 'Israel' were missing, compared with 185 found manually. Contributions overlooked were therefore relatively few. Most were comparatively small or consisted of only a section of a larger article. In addition, the manual selection picked up relevant contributions not listed in the printed index. Nevertheless, the manually selected index was supplemented with articles found on the CD-ROM or listed in the printed index for those years for which these were available, that is, from 1984 onwards.

The contributions in the constructed index were first of all coded according to the type of article they represented. As Dettmar (1994:164f) notes, ideaSpektrum is not overly consistent in categorizing its articles, and over time has employed a rather large number of categories. However, the following distinction can be made throughout. First, there are straightforward news items; these do not mention an author, consist of plain reporting without explicit comment or opinions of the author, and are usually relatively short, that is, less than one page, although occasionally news reports run longer. Second, there are articles that do mention the author, usually run longer (one to three or even four pages), and clearly include opinions and commenting. These articles are typically identified as 'Report', 'Commentary', or 'Theme of the Week', or are an editorial opening article ('Dear Reader'). A small number of television reviews and of anonymous editorial commentaries was also included in this second category. In most cases, these longer articles mix reporting with commentary; they do not follow the more common journalistic practice in Germany of keeping news and commentary separate.

The large majority of contributions fall into these two categories. A third category is identified as 'Kurzmeldungen', news in brief, although its articles are not always shorter than regular news items. In addition, ideaSpektrum includes the easy-to-recognize categories of book reports and letters to the editor. Several categories with very short contributions were ignored in this analysis; these include 'Numbers of the Week', a section with one or more quotations, and 'Tips'. This leaves us with five basic categories of articles: news, opinion, short news, book review, and letter.

Next to the form, the content of each contribution was categorized as well. One group of contributions makes reference to Jewish people, but not to the state of Israel (labelled 'Jews' below). Of those contributions that do refer to Israel, many do not include or imply any political or theological opinion on the state and its policies; they contain news and information of a general and often trivial nature, and make up the second main group (labelled 'Neutral' below). The remaining contributions do contain opinions, either of the author or of a party reported on. Not surprisingly, in many cases this is a Christian Zionist or at least pro-Israel position (labelled 'Pro-Israel' below). These vary significantly in tone and sharpness, covering a spectrum from moderate to dogmatic or ideological. Of special interest are contributions that contain an alternative to this pro-Israel stance (labelled 'Alternative' below). There are several complications which such contributions pose. One

is that some contain Evangelical positions and others do not. The latter include contributions covering statements by the EKD, which turn out to be quite a distinct group. Another complication is that idea may implicitly disagree with a position it reports on.<sup>4</sup> Especially when dealing with bodies like the World Council of Churches (WCC) this is likely to be the case due to idea's generally critical outlook on such bodies. In order to avoid a misleadingly high number of alternative voices and to capture this diversity, several subcategories are needed.

An exact definition of each category and its subcategories is given below. In the case of news and short news articles, which seek to remain neutral, the category describes the position of the party reported on rather than that of the author.

1. 'Jews': a contribution that deals with Jewish people or issues without referring to the land, nation, or state of Israel. This category includes such topics as the Jewish community in Germany, anti-Semitism, and the Holocaust. Contributions dealing with Jewish evangelism and with the controversy regarding the need for Christian missionary work among Jews are included and coded as a subcategory ('Mission') if they do not refer to the state of Israel; if they do, they are included in one of the subsequent categories.

2. 'Neutral': a contribution that refers to Israel, but without reporting on or expressing any opinion on the state, its policies, or the Arab-Israeli conflict. Many contributions in this category consist of sometimes trivial information and news related to Israel.

3. 'Pro-Israel': a contribution that refers to Israel and expresses or implies a Christian Zionist, Restorationist, or pro-Israel position (that is, one supportive of Israel), or reports on a voice that does. In most cases, these are Evangelical. An implicit pro-Israel position is assumed when the party writing or being reported on has consistently taken Christian Zionist or pro-Israel positions elsewhere and when the contribution in question can be understood in this way as well. The phrase 'critical solidarity with Israel' for instance can mean very different things, depending on who is using it.<sup>5</sup> The same applies to claims by Christian Zionist organizations that it is safe for German tourists to travel to Israel; these serve a purpose that would be absent if the German Foreign Ministry were to issue the same claim. On the other hand, contributions with negative news about Palestinians are included in the previous category, unless they include positive indications of being 'Pro-Israel'; although it could be argued that such news implicitly serves a pro-Israel agenda by undermining or delegitimizing the Palestinian side, this is too uncertain or even unlikely to warrant inclusion in this category. Three subcategories are distinguished; these represent the most subjective judgment that had to be made:

- 'Moderate': those contributions that stand out as moderate (for instance by a display of sincere concern for Palestinians, by an attempt to consider both sides and the complexity of the situation, by openness towards the peace process, or by not insisting on a Biblical right of Israel to all of the land).
- 'Ideological': those contributions that stand out as particularly ideological or dogmatic (for instance by a lack of differentiation, by wholesale condemnation of Palestinians and Arabs, by an unequivocal support of the state of Israel, or by the use of stereotypical Zionist arguments).

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<sup>4</sup> Sometimes this disagreement is explicit, as in: 'Mit deutschem Geld gegen Israel' 7.6.1989 ideaSpektrum /23:23; 'Der Weltkirchenrat auf falschem Kurs: "Noch nie so einseitig wie in diesem Jahr" – Allianz sieht Kritik bestätigt' 21.9.1989 ideaSpektrum /38:9.

<sup>5</sup> The most ambiguous contribution in this respect is: 'Christen üben "kritische Solidarität" gegenüber Israel' 16.4.1980 ideaSpektrum /17:4. Since the speakers were Pietists, their 'Pro-Israel' stance may be assumed; in these circles, 'critical solidarity' tends to mean something quite different from what it means in the WCC. The contribution has therefore been coded as 'Pro-Israel' and 'Moderate'. Different from this example, in the large majority of cases coding was unproblematic.

- ‘Undecided’: the remaining contributions. In many cases the information in the text is insufficient to make a judgment. In other cases, the contribution does not stand out as either ideological or moderate.
4. ‘Alternative’: a contribution that refers to Israel and expresses a non-Zionist and non-Restorationist but not necessarily pro-Palestinian or anti-Zionist position, or reports on a voice that does. It may also be a contribution that expresses or reports criticism of Christian Zionism or Israeli policies, provided it does not include indications of Restorationism or a pro-Israel position. The following subcategories were distinguished:
- ‘Evangelical’: ‘Alternative’ contributions reporting on or stating an Evangelical position.
  - ‘EKD’: ‘Alternative’ contributions covering statements by official bodies and representatives of the EKD, when these statements are moderately pro-Israel but also show differentiation and a concern for Palestinian rights, which is virtually always the case. Key terms are ‘solidarity with Israel’, ‘special responsibility’, and ‘Israel’s right to exist’, yet the argumentation used is not Zionist, usually lacks theological reasoning for a right to the land, and tries to give the Palestinians their due as well. This appears to be the official view or consensus of the EKD leadership, since it appears often and with great consistency.<sup>6</sup> It has been given its most extensive formulation in three studies published by the EKD since 1975 (Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland 2002). These statements reflect the delicacy of formulating German Protestant statements on Israel after Auschwitz, a difficult balancing act.
  - ‘WCC’: ‘Alternative’ contributions reporting on the WCC, the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), or the Middle East Council of Churches (MECC). All of these tend to be critical of Israel and favourable towards Palestinians. It needs to be kept in mind that they are outside the Evangelical spectrum and that it is unlikely idea considers them valid options for Evangelicals. This is confirmed by the fact that none of the ‘WCC’ contributions fall into the ‘opinion’ category; all are ‘news’ or ‘short news’.
  - ‘Other’: ‘Alternative’ contributions that do not fit one of the preceding subcategories.

In a few rare cases a contribution was scored as both ‘Pro-Israel’ and ‘Alternative’, since it reported on representatives of both positions.

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<sup>6</sup> This is not to deny that there is also a substantial pro-Palestinian faction within the EKD. However, official statements tend to follow the line described above.

**Table 4.1 Number of contributions in ideaSpektrum dealing with Jewish people and issues, but not with Israel; results referred to in text are underlined**

Year	Jewish issues (excluding missions)						Missions to Jews					
	news	opinion	short	letter	review	<b>SUM</b>	news	opinion	short	letter	review	<b>SUM</b>
1979	2	-	-	-	-	<b>2</b>	4	-	-	-	-	<b>4</b>
<u>1980</u>	2	2	-	-	-	<b>4</b>	11	-	-	-	-	<b>11</b>
1981	3	2	-	-	-	<b>5</b>	2	-	-	-	-	<b>2</b>
1982	8	4	-	-	-	<b>12</b>	2	-	-	-	-	<b>2</b>
1983	5	2	-	-	-	<b>7</b>	1	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
1984	9	2	3	1	-	<b>15</b>	2	-	-	-	-	<b>2</b>
1985	2	1	2	2	-	<b>7</b>	1	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
1986	2	-	-	-	-	<b>2</b>	1	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
1987	4	-	1	-	-	<b>5</b>	-	-	-	-	1	<b>1</b>
1988	7	1	1	-	-	<b>9</b>	2	-	-	-	-	<b>2</b>
1989	2	1	7	1	-	<b>11</b>	1	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
1990	4	2	2	2	-	<b>10</b>	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
1991	5	-	1	1	-	<b>7</b>	3	-	-	-	-	<b>3</b>
1992	4	2	2	2	-	<b>10</b>	3	-	-	2	-	<b>5</b>
1993	3	1	1	-	-	<b>5</b>	1	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
1994	4	1	-	-	-	<b>5</b>	2	-	1	-	-	<b>3</b>
<u>1995</u>	7	1	1	-	-	<b>9</b>	11	-	-	1	-	<b>12</b>
1996	6	1	-	1	-	<b>8</b>	1	1	-	2	-	<b>4</b>
1997	5	1	2	-	2	<b>10</b>	2	-	-	1	-	<b>3</b>
<u>1998</u>	8	-	1	-	-	<b>9</b>	5	1	-	6	-	<b>12</b>
<u>1999</u>	3	1	1	1	-	<b>6</b>	12	5	-	10	-	<b>27</b>
<u>2000</u>	9	3	-	2	-	<b>14</b>	9	-	-	3	-	<b>12</b>
2001	6	2	-	4	-	<b>12</b>	5	-	-	1	-	<b>6</b>
2002	8	2	-	6	-	<b>16</b>	-	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<u>2003</u>	16	6	-	<u>27</u>	1	<b>50</b>	2	-	-	2	-	<b>4</b>
<b>SUM</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>120</b>

**Table 4.2 Number of ‘Neutral’ contributions in ideaSpektrum; results referred to in text are underlined**

<b>Year</b>	<b>news</b>	<b>opinion</b>	<b>short</b>	<b>letter</b>	<b>review</b>	<b><i>SUM</i></b>
<b>1979</b>	3	-	2	-	-	<b><u>5</u></b>
<b>1980</b>	7	1	-	-	-	<b>8</b>
<b><u>1981</u></b>	9	5	-	-	-	<b><u>14</u></b>
<b><u>1982</u></b>	14	2	1	1	-	<b><u>18</u></b>
<b>1983</b>	9	-	-	-	-	<b>9</b>
<b>1984</b>	4	3	2	-	-	<b>9</b>
<b>1985</b>	4	2	2	-	-	<b>8</b>
<b>1986</b>	12	-	-	-	-	<b>12</b>
<b>1987</b>	3	3	-	-	-	<b>6</b>
<b><u>1988</u></b>	4	-	11	-	-	<b><u>15</u></b>
<b><u>1989</u></b>	14	1	10	-	-	<b><u>25</u></b>
<b><u>1990</u></b>	7	1	6	1	1	<b><u>16</u></b>
<b><u>1991</u></b>	11	2	6	-	-	<b><u>19</u></b>
<b>1992</b>	4	1	4	-	-	<b>9</b>
<b>1993</b>	10	-	1	-	-	<b>11</b>
<b>1994</b>	5	1	2	-	-	<b>8</b>
<b>1995</b>	6	1	2	2	-	<b>11</b>
<b><u>1996</u></b>	8	1	5	1	2	<b><u>17</u></b>
<b><u>1997</u></b>	17	2	3	6	-	<b><u>28</u></b>
<b><u>1998</u></b>	14	2	3	5	1	<b><u>25</u></b>
<b><u>1999</u></b>	20	2	-	1	-	<b><u>23</u></b>
<b><u>2000</u></b>	18	1	1	2	-	<b><u>22</u></b>
<b><u>2001</u></b>	20	2	1	3	-	<b><u>26</u></b>
<b><u>2002</u></b>	18	-	1	2	-	<b><u>21</u></b>
<b><u>2003</u></b>	26	3	-	-	-	<b><u>29</u></b>
<b><i>SUM</i></b>	<b>267</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>394</b>

**Table 4.3 Number of ‘Pro-Israel’ contributions in ideaSpektrum; results referred to in text are underlined**

<b>Years</b>	news	opinion	letter	review	<b><i>SUM</i></b>
<b>1979</b>	1	1	-	-	<b>2</b>
<b><u>1980</u></b>	10	7	-	-	<b><u>17</u></b>
<b>1981</b>	2	5	-	-	<b>7</b>
<b><u>1982</u></b>	7	8	4	-	<b><u>19</u></b>
<b>1983</b>	4	2	-	1	<b>7</b>
<b>1984</b>	2	3	-	-	<b>5</b>
<b>1985</b>	5	4	1	-	<b>10</b>
<b>1986</b>	-	1	-	-	<b>1</b>
<b>1987</b>	2	1	-	1	<b>4</b>
<b><u>1988</u></b>	6	6	6	-	<b><u>18</u></b>
<b><u>1989</u></b>	8	5	7	1	<b><u>21</u></b>
<b><u>1990</u></b>	16	8	5	-	<b><u>29</u></b>
<b><u>1991</u></b>	19	10	9	4	<b><u>42</u></b>
<b>1992</b>	8	3	-	3	<b>14</b>
<b>1993</b>	9	3	2	1	<b>15</b>
<b><u>1994</u></b>	8	5	4	2	<b><u>19</u></b>
<b><u>1995</u></b>	11	6	-	1	<b><u>18</u></b>
<b><u>1996</u></b>	8	3	8	1	<b><u>20</u></b>
<b><u>1997</u></b>	8	3	<b><u>19</u></b>	2	<b><u>32</u></b>
<b><u>1998</u></b>	8	5	2	2	<b><u>17</u></b>
<b><u>1999</u></b>	9	-	4	2	<b><u>15</u></b>
<b><u>2000</u></b>	12	5	10	1	<b><u>28</u></b>
<b><u>2001</u></b>	16	4	11	-	<b><u>31</u></b>
<b><u>2002</u></b>	17	7	<b><u>29</u></b>	1	<b><u>54</u></b>
<b><u>2003</u></b>	8	2	3	-	<b><u>13</u></b>
<b><i>SUM</i></b>	<b>204</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>458</b>

**Table 4.4 Number of ‘Pro-Israel’ contributions in ideaSpektrum, by subcategory**

Years	‘Moderate’				‘Undecided’				‘Ideological’			
	news	opinion	letter	<b>SUM</b>	news	opinion	letter	<b>SUM</b>	news	opinion	letter	<b>SUM</b>
1979	1	-	-	<b>1</b>	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	-	1	-	<b>1</b>
1980	6	1	-	<b>7</b>	3	-	-	<b>3</b>	1	6	-	<b>7</b>
1981	2	2	-	<b>4</b>	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	-	3	-	<b>3</b>
1982	1	-	-	<b>1</b>	3	2	2	<b>7</b>	3	6	2	<b>11</b>
1983	3	-	-	<b>3</b>	1	-	-	<b>1</b>	-	2	-	<b>2</b>
1984	-	-	-		1	2	-	<b>3</b>	1	1	-	<b>2</b>
1985	-	1	-	<b>1</b>	3	3	-	<b>6</b>	2	-	1	<b>3</b>
1986	-	1	-	<b>1</b>	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
1987	1	1	-	<b>2</b>	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	1	-	-	<b>1</b>
1988	-	1	-	<b>1</b>	3	2	1	<b>6</b>	3	3	5	<b>11</b>
1989	2	2	1	<b>5</b>	3	2	2	<b>7</b>	3	1	4	<b>8</b>
1990	3	-	-	<b>3</b>	10	4	3	<b>17</b>	3	4	2	<b>9</b>
1991	2	-	-	<b>2</b>	8	2	3	<b>13</b>	9	8	6	<b>23</b>
1992	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	4	2	-	<b>6</b>	4	1	-	<b>5</b>
1993	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	5	-	2	<b>7</b>	4	3	-	<b>7</b>
1994	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	3	2	2	<b>7</b>	5	3	2	<b>10</b>
1995	-	1	-	<b>1</b>	7	5	-	<b>12</b>	4	-	-	<b>4</b>
1996	2	-	1	<b>3</b>	4	-	1	<b>5</b>	2	3	6	<b>11</b>
1997	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	4	-	7	<b>11</b>	4	3	12	<b>19</b>
1998	1	-	-	<b>1</b>	2	2	-	<b>4</b>	5	3	2	<b>10</b>
1999	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	5	-	3	<b>8</b>	4	-	1	<b>5</b>
2000	1	-	-	<b>1</b>	6	2	10	<b>18</b>	5	3	-	<b>8</b>
2001	1	-	-	<b>1</b>	5	1	3	<b>9</b>	10	3	8	<b>21</b>
2002	3	1	1	<b>5</b>	4	3	10	<b>17</b>	10	3	18	<b>31</b>
2003	2	-	-	<b>2</b>	-	1	2	<b>3</b>	6	1	1	<b>8</b>
<b>SUM</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>220</b>

**Table 4.5 Number of 'Alternative' contributions in ideaSpektrum**

Year	'Evangelical'				'EKD'	'WCC'	'Other'
	news	opinion	letter	<i>SUM</i>			
1979	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	-	-	-
1980	-	1	-	<b>1</b>	1	-	-
1981	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	-	1	-
1982	-	-	4	<b>4</b>	1	1	1
1983	1	-	-	<b>1</b>	1	-	-
1984	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	2	-	-
1985	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	1	-	1
1986	-	-	1	<b>1</b>	-	-	-
1987	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	-	2	-
1988	-	-	3	<b>3</b>	8	1	-
1989	1	-	1	<b>2</b>	-	4	-
1990	-	-	2	<b>2</b>	-	2	-
1991	2	-	3	<b>5</b>	10	5	2
1992	1	-	-	<b>1</b>	2	-	1
1993	-	-	3	<b>3</b>	2	1	-
1994	-	-	1	<b>1</b>	-	-	-
1995	2	-	1	<b>3</b>	-	-	-
1996	1	1	5	<b>7</b>	1	-	2
1997	-	2	5	<b>7</b>	-	-	1
1998	2	-	1	<b>3</b>	2	1	2
1999	-	-	-	<b>0</b>	-	-	-
2000	2	-	2	<b>4</b>	1	1	1
2001	1	2	3	<b>6</b>	3	5	-
2002	1	3	12	<b>16</b>	11	7	1
2003	1	1	1	<b>3</b>	1	1	-
<b>SUM</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>12</b>

## 4.1.2 Results and Discussion

In evaluating these results, it needs to be kept in mind that the number of pages in ideaSpektrum has always varied from issue to issue, but increased significantly in the second half of the 1980s to the level it still has today. A typical issue in the early years would have up to 20 pages; later issues had an average of 30 to 35 pages, not counting the advertising section at the end. This alone cannot account for the increase in coverage of Israel which will be noticed below, however, especially since the use of illustrations and the length of ‘opinion’ articles also increased. 1979 was an incomplete year, since publication started in September.

### 4.1.2.1 Contributions Dealing with Jews and Jewish Issues

The results are given in Table 4.1. The frequency of contributions reporting on general Jewish issues varies considerably, but does not show any meaningful pattern. Their number is lower than that of those reporting on Israel. The peak in 2003 is due to the Hohmann controversy: Martin Hohmann, a Christian Democrat, was expelled from his party because of an allegedly anti-Semitic speech.

Contributions dealing with the issue of Christian missions to Jews show a peak in 1980 and several peaks in the 1990s. The 1980 peak reflects the debate surrounding the statement by the synod of the EKD in the Rhineland on Judaism, which denied the need for missionary work among Jews. Peaks in the 1990s reflect a debate on the same issue throughout the EKD, which culminated in a third official study on Christians and Jews (Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland 2000). Especially when the EDI came under intense criticism from those opposed to a continuing Christian mission to Jews, ideaSpektrum paid attention. At around this time the EA published a paper defining its own position on Christians and Jews (Deutsche Evangelische Allianz 1999).

### 4.1.2.2 ‘Neutral’ Contributions

The results are given in Table 4.2. ‘Neutral’ contributions show peaks in 1981-2, which may be partially explained by the Lebanon War, 1988-91, the years of the first Intifada and the Gulf War, and from 1996 onwards. For 1997-8, this is partially due to anti-missionary legislation that was being prepared in Israel, but apart from this the topics of the articles are widely diverse, and their increase after 1995 cannot be explained by a single cause.

Although the contributions in this category are theologically and politically more or less neutral, inclusion of such news and information is significant, because it betrays a special interest in things Israeli. Still, considering that well over 1,000 issues of ideaSpektrum are involved, the total number of contributions is large, but does not appear extravagant.

### 4.1.2.3 ‘Pro-Israel’ Contributions

The results are given in Table 4.3 (all three subcategories combined) and 4.4 (split up in ‘Moderate’, ‘Undecided’, and ‘Ideological’). Because of the low number of articles in the ‘short news’ category, these were combined with ‘news’. Because articles in the category ‘review’ were few as well, they were not included in Table 4.4. The ‘Pro-Israel’ contributions show approximately the same peaks as the ‘Neutral’ contributions, for largely the same reasons. Especially 1991, the year of the Gulf war, stands out. There is also a significant increase in the 1990s as compared with the 1980s for the total number of contributions and for ‘news’ contributions, not however for ‘opinion’. 1997 and 2002 are years that stand out because of the number of letters published; this is largely in reaction to a particular ‘opinion’ piece (see 4.5 for a detailed discussion). As with ‘Neutral’

contributions, the total number does not appear extravagant, although the number is high in comparison with ‘Alternative’ contributions.

The distinction between ‘Moderate’ and ‘Ideological’ proved difficult and in many cases impossible to make (see the ‘Undecided’ column in Table 4.4); reliability is low, and the results are to be interpreted with caution. They do suggest that there is a considerable spread from moderately pro-Israel to ideologically committed Christian Zionism, and that the more extreme voices predominate, especially during the 1990s. This should not be taken as evidence that idea holds or promotes this view. The aim of idea is to cover the entire breadth of the Evangelical spectrum; moderate and even non-Zionists voices (see ‘Alternative’ contributions below) are included. The predominance of the ‘Ideological’ position is largely due to a small number of voices appearing often, as will be discussed in more detail below (4.2. and 4.3). It is not that idea itself is committed to such a position, but rather that those it considers Evangelical experts on Israel are.

#### 4.1.2.4 ‘Alternative’ Contributions

The results are given in Table 4.5. Since contributions in the category ‘short news’ were very few, they were combined with ‘news’. For ‘EKD’, ‘WCC’, and ‘Other’ only ‘news’ articles were found; for Evangelical alternatives, no reviews were found.

The most noticeable fact about this category is that it is rare. Not counting the ‘WCC’ contributions, with which Evangelicals are likely to disagree a priori, and the ‘EKD’ and ‘Other’ contributions, which do not really represent Evangelical options either, we are left with a total of only 73, most of which are letters to the editor. This is not due to a deliberate pro-Israel bias or a clear commitment to a particular view on the part of idea, leading to a narrow selection. The evidence rather points to the dearth of such ‘Alternative’ voices in the German Evangelical movement. After all, idea does publish reports on Israel-related statements by the WCC as well as critical letters. Were there more critical and non-Zionist voices of importance, and more related controversies among Evangelicals, idea would report on them. There simply are not many.

#### 4.1.2.5 Overall Development

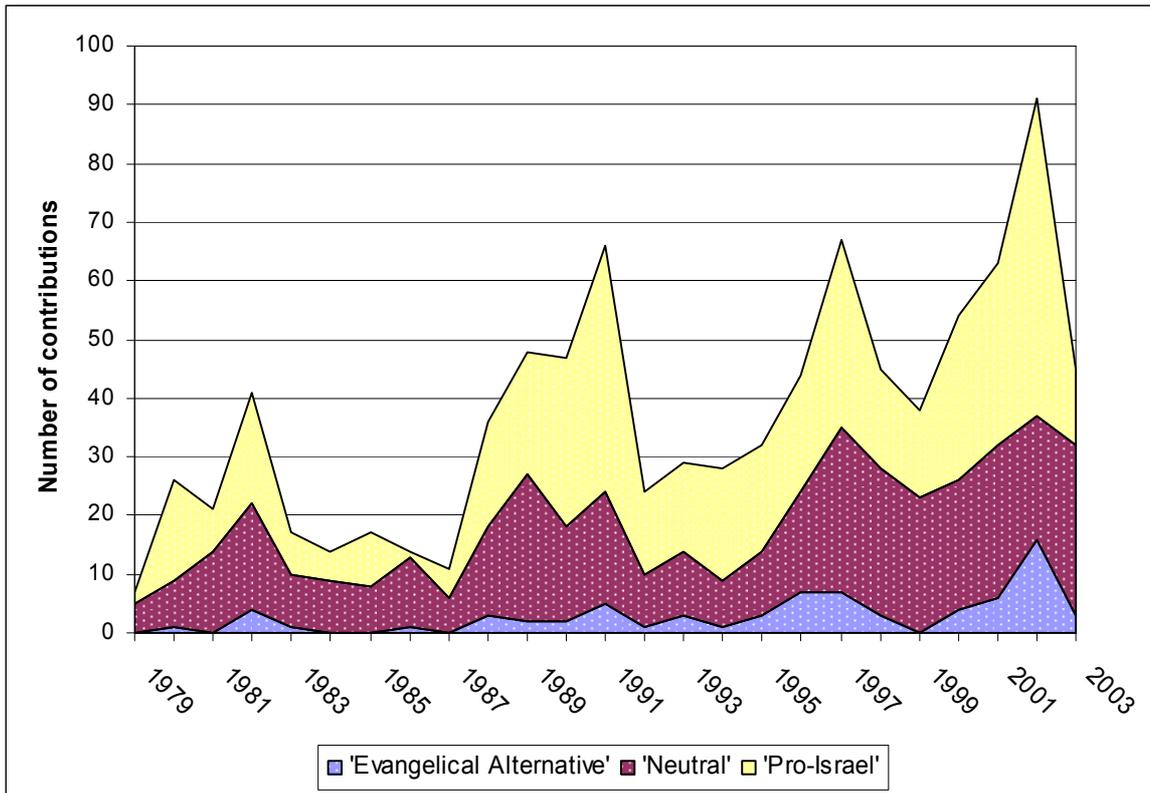
Taking the three categories of Israel-related contributions together, the following development can be discerned (see Fig. 4.1). Phase 1 runs from 1979 until the beginning of the first Intifada in late 1987; in most of these years, coverage of Israel was quite low, with the exception of 1982, due to the Lebanon War. Phase 2 includes the beginnings of the Intifada and the first Gulf War, stretching from 1988 until 1991; coverage of Israel peaked during these years. Coverage of Israel decreased in phase 3 beginning in 1992, but remained relatively high; two major issues were the peace process and the threat of anti-missionary legislation in Israel. Indeed, in the mid-1990s the number of contributions increased again and stayed high; among other things, this reflects broader coverage of organizations dealing with Israel. As noted in 4.1.2.3, the peaks of 1997 and 2002 reflect two particular controversies in ideaSpektrum, which led to an unusually high number of letters to the editor. Whether a fourth phase began in 2002, marked by a more critical and reflective approach to Israel, remains to be seen.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> ‘Neutral’ contributions continued on a high level in 2004 (29 contributions) and 2005 (20 contributions), whereas ‘Pro-Israel’ contributions decreased slightly (19 in 2004 and 12 in 2005). There were also several ‘Alternative’ voices included in ‘opinion’ articles, suggesting ideaSpektrum is continuing its new approach: Schneider, L & Koppe, R 31.3.2004 ‘Pro & Kontra: Darf Israel gezielt Terroristen töten?’ ideaSpektrum /14:14; Mockler, M 5.5.2004 ‘Wenn Terroristen Christen werden: Gott schreibt auch mit Extremisten Geschichte’ ideaSpektrum /19:16f; Rennebaum, W 9.6.2004 ‘Christ werden und Jude bleiben: Was glauben eigentlich messianische Juden? – Ein Besuch bei Gemeinden in Israel’ ideaSpektrum /24:18-20; Burkhardt,

#### 4.1.2.6 Comparison with Other Topics

Dettmar's 1994 comparative study of idea and the epd offers useful information on topics typically covered by ideaSpektrum, providing some context for the Israel coverage discussed here. Dettmar used the printed index and analysed the years 1985 and 1990. It needs to be kept in mind that Dettmar's numbers are therefore bound to be higher, since the index should include every occurrence of a term, while the results above only include contributions with at least several sentences on the topic; a direct comparison of numbers is therefore not possible.



**Fig. 4.1 Development (cumulative) of various categories of contributions in ideaSpektrum**

In 1985, Israel did not even appear often enough in the printed index to make it into Dettmar's list of most frequently mentioned states. Almost 20 percent of reports on states and countries dealt with South Africa; ideaSpektrum was critical of what it perceived as a one-sided and confrontational approach of the world community and many churches to the apartheid problem. Almost 10 per cent of these reports dealt with number two, the Soviet Union (Dettmar 1994:178). However, idea did report on Israel more than twice as much as the epd (ibid.).

IdeaSpektrum also reported extensively on everything related to the EKD (327 contributions) and of course on various Evangelical organizations (328 contributions). Dettmar points out that a third of these referred to the Gnadauer Verband (Gnadauer Federation; 108 contributions), whereas many other organizations were clearly underrepresented (ibid.:174). Missionary organizations appeared in 312 contributions;

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H 30.11.2005 'Wann kommt Jesus wieder? Ein großes Thema nicht nur in der Adventszeit: die Wiederkunft Christi' ideaSpektrum /48:20-23.

ecumenism appeared in 54 contributions (ibid.:173). Islam accounted for only 24 contributions (ibid.:175).

In comparison with the epd, ideaSpektrum reported much less on the ‘Third World’, as it was still called, and development issues (17 contributions compared with 154 for the epd; ibid.:180), but more on family and sexual ethics (124 contributions compared with 37 for the epd; ibid.). Dettmar notices that ideaSpektrum particularly covered issues like abortion, divorce, and surrogate mothers, and was ‘predominantly negative-disapproving’ (ibid.). Peace and disarmament accounted for 65 contributions, the environment for 11 (ibid.). Dettmar finds it ‘amazing’ that idea reported more on National Socialism and 8 May (the date of Germany’s capitulation) ‘than the basic political outlook makes one expect’ (ibid.:181). This, however, may be attributable more to a certain prejudice on Dettmar’s side than to idea’s conservatism; ideaSpektrum regularly and openly interacts with Germany’s past.

In short, this is the spectrum of interest one would expect of a conservative Evangelical magazine in 1985, and the sort of observations one would expect a more liberal observer of the movement to make; the only surprise is the comparatively low coverage of Israel.

In 1990, Dettmar’s second year of analysis, Israel ranked fourth among states and countries with 4.9 per cent of contributions in this category, topped only by the United States (5.7 per cent), the Soviet Union (10.2 per cent), and the DDR, which for obvious reasons took first place in 1990 (37.0 per cent; ibid.:261). This makes for approximately 50 contributions, compared with 41 – not counting letters – found in this study.

Coverage of the EKD (548 contributions; ibid.:186), missions (536 contributions; ibid.:187), and ecumenism (153 contributions; ibid.) increased significantly, even taking into account the increase in the size of the magazine. Contributions on Evangelical organizations decreased to 269; the Gnadauer Verband appeared only 22 times, the EA increased to 96 contributions and was overrepresented (ibid.:188). Islam increased to 63 contributions (ibid.:189). Family and sexual ethics increased (261 contributions; ibid.:192), environmental issues (35 contributions; ibid.), peace and disarmament (44 contributions; ibid.) as well as Third World and development issues continued to be low (36 contributions; ibid.). Dettmar concludes there is no significant difference between the two years that would lead to a different evaluation of the two news agencies (ibid.:193).

This topical comparison shows that Israel has become a substantial topic of interest in the 1990s, but still lags behind several other, more prominent topics (eg family, missions, EKD). This is confirmed by comparing the frequency of contributions including ‘Israel’ with other frequencies using the ideaSpektrum CD-ROM (idea nd) referred to above. This comparison is shown in Table 4.6. The search function gives the number of pages on which the search term appears. It is therefore a relatively coarse instrument, since it includes irrelevant occurrences (eg references to Israel in the Old Testament, the use of ‘mission’ in a non-theological sense, metaphorical use of ‘family’). It does indicate, however, that coverage of Israel was substantial in 1996-9, even in comparison with such issues as abortion and Islam. Since ‘Politik’ proved too broad a term, ‘EU’ and ‘Bundeskanzler’ (chancellor) were included to give an indication of political coverage. IdeaSpektrum continued to report extensively on the EKD. Beyond increased coverage of Israel and of Islam, and a decrease in social issues, not much appears to have changed in this respect since Dettmar’s study.

The numbers presented so far only tell part of the story. The discussion below will add detail to this picture.

**Table 4.6 Number of pages in ideaSpektrum on which a term appears, based on idea (nd)**

Term	Number of pages on which term appears in:			
	1996	1997	1998	1999
Israel	120	157	162	171
<u>Familie</u> (family)	196	225	241	219
<u>Ehe</u> (marriage)	137	194	179	149
<u>Abtreibung</u> (abortion)	59	79	113	124
Sex	30	41	62	60
Mission	230	280	246	309
Islam	94	132	97	183
EU	8	18	18	40
<u>Bundeskanzler</u> (chancellor)	30	41	55	48
<u>Abrüstung</u> (disarmament)	2	-	-	1
<u>Weltkirchenrat</u> (WCC)	24	24	36	44
<u>Menschenrechten</u> (human rights)	3	1	4	58
<u>Dritte Welt</u> (Third World)	15	14	9	16
Evolution	4	2	8	19

## 4.2 ‘OPINION’ ARTICLES

Although the selection of news items to be reported in a publication is never free from partiality and bias, it is difficult to establish this partiality and its meaning, and determine its underlying view. Was the news included because it was important (and why was it considered important), or because there was something about it that the editor ‘liked’ (or disapproved of)? This is different with commentary and opinion pieces, in which editors express their own views or allow others to do so. In the latter case, it can be assumed that the editors consider the viewpoint at least a viable option within the context of their medium. If these contributions lean heavily in one direction, it is likely this matches the view of the editors. The articles in the ‘opinion’ category are therefore of particular importance, and warrant a separate discussion. They reflect the spectrum of opinions idea considers representative of the Evangelical movement, and are likely to correspond with the general outlook of idea, of the EA, and indeed of the entire Evangelical movement.

The ‘opinion’ articles touch on a wide range of subjects somehow related to Israel; this includes anti-Semitism, Islam, Israel’s Lebanon War, the Gulf War, Christian mission to Jews, the Messianic Jewish movement, life in Israel, and – a regular, more or less yearly feature – Easter or Christmas in Israel. Not all of them reflect a theological or political position on Israel and the Middle East conflict. Most contributors appear only once or twice. A few appear often (in order of first appearance):

- Rudolf Pfisterer (3.3.2): 34 articles, plus 5 on Jewish issues.
- Ludwig Schneider (NAI; 3.3.6, 3.4.4): 17 articles.
- Helmut Matthies, chief editor of ideaSpektrum: 6 articles.
- K Rüdiger Durth, idea reporter: 10 articles, plus 2 on Jewish issues.

- Paul Münster: 5 articles.
- Fritz May (CfI; 3.3.7): 5 articles.
- Klaus-Peter Grasse, idea reporter: 5 articles.
- Ernst Schrupp, associated with the Wiedenest Bible School: 3 articles.
- Christoph Zörb (Israelnetz; 3.5.6): 4 articles.
- Winfried Amelung (Sächsische Israelfreunde; 3.5.5): 3 articles.
- Johannes Gerloff (Israelnetz; 3.5.6): 10 articles.

Their articles account for a full 102 out of 152 Israel-related ‘opinion’ articles. Of these authors, Pfisterer, Schneider, May, Gerloff, and perhaps Zörb have placed Israel in the centre of their professional life, and they are clearly treated as experts on Israel by ideaSpektrum. Once, in 1991, Fritz May is explicitly introduced as ‘Israel expert’.<sup>8</sup> Both Pfisterer and May are called ‘Israel experts’ in another article that same year, and asked for their opinion on the impending Gulf War, also an indication of ‘expert’ status.<sup>9</sup> Pfisterer is again called an ‘Israel expert’ in 1994.<sup>10</sup>

An important consideration at this point is that ideaSpektrum is perhaps not so much biased towards a particular position as it is biased towards certain authors who have become regular contributors of longer Israel articles. Author and viewpoint can of course not be neatly separated, and the viewpoint no doubt played a role at least in the initial selection. Still, once an author has been accepted as a resource person on Israel, idea may return to him not because it wants to promote his view, but because he is considered an Evangelical expert or a trusted Evangelical leader. In addition, it is an important aim of idea to provide opportunities for those Christian positions not taken account of elsewhere, so they can present their views; idea wants to include what others leave out. According to Marcus Mockler, idea reporter, this is an important reason why idea gives the pulpit to Christian Zionists, since their position is ignored or rejected everywhere else, both in secular news media and in church media like epd. Idea therefore gives them room without necessarily agreeing with them.<sup>11</sup>

One author of ‘opinion’ articles especially stands out: Rudolf Pfisterer. He has contributed a total of 39 articles,<sup>12</sup> especially during the early 1980s. Until 1984 he almost held a monopoly in the category ‘Pro-Israel’: 19 out of 26 ‘opinion’ articles in this category were his. His last article appeared in 1998. Although he is not a populist entrepreneurial Evangelical leader, but a Lutheran pastor, and at times an astute theological thinker, his articles are marked by a sharp, polemical tone and a strong Christian Zionist stance.<sup>13</sup> His aim is to argue a case, not to wrestle with and understand a difficult situation.

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<sup>8</sup> May, F 23.1.1991 ‘Vor einem Weltkrieg um Jerusalem?’ ideaSpektrum /4:2, 7-9. Considering his claim in the article following this introduction that the Gulf War is not about Kuwait, but about Israel, one wonders about his expertise.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Die Schlacht der Schlachten?’ 10.1.1991 ideaSpektrum /2:1-3.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Israel-Experte wird 80: Keine Euphorie in Nahost’ 23.3.1994 ideaSpektrum /12:13.

<sup>11</sup> So Marcus Mockler in personal conversation on 1.11.2004, in response to this chapter.

<sup>12</sup> Five of these were not on Israel, but on Jewish issues, mainly anti-Semitism.

<sup>13</sup> Standard Zionist arguments are especially present in: Pfisterer, R 5.9.1979 ‘Israel braucht Recht – Zum Streit um Palästina’ ideaSpektrum /1-36:12f; id. 2.12.1981 ‘Nur ein klares Nein möglich: Israel und der Fahd-Plan’ ideaSpektrum /68-69:18f; id. 20.1.1982 ‘Moskaus Recht ist für Israel unbillig: Anmerkungen zum Verständnis der Golan-Annexion’ ideaSpektrum /3:15f; id. 20.4.1988 ‘Von Feinden umgeben: 40 Jahre nach der Wiedegründung des Staates Israel’ ideaSpektrum /16:20f; id. 30.10.1996 ‘Der “Sündenbock” Israel: Warum viele Juden dem Friedensprozeß mißtrauisch gegenüberstehen’ ideaSpektrum /44:29; id.

Pfisterer is particularly critical when writing about the PLO, always reminding his readers of its unremitting struggle for the destruction of the state of Israel.<sup>14</sup> Others besides the PLO can be the object of his scorn as well, for instance the European Community: 'Anyone who deems the PLO worthy to be a partner in negotiations, and simultaneously demands the right to self-determination for Palestinians at the present time, is objectively pursuing the destruction of the sovereign state of Israel.' Thus Europe is in danger of continuing 'Hitler's policy of extermination'.<sup>15</sup> West Germany was likewise censured when its government was considering selling 300 tanks to Saudi Arabia; to Pfisterer this meant potential complicity in a second Holocaust.<sup>16</sup>

In an interview Pfisterer does avow, 'We do not have to agree with all measures and steps of the Israeli government, although here too unfortunately we are often confronted with dismayingly distorted information.'<sup>17</sup> In the light of his unequivocal defence of the Golan annexation, the Lebanon War including Israel's behaviour during and after the Sabra and Shatila massacre, and Israel's interpretation of UN resolution 242, this does not mean much; no article expresses disagreement with a particular Israeli policy.<sup>18</sup> The contrast with K Rüdiger Durth, who contributed 10 Israel-related articles, most of them during the 1980s, is striking. This suggests the existence of two distinct kinds of authors: the 'moderates' like Durth, and the 'ideologues' like Pfisterer. Durth represents the Evangelical who wants to be pro-Israel, but in all sincerity means no harm to Arabs or Palestinians, and whose belief in a 'good' Israel is therefore more likely to lead to a naive perception of things rather than to a diatribe against Palestinians and other Israel critics.

In several early contributions on Israel, Durth is remarkably matter-of-fact and neutral.<sup>19</sup> In his first article, he is even prepared to consider internationalization of Jerusalem or a status as a double capital; years later, in 1995, he treats the Oslo Accords as good news.<sup>20</sup> Quite different is an article published in 1988, at the beginning of the first Intifada. It clearly

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27.8.1997 'Alles dreht sich um Jerusalem: Der Zionismus ist auch 100 Jahre nach dem ersten Kongreß von Basel höchst aktuell' [ideaSpektrum](#) /35:15.

<sup>14</sup> Pfisterer, R 13.2.1980 'PLO im Aufwind – auf Kosten Israels' [ideaSpektrum](#) /6:13f; [id.](#) 1.10.1980 'Die PLO – eine Widerstandsbewegung?' [ideaSpektrum](#) /41-42:14; [id.](#) 29.4.1981 'Der PLO-Terror – ein "Befreiungskampf"?' [ideaSpektrum](#) /24:13; [id.](#) 9.9.1992 'Der PLO-Terror blieb: 20 Jahre nach Münchner Olympia-Attentat' [ideaSpektrum](#) /37:19f; [id.](#) 30.10.1996 'Der "Sündenbock" Israel: Warum viele Juden dem Friedensprozeß mißtrauisch gegenüberstehen' [ideaSpektrum](#) /44:29; [id.](#) 30.4.1997 'Jerusalem ohne David und Salomo? Mit Geschichtsklitterung will die PLO den Anspruch auf die Heilige Stadt rechtfertigen' [ideaSpektrum](#) /18:18f.

<sup>15</sup> Pfisterer, R 9.7.1980 'Die EG hilft bei der Zerstörung Israels' [ideaSpektrum](#) /32:15.

<sup>16</sup> Pfisterer, R 1.4.1981 'Waffen an Saudi-Arabien – ein zweiter Holocaust mit deutscher Hilfe?' [ideaSpektrum](#) /18:13f.

<sup>17</sup> Matthies, H 28.3.1984 'Interview' [ideaSpektrum](#) /13:11f.

<sup>18</sup> See the articles by Pfisterer referred to in the preceding footnotes. For the Lebanon War: Pfisterer, R 30.6.1982 'Israels Ziel bleibt der Friede: Die PLO hat den Libanonfeldzug vom Zaun gebrochen' [ideaSpektrum](#) /26:18f; [id.](#) 20.10.1982 'Wer hat im Libanon "dem schieren Haß Raum gegeben"?' [ideaSpektrum](#) /42:16f; [id.](#) 28.9.1983 'Libanon: Massaker ist nicht gleich Massaker' [ideaSpektrum](#) /39:12f; [id.](#) 21.12.1983 'Israel heute: Nach wie vor von Feinden bedroht' [ideaSpektrum](#) /51-52:16f.

<sup>19</sup> Durth, KR 4.4.1984 "'Betroffener Zuschauer" in Jerusalem: Propst Wehrmann' [ideaSpektrum](#) /14:16; [id.](#) 18.7.1984 'Das Heilige Land vor der entscheidenden Wahl: Die ultra-orthodoxen Juden bereiten Israel zunehmend Probleme' [ideaSpektrum](#) /29:15f; [id.](#) 12.12.1984 'Gewehr und Bibel bilden eine Einheit: Evangelische Militärseelsorge bei jüdischem Militärrabbinat' [ideaSpektrum](#) /50:14; [id.](#) 12.12.1984 'Advent findet in Israel nicht statt: Bethlehem wartet auf das Weihnachtsgeschäft' [ideaSpektrum](#) /50:15; [id.](#) 30.1.1985 'Jerusalem – die heilige Stadt der inneren Widersprüche' [ideaSpektrum](#) /5:12f; [id.](#) 11.3.1987 'Gemeinsam Verantwortung tragen: Zur "Woche der Brüderlichkeit" 1987' [ideaSpektrum](#) /11:28.

<sup>20</sup> Durth, KR 4.4.1984 "'Betroffener Zuschauer" in Jerusalem: Propst Wehrmann' [ideaSpektrum](#) /14:16; [id.](#) 5.10.1995 'Hoffnung für die Juden: Gute Nachrichten aus Deutschland und aus Israel' [ideaSpektrum](#) /40:39f.

takes sides, even though Durth still shows a measure of understanding for the Palestinian side and a concern for justice:

Especially now, when Israel has to cope with serious domestic conflict, the sincere solidarity of the world, of Christians, certainly not least of Germans, is asked for. It is self-explanatory that injustice does not turn into justice because it is executed by Israelis.

As Christians and as Germans our position must be clear. We are on the side of Israel. And because we do this, we can also hear the complaint of the Palestinians and take it seriously.<sup>21</sup>

His portrayal of the conflict and its roots was such, however, that a reader's letter strongly accused him of naivety. The letter writer indeed appeared to have a more realistic grasp of the situation in Israel/Palestine. IdeaSpektrum published the letter, as it has often published letters responding critically to Israel articles.<sup>22</sup>

A moderate author like Durth leaves one with the impression that certain Christian Zionist arguments and interpretations are repeated not so much out of informed persuasion, but out of naivety and a shortage of critical and knowledgeable reflection; he simply lacks the ideological conviction of the 'real' Christian Zionists. Sincerely if not successfully, Durth makes an effort to wrestle with the complexity of the issues, something that ideologically committed Christian Zionists rarely do.

At the same time, many, including moderates, take solidarity with and loyalty to Israel as self-explanatory for Evangelicals. Paul Münster, in his response to the Intifada, writes: 'In this way [that is, the media predominantly showing Israeli violent responses to the Intifada] a fatal image impresses itself, which even Christians can only resist with difficulty. Thus Christian loyalty [taken as self-explanatory] to Israel begins to falter.'<sup>23</sup> Even in an article not uncritical of Israeli politics, support for Israel appears more as a reminder or a confession than as a thesis that needs to be argued:

Israel does not have good world publicity nowadays. Begin is not altogether innocent in this. But neither is the West, which sometimes out of sheer concern over oil forgets its own moral foundations. The PLO, which undoubtedly holds certain legitimate concerns, has in the past bombed itself onto the international diplomatic stage ...

Israel is a country like any other. At the same time, however, the Jewish people is the people of God, for Christians an indispensable confession that should lead to political acts.<sup>24</sup>

In other words, many Evangelicals assume an Evangelical consensus on Israel, usually firmly integrated in a popular-prophetic and Premillennial framework of the end times in which Israel plays a central role. Especially telling are indications in contexts which are really about something other than Israel, yet appear anyway. For example, while reviewing a recent non-Christian literary work that some claimed was anti-Semitic, Heinz Schäfer manages to include this comment: 'Israel remains God's people, and he will in the end

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<sup>21</sup> Durth, KR 10.3.1988 'Ein eindeutiges Ja zu Israel: Zur "Woche der Brüderlichkeit"' ideaSpektrum /10:12. A Durth report in 1989 reflects a similar stance, although it actually belongs to the organization on which Durth reported: Durth, KR 14.9.1989 'Israel braucht treue Freunde: Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft' ideaSpektrum /37:18.

<sup>22</sup> Marx, V 20.4.1988 'Israel kontrovers' ideaSpektrum /16:28. The naivety is found in uncritical acceptance of Israeli claims like: the Israeli authorities prosecute offences against Palestinians, the new generation of Palestinians is overlooking what Israel has done for them, life is nowhere better for Arabs than in Israel.

<sup>23</sup> Münster, P 30.3.1988 'Ostern in Jerusalem: Turbulenzen im Heiligen Land' ideaSpektrum /13:1f.

<sup>24</sup> Ulrich, H 13.5.1981 'Eine Neubesinnung auf Israel ist notwendig – Zum Konflikt mit Ministerpräsident Begin' ideaSpektrum /26-27:20f. Background is the Begin-Schmidt Controversy (2.2).

accomplish his purpose with them.<sup>25</sup> In an interview with Manfred Mössinger, a Methodist pastor and the leader of the Langensteinbacherhöhe Tageszentrum (an interdenominational conference centre), reference is made to Israel and Jerusalem as a sign of the end as if this were self-explanatory; no doubt to many it is.<sup>26</sup> Many more examples from earlier years and from ‘news’ articles could be added to show (1) that this is an assumed consensus, something that is taken for granted; and (2) that it leans heavily on eschatology. On this basis it becomes understandable, for instance, that the German Union of Christian Technicians congratulates Jerusalem on its 3,000 years of existence, while at the same time being indignant about the EU and Germany for not participating in the celebration, ‘an unbearable support of Israel’s enemies’.<sup>27</sup> It also explains why conference centres like Neues Leben (New Life) and Langensteinbacherhöhe routinely include Israel seminars and conferences in their programmes.

Solidarity with Israel may therefore best summarize the majority standpoint of those associated with the EA, taking the form of a moderate or weak Christian Zionism, or of Restorationism. In spite of the predominance of the ‘Ideological’ position in ideaSpektrum, it does not appear that idea or the Evangelical movement at large subscribes to a fully developed Christian Zionism, although this view is certainly considered acceptable, and has a substantial following and influence. In addition, it may be that awareness of Christian Zionism as a distinct view is largely absent, at least until quite recently (see 4.5). The predominance of the ‘Ideological’ position in ideaSpektrum is mainly due to a small number of voices appearing often. It is the result of a bias towards certain authors, and of an uncritical and naive interaction with the state of Israel and with Christian Zionism, more than of a deliberate commitment beyond the solidarity with Israel referred to above.

### 4.3 PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS IN IDEASPEKTRUM

Although articles in other categories than ‘opinion’ are more difficult to interpret as to their significance, it is still interesting to investigate which individuals and Israel-related organizations appear most often in ideaSpektrum.

Rudolf Pfisterer was a frequent guest early on due to the large number of ‘opinion’ articles he wrote. Beyond these and a number of letters to the editor written in response, there are not many contributions that refer to him.

This is different with Fritz May and the organization he founded, Cfi (3.3.7). Beginning in 1987, several contributions per year refer to them. Including several letters written by May they total approximately 70 contributions, not counting May’s ‘opinion’ articles. A regular feature in ideaSpektrum is a report on Cfi’s annual Israel conference, an event in which on average about 500 people participate.

The only organization to come close to Cfi is EDI. Apart from the early 1980s it also averages several contributions per year, with a peak in 1994-9 due to controversies about Christian witness to Jews in Germany and anti-missionary legislation in Israel; the total is approximately 60 references. Amzi, which is in many ways similar to EDI, appears far less often (less than 15 times), and often does not feature prominently in contributions that refer to it. IdeaSpektrum habitually reports on EDI’s annual conference, speaking of 500 to 700 visitors. Interestingly, news on EDI contains no evidence that prove it to be Christian

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<sup>25</sup> Schäfer, H 12.6.2000 ‘Kein antisemitischer Roman, aber .... Der neue, aufsehenerregende “Walser” lohnt den Kauf nicht’ ideaSpektrum /24:23.

<sup>26</sup> Matthies, H 5.4.2000 ‘Tabus unter Christen heute: Ein Gespräch über Globalisierung, Prophetie, Heilung, den Antichristen und die Seelsorge’ ideaSpektrum /14:17-19.

<sup>27</sup> “‘Geschenk Gottes’: Techniker gratulieren Jerusalem’ 18.10.1995 ideaSpektrum /42:17. The organization’s German name is Deutscher Christlicher Techniker-Bund.

Zionist in orientation.<sup>28</sup> Its main focus is Christian witness to Jews, and this is what most of the news items are about.

Together, Cfi and EDI stand out, and clearly lead in frequency. That EDI has the sympathies of idea and the EA seems likely, especially in the light of the statement published by the EA in response to the debate on mission to Jews (Deutsche Evangelische Allianz 1999), which is fully in keeping with the position of EDI, and in the light of the broad support and acceptance EDI enjoys among Pietists and Pietist organizations. Also, in letters to the editor no one except Klaus Mosche Pülz has written negatively about EDI, whereas Fritz May has occasionally drawn severe criticism and opposition, thereby indicating that his stance is more controversial among Evangelicals than EDI's. Idea's frequent reporting on Cfi is thus more difficult to interpret. Is it an expression of active support or of implicit agreement, or does idea simply consider Cfi the leading organization of its kind among non-Charismatic Evangelicals? The least that can be said is that it accepts Cfi as a valid Evangelical voice. Before founding Cfi May worked for the Evangeliumsrundfunk (Gospel Broadcasting, ERF), which is close to the EA and idea. In addition, Cfi is located in Wetzlar, as are ERF and idea. It would therefore be difficult for idea to overlook or ignore Cfi.

A new organization that seems to receive a similar treatment as Cfi and EDI is Sächsische Israelfreunde (3.5.5), founded in 1998. Including Winfried Amelung's eight letters to the editor, Klein, Amelung, or the organization appear in approximately 35 contributions. Naturally, only a few of these predate 1998.

Apart from his appearance as author, Ludwig Schneider and his news agency NAI (3.4.4) appear in approximately 45 contributions. Roughly a fourth of these make reference to one of Schneider's many lectures or public speeches in Germany, and almost a third are letters to the editor which refer to Schneider. When NAI appears without mention of Schneider, it is often simply to give the source of the Israel news reported in the contribution. Schneider's early and continuing success in ideaSpektrum is surprising, considering he is a Pentecostal. Evidently he manages to function on both sides of what in Germany is a deep division.

Klaus Mosche Pülz (3.3.9) appears in approximately 35 contributions, 12 of which are his own letters to the editor; this is certainly more than written by anyone else included in this section. His main focus is evangelism in Israel, which shows in the contributions that mention him. He is critical of organizations that glorify Israel, especially if they abstain from evangelizing Jews. In his letters, he does not hesitate to attack others, particularly Fritz May and Ludwig Schneider,<sup>29</sup> and at one point he complains that ideaSpektrum gives May and EDI so much more room than his own organization.<sup>30</sup> He was later given the

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<sup>28</sup> This is also true for EDI's own publication, Gesandt zu Israel (Sent to Israel), and for amzi, and is the reason they were not included in Chapter Three.

<sup>29</sup> Against May and EDI: Pülz, KM 9.4.1997 "'Anti-Missionsgesetz" in Israel?' ideaSpektrum /15:4. Against EDI: Pülz, KM 2.12.1998 'Ein Brief aus Israel' ideaSpektrum /49:4. Against May: Pülz, KM 25.8.1999 'Nicht alles in Israel ist auch unterstützenswert' ideaSpektrum /34:5. Against Schneider and Amelung: Pülz, KM 4.9.2002 'Christen müssen auch Israel zur Umkehr rufen!' ideaSpektrum /36:4f. Against Amelung: Pülz, KM 19.9.2001 'Auch Israel muß zu Jesus Christus umkehren' ideaSpektrum /38:4f. Against Schneider: Pülz, KM 7.11.2003 'Judenchristen: Israel braucht das Evangelium, aber keine Jubelfeiern' ideaSpektrum /45:5. Against Gerloff: Pülz, KM 14.1.2004 'Würden Palästinenser mit dem Terror aufhören ...' ideaSpektrum /3:5. Against Rennebaum: Pülz, KM 16.6.2004 'Messianische Juden im heutigen Israel: "Wir verstecken uns nicht!"' ideaSpektrum /25:4.

<sup>30</sup> Pülz, KM 9.4.1997 "'Anti-Missionsgesetz" in Israel?' ideaSpektrum /15:4. For a similar complaint, of being ignored, see: Pülz, KM 14.1.2004 'Würden Palästinenser mit dem Terror aufhören ...' ideaSpektrum /3:5.

opportunity to contribute two ‘opinion’ articles, although both deal not with Israel but with Jewish issues.<sup>31</sup>

The ICEJ (3.4.2) appears in approximately 30 contributions. More than half of these are in 1999 or later, although the ICEJ has been active in Germany since the early 1980s – an indication that ideaSpektrum has broadened its reporting on issues related to Israel. IdeaSpektrum is usually careful to mention that this is a ‘Charismatic’ organization, but where a contribution does more than just list the ICEJ as one of several organizations participating in something, its reporting is matter-of-fact.

Ernst Schrupp, for many years leader of Wiedenest, and a widely respected Evangelical leader, appears in approximately 20 contributions starting in 1991. He is the first one mentioned in this section for whom Israel is not at the centre of his active ministry, at least not until after his retirement. Once retired, it seems he increasingly turned his attention to Israel and Islam, writing several books on these two topics (1991; 1992a; 1992b; 1997; 2001; 2003).

Of those people and organizations in Germany appearing less often, several are relative newcomers, and several are Charismatic. The new appearances include both recently founded as well as older organizations, which suggests a broadening of idea’s Israel-related reporting. All the individuals listed below with the exception of Harald Eckert are people close to idea and the EA. In this list a new appearance is defined as a person or organization first appearing in ideaSpektrum after 1990, ‘newly founded’ as founded after 1990. Less frequent appearances include:

- David Jaffin (3.3.3).
- Samuel Külling (3.3.1).
- Kurt Hennig, an influential and theologically conservative Lutheran pastor; all four contributions by him are in 1991.
- Friedrich Hänssler (3.2.4).
- Peter Hahne, a Christian news anchor man.
- Karl-Heinz Geppert (3.5.7): new appearance.
- Johannes Gerloff (3.5.6): new appearance.
- Harald Eckert (3.5.3): new appearance.
- RfZ (3.4.3).
- Fritz Schanz and Tour mit Schanz (a Christian travel agent focusing on Israel).
- KEP (3.5.6).
- Liebeswerk Israel ‘Zedakah’ (3.1.4): new appearance, but older organization.
- Marienschwestern (3.1.3): new appearance, but older organization.
- AKI (3.5.7): new appearance, newly founded.
- PBC (3.5.9): new appearance, newly founded.
- Beit Sar Shalom: new appearance, newly founded.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Pülz, KM 21.2.2001 ‘Vermarktetes Leid? Die Debatte um das Buch “Die Holocaust-Industrie” aus der Sicht eines messianischen Juden’ ideaSpektrum /8:21; Schaller, B & Pülz, KM 12.11.2003 ‘Pro & Kontra: Ist die Hohmann-Rede antisemitisch?’ ideaSpektrum /46:19.

<sup>32</sup> The German branch of Chosen People Ministries.

- Ebenezer (3.5.1): new appearance, newly founded.
- Israelnetz (3.5.6): new appearance, newly founded.

Overall, the results presented in this section suggest that reporting is skewed towards a limited number of people and organizations close to the EA, as well as to those with an outspoken and clear position, no doubt in part because the latter make for interesting news, while others suffer relative neglect. For this reason, the results in this section perhaps shed more light on idea than on Christian Zionism in Germany, although it does give some indication of important voices and actors. The pattern of unequal coverage matches that found by Dettmar. As noted in 4.1.2.6, a third of all contributions on Evangelical organizations in 1985 referred to the Gnadauer Verband, whereas other organizations were underrepresented; in 1990 the EA was clearly overrepresented (Dettmar 1994:174, 188). However, it should also be acknowledged that ideaSpektrum has broadened its reporting on Israel-related organizations in the course of the 1990s. In part this reflects an increase in the number and the activities of such organizations, but, since some of them were around and active in the 1980s as well, it is also because ideaSpektrum is paying more attention to them.

### **4.3.1 Organizations Not Focused on Israel**

At times, Israel-related ‘news’ contributions in ideaSpektrum make reference to Evangelical organizations whose main purposes are not related to Israel. In most cases, these contributions show openness to pro-Israel and Christian Zionist ideas, for instance by having a representative of a Christian Zionist organization speak at a conference or by expressing support for Israel. At the same time, the tone is usually moderate, and attempts are made to avoid one-sidedness. Virtually all these organizations are represented in the EA; most are either Pietist or confessional Lutheran. The number of such contributions is low, and with the exception of the Ludwig-Hofacker-Vereinigung no organization appears more than a few times. This calls for caution in drawing conclusions, but the information presented below still provides valuable insight into the broader Evangelical movement. This particularly applies to the fact that only very few contributions associated with an Evangelical organization voice criticism of Israel or an alternative, non-Zionist position.<sup>33</sup>

1. At an event of the Altpietistisches Gemeinschaftsverband (Federation of Old-Style Pietist Communities), Kurt Hennig presented an unapologetic defence of Israel’s right to the land, and opposed withdrawal from occupied territories.<sup>34</sup>
2. At the general meeting of the Süddeutscher Gemeinschaftsverband (Federation of South-German Communities) in 2000, it affirmed missions to Jews, and spoke out against anti-

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<sup>33</sup> These include: critique of Israel’s treatment of Arab and Israeli Christians by Matthias Dannenmann, general secretary of the Christlicher Verein Junger Menschen (CVJM, the German branch of the YMCA) in: ‘Israelischer Gesandter: Mission in Israel nicht gerne gesehen’ 13.8.1983 ideaSpektrum /33-34:18; critique of one-sided support of Israel by the leader of the local EA’s ministry among foreigners in Bremen in: ‘Golfkrieg schadete der Moslemmission: Ausländerfachmann der Allianz: Einseitige Solidarität mit Israel’ 13.3.1991 ideaSpektrum /11:6; a short message on a protest by World Vision against actions of the Israeli forces in: ‘Protest gegen Israel’ 19.2.1992 ideaSpektrum /8:16; a report on an Amillennialist presentation, defining ‘all Israel’ as Jewish and Gentile believers, at a conservative Reformed forum in: ‘Mehr freikirchliche reformierte Gemeinden: “Reformiertes Forum”’: Die Zahl der theologisch Konservativen in Deutschland wächst’ 29.4.1998 ideaSpektrum /18:11. Jürgen Blunck’s contribution should also be mentioned here; it will be discussed in 4.5. Except for World Vision, all of these are the voice of individuals, not official statements made in the name of the organization.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Samaria und Judäa gehören zu Israel: Evangelischer Theologe stellt klar: Gegen Rückzug aus besetzten Gebieten’ 21.8.1991 ideaSpektrum /34:13.

Semitism. It also affirmed Israel as God's chosen people, while pointing out there are Christians among both Jews and Palestinians.<sup>35</sup>

3. Entschieden für Christus (Decided(-ly) for Christ, EC) is a large Evangelical youth organization with many local and regional associations. In 1982, Peter Hahne spoke at an event of the EC association of Lower Saxony. He warned against anti-Israel propaganda in the media, and appealed to the audience to resist the campaign against Israel.<sup>36</sup> In 1991, ideaSpektrum reported on a signature campaign of the regional EC Rhein-Main-Saar association with the aim of expressing solidarity with Israel. It was careful to point out that Arabs are also under God's promise.<sup>37</sup> In 1994, the EC decided to plant 1,000 trees in Israel. At the time Egmond Prill, who was later to join Israelnetz, was its press representative.<sup>38</sup>

4. When the international YMCA adopted a pro-Palestinian resolution in 2001, the theologically more Evangelical and conservative German branch, CVJM, distanced itself and expressed concern about such partiality. Its general secretary, Ulrich Parzany, called for caution, and spoke of the need to build bridges. He pointed out that the German CVJM had good relationships with a number of Palestinian institutions in the Westbank.<sup>39</sup> This leaves open the question of how pro-Israel CVJM is, but shows a typical desire to be balanced.

5. At a meeting of the Württembergischer Brüderbund (Brethren Alliance) with 3,000 participants in 2000, failing peace negotiations were regarded as a fulfilment of prophecy; Jerusalem was portrayed as the cardinal decision point for the world – typical elements of a Premillennial and Restorationist eschatology.<sup>40</sup>

6. Several contributions reporting on the Pietist Gerhard-Tersteege-Konferenz, a yearly event visited by about 2,000 people, include a reference to Israel. In all cases, however, this was related to issues like anti-Semitism, Jewish Christianity, and mission to Jews. The speaker was either Alfred Burchartz (EDI) or Baruch Maoz, a moderate Messianic Jewish leader in Israel.<sup>41</sup>

7. The LGV is mentioned in two contributions reporting on its branch AKI (3.5.7).<sup>42</sup> In both cases the context is material and financial assistance for Palestinian Christians. A third contribution reports on an Israel conference of the Liebenzeller Mission, in which

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<sup>35</sup> 'Christen, tretet für die Maßstäbe der Bibel ein! Süddeutsche Pietisten: Ja zur Mission unter Juden, nein zum Antisemitismus' 8.11.2000 ideaSpektrum /45:9.

<sup>36</sup> 'Hahne: Solidarität mit Israel ist Christenpflicht' 1.9.1982 ideaSpektrum /35:3.

<sup>37</sup> 'Besondere Verbundenheit mit dem "Volk Gottes": Israelische Botschaft dankbar für Solidarität' 20.2.1991 ideaSpektrum /8:5.

<sup>38</sup> 'Friedensvertrag mit Syrien kommt: Diplomat optimistisch über Friedensschluß mit arabischen Nachbarn' 3.8.1994 ideaSpektrum /30-31:16.

<sup>39</sup> 'Israel übt angeblich "massive Gewalt": Eine Resolution des CVJM-Weltbundes pro Palästinenser stößt auf Kritik' 28.2.2001 ideaSpektrum /9:12; 'Der CVJM will nicht einseitig Partei ergreifen' 16.5.2001 ideaSpektrum /20:11.

<sup>40</sup> 'Israel: Kirchen fordern Ende der Gewalt' 18.10.2000 ideaSpektrum /42:6.

<sup>41</sup> "'Wiedergeburt" hat Hochkonjunktur – aber nicht die christliche: Was heißt "von neuem geboren"?' 4.6.1986 ideaSpektrum /23:6; 'Gegen Antisemitismus, für Mission unter Juden' 21.9.1988 ideaSpektrum /38:11; "'Einen solchen Affront noch nie erlebt": Eklat bei Glaubenskonferenz' 22.9.1999 ideaSpektrum /38:8; 'Juden sind nicht entschuldigt...' 13.9.2000 ideaSpektrum /37:13.

<sup>42</sup> 'Sprengsätze in Bethlehems Kirchen entdeckt: Tote und Verletzte bei der Geburtskirche – Widersprüchliche Nachrichten aus dem Kampfgebiet' 17.4.2002 ideaSpektrum /16:13; 'Christliches Zentrum in Israel: Evangelikale eröffnen Begegnungszentrum südlich von Jerusalem' 13.8.2003 ideaSpektrum /32-33:13.

1948 was called a miracle; at the same time, a reconciliation ministry of Messianic Jewish women who organize breakfast meetings for Jewish and Palestinian women was introduced.<sup>43</sup> All of this illustrates the concern for both sides in the conflict and the desire to avoid one-sidedness.

8. In 1980 the Theologischer Konvent der KBG (Theological Assembly of the KBG) responded to discussions within the EKD and to the resulting declaration on Jews and Christians of the regional Rhineland Synod, which distanced itself from all forms of missions to Jews. The Konvent issued a statement of its own; acknowledging the need to consider Palestinian rights, it called for solidarity with Israel and its right to live in the land promised by God – clear Restorationism, but at best weak Christian Zionism. The real concern of the declaration is missions to Jews, not Israel. IdeaSpektrum reported on this in two issues.<sup>44</sup>

9. In 1991 David Jaffin spoke at a meeting of the leadership of the Evangelische Vereinigung für Bibel und Bekenntnis in Baden (Evangelical Association for Bible and Confession in Baden). He criticized, among other things, the position of the EKD, since it demanded the impossible: secure borders for Israel, and simultaneously a Palestinian state.<sup>45</sup>

10. In response to protests by the German peace movement against the run-up to the Gulf War in 1991, the president of the Evangelische Sammlung (Protestant Gathering) appealed to the movement to ‘take a clear stance for solidarity with the state of Israel’.<sup>46</sup>

11. In 2000 Jakob Damkani, a Messianic Jewish evangelist from Israel, spoke on the necessity of mission to Jews at a meeting of the Nordelbische Kirchliche Sammlung (North Elbian Gathering). Although this had no direct bearing on Israel, it is noteworthy that the Sammlung was prepared to receive what for confessional Lutherans must be an unconventional, because Charismatic, speaker.<sup>47</sup>

12. The liturgy for the World Prayer Day in 1994 was written by Palestinian women, and proved highly controversial.<sup>48</sup> The Sammlung Bekennender Evangelischer Frauen (Gathering of Confessing Protestant Women) warned against one-sidedly blaming Israel

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<sup>43</sup> ‘Keine ausländischen Missionare nach Israel’ 18.2.1998 ideaSpektrum /8:11.

<sup>44</sup> “‘Wir Deutschen haben besondere Treuepflicht gegenüber Israel’: Theologischer Konvent beriet über ‘Theologie nach Holocaust’” 27.2.1980 ideaSpektrum /9-10:4f; ‘Bekennende Gemeinschaften: Judenmission weiterhin notwendig’ 19.3.1980 ideaSpektrum /13:2f. The text of the declaration was published in: ‘Mission unter Israel – Auch heute’ 19.3.1980 ideaSpektrum /13:11f. Another declaration of the Konvent on the Middle East from 2002 is fully determined by its heilsgeschichtliche (that is, Premillennial) perspective on the Middle East conflict, and is so caught in this eschatology that it cannot see any chance for lasting peace, something only the Second Coming of Christ can accomplish; however, the declaration does support efforts towards peace, although in the light of the prophetic scenario this can only be a temporary peace. It is more concerned about the idea of ‘Abrahamic ecumenism’ and the threat of a monolithically conceived Islam than about Israel or Middle East peace; Beyerhaus et al. (2002). See also the articles on this conference in Diakrisis of February 2003, especially: Beyerhaus PPJ 2.2003 ‘Judentum, Christentum und Islam in heilsgeschichtlicher Perspektive: Einführungsreferat beim Theologischen Konvent am 14. Oktober 2002 in Krelingen’ Diakrisis 24/1-2:14-21.

<sup>45</sup> ‘Gegen antisemitische Stimmung in den Medien: Kirche ist zu pro-palästinensisch’ 6.3.1991 ideaSpektrum /10:7.

<sup>46</sup> ‘Friedensbewegung soll sich zu Israel bekennen: Kritik an Friedensdemonstrationen’ 6.2.1991 ideaSpektrum /6:4.

<sup>47</sup> ‘Kein jüdischer Sonderweg zum Heil: Nordelbische Kirchliche Sammlung: Der Missionsbefehl gilt ohne Ausnahme’ 8.11.2000 ideaSpektrum /45:10.

<sup>48</sup> See especially: ‘Weltgebetstagkomitee hält an Liturgie fest: Christliche und jüdische Gruppen befürchten ein “Beten gegen Israel”’ 15.9.1993 ideaSpektrum /37:4; ‘Liturgie dient nicht dem Frieden’ 9.2.1994 ideaSpektrum /6:5f.

for the conflict.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, even though many in the EKD as well as organizations focusing on Israel did see a problem with the liturgy, the national Baptist, Methodist, and Mennonite leadership did not: ‘One has to distinguish between the “military government” of Israel, under which breaches of human rights are possible, and God’s chosen people Israel,’ so a representative of the largely Baptist BEFG.<sup>50</sup> The Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine likewise accepted the liturgy.<sup>51</sup> That this view was not always shared by the basis is illustrated by a BEFG church in Hanover, which rejected the liturgy anyway.<sup>52</sup> The FeG rejected the liturgy as well.<sup>53</sup> Baptists and Methodists later opted for an appendix to be added to the liturgy to express explicit support for Israel’s right to exist and the importance of praying for both sides.<sup>54</sup> This suggests support for Israel may be strongest among more conservative Evangelicals, whereas more liberal Evangelicals can be more critical of Israel.

13. A further controversy, this one limited to a local FeG in Baden, gives an indication of change within the Free Evangelical Church. A member of the church in question, Hans Penner, had criticized the Protestant bishop of Baden for his position on the Gulf War, whereupon the FeG council of elders barred him from preaching in their church. Penner claimed that the issue in reality was different attitudes towards Israel:

For theological reasons he feels bound to unlimited solidarity with the Jewish people, Penner said to *idea*. On the other hand, there is an increasingly Israel-critical attitude in the Bund Freier evangelischer Gemeinden, as had also been evident in statements during the Iraq war. Elders of the FeG Mannheim rejected Penner’s account ... At least in the Mannheim church there were no anti-Jewish tendencies.<sup>55</sup>

At the same time this indicates what the position of the FeG used to be. This is also clear in an article on the end times by Karl Heinz Knöppel, president of the FeG in 1974-91, and therefore belonging to the ‘old guard’. In this classic Evangelical scenario it is beyond doubt that Israel is a ‘pre-eminent sign’ of the end time.<sup>56</sup>

14. At least 12 contributions connect the influential Ludwig-Hofacker-Vereinigung with Israel. These contributions show that its leadership has operated within a traditional although cautious end-time scenario. It has consistently considered faithfulness to and solidarity with Israel indispensable virtues both for Christians and for Germany, not least because of Germany’s historical burden of guilt, yet has also made some effort to avoid one-sidedness and to consider the Palestinian side. Although tending to Christian Zionism, it has usually spoken in a moderate and cautious tone, avoiding ideological or militant language. In addition, it has supported Christian witness to Jews much like EDI has.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> ‘Neue Weltgebetstagsliturgie höchst umstritten’ 18.8.1993 [ideaSpektrum](#) /33:5.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Weltgebetstag: Freikirchen für Liturgie: Die Kritik von Juden und der EKD an “Beten gegen Israel” wird nicht geteilt’ 20.10.1993 [ideaSpektrum](#) /42:10.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Liturgie dient nicht dem Frieden’ 9.2.1994 [ideaSpektrum](#) /6:5f.

<sup>52</sup> ‘Nein zu Liturgie’ 15.12.1993 [ideaSpektrum](#) /50:14.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Weltgebetstag: Freikirchen für Liturgie: Die Kritik von Juden und der EKD an “Beten gegen Israel” wird nicht geteilt’ 20.10.1993 [ideaSpektrum](#) /42:10.

<sup>54</sup> Knöppel, KH 22.12.1993 ‘Weltgebetstag und Friedensprozeß: Baptisten: Kein “Beten gegen Israel” – Methodisten für Zusatzklärung’ [ideaSpektrum](#) /51-52:13.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Darf Freikirchler einen Landesbischof kritisieren?’ 23.7.2003 [ideaSpektrum](#) /30-31:8.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Bricht der “Tag des Herrn” an? Was ist dran an den Parallelen zwischen der Offenbarung und den Ereignissen seit dem 11.9.?’ 12.12.2001 [ideaSpektrum](#) /50:20f.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Deutsch-israelische Freundschaft nicht Ölinteressen opfern: Ludwig-Hofacker-Vereinigung wendet sich an die Bundesregierung’ 10.10.1979 [ideaSpektrum](#) /6-41:1; ‘Württembergischer Pietismus erbittet Auskunft über Missionsverständnis der Kirche’ 13.2.1980 [ideaSpektrum](#) /6:3; ‘20000 Teilnehmer bei 24. Ludwig-Hofacker-Konferenz: Scheffbuch: Deutsches Volk muß fest zu Israel stehen’ 11.6.1980 [ideaSpektrum](#) /25-

Several contributions report on its concern over German weapons exports to Arab nations. In 1981 Rolf Scheffbuch and Fritz Grünzweig wrote on behalf of the Hofacker-Vereinigung to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, pleading against selling tanks to Saudi Arabia, based on ‘the measure of our guilt towards Israel’,<sup>58</sup> and referring to the fact ‘that large sections of the Protestant Church in the Federal Republic of Germany feel so attached to Israel that they urgently request not to enable such an arms sale’.<sup>59</sup> According to ideaSpektrum, the Hofacker-Vereinigung again expressed reservations in 1985 when German companies were involved in building a munitions factory in Saudi Arabia.<sup>60</sup>

In the mid-80s, selling weapons to Arab nations was also condemned by Jan Willem van der Hoeven, at the time leading spokesman of the ICEJ, at the Nürnberg 85 rally (3.4.3),<sup>61</sup> and by Pfisterer.<sup>62</sup> An ‘opinion’ article on Jews in Germany pointed out that the much improved relationship of Germany with Jews and Israel would ‘suffer a severe setback’ if the sale went through.<sup>63</sup> In addition, it was reported that an unknown number of Evangelicals placed an advertisement costing 18,000 German marks in Germany’s most prestigious newspaper, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, protesting against such weapon sales.<sup>64</sup> Even the EA voiced a public protest at its annual conference, a rare occasion as the next section bears out, and an indication that at least this kind of support for Israel was included in the Evangelical consensus at the time.<sup>65</sup>

### 4.3.2 The Evangelical Alliance

Of special interest are references that connect the EA with Israel. They turn out to be surprisingly few. It is easier to find traces of a traditional Premillennial eschatology, in which Israel functions as a sign of the end times and as the location of the final battle.<sup>66</sup>

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26:2f; ‘Evangelikale fordern: Keine Waffen für die Feinde Israels’ 8.4.1981 ideaSpektrum /19-20:2; ‘25 Jahre Ludwig-Hofacker-Konferenzen: 20 000 Besucher’ 24.6.1981 ideaSpektrum /36-37:17f; ‘Staatsminister Vogel an Scheffbuch: Kein Antrag auf Panzer-Export nach Saudi Arabien’ 15.9.1983 ideaSpektrum /37:6f; ‘Deutsche Pietisten: Keine Waffen an die Feinde Israels’ 23.10.1985 ideaSpektrum /43:7; ‘Israel in jeder Hinsicht unterstützen: Hofacker-Vereinigung bestürzt über Weltkirchenratstreffen’ 12.7.1989 ideaSpektrum /28:9; ‘Immer noch sind die Juden bedroht’ 3.10.1990 ideaSpektrum /40:14; ‘Jesus auch gegenüber den Juden bezeugen: Württembergs Pietisten: An die wachsende Zahl messiasgläubiger Juden denken’ 26.1.2000 ideaSpektrum /4:9; ‘“Judenmission” spaltet Pfarrer: Unterschriftenaktionen für und gegen Synodenbeschuß’ 31.1.2001 ideaSpektrum /5:10; ‘“Arafat hat Spur des Terrors gelegt”: Württembergischer Pietismus fordert Solidarität mit Israel’ 29.5.2002 ideaSpektrum /22:7. The latter article reports on a 2002 declaration which exemplifies the moderate and weak Christian Zionism characterizing the association; the text was published as: ‘Solidarität mit Israel: Erklärung der Ludwig-Hofacker-Vereinigung vom Mai 2002’ 7.2002 Lebendige Gemeinde 26.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Evangelikale fordern: Keine Waffen für die Feinde Israels’ 8.4.1981 ideaSpektrum /19-20:2.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Staatsminister Vogel an Scheffbuch: Kein Antrag auf Panzer-Export nach Saudi Arabien’ 15.9.1983 ideaSpektrum /37:6f.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Deutsche Pietisten: Keine Waffen an die Feinde Israels’ 23.10.1985 ideaSpektrum /43:7.

<sup>61</sup> ‘Bibelkritik – Fluch über Deutschland? “Tag der Versöhnung” zwischen Juden und Deutschen’ 18.9.1985 ideaSpektrum /38:6.

<sup>62</sup> Matthies, H 28.3.1984 ‘Interview’ ideaSpektrum /13:11f.

<sup>63</sup> Merten, T 28.3.1984 ‘Juden in Deutschland: “Das Problem der gepackten Koffer ist vorbei”’ ideaSpektrum /13:1f.

<sup>64</sup> ‘Rat der EKD: Keine Waffenlieferungen in den Vorderen Orient’ 21.3.1984 ideaSpektrum /12:4.

<sup>65</sup> ‘“Keine Waffen für die Feinde Israels”: Evangelische Allianz ruft zur Solidarität mit Israel auf’ 24.9.1987 ideaSpektrum /39:2.

<sup>66</sup> See for instance the relatively large number of commentaries on the Gulf War throughout 1991. Also: ‘Die Worte der Bibel erfüllen sich heute: Evangelische Allianz: Ereignisse im Nahen Osten Vorzeichen der Apokalypse’ 6.12.1990 ideaSpektrum /49:18; Matthies, H 5.4.2000 ‘Tabus unter Christen heute: Ein Gespräch über Globalisierung, Prophetie, Heilung, den Antichristen und die Seelsorge’ ideaSpektrum /14:17-

Older EA leaders, like Fritz Laubach and Horst Marquardt below, tend to take this position, as does Manfred Otto, president of the EA in 1980-84, in an article on Ernst Schrupp at the occasion of the latter's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday. Otto points out Schrupp's great interest in salvation history (Wiedeneest style, that is, a moderate Dispensationalism not unlike progressive Dispensationalism), and he praises the two books on Israel that Schrupp had just published as 'a very helpful contribution to an understanding of the present situation in Israel and the Arab world' and as 'important data' for the church to find its position.<sup>67</sup> Otto and Schrupp share an eschatology, but whereas Schrupp has begun to apply this to the Middle East and work out the implications, Otto has barely moved beyond traditional Premillennialism.

To find clear political statements in ideaSpektrum on the reality in the Middle East associated with the EA is much harder than to find Premillennial reflections on Israel's future. These are usually made by individual board members, not by the EA as such.

1. One of these was already mentioned at the end of the previous section. At the annual conference of the EA in 1987, Winrich Scheffbuch, a board member of the EA, called for solidarity with Israel; the context was the national debate on German weapons sales to the Middle East, that is, to 'Israel's enemies', which is as sharp as the EA gets.<sup>68</sup>

2. At the annual EA conference in 1989, Fritz Laubach, then president of the EA, criticized the WCC and the LWF for their one-sided criticism of Israel and support for the Palestinian uprising. In Laubach's view, Christians should endorse Israel's existence, and hold back from criticism. Since Israel faced an overwhelming Arab majority (a staple of Christian Zionist defences of Israel), it needed the solidarity of Christians. At the same time, Laubach also maintained that 'this does not mean an uncritical yes to all the decisions of the Israeli government.'<sup>69</sup>

3. When the Württembergisches Gemeindeblatt (Württemberg Church Bulletin) published a prayer implying Israeli responsibility for the Gulf War and placing Israel in the same category as Iraq, the general secretary of the EA criticized this as 'complete nonsense' – which by itself does not constitute evidence of either partiality or of Christian Zionism.<sup>70</sup>

4. In 1993 at an Israel forum organized by Cfi, Jürgen Stabe, then president of the EA, called Israel the 'chosen people' with significance beyond the Middle East or the realm of religion, and claimed that 'with his people, God completes world history'.<sup>71</sup>

5. Two EA board members have also expressed their views through reviews in ideaSpektrum in which a book about Israel was favourably reviewed. Three of these were

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19; id. 26.2.2003 'Was uns als Christen erwartet: Was sich viele Christen wünschen und was Christus selbst über die Zukunft sagt' ideaSpektrum /9:16-18. Although the article of 5.4.2000 presents the view of the leader of the Langensteinbacherhöhe conference centre, it is a view that is shared by many readers of ideaSpektrum and by many in the EA.

<sup>67</sup> Otto, M 5.4.1995 'Ein Mitarbeiter Gottes: Ein Wegbereiter der evangelikalen Bewegung in Deutschland wird 80 Jahre alt' ideaSpektrum /14:20.

<sup>68</sup> "'Keine Waffen für die Feinde Israels': Evangelische Allianz ruft zur Solidarität mit Israel auf" 24.9.1987 ideaSpektrum /39:2.

<sup>69</sup> 'Der Weltkirchenrat auf falschem Kurs: "Noch nie so einseitig wie in diesem Jahr" – Allianz sieht Kritik bestätigt' 21.9.1989 ideaSpektrum /38:9.

<sup>70</sup> 'Wer alles ist schuldig am Golfkrieg? Ein Friedensgebet im Württembergischen Gemeindeblatt stößt auf Kritik' 6.2.1991 ideaSpektrum /6:9.

<sup>71</sup> 'Skepsis gegenüber Gaza-Jericho-Plan: 'Christen für Israel': Friede erst nach Messias-Wiederkunft' 15.9.1993 ideaSpektrum /37:11.

written by Horst Marquardt, and two by Fritz Laubach.<sup>72</sup> Especially telling is Fritz Laubach's comment on Walter Tlach:

In respect to the state of Israel, he ventures a courageous statement: 'According to the promise of Jesus the history of Israel enters a new stage after the dispersion of this people into all the world. When does this new period begin? With the founding of the state of Israel on 14 May 1948. With this, the final time period of the end times has begun, and we are now in this phase' (p. 36).<sup>73</sup>

The individual sympathies of board members seem to match the general pro-Israel sentiments of their constituency. However, it cannot be said that the EA puts special emphasis on Israel, and most of the material here does not express an official EA position. In addition, there are also clues that point in a different direction.

In 2000, Johnny Shahwan was one of the speakers at the annual EA conference. Shahwan is a Palestinian Christian, married to a German Evangelical, and works for the Deutsche Missionsgemeinschaft (German Missionary Society, DMG) in Beit Jala near Bethlehem. Shahwan spoke of Palestinian suffering under an arbitrary Israeli administration, and expressed regret at the lack of German interest in Palestinian Christians.<sup>74</sup> When Karl-Heinz Ronecker, Pastor of the German Lutheran Erlöserkirche (Church of the Redeemer) in Jerusalem, criticized that 'Evangelicals "one-sidedly supported Israel"', and thus harmed Protestant Palestinians, the EA general secretary Hartmut Steeb pointed to Shahwan's involvement in the conference to prove that this did not hold true for the EA.<sup>75</sup> This does not prove even-handedness, of course, but it is significant that Steeb's response was not a defence of unconditional Evangelical support for Israel, but a rejection of the charge.

In two cases, representatives of the EA went even further. The leader of the ministry among foreigners of the local EA in Bremen, Ahamad Turkamani, 'regretted that Germany had "fully uncritically" sided with Israel', and also criticized the one-sided solidarity of many churches.<sup>76</sup> In 2002, Jürgen Blunck, chairman of the local EA in Essen, sparked off a significant controversy when he expressed his opinion on Ariel Sharon's policies; this important episode will be discussed in more detail below (4.5). This suggests there is a more critical minority within the EA.

In this respect it is worth noting that on the issue of Christian witness to Jews the EA took a clear stance, even publishing a statement on the relationship between Christians and Jews (Deutsche Evangelische Allianz 1999). This is something it has not done for the state of Israel or the Middle East, with the exception of a statement in 1974 (see 3.3.13), which by all appearances had no lasting effect. The statement of 1999 acknowledges Christian co-responsibility for anti-Semitism and Jewish suffering, affirms that Jews need Jesus, and supports a sensitive witness to Jews. Virtually all it has to say on the state of Israel is this:

Many [not all, implying diversity] of us see in the preservation of the Jewish people and in the founding of a state of Israel in the land of the fathers signs of the abiding faithfulness of God towards his Old Testament covenant people. (*Ibid.*:3.1)

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<sup>72</sup> The authors reviewed by Horst Marquardt are Marius Baar, Hans Steinacker, and Karl Layer in *ideaSpektrum* 27.9.1989 /39:17, 14.8.1996 /33:24, and 9.4.1997 /15:19. Fritz Laubach reviewed Walter Tlach and Ernst Schrupp in *ideaSpektrum* 23.5.1991 /21:22 and 23.4.1992 /17:25.

<sup>73</sup> Laubach, F 23.5.1991 'Buchkritik: Walter Tlach, Der letzte Krieg' *ideaSpektrum* /21:22. It is not clear what is courageous about this statement, especially since such ideas appear quite often in books on Israel.

<sup>74</sup> 'Pastor: "Haß auf Israel ist verständlich": Allianzkonferenz: Aufruf zum Gebet, damit das "Unrecht" im Nahen Osten beendet wird' 10.8.2000 *ideaSpektrum* /31-32:9.

<sup>75</sup> 'Evangelikale "unterstützen einseitig Israel": EKD-Räpreäsentant in Jerusalem: Evangelikale schaden den Protestanten unter den Palästinensern' 22.8.2001 *ideaSpektrum* /34:12.

<sup>76</sup> 'Golfkrieg schadete der Moslemmission: Ausländerfachmann der Allianz: Einseitige Solidarität mit Israel' 13.3.1991 *ideaSpektrum* /11:6.

However little this is, it is significant. It implies diversity, and suggests that the EA is not completely unified in its view of Israel, something that will be confirmed by looking at how ideaSpektrum's reporting on Israel has developed (4.5).

#### 4.4 BOOK REVIEWS

Issues of ideaSpektrum regularly include one or several short book reviews. Not counting two travel guides, a photo book, and two non-religious books, only 22 of these (in 25 years!) review a book relating to Israel. The reviews are all positive, and all but one or two of the books reviewed are pro-Israel or Christian Zionist. They include books by Fritz May (4 books), Marius Baar (2 books), Ernst Schrupp (4 books), Walter Tlach, Rudolf Pfisterer, Peter Hahne, Hans Eißler and Walter Nänny, Ramon Bennett, Klaus Mosche Pülz (3 books), Karl Layer, and Johannes Gerloff. Only one of these books is a translation (the one by Bennett), which is at the same time the only one by a Charismatic author.

Although this implies a Christian Zionist or at least pro-Israel tendency, this too does not suggest excessive interest in Israel; in almost 25 years, there were certainly more books that could have been reviewed. Seeing that all reviews are favourable, it does suggest a measure of naivety and lack of critical reflection. This is especially striking in a review by Horst Marquardt of Baar (1984), which claims that Baar 'formulates cautiously and avoids speculations'.<sup>77</sup> In reality, Baar's writing is highly speculative; he is a typical end-time author with some quite peculiar ideas of his own, particularly on the role of Islam in the end times (see 3.3.4) – peculiar enough to make him controversial even among Evangelicals.<sup>78</sup>

#### 4.5 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN REPORTING

For most of ideaSpektrum's history, articles reflecting different positions on Israel were published without conscious reflection on the conflict between them. An interesting shift occurred, in which alternative political or theological views were increasingly given an opportunity to voice their position. In 2002 this culminated in a heated debate on the pages of ideaSpektrum.

1. The first contribution that was different appeared in July 1996. It was a 'Dear Reader' opening column on page 3 written by Hermann Gröhe, at the time a member of parliament and of the Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Policy, in which function he was responsible for the relationship with Israel and the Palestinian autonomous areas. The article reads like a balancing act (which no doubt it was), but Gröhe did not stay on the safe side. He called the nightly illumination of Baruch Goldstein's grave in Hebron a 'provocation', asserted that 'on both sides there are victims and perpetrators', and called for the recognition of legitimate concerns of the Palestinians.<sup>79</sup>

2. In January 1997 ideaSpektrum went a step further. A regular feature in ideaSpektrum is a one or two-page article under the heading 'Pro & Kontra', in which two authors on opposite sides of an issue each present their opinion. This time, Fritz May and Werner Stoy

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<sup>77</sup> Marquardt, H 27.9.1989 'Buchkritik: Marius Baar: Nahost – Auftakt zu Weltbrand oder Weltfrieden' ideaSpektrum /39:17.

<sup>78</sup> See the review of a later book by Baar which points this out: Reetnitz, P von 17.7.1991 'Buchkritik: Marius Baar, Zeitbomben der Weltgeschichte' ideaSpektrum /29:25. See also the chapter on Baar in Stuhlhofer (1992:193-7).

<sup>79</sup> Gröhe, H 18.7.1996 'Liebe Leser' ideaSpektrum /29-30:3.

were asked to discuss the question, ‘Are the land promises to Israel still valid today?’<sup>80</sup> Neither Fritz May’s appearance nor what he says comes as a surprise: land for peace is ‘blatant disregard of the Word of God;’ to criticize Israel’s settlement policies is to criticize God, since this is ‘Zionism as God wills it’ (‘gottgewollter Zionismus’). Until 1996 Werner Stoy had been president of Tabor Seminary in Marburg,<sup>81</sup> which is closely associated with the Chrischona and Liebenzell seminaries, and at the time functioned as its study leader (Oberstudienrat). On the Jews, his is a fairly classic Protestant position, with some modification, and definitely not Zionist. The Bible should be read in the light of Christ; the land is spiritualized. The people of Israel need a land and a state, but this state has no salvation-historical significance. We cannot know how promises might be fulfilled in the millennium, after Israel’s conversion, but they certainly are no basis for negotiations or policies today.

The result was a flood of letters to the editor. Arguably, some of Stoy’s argument were open to question (eg that the prophetic promises of return are all fulfilled in the return from Babylon, that the church is the new people of God that inherited the promises, that the land is heavenly), and the letters were quick to point this out, but it was a fresh new wind blowing in the idea tradition.

3. Another ‘Pro & Kontra’, appearing in 2001, took up the question whether Christians are bound to unconditional solidarity with Israel.<sup>82</sup> Winfried Amelung pleaded ‘yes’, since the alternative would be that Christians have no special obligation towards Israel. Karl-Heinz Ronecker of the Erlöserkirche in Jerusalem rejected every form of anti-Judaism, but insisted on distinguishing between the Jewish people and the government of Israel. In other words, Amelung presented a mainline Christian Zionist view, Ronecker the kind of view that carries broad support in the EKD.

4. The real bomb, however, was dropped in February 2002 in the form of another ‘Dear Reader’, this time by Jürgen Blunck, chairman of the local EA in Essen and spokesman for a union of conservative Lutherans in the west of Germany.<sup>83</sup> While claiming to have been a friend of Israel for many years, he offered a fierce criticism of Ariel Sharon’s policies, even accusing him of ‘state terrorism’, and argued that Christians, even German Christians, not only had the right but the duty to speak out.<sup>84</sup>

5. A week later, this was followed by a ‘Dear Reader’ written by Christoph Zörb, the chief editor of Israelnetz, representing the opposite perspective. He offered a defence of Sharon, placing most of the blame on the Palestinian side.<sup>85</sup> However, this came too late; emotions had been triggered, and the tone in some letters to the editor turned nasty. Johannes Vogel, associated with the Bibel-Center in Breckerfeld (3.3.8), went so far as to call Blunck’s opinion highly anti-Semitic, while accusing him of ‘cold-blooded fratricide’ (‘kaltblütiger Brudermord’).<sup>86</sup> Winfried Amelung reportedly cancelled his subscription of

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<sup>80</sup> May, F & Stoy, W 29.1.1997 ‘Pro & Kontra: Gelten die Landverheißungen für Israel heute noch?’ ideaSpektrum /5:21-23.

<sup>81</sup> Its full German name is Seminar für innere und äußere Mission ‘Brüderhaus Tabor.

<sup>82</sup> Amelung, W & Ronecker, K-H 12.9.2001 ‘Pro & Kontra: Sind Christen zu unbedingter Solidarität mit Israel verpflichtet?’ ideaSpektrum /37:20f.

<sup>83</sup> Verbund biblisch-missionarischer Gemeinden in der rheinischen Kirche.

<sup>84</sup> Blunck, J 27.2.2002 ‘Der Irrweg Ariel Sharons: Als Freunde Israels sind wir Christen jetzt zum Reden verpflichtet’ ideaSpektrum /9:3.

<sup>85</sup> Zörb, CA 6.3.2002 ‘Der richtige Weg Ariel Sharons: Israel-Kommentar (II): Christen zur Solidarität verpflichtet’ ideaSpektrum /10:3.

<sup>86</sup> Vogel, J 6.3.2002 “‘Kaltblütiger Brudermord’” ideaSpektrum /10:4.

ideaSpektrum.<sup>87</sup> Fritz May reacted with an article in Christen für Israel with the subtitle, 'How an Evangelical theologian agitates against Israel – a disgrace for all Christians!'<sup>88</sup>

6. Idea followed up with a cluster of four articles by four different authors, of which only the first three really dealt with Israel, in its issue of 10 April. The format must be deemed a wise one for dealing with a complex subject on which such diverse opinions exist. The lead article was by Johannes Friedrich, Lutheran bishop of Bavaria and former pastor of the Erlöserkirche in Jerusalem. He was critical of both Israeli and Palestinian leadership, and saw a sign of hope in several Palestinian Christian projects.<sup>89</sup> Alice Naumoff, an Israeli historian, contributed a Messianic Jewish – and Zionist – perspective. To her, the whole conflict 'has nothing to do with Israel', meaning it is not caused by anything Israel does, but with Islam, since Islam cannot accept a non-Islamic state in its midst. The opening of the article suggests that giving up land will bring down God's judgment.<sup>90</sup> Johnny and Marlene Shahwan gave a Palestinian Christian perspective from Bethlehem, where they work for the DMG. They described the need and bitterness that are the result of Israeli actions and that make 'many Palestinians [blind] to the evil deeds of their own people'.<sup>91</sup> This twofold division, on the one hand understanding for and criticism of both sides (Friedrich and Shahwan) and on the other hand a clear defence of Israel (Naumoff), can also be detected in the many letters to the editor that were published around this time; the great majority obviously falls into one of these two categories. Theoretically, there is a third category, those that clearly take sides with the Palestinians or against Israel, but such contributions are rare in ideaSpektrum and no doubt among Evangelicals in general.

7. The discussion was brought to a provisional conclusion with an article by Marcus Mockler end of April.<sup>92</sup> He noticed that Israel 'increasingly divides Evangelicals', and posed the question: 'Whence this intimate closeness of many Evangelicals to Israel – and whence the detachment of some others?' Mockler pointed out that underneath the debate lie deep, foundational, and controversial theological questions about land, people, and state. Mockler discussed these questions with three 'leading theologians':

They all offered a differentiating view, in which, besides a clear yes to Israel's right of existence, a critical distance to political decisions of its government could be heard as well. Interestingly, all three declined to support their position openly with their names. As main reasons for this, fear of a reduction in donations to their institutions and endangering their own professional position were mentioned.

Based on this conversation, Mockler emphasized that, historically, Christians have overwhelmingly held that Jews who do not believe in Jesus are not part of the people of God. The theologians declined to transfer the Biblical promises or commands one to one to the state of Israel, and pointed out that God's priority is not land, but inner renewal. More revealing than their opinions, however, is their unwillingness to have their names associated with the article. This is a telling indication of the environment and atmosphere

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<sup>87</sup> Petersohn, H 14.3.2002 'Kirchenstreit um das Heilige Land' Freie Presse: Chemnitzer Zeitung; partially reprinted in: Petersohn, H 20.3.2002 'Kirchenstreit um das Heilige Land' ideaSpektrum /12:31.

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in: Mockler, M 24.4.2002 'Israelfreunde, Israelfeinde: Der Streit um die Politik Scharons bringt evangelikale Christen gegeneinander auf' ideaSpektrum /17:16-18.

<sup>89</sup> Friedrich, J 10.4.2002 'Naher Osten: Wie wäre Frieden möglich? Der bayerische Landesbischof nach seinem Solidaritätsbesuch im Nahen Osten' ideaSpektrum /15:17.

<sup>90</sup> Naumoff, A 10.4.2002 "'Unsere Feinde sind heute gefährlicher als die Nazis": Eine Sicht messianischer Juden: Dem Abtreten von israelischem Land folgt das Gericht Gottes' ideaSpektrum /15:18.

<sup>91</sup> Shahwan, J & Shahwan, M 10.4.2002 'Krisenalltag in Bethlehem: Ein Augenzeugenbericht palästinensischer Christen: Mutlosigkeit macht sich breit' ideaSpektrum /15:19.

<sup>92</sup> Mockler, M 24.4.2002 'Israelfreunde, Israelfeinde: Der Streit um die Politik Scharons bringt evangelikale Christen gegeneinander auf' ideaSpektrum /17:16-18. The article is one of the best I have read in ideaSpektrum; perhaps because this time real experts were asked.

in which this debate was taking place, and is different from the situation in the Evangelical Alliance in Britain, where in 2003 a consultation took place in which both Christian Zionists and outspoken non-Zionists participated.<sup>93</sup> Such a candid Evangelical discussion on Israel does not seem possible in Germany, which may explain why the ‘deep, foundational, and controversial theological questions’ just referred to by Mockler do not often surface, as indicated by almost 25 years of ideaSpektrum surveyed in this chapter.

8. At the end of the year, in a review of 2002, ideaSpektrum itself commented on this episode as follows:

In the spring an idea commentary by Pastor Jürgen Blunck ... causes vehement reactions. Blunck sharply criticizes the politics of Israel's Prime Minister **Ariel Sharon** ... while at the same time [declaring] solidarity with Israel as such. The answer of some Evangelicals turns out exceedingly sharp. There are calls to fax protests, there is even talk of ‘spiritual fratricide’ of Israelis by Blunck. The controversy brings to light that there is no unity among Evangelicals about what position Christians ought to take on the state of Israel. Whereas some demand unreserved solidarity, others advocate that salvation-historically the Christian church has taken the place of Israel. The controversy continues.<sup>94</sup>

9. Bravely, ideaSpektrum printed another ‘Dear Reader’ on Israel in June 2002, this one by Ulrich Fischer, the Lutheran bishop of Baden.<sup>95</sup> He pleaded against one-sided partisanship, argued in favour of speaking ‘unpleasant truths’ where necessary, and clearly defined conditions for peace: Israel's right to exist in secure borders, the founding of a viable Palestinian state, negotiated solutions for refugees, water rights, and the status of Jerusalem, and an end to Israel's settlement policies. The position taken is clearly non-Zionist, but it is not anti-Israel (nor anti-Palestinian). It is, in fact, close to the one Jürgen Blunck had voiced, except that it used a different, more conciliatory tone, and avoided red-flag phrases (like ‘state terrorism’). The commentary caused no stir, but marked another occasion where ideaSpektrum offered the pulpit to a non-Zionist perspective.

10. Not directly related to this debate is an article by Helmut Matthies in February 2003 on the end times.<sup>96</sup> It is important here, because it continues to follow the assumed consensus discussed in 4.2 only months after the 2002 debate demonstrated this consensus does not exist. It carries special weight, because Matthies joined idea in 1976 and has been its leader and chief editor for many years. In his article, many standard elements of popular Evangelical eschatology are presented as if every Evangelical knows this, and merely needs to be reminded; it does not at all read as an argument that this rather than that is the way to see it. This includes what Matthies has to say about Israel; it is stated matter-of-factly, and it is neither political nor Zionist, but eschatological: that the Jews have founded a state may mean we are already living in the end times. The article features a picture of David Ben Gurion reading Israel's Declaration of Independence. The article does not disclose what Matthies might think about Christian Zionism, but it does show there were those who continued to assume an Evangelical consensus on Israel.

11. In August 2003 ideaSpektrum published a ‘Pro & Kontra’ debating the wall Israel was building in the Westbank.<sup>97</sup> Aviel Schneider, Ludwig Schneider's son and manager of

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<sup>93</sup> ‘Deciphering the Road Map: Alliance consultation brings together leading figures divided over Holy Land’ 9-10.2003 Idea 8.

<sup>94</sup> ‘Zankapfel Israel’ 2002 in ideaSpektrum Chronik des Jahres 2002: Supplement zu Spektrum (Nr. 50) 7.

<sup>95</sup> Fischer, U 5.6.2002 ‘In Liebe die Wahrheit sagen: Wie kommen wir aus der Gewaltspirale im Nahen Osten?’ ideaSpektrum /23:3.

<sup>96</sup> Matthies, H 26.2.2003 ‘Was uns als Christen erwartet: Was sich viele Christen wünschen und was Christus selbst über die Zukunft sagt’ ideaSpektrum /9:16-18.

<sup>97</sup> Schneider, A & Reyer, M 27.8.2003 ‘Pro & Kontra: Muß Israel eine Schutzmauer bauen?’ ideaSpektrum /35:18.

Nachrichten aus Israel (NAI), defended it. Martin Reyer, Pastor of the Erlöserkirche in Jerusalem argued against it, pointing to the consequences for Palestinian life. With this, idea continued its new line of multi-voice articles and reporting.

#### 4.5.1 Conclusions from the Debate

In recent years, ideaSpektrum has begun to pay more attention to the diversity that exists in the Evangelical movement in Germany on the topic of Israel. Christian Zionists continue to have the ear, or rather the pulpit, of idea, but since the mid-nineties, there has also been a growing openness to face the complexity of the situation and give others an opportunity to speak. Incidentally, a similar development has taken place in Christianity Today, but earlier and more comprehensively.<sup>98</sup> By journalistic standards, the broader coverage represents a significant improvement, even though Christian Zionist contributors continue to dominate.

It also appears that the diversity increasingly leads to a division that is gaining in sharpness. As a result, the naive pro-Israel stance noticed in some earlier articles has become rarer in recent years, but it is not completely absent. Indeed, some authors continue to write on the basis of an assumed Evangelical consensus on Israel as described in 4.2. This is usually the older view that predates the rise of modern Christian Zionism and is essentially determined by a Premillennial eschatology.

#### 4.6 CONCLUSIONS

Attention given to Israel by ideaSpektrum is not excessive, but consistent and, during times of crisis in the Middle East, strong. Reporting on Israel and Israel-related organizations has increased with time. One cause for this is increased Israel-related activity within the Evangelical movement, including an increase in the number of organizations specializing in Israel. Another cause is an increase in attention given to the existing diversity of opinion on Israel as well as increased polarization within the Evangelical movement.

Neither idea nor the EA have adopted a clear and consistent commitment to a particular position, political or theological, on Israel, other than a general pro-Israel attitude perhaps best captured in the vaguely defined phrase ‘solidarity with Israel’. Christian Zionism is not part of an explicit or implicit creed, as it is for other groups like PBC or FFD.<sup>99</sup>

The reporting in ideaSpektrum is overwhelmingly pro-Israel, but it is often relatively moderate. It lacks the dogmatic or ideological militancy and the preoccupation with Israel often displayed by ‘real’ Christian Zionists. Whether adequately or not, ideaSpektrum at times does attempt to wrestle with the complexity of the issues, and pays more attention to the Palestinian side than is common in Christian Zionist publications.

Yet at the same time ideaSpektrum shows significant openness to Christian Zionist positions. This can be seen in the Israel-related books selected to be reviewed and in the content of the reviews. It is even more obvious in its choice of authors for ‘opinion’ articles. When commentary and teaching on Israel are needed, ideaSpektrum uncritically turns to Christian Zionists, who thus become the teachers of the Evangelical movement on Israel.<sup>100</sup> It is people like Rudolf Pfisterer, Ludwig Schneider, and Fritz May who are

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<sup>98</sup> Cf. Prior (1999b:154f), who sees this as part of a broader trend among Evangelicals.

<sup>99</sup> However, as discussed in 3.5.6, KEP, like idea a subsidiary organization of the EA, displays a more zealous commitment to defend and support Israel.

<sup>100</sup> This is something that can also be observed in other media; the popular magazine Ethos for instance includes a regular ‘News from Israel’ section featuring Rainer Schmidt, a journalist who for some years was associated with Cfl. Other platforms where Christian Zionists become the teachers of Evangelicals are Israel conferences and seminars. None are known to me that teach or include a non-Zionist perspective.

treated as uncontested experts on Israel, and have therefore been given an opportunity to exercise a disproportionate opinion-moulding influence within the Evangelical movement. One wonders, however, to what extent this apparent bias is simply unreflected, the outflow of being part of a movement that overwhelmingly sympathizes with Israel, as well as of the dearth of alternatives. In addition, it may be a natural tendency of a news and opinion magazine to pay attention to the shriller and louder voices at the expense of more quiet and moderate ones. Finally, as Marcus Mockler has argued, idea aims to provide a platform for those Christian positions not included in mainline Christian publications, which certainly applies to Christian Zionism.

IdeaSpektrum provides a reflection or an echo of the broader Evangelical movement rather than a position or an agenda of its own. This reflection points to a large reservoir of pro-Israel sentiments and beliefs within both the EA and the Evangelical movement. The emerging picture suggests a majority that is Restorationist in eschatology, and sympathetic to and supportive of Israel, but with varying degrees of intensity and conviction. In addition, a minority is firmly committed to Christian Zionism, and a second minority is more critical of Israel; the latter minority appears to be small and consists mostly of individuals, not of institutional or organizational voices.

The pro-Israel majority often holds the older Evangelical perspective, predating the rise of modern Christian Zionism, or a relatively moderate form of Christian Zionism. Frequently, this pro-Israel stance is taken for granted as if it were 'the' Evangelical position. Its relative moderation, especially among non-Charismatic leaders and those who are theologically more informed, is a significant difference with Evangelical leadership in the United States. In Germany, it is only certain 'full-time' Christian Zionists who in speaking of Israel are as militant as well-known American Evangelical leaders like Pat Robertson or Jerry Fallwell.

In ideaSpektrum, critical awareness of and openness to alternative views have increased, beginning around 1997. Dissenting voices are occasionally given the pulpit, and continue to speak in letters to the editor. It has become more obvious that diversity exists within the Evangelical movement and the EA; even though the pro-Israel stance is the majority view, it is not shared by all, and whereas the EA has taken a clear and official stand on the controversial issue of Christian witness to Jews, it has not done so for Israel.

## BOOK ANALYSIS: A NEVER-ENDING BUT CHANGING STREAM

‘In the forums of popular life rhetorical effectiveness in persuasion and manipulation prevails against rational argument.’ (MacIntyre 1990:168)

Next to ideaSpektrum, another promising spot to gain a deeper understanding of Christian Zionism in Germany within its wider context consists of Evangelical books that are available in German and deal with Israel, the end times, or both. This chapter presents an analysis of this body of literature, aiming to find answers to the following research questions:

- What historical developments can be detected?
- How important are various factors: Dispensationalism, eschatology, the history of Jewish-Christian relations, and the reality of the Middle East?
- How do German authors differ from non-German and especially American authors?

In addition, the analysis provides a basis to evaluate the typology of Christian Zionism proposed by Stephen Sizer (2002b:306f; 2004:255-7).

### 5.1 SELECTION OF BOOKS

Evangelical books dealing with Israel and the end times can be widely different one from the other. End-time books may be speculative or cautious; they may expound elaborate scenarios, or merely discuss the number 666 or signs proving the nearness of the end. An Israel book may be broad in scope and cover Biblical eschatology, a theology and a history of the Jewish people, and a political history of the Middle East in one volume. Or it may be narrow and focused, and limit itself to, for instance, a detailed study of Romans 9 to 11. In addition to these, there are travelogues, commentaries, works of fiction, and collections of poetry, as well as books specializing in Islam, Jerusalem, international law, the Messianic Jewish movement, the Jewish roots of Christianity, Jewish feasts, anti-Semitism, or Christian witness to Jews. To complicate things, boundaries between these and other subjects and genres are not clear, and there is considerable overlap. Indeed, in the case of Israel and the end times, the overlap is so substantial that it is not possible to separate the two. Before turning to the method of analysis, the criteria of selection must therefore be discussed.

Included were popular Evangelical books on Israel, the end times, or both, published in German between 1945 and 2004. They had to be written for a broad and popular audience of non-theologians; this led to the exclusion of works like Grolle (1969), Hornung (1995), Kjaer-Hansen and Kvarme (1983), Pentecost (1993), and Stoy (1985) as too academic. They had to be of sufficient size, proper books, not just brochures, pamphlets, or booklets. This was determined by sight: they had to have a straight or flat, not a folded, back. Books with less than 45 pages were excluded as well.<sup>1</sup> Four exceptions were made (Boskey & Capelle 2004; Eckert 2000b; Makatowski 1998; 2003), in order to include booklets dealing extensively with Israel, thereby surpassing many end-time books in the amount of relevant material they contain. Finally, Israel and the end times had to be substantial topics, together making up more than a fifth of the subject matter. Books for which no date of

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<sup>1</sup> In this way the two criteria almost coincide; only two ‘real’ books had fewer than 45 pages, only around ten booklets had more.

publication could be ascertained (approximately 15) were excluded. In order to achieve at least some measure of homogeneity, certain categories were excluded as well:

- Biographies and conversion accounts.
- Books of pictures.
- Regular travel guides.
- Fiction.
- Poetry.
- Almanac-like publications: the Israel-Jahrbuch published by NAI.
- Commentaries on Revelation and other books of the Bible.
- Books dealing with Israel in Biblical times only.
- Books arguing that anti-Semitism is not inherent in the New Testament (Benhayim 1992; Thiede & Stingelin 2002).
- Books about Judaism, Jews, or Torah only, including discussions of Jewish feasts (eg Berkowitz & Berkowitz 2003; Burchartz 1997c; Gleis et al. 2003; Howard & Rosenthal 2000; Schneider 1999).
- Books on Jewish evangelism and witnessing to Jews, unless they also deal with Israel; included were Renz (1997) and Sorko-Ram (1995); Kjaer-Hansen (1996) was excluded.
- Books limited solely to individual eschatology, life after death, resurrection, final judgment, and Allversöhnung (universalism).
- Books on negative developments in society insufficiently relating this to the end times (eg Penkazki 1973; Quadflieg 1995a).
- Books really dealing with different matters, such as Islam (Bergmann 1980), spiritual warfare (Otis 1996), and finances (Cantelon 1974).
- Reference works (eg Aumann 1985; Couch 2004; Schulte-Uebbing 1978).
- Books about end-time books and their authors, rather than about the end times (Stuhlhofer 1992; Chandler 1996).
- Books published by Morgenland or otherwise associated with Fritz Braun (eg Braun 1992; Pasedag 1973; Theiss 1969). This group is known for its strange and extreme eschatological ideas; their publications shed little light on the larger Evangelical or Christian Zionist movement in Germany. These include the belief that white Europeans are the descendants of the lost ten tribes, and for Theiss (1969:95-119) the conviction that Hitler will rise from the dead to be the Antichrist. An exception was made for Pasedag's two earliest books (1967; 1968), since these were widely read and quoted, and were not as eccentric as his later writings.
- Also excluded as too far outside of the Evangelical mainstream were books by Paul Schenk (1985a; 1985b), a conservative Lutheran and a fierce critic of Christian Zionism, who subscribes to an essentially unrepentant supersessionism. He had to publish his works himself. Soschanna Platschek was excluded as – from an Evangelical point of view – too heterodox. She does not accept Paul's letters as Scripture on a par with the other writings in the canon, accuses him of lying and of satanic deception (1993:32, 51-9, 103-134), and essentially revives the judaizing position that Paul and the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15) rejected.

- Excluded were also books by Seventh-Day Adventists, since they have their own, distinct eschatology; traditionally they have not seen a special place or role for Israel.

When books were republished under a new title or with an additional author (eg Dolan 1991b; 1998b; Eißler & Nännny 1993; 2001; Huigens 1962; 1974; Koch 1967a; 1978; Lamparter 1967; 1992; Rienecker 1958; Rienecker & Huigens 1968; Schoepf 1970; 1973), both old and new versions were included; in several cases, extensive rewriting had taken place, but sometimes there appeared to be no changes. Five books dealing with Israel written by non-Christian Jewish authors, but published by an Evangelical publisher and primarily aiming at an Evangelical readership, were included (Bard 2002; Ben-Ari 2002; Davis 1987; Hillel 1992; Hirsch 1997); none of these included eschatological or apocalyptic material. Comay (1985) however, who wrote for a broader audience, was excluded. All books included in the analysis are listed in the References and marked with an asterix (\*).

## 5.2 QUESTIONNAIRE

Based on preliminary reading, a set of questions was devised for analysis of the selected books. This questionnaire was answered for each book. For ‘pure’ end-time books, with little or no material related to Israel, several questions could not be answered. These books were classified as a special group marked ‘eeA’, as indicated below (5.2.2). In the case of several edited books or collections (Impressionen aus Israel 1998; Falk et al. 1976; A Meyer 1999; Munayer 2000; Munayer et al. 1994; Renz 1997), the questions introduced in 5.2.3-5.2.5 could not be answered, since the multiple contributors were not homogeneous in their outlook.

### 5.2.1 General Questions

- What is the nationality of the author?<sup>2</sup>
- Is the author a Messianic Jew or Jewish?<sup>3</sup>
- Was the author living in Israel at or around the time of writing?<sup>4</sup>
- What was the date of original publication in German? This date has been used in the historical analysis below. In case of republication of a work first published before 1945, the date of republication was used.

### 5.2.2 End Times or Israel (Scale: eeA, eeB, ei, ie, ii)

Is the book primarily an end-time book, a book on Israel, or both? Five groups or categories were distinguished:

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<sup>2</sup> In some cases, where this seemed more meaningful, the country of long-term residence or the language of writing was used, rather than formal nationality. Wim Malgo, although Dutch, was counted as Swiss, since his entire ministry was based in Switzerland. Huigens, another Dutchman, was counted as German, since all his ministry and writing took place in Germany. Marius Baar, originally from France, and David Jaffin from the United States were also counted as German, since they wrote in German. Albert Fünning, a German immigrant to the United States, was counted as German for the same reason. I am not sure if Ludwig Schneider and Klaus Moshe Pülz still retain their German nationality, but because all their writing since the late 1970s has come from Israel, and in Schneider’s case reflects a decidedly Israeli perspective, they were counted as Israeli. However, since Schneider’s Jewishness (see next question) is debated in Germany, he was not counted as a Messianic Jew.

<sup>3</sup> As far as this is known to me based on the book or otherwise.

<sup>4</sup> Id.

- eeA: end-time book with little or no material on Israel, too little to answer questions 3 and 5 below.<sup>5</sup> The main reason for including these books is to have a complete overview of end-time books as a basis for comparison. An absolute increase in books dealing with Israel is not necessarily meaningful, but an increase relative to end-time books indicates a real shift in interest.
- eeB: end-time book with little material on Israel, but enough to answer all the questions. Material dealing with Israel is usually no more than one chapter, at most one fifth of the book.
- ei: more an end-time book than a book on Israel, although both subjects are important.
- ie: more a book on Israel than an end-time book, although both subjects are important.
- ii: Israel book. Israel clearly is the main topic of interest. If this is put in an eschatological framework, it is far from dominant; eschatology is at the most one fifth of the book.

### **5.2.3 Christian Zionism (Scale: Type 0-6)**

How Christian Zionist is the book, based on the scale defined below? This scale was developed based on preliminary reading, and seeks to maintain the distinction between ‘mere’ Restorationism (Type 1 and 2 on the scale) and ‘real’ or fully developed Christian Zionism (Type 3-6). The scale establishes a spectrum and divides a continuum, rather than representing a number of discrete categories. Its aim is to detect shifts and differences in commitment to Israel. It is somewhat similar to the previous set of categories, but the two are not identical. A book may concentrate on Israel (ii) without being Christian Zionist; a predominantly eschatological book (ei or even eeB) can still take an unmistakably Christian Zionist stance. For this question, the five non-Christian Jewish authors mentioned in 5.1, all Zionists, were treated as if they were Christian Zionists. The six types are defined as follows:

- Type 0: neither Christian Zionism nor Restorationism.
- Type 1: pure Restorationism; its interest in Israel is predominantly Biblical, eschatological, and theoretical. The eschatological position may be Historic Premillennialism or Dispensationalism, and is often identified as ‘heilsgeschichtlich’.
- Type 2: pro-Israel Restorationism, displaying a stronger pro-Israel attitude and a stronger interest in land, people, and state of Israel; it does not offer much of a defence of modern-day Israel, nor does it promote a programme for active support, but it does include elements like: interest in the history of Zionism, admiration of or fascination with Israel, and an understanding of Israel as a fulfilment of prophecy or as a direct continuation of Biblical salvation history. Occasionally, Zionist arguments may appear, but this is out of uncritical acceptance of such arguments rather than out of conviction.
- Type 3: moderate Christian Zionism, not so much based on eschatology, but rather on Israel’s enduring covenant, election, and status as God’s people. Argumentation is neither very eschatological nor as political and historical as in Type 4-6. If it is

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<sup>5</sup> Three ‘eeA’ books clearly included a non-Zionist (Christian Zionism Type 0, see 5.2.3) perspective: Grier (1978), Hallesby (1984), and Großmann (1991). For these, question 3 was answered.

sufficiently political and polemical, as in Pfisterer (1985; 1992), Dipper (1977), and Amelung (2001), it is either Type 5 or 6.

- Type 4: dogmatic-eschatological, prophecy-oriented, or apocalyptic Christian Zionism, in which the Israel of the Bible and of the end times is more important than the ‘real’ Israel. Political and historical arguments can be relatively rare. However, when the issue of Israel and the Middle East conflict comes up, the author clearly takes sides. This is an important difference from Type 1 and 2. It differs from Type 5 and 6 in that interest in prophecy takes priority over politics, activism, and history. Its tone is strongly dogmatic and apocalyptic.
- Type 5: Christian Zionism, similar to Type 6, but not as strong and less militant in tone, or not as activist in its commitment to Israel. Political and historical arguments can be, but are not always, important.
- Type 6: strong Christian Zionism. For Type 6, political and historical arguments are important. The state of Israel is defended, and often some programme for active support of Israel is promoted.

#### **5.2.4 Dispensationalism (Scale: 0, ?, 1, 2)**

Is the book Dispensational? The most significant indicators for a Dispensational eschatology next to the seven dispensations commonly recognized in Dispensationalism are: distinction between Israel and the church as two peoples or separate entities in salvation history, temporal separation of the rapture and the visible coming of Christ in glory, the great tribulation lasting 7 years, an interpretation of the 70 weeks in Daniel 9 which sees the last week as being still in the future, and – although this is an infrequent element – postponement of the kingdom due to Israel’s rejection of the Messiah. For the five non-Christian Jewish authors mentioned in 5.1, the question was not meaningful and was left unanswered. The following scale was used:

- 0: the eschatology in the book is not Dispensational; statements incompatible with Dispensational eschatology were found.
- ?: it is unclear or doubtful whether the eschatology in the book is Dispensational.
- 1: the eschatology in the book is probably Dispensational; there are some indications that point in this direction and none that speak against it. Since category ‘1’ proved rare, it was combined with category ‘2’ throughout the analysis below.
- 2: the eschatology in the book is clearly Dispensational.

#### **5.2.5 Importance of Dimensions (Scale: 1-5)**

How important is each of the following dimensions in the book on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = not important, 5 = very important): (1) eschatology; (2) the history of Jewish-Christian relations, Jewish suffering, and the Holocaust; (3) Israel and the Middle East? The scale takes both significance and quantity into account. It amounts to a rough estimate, not an exact measurement.

#### **5.2.6 Apocalyptic (Scale: 1-4)**

How apocalyptic is the book on a scale from 1 to 4? Apocalyptic here means the inclusion of elements like Armageddon, temple building, 666, Antichrist, signs of the end, and future disasters, as well as a tendency to make connections between current events and a prophetic scenario. Books that were apocalyptic, but displayed some caution or expressed an aversion to speculation, were classified as 3. Like the previous scale, this one offers a rough estimate only. The scale may be summarized as follows:

- 1: not apocalyptic.
- 2: some apocalyptic elements present.
- 3: apocalyptic, but with some caution and restraint, or simply not as strongly as 4.
- 4: highly apocalyptic; a ‘typical’ end-time book.

### 5.3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A complete overview of the results is included in the Appendix. Before turning to a presentation and discussion of these results, two issues must be addressed. Firstly: how complete is the bibliography of books meeting the criteria for inclusion? It is difficult to know. If a book is not owned by a public academic library in Germany, or not catalogued under obvious keywords, if it is not owned by the Bible school libraries visited, if it is never quoted in books included in this study or listed in their bibliography, if it was not offered for sale on antiquarian websites when these were consulted, then it has been overlooked. The most likely categories of books to be overlooked are works published by the author and older books with small editions; these are also likely to be the least significant and influential. The intensity of the search leads me to believe the number of relevant books not included is low and does not affect results.

Secondly: throughout, titles of relevant works have been counted; the number of copies printed was not considered. This means an obscure book selling few copies weighs as heavily as a bestseller that went through multiple editions. Since it is simply impossible to obtain reliable numbers for all titles, this was a necessary compromise.

#### 5.3.1 Historical Development

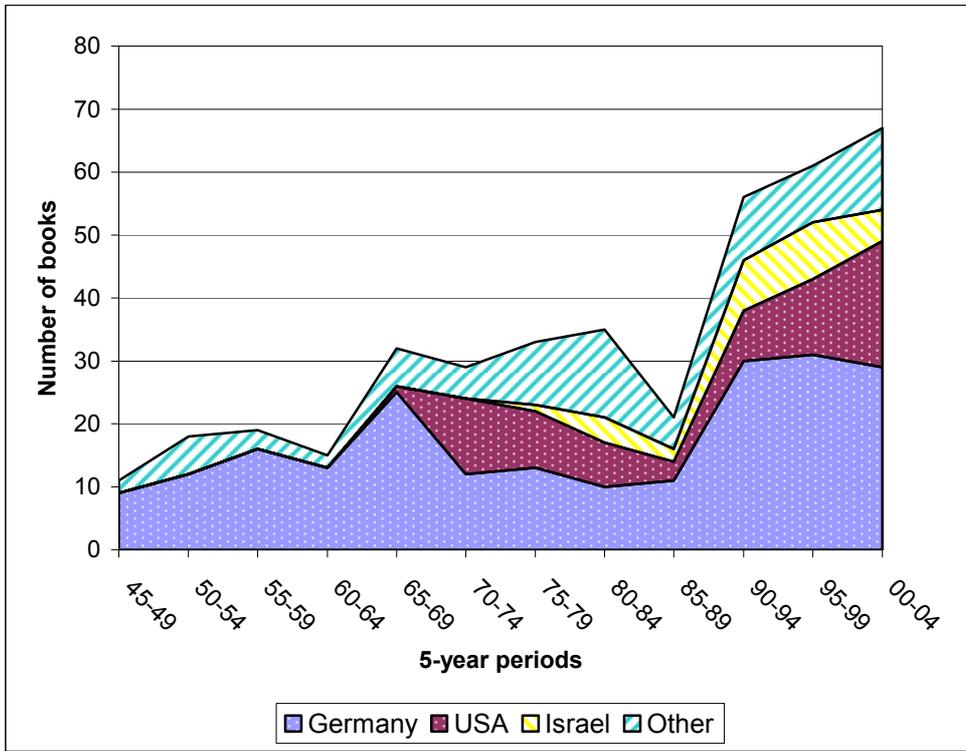
For analysis, the research period 1945-2004 was divided into intervals of 5 years; 1945 was counted as a full year. In total, 397 titles were included; 115 of these were in the ‘eeA’ category, for which not all questions were answered.

##### 5.3.1.1 Nationalities of Authors

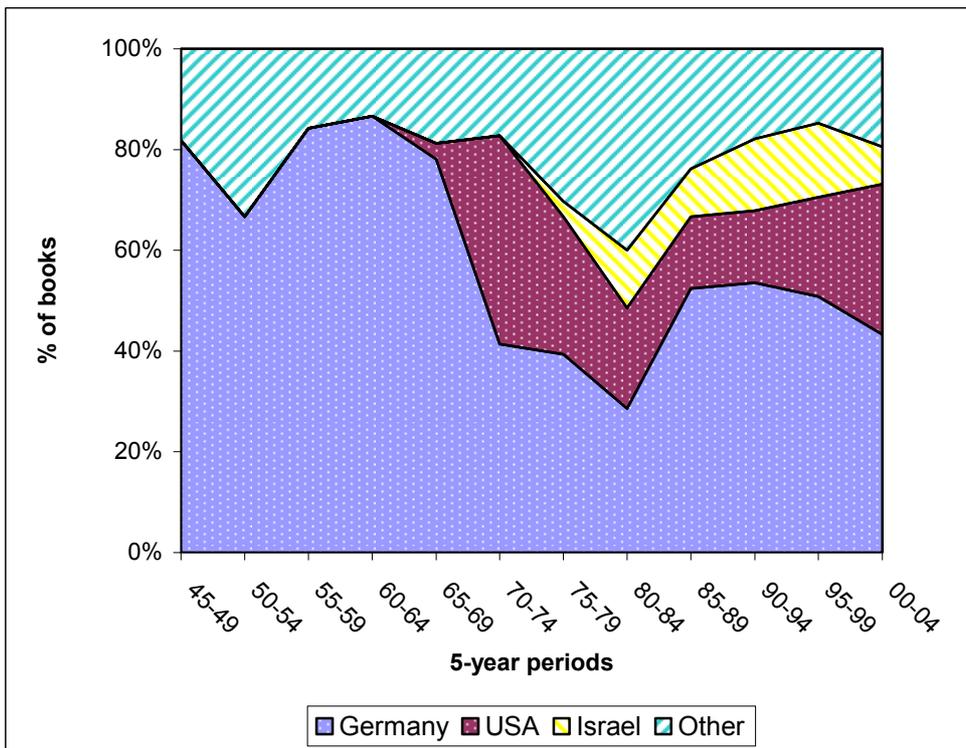
Fig. 5.1 shows the number of books first published in a particular period, divided by the nationality of the author, in absolute numbers. Fig. 5.2 shows development in the percentage of books by authors of various nationalities. The over-all number of titles increased with time, except for a pronounced dip in 1985-9. This increase cannot be taken as an indication of rising interest, as publishing in general grew significantly in the decades after the war. A notable result is that works by German authors were always the largest group, and were especially dominant before 1970. Clearly, interest in eschatology and Israel grew from a German root, and was not simply imported.<sup>6</sup> At an earlier stage, in the nineteenth century, there was substantial influence from other European nations, especially from Great Britain (2.1.2), but this influence had apparently been thoroughly absorbed, and no foreign impulse was needed to generate interest after 1945.

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<sup>6</sup> Koch’s (1967a) exuberant reaction to the Six Day War, which went through multiple editions, appeared within months. See also Bergmann (1973:39-72), which first appeared in 1961, and in 1973 reached 100,000 copies printed.



**Fig. 5.1** Development in number of books first published in a given period, by nationality of author (cumulative)



**Fig. 5.2** Relative development in nationality of authors

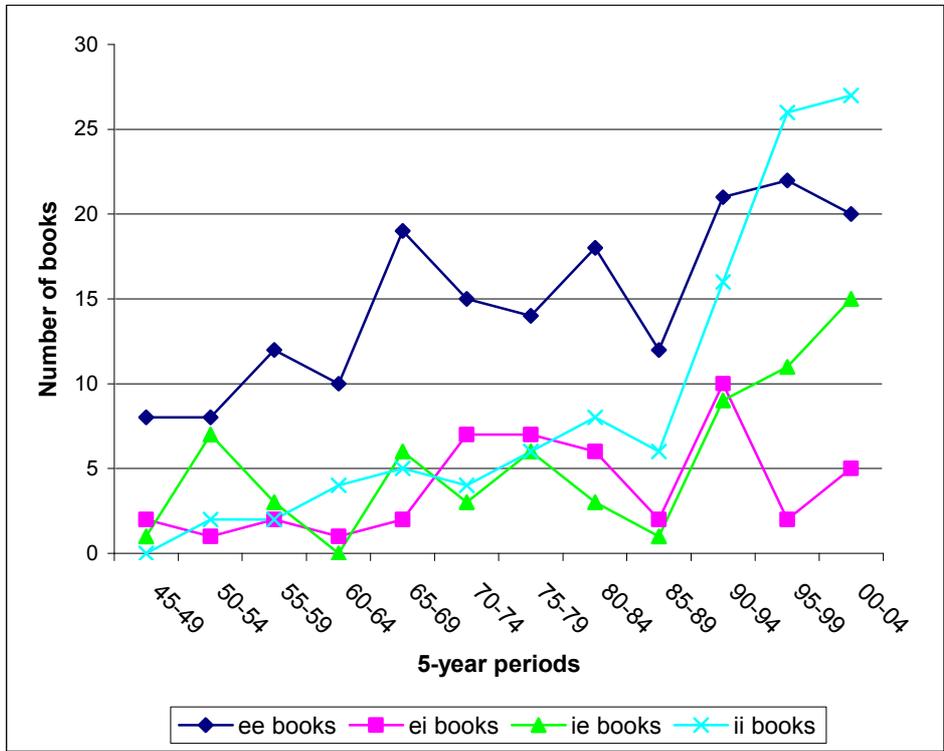


Fig. 5.3 Development in number of books first published in a given period, by their classification as end-time (ee, ei) or Israel book (ie, ii)

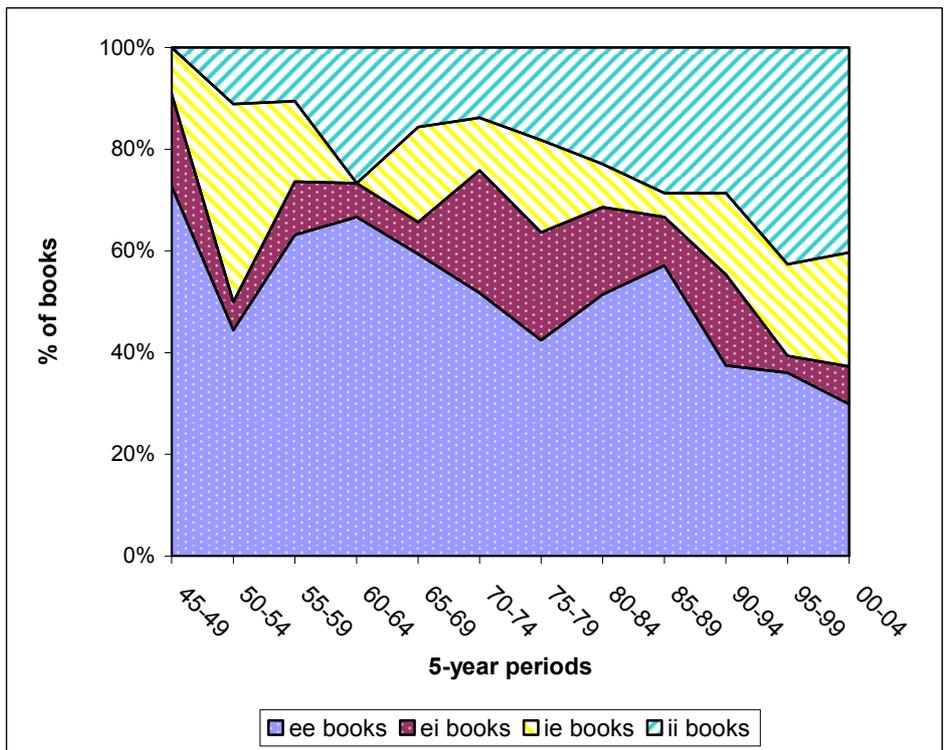


Fig. 5.4 Relative development in end-time (ee, ei) and Israel books (ie, ii)

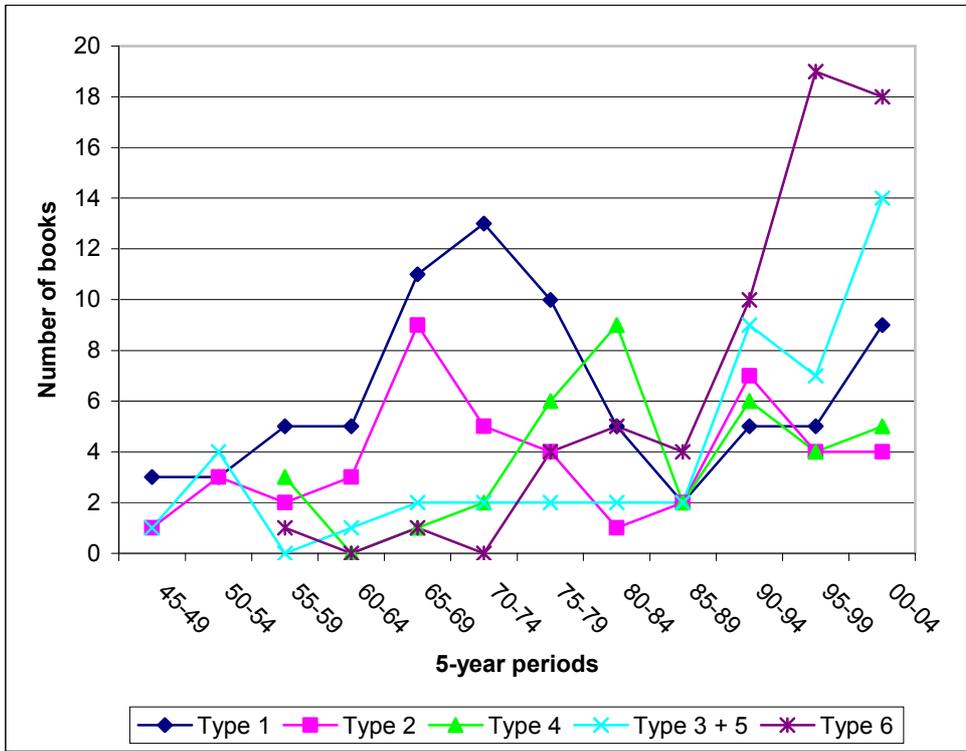


Fig. 5.5 Development in number of books first published in a given period, by type of Restorationism and Christian Zionism (Type 1-6)

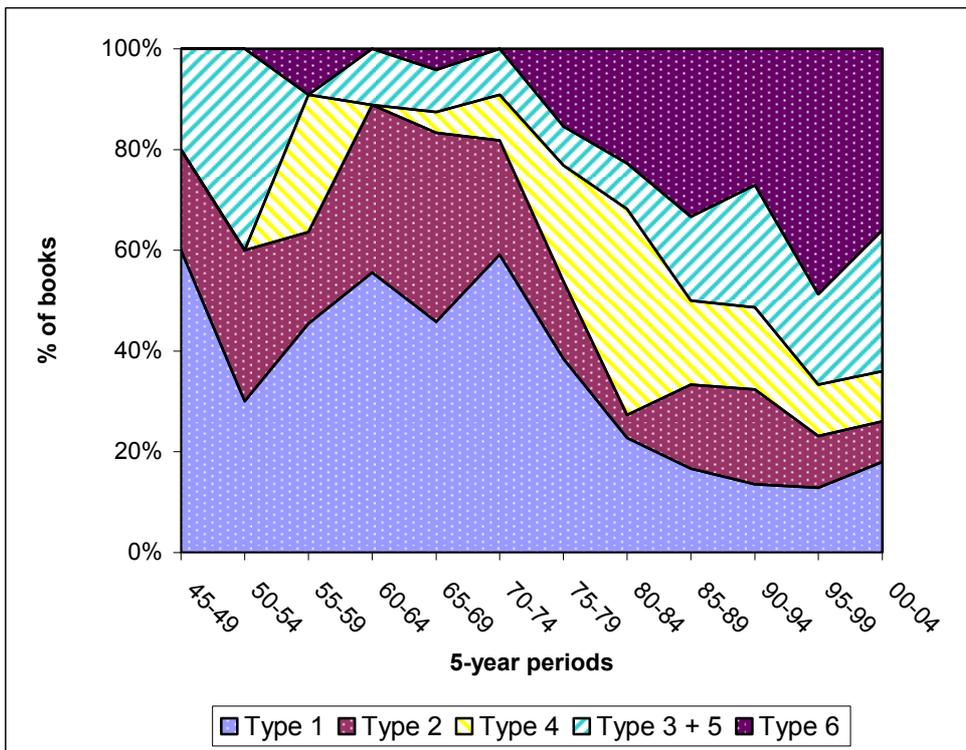
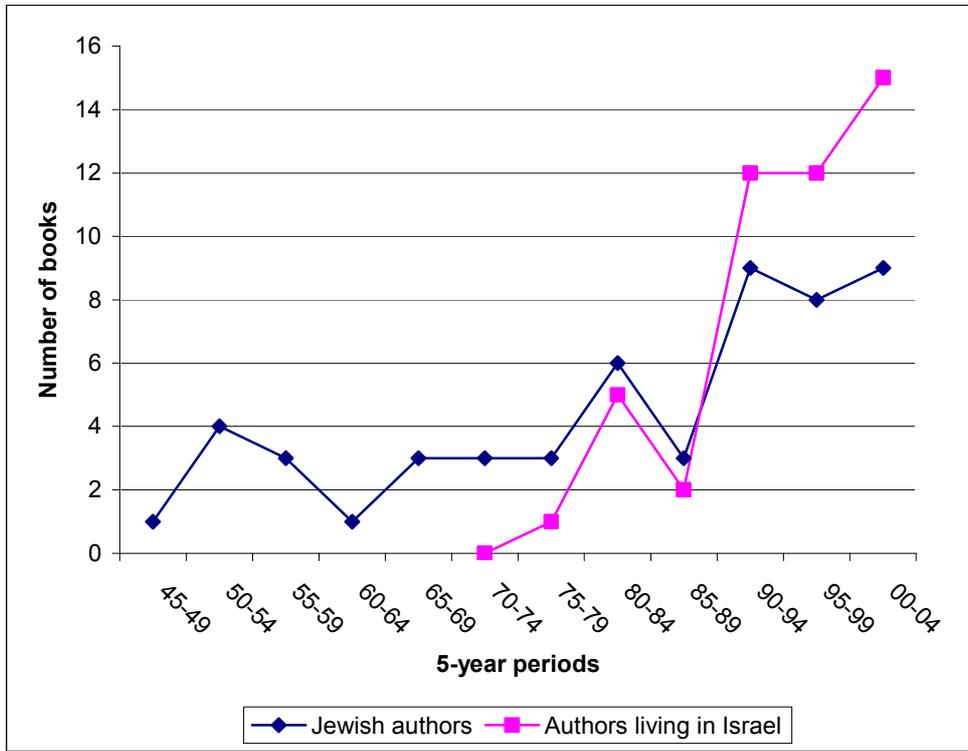
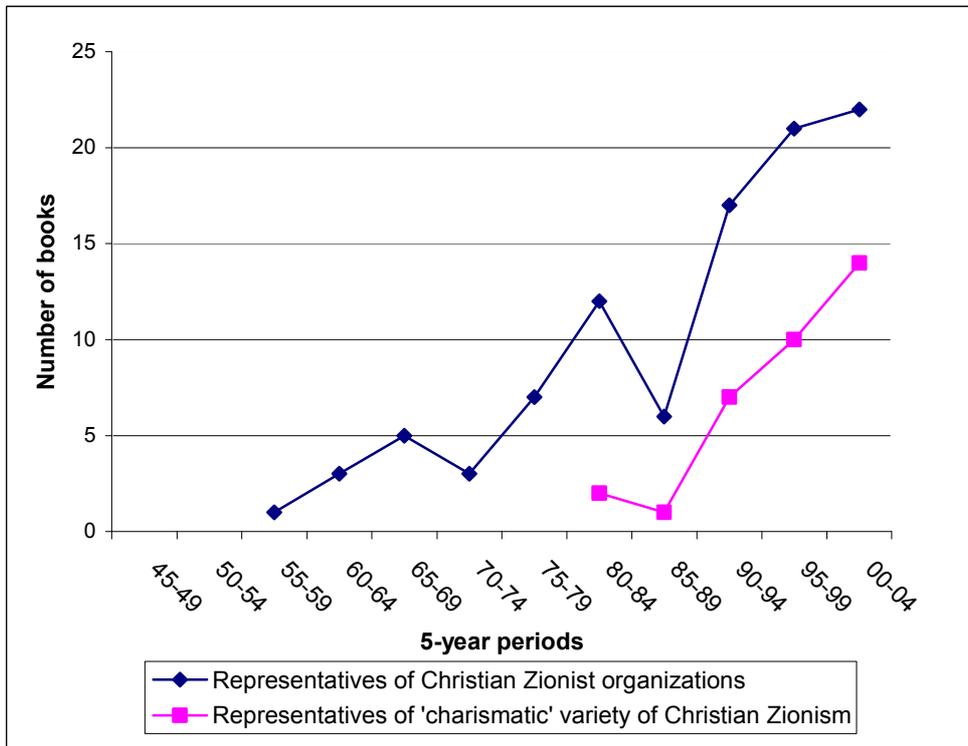


Fig. 5.6 Relative development in Restorationist and Christian Zionist books (Type 1-6)



**Fig. 5.7** Development in number of books by Jewish authors and by authors living in Israel



**Fig. 5.8** Development in number of books by authors representing Christian Zionist organizations and by authors representing a distinctly Charismatic variety of Christian Zionism

Particularly surprising is that only one book published before 1970 was an American translation (Wolff 1974, first published in 1969).<sup>7</sup> Why this dearth of American titles before 1970? It is not that no American Evangelical books were translated and published in Germany before 1969, nor that no end-time books were written in America during this period.<sup>8</sup> Several relevant works from other countries were translated and published in German, although not many (Chasles 1950; Conrad 1953; Hajos 1973, first published in 1968; Heijkoop 1951; Tatford 1972, first published in 1969; Wilkinson 1950, first published before the war). American end-time books had been printed in Germany at an earlier time; Holthaus (1993:429, 432-6) lists several American Dispensationalists (eg William E Blackstone, Philip Mauro, CI Scofield) whose works were published in German in the early twentieth century.

It is noteworthy that one publisher, Hermann Schulte, later Schulte & Gerth, took a special interest in the genre: it published 13 out of 22 translated American titles before 1980, including Hal Lindsey's 1970 bestseller (Lindsey & Carlson 1991, first published in German in 1971), and 5 out of 10 in 1980-89. However, Hänssler, R Brockhaus, Leuchter, and Johannes Fix also contributed titles during the 1970s. Gunner, who analysed 200 Swedish end-time books, found a parallel development in Sweden, where 'a wave of foremost American apocalyptic material appeared in Swedish translation,' and accounted for it as a result of the Six Day War. It should also be pointed out that an apocalyptic mood prevailed in the broader culture as well, characterized by serious environmental concerns and fear of nuclear war. Presumably therefore, the arrival of American books reflects the increased interest in prophecy during the 1970s both in the United States and in Germany, as well as the increasing influence of American Evangelicalism – and with it of Dispensationalism – in Germany (see 2.1.2), but it is still surprising that no translations of American end-time books appeared between 1945 and 1969.

### 5.3.1.2 End-time (ee, ei) and Israel (ie, ii) Books

Fig. 5.3 shows the development in the number of end-time and Israel books according to the classification defined in 5.2.2. The categories 'eeA' and 'eeB' were combined (ee). Regular end-time books (ee) reached a peak in 1965-9, and experienced a dip in 1985-9; 'ei' and 'ie' books also experienced this dip. Books on Israel (ie and ii) experienced an outright boom after 1990: almost two-thirds of 'ii' books were published after 1990. Fig. 5.4 shows the same development as a percentage of books first published in a given period. It reveals a clear shift in interest from eschatology to Israel. The relative peak in books on Israel in 1950-54 owes much to Abram Poljak.

### 5.3.1.3 Restorationism and Christian Zionism (Type 0-6)

Over the entire period, only 12 books offered an alternative position, presenting a decidedly non-Zionist and non-Restorationist view (Type 0);<sup>9</sup> this confirms the dearth of alternative voices in Germany noticed in Chapter Four. Fig. 5.5 shows the development in Restorationism and Christian Zionism for Type 1 to 6, as defined in 5.2.3. Since Type 3 was rare, it was combined with Type 5. This graph shows a clearer prophecy boom than the ones before: Type 1 peaked in 1965-79, Type 4 in 1975-84. The latter peak, it should be added, is almost solely the work of Wim Malgo, who in 1965-89 wrote 16 out of 20 titles in this category. There is also an early peak (1965-74) in Type 2. Both Type 1 and Type 4

<sup>7</sup> Albert Fünning, who wrote in the 1940s (1948a; 1948b; 1949; 1950), was an American citizen, but he was born in Germany and he wrote in German. His works are therefore not translations.

<sup>8</sup> See the bibliography of D Wilson (1991:247-55) and the endnotes of Boyer (1992:363-425).

<sup>9</sup> This does not include non-Zionist contributions in Munayer *et al.* (1994) and Munayer (2000).

display a pronounced dip in 1985-9, Type 2 in 1980-89. Type 3, 5, and 6 do not show such a dip, and increase significantly after 1990. Fig. 5.6 shows the extent of this increase in relative terms, and makes clear that Christian Zionist titles increased dramatically in comparison with Restorationist books. Again: an outright Israel boom is underway.

#### 5.3.1.4 Discussion: Two Waves

Fig. 5.5 suggests that the increase in titles from 1945 to 2004 took place in two waves, with a pause or a dip in 1985-9, dividing the two. Fig. 5.5 also suggests that the second wave is not merely a revitalization or resumption after a lull, but that the two waves are fundamentally different. The first wave, which included a large number of Type 1 books, was predominantly prophecy-driven or based on Premillennial salvation-historical theology; the second, with a large number of Type 5 and Type 6 books, is Israel-driven; it coincides with the shift from 'ee' to 'ii' books noticed in 5.3.1.2.<sup>10</sup> There are further differences between the two waves. In the first wave, foreign influence, at least initially, was low. The second wave owes more to foreign influence, including that coming from Israel (see the graphs in 5.3.1.1 and Fig. 5.7). The first wave involved many representatives of German Pietism and the Gemeinschaftsbewegung (community movement). The second wave is promoted by different people. Even if leading German Pietists or their close associates in the EA turned their attention to Israel, they rarely went so far as to become ideological or dogmatic Christian Zionists; usually, they did not move beyond Type 2, showing that movement from end-time fascination to Christian Zionism is far from automatic.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Fig. 5.8 makes clear that the second wave involves numerous representatives of Christian Zionist organizations, organizations often not yet in existence during the first wave. Fig. 5.8 also shows the influence of a new and Charismatic variety of Christian Zionism (to be discussed in 6.8); most of these books (24 out of 34) were written by an author also representing an organization. Together, the books in this graph account for more than a third of the 184 books<sup>12</sup> published in 1990-2004, most of them in Type 4, 5, and 6. This does not explain the entire increase, but it goes a long way towards it: Christian Zionist activists increasingly occupied the printing presses in the 1990s.

The dip of 1985-9, then, simply happened because fascination with prophecy and the end times, pervasive in the 1970s, declined before the new interest in Israel took off. Also, between the Lebanon War in 1982 and the Intifada, the Gulf War, and the subsequent Israeli-Arab negotiations, it was relatively quiet in Israel. The 1990s provided substantially more material for would-be writers and activists than the mid- and late 1980s. This corresponds well with the results of Chapter Four: events in the Middle East also affected the frequency of reporting on Israel in ideaSpektrum, leading to a lull after the Lebanon War.

Will this Israel boom continue or is it, like the prophecy boom before it, heading for a decline? In part this depends on developments in the Middle East. If tension continues, interest in Israel is likely to remain high. Only time can tell, but the present wave may last longer than the earlier one. The prophecy movement largely discredited itself through predictions that failed to come true and through its dependence on intensifying 'end-time hype', thus causing its own decline. Christian Zionists seem to be successfully promoting

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<sup>10</sup> This is similar to the distinction between Christian Zionist and apocalyptic literature made by Gunner (1996:381) in his study of Swedish end-time literature, although he does not speak of a chronological sequence: 'At the same time, some of the Swedish authors established a Christian Zionism with great admiration of Israel ... They minimized the apocalyptic view and emphasized the importance of Israel, where the state in itself became an important subject.'

<sup>11</sup> Schrupp (1992a; 1992b; 1997; 2001; 2003) and Eißler and Nänny (2001) are recent examples of this.

<sup>12</sup> Including 'eeA' books.

their views, and they have a more concrete cause and a broader programme for action to offer. Christian Zionism may therefore be in a better position to endure and even expand. On the other hand, as – arguably – a departure from the Evangelical root, it could also falter for lack of real life-giving content if after some time too many Evangelicals decide that they are misleading themselves, that Christian Zionism is a distraction or an aberration, or that it simply fails to provide the fulfilment and inspiration they look for in Evangelical faith, and move on to pursue other interests.

In conclusion, this section supports the thesis that Christian Zionism, while having much in common with popular prophecy beliefs, is emerging as a movement in its own right, with its own concerns and driving factors. Boundaries may be permeable and vague, but Christian Zionism is not just an aspect of the prophecy movement. It does not altogether ring true to champion Hal Lindsey, Tim LaHaye, and the bestselling apocalyptic fiction series Left Behind – or in Europe Wim Malgo – as the face of the movement. At best, they typify Type 4 Christian Zionism only. They deal primarily with the end times, not with Jewish life in Israel. Bodie Thoene with her Zion Chronicles (1986a; 1986b; 1987; 1988a; 1988b),<sup>13</sup> the ICEJ, and in Germany people like Ludwig Schneider and Harald Eckert put a different and more representative face on the movement, more in tune with the real nature and affections of its core. The Zion Chronicles include five volumes of fiction set in Israel/Palestine on the eve of the Declaration of Independence. While eschatology is certainly implied, it is in short supply in the actual text. Surprisingly, Zion Chronicles is rarely mentioned in studies of Christian Zionism, although its success, while not matching that of Left Behind, is certainly phenomenal: according to one editorial review, the ‘Zion Chronicles and Zion Covenant Series have sold more than 6 million copies’ (Amazon.com nd).

### 5.3.2 Dispensationalism and Other Factors

Because of the nature of the scales used – except for Dispensationalism, they call for an estimate, not a measurement – the following results should be taken with caution, and should not be overrated. Still, some interesting conclusions can be drawn. Since results for the apocalyptic factor largely proved not meaningful or trivial,<sup>14</sup> they have, with one exception (Fig. 5.12), been left out.

#### 5.3.2.1 Dispensationalism

Dispensationalism shows a slight decrease with time, especially in the final 10 years, with a slight peak in 1970-85 (Fig. 5.9). However, these trends are not strong. More important than development with time is the question how Dispensationalism divides between end-time and Israel books, and between the various types of Christian Zionism. Fig. 5.10 and 5.11 show that Dispensationalism is both clear and strong in end-time books (eeA, eeB, ei) as well as in Type 1 and 4 books. It is far less clear (note the category ‘Dispensationalism ?’) and less strong (note the category ‘Dispensationalism 0’) in Israel books (ie, ii) as well as in Type 5 and 6 books.

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<sup>13</sup> As well as their various prequels and sequels: Zion Covenant, Zion Legacy, and A.D. Chronicles. Significantly, Zion Covenant relates the persecution of Jews in Europe during the 1930s and 1940s.

<sup>14</sup> Eg end-time books (eeA, eeB) and Christian Zionism Type 4 books score high on apocalyptic, and Israel books (ii) low; this is inherent in their definitions.

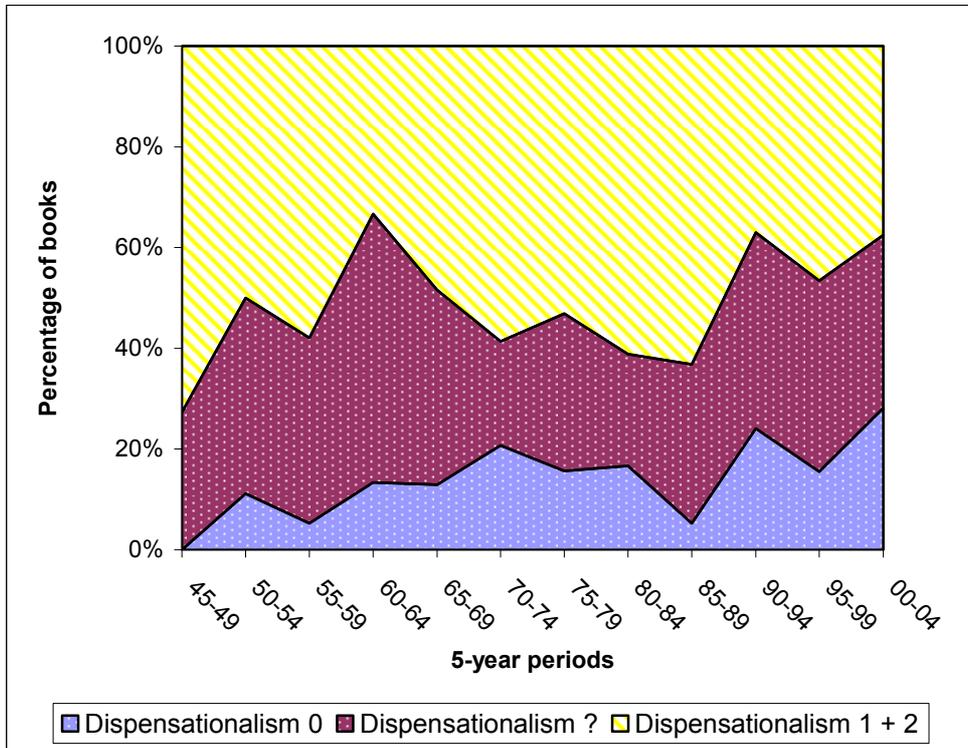


Fig. 5.9 Relative development of Dispensationalist books

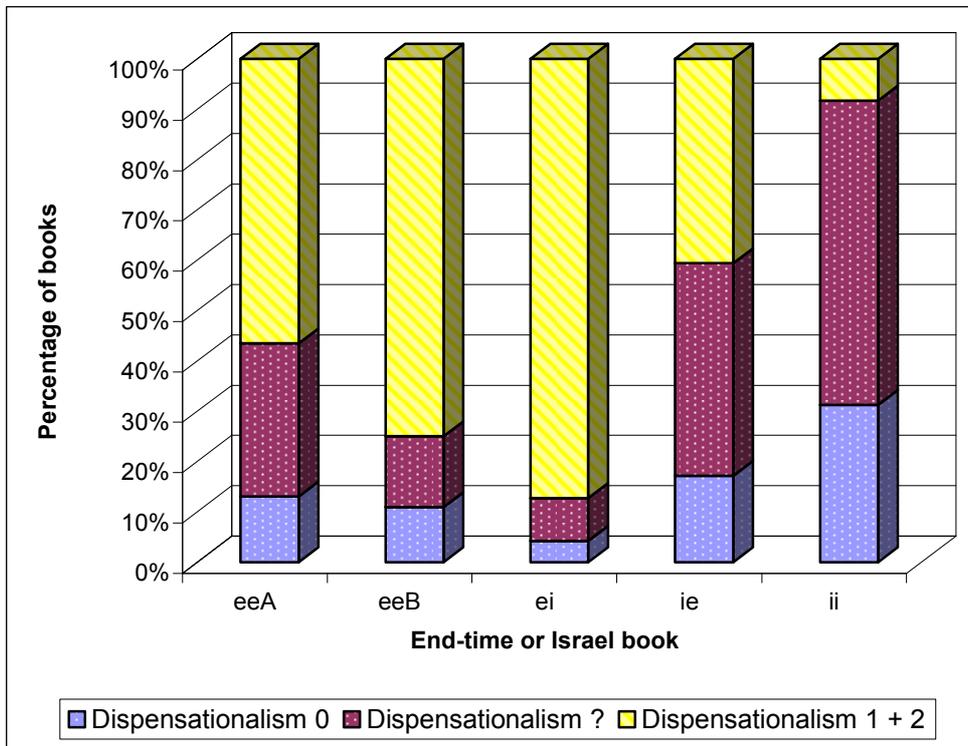
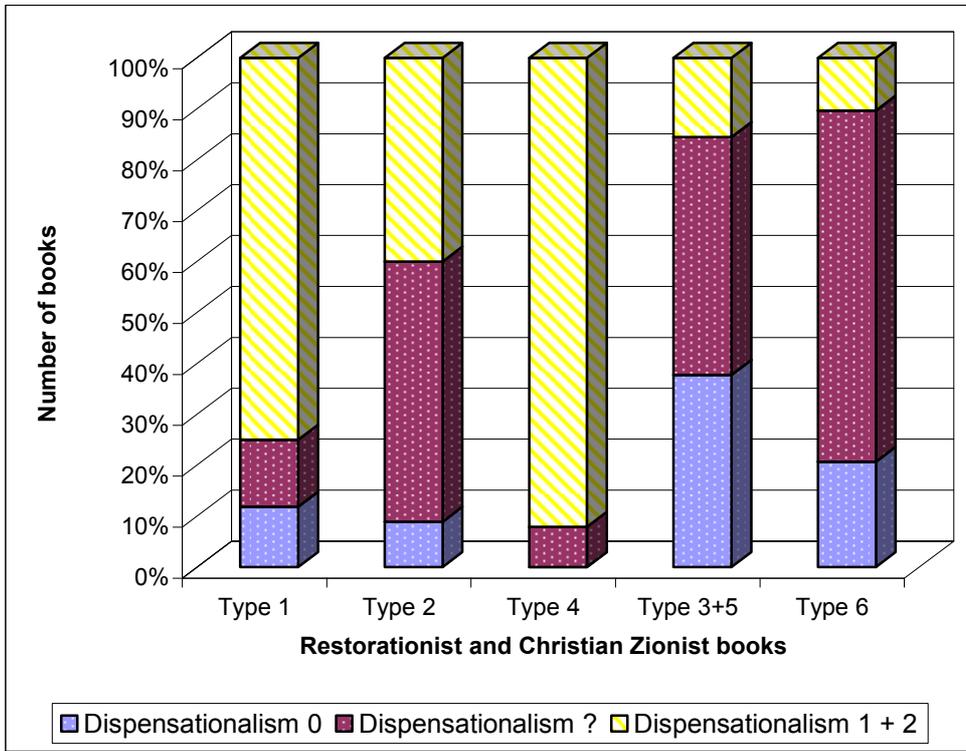
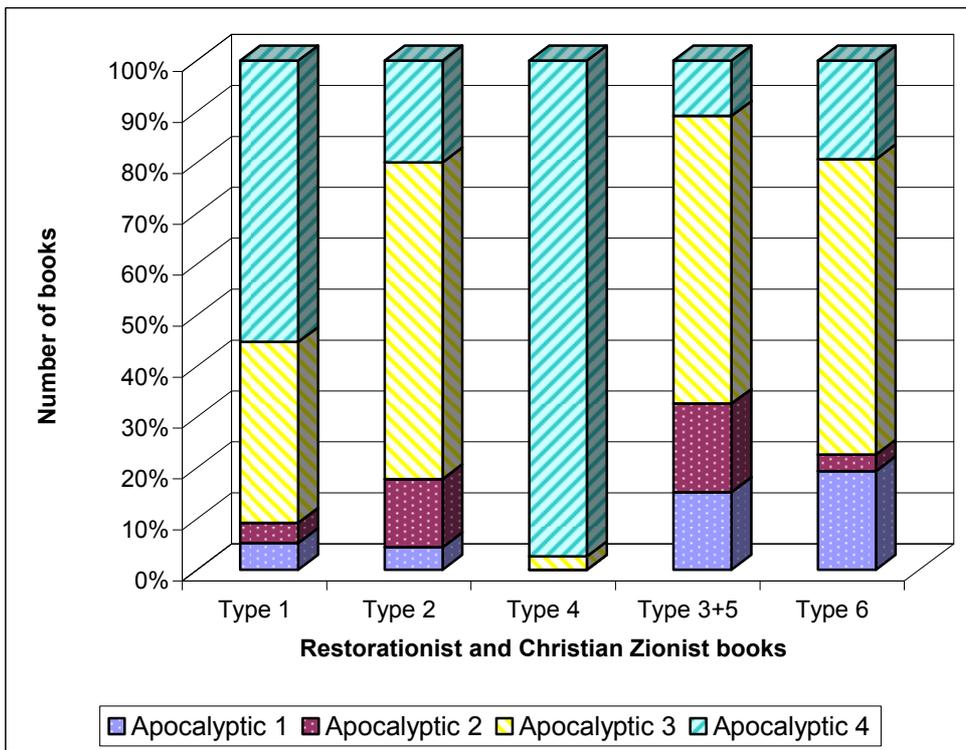


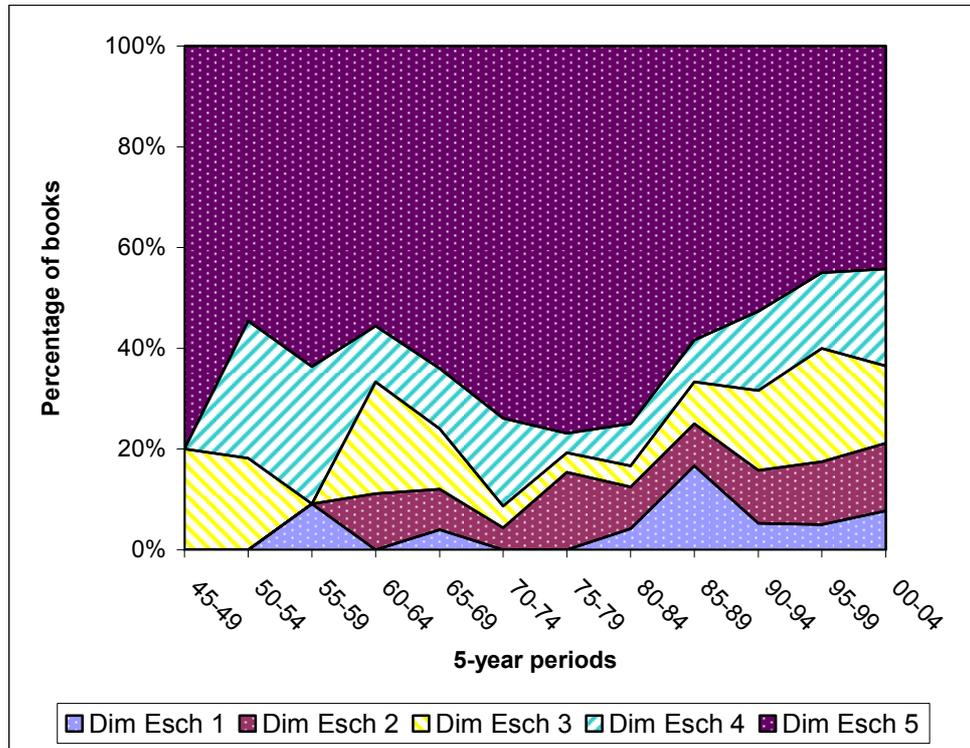
Fig. 5.10 Importance of Dispensationalism in end-time (eeA, eeB, ei) and Israel books (ie, ii)



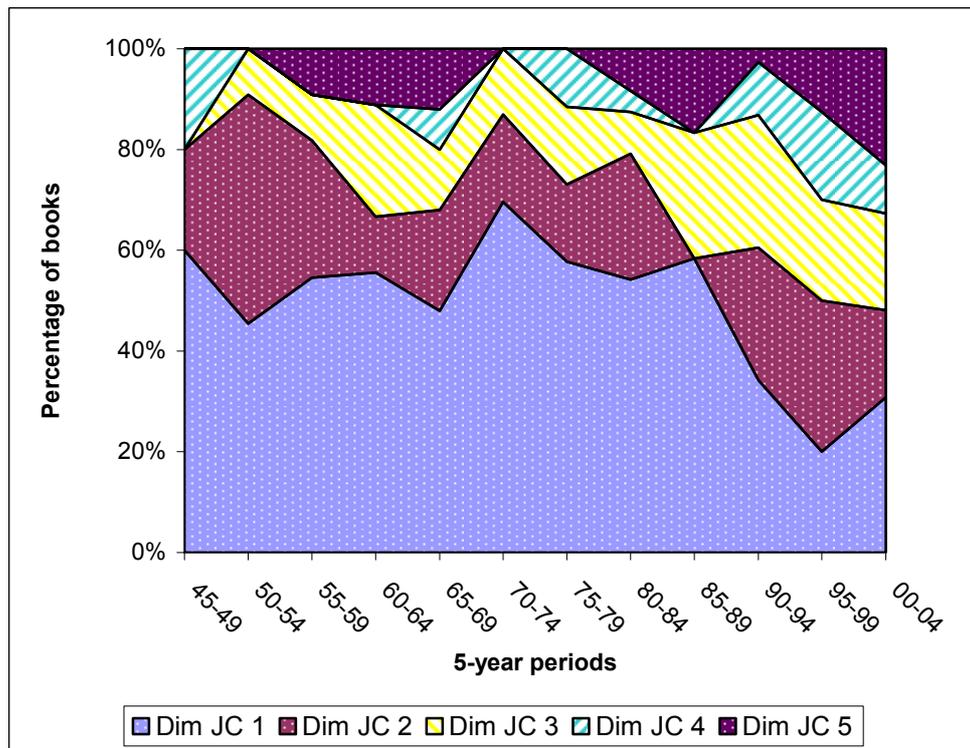
**Fig. 5.11 Importance of Dispensationalism in Restorationist and Christian Zionist books (Type 1-6)**



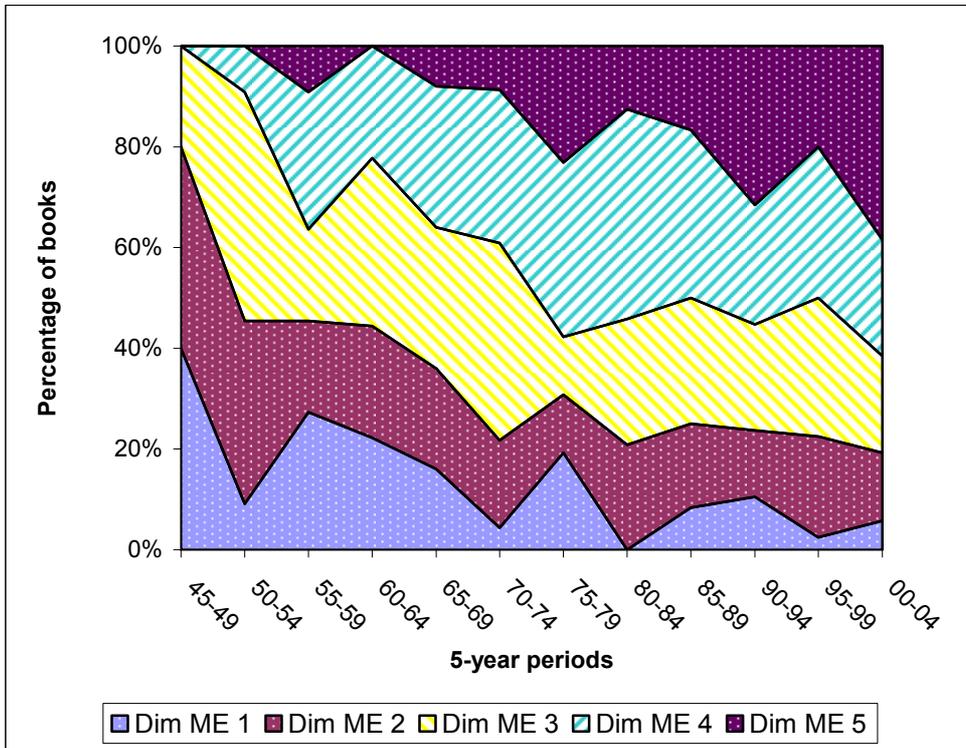
**Fig. 5.12 Importance of the apocalyptic factor (1 = not apocalyptic, 4 = strongly apocalyptic) in Restorationist and Christian Zionist books (Type 1-6)**



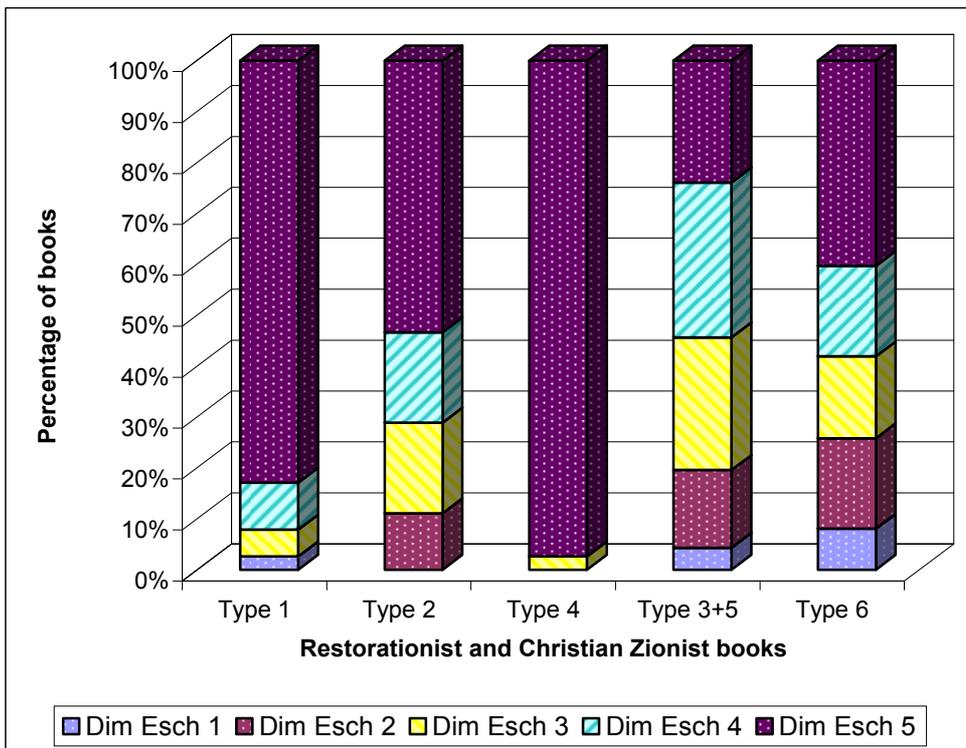
**Fig. 5.13** Development in the importance of the eschatology dimension (Dim Esch; 1 = not important, 5 = very important)



**Fig. 5.14** Development in the importance of the dimension history of Jewish-Christian relations (Dim JC; 1 = not important, 5 = very important)



**Fig. 5.15** Development in the importance of the Middle East dimension (Dim ME; 1 = not important, 5 = very important)



**Fig. 5.16** Importance of the eschatology dimension (Dim Esch; 1 = not important, 5 = very important) in Restorationist and Christian Zionist books (Type 1-6)

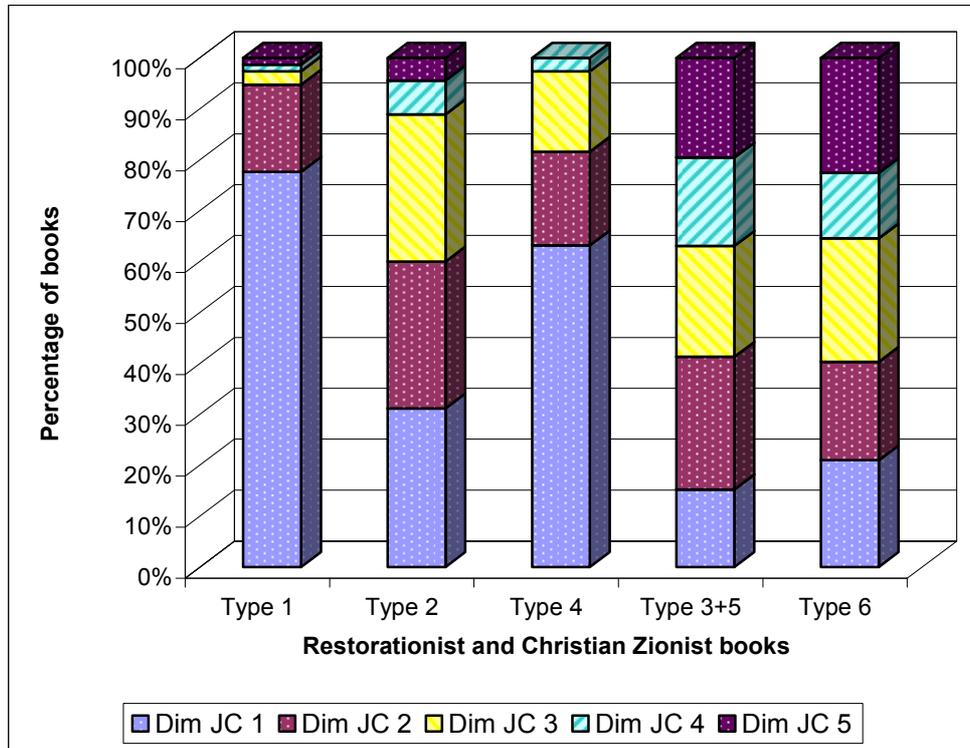


Fig. 5.17 Importance of the history of Jewish-Christian relations dimension (Dim JC; 1 = not important, 5 = very important) in Restorationist and Christian Zionist books (Type 1-6)

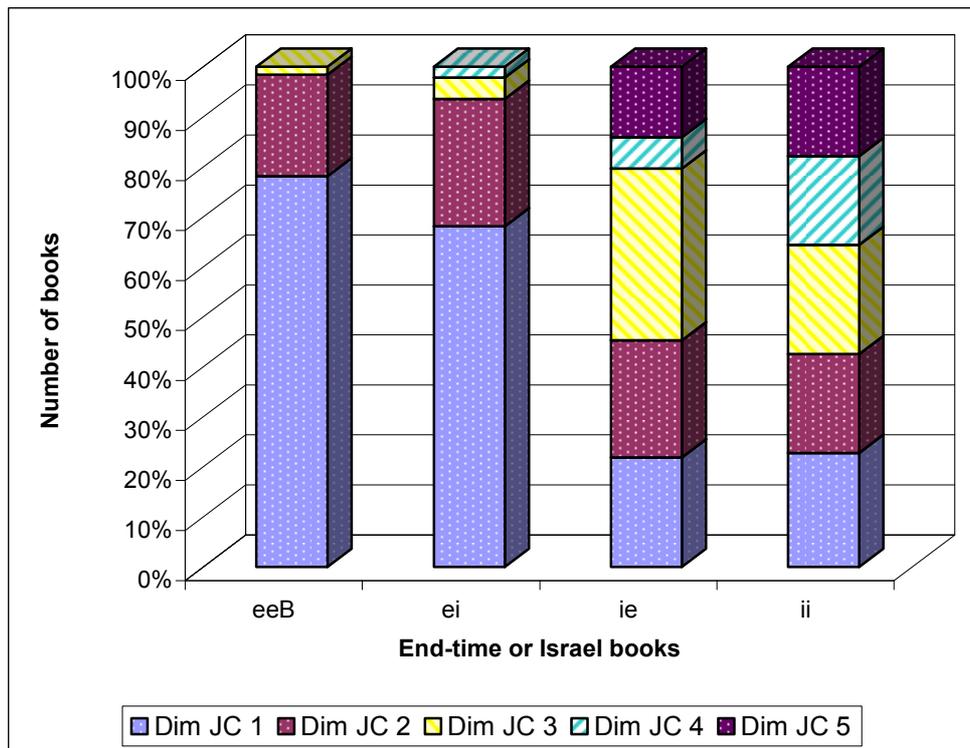


Fig. 5.18 Importance of the history of Jewish-Christian relations dimension (Dim JC; 1 = not important, 5 = very important) in end-time (eeB, ei) and Israel books (ie, ii)

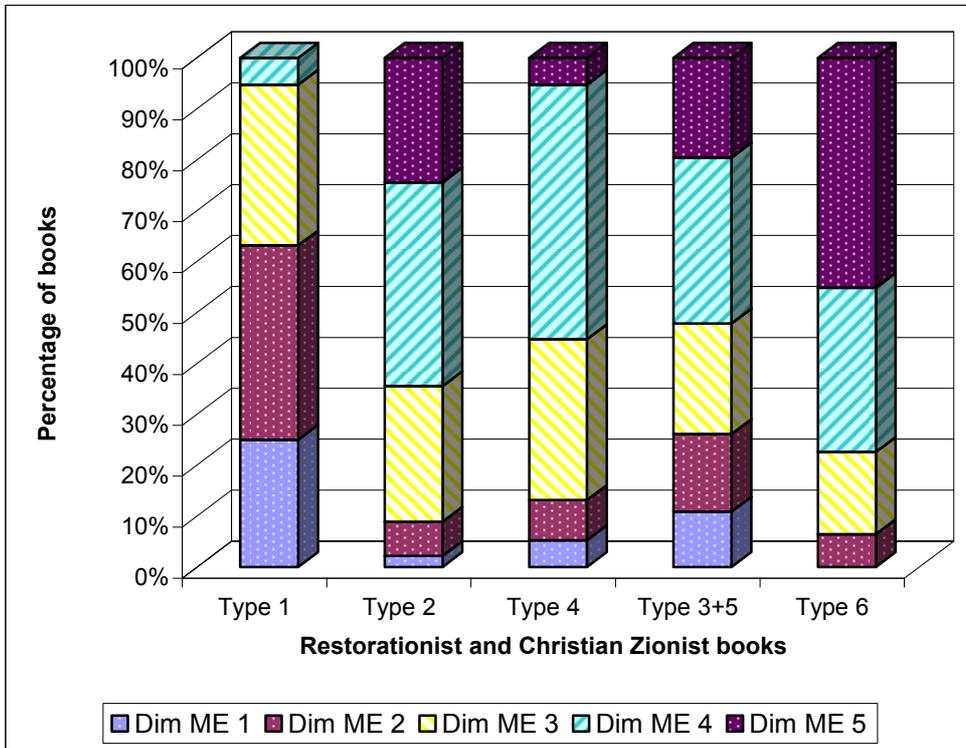


Fig. 5.19 Importance of the Middle East dimension (Dim ME; 1 = not important, 5 = very important) in Restorationist and Christian Zionist books (Type 1-6)

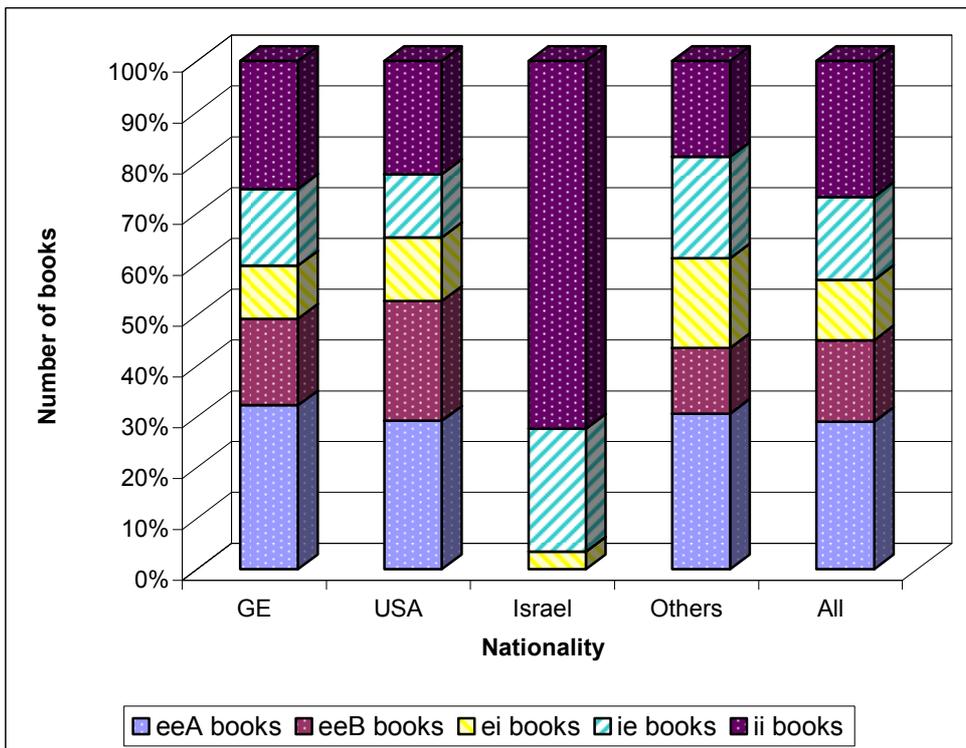


Fig. 5.20 Percentage of end-time (eeA, eeB, ei) and Israel books (ie, ii) by nationality (GE = Germany)

Fig. 5.12 and Fig. 5.16 show it is Dispensationalism, not necessarily eschatology, which is missing. Not surprisingly, Type 1 and 4 are the most apocalyptic and eschatological, but these factors are far from absent in Type 5 and 6. This means authors of Type 5 and 6 books may well pay attention to eschatological issues, but do not often base their argumentation on Dispensationalist theology. That Dispensationalism is weak in those books in which Christian Zionism is strong suggests Dispensationalism is not necessarily foundational or central to a Christian Zionist scheme of things. It may be, but in a number of cases it is not. Christian Zionism can and does exist independently of Dispensationalism. This means that Dispensationalism and Christian Zionism are not synonymous or concomitant. It is understandable that an observer of the American scene, where the two largely do coincide, comes to the conclusion that ‘Christian Zionists adopt a Dispensationalist approach to history as advanced by John Nelson Darby and popularized by CI Scofield’s version of the Bible’ (DE Wagner nd). However, the statement is certainly not true for all Christian Zionists. A number of its thinkers and writers do not accept the Dispensational system (Dispensationalism ‘0’). That a number of others do not base their argumentation on it (Dispensationalism ‘?’) is also significant; apparently, it is not at the centre of their belief system.<sup>15</sup> Obviously, then, Dispensationalism is not universally accepted by Christian Zionists, and in many titles plays no role in an exposition of Christian Zionist theology.

#### 5.3.2.2 Three Dimensions

The following graphs show the estimated importance of eschatology (Fig. 5.13), the history of Jewish-Christian relations, Jewish suffering, and the Holocaust (Fig. 5.14), and Israel and the Middle East (Fig. 5.15). Not surprisingly, eschatology is important throughout, especially in 1970-84, but less so after 1985 (Fig. 5.13). The latter reflects the increase in Christian Zionist books and in titles focused primarily on Israel rather than on the end times. Low interest in eschatology is heavily concentrated in Christian Zionist books of Type 3, 5, and 6 (Fig. 5.16).<sup>16</sup> However, Type 5 and 6 can also score high on eschatology. As a result, interest in eschatology did not decrease to the same extent that interest in Israel increased. The importance of Restorationism as a pillar of Christian Zionism guarantees continuing coverage of eschatology, but the movement is less absorbed in it than the prophecy movement was and is.

The Jewish-Christian dimension is far from dominant, but it is still the primary topic of a minority of titles (Fig. 5.14). It is present throughout the period, showing a light increase after 1985. High scores for this factor appear mainly in Type 3, 5, and 6 books (Fig. 5.17), as well as in ‘ie’ and ‘ii’ books (Fig. 5.18). This suggests it is a secondary but important component of Christian Zionism.

The clearest trend is shown by interest in Israel and the Middle East, which consistently increased (Fig. 5.15). This is of course similar to what was already noticed in 5.3.1.2 and 5.3.1.3: Christian Zionism, interest in Israel, and with it interest in the Middle East increased with time. Not surprisingly, Christian Zionist books of Type 2, 4, 5, and 6 score high on Middle East interest, but it is noteworthy that Type 6, the strongest form of

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<sup>15</sup> Of course, many supporters of the movement may well be influenced by Dispensationalist books or ideas, whether they realize it or not. The research approach used here is not equipped to determine how much, or how little, influence Dispensationalism has in the movement as a whole. The point established here is that this influence is not universal, and that Christian Zionism can very well be non-Dispensationalist.

<sup>16</sup> The same is true for ‘ii’ books, although this is not meaningful; by having Israel as their main topic, they must by definition give less space to eschatology.

Christian Zionism, overwhelmingly shows the highest interest (Fig. 5.19).<sup>17</sup> The shifts in these three factors fit well with the different natures of the two waves discussed in 5.3.1.4.

### 5.3.3 Germany in International Comparison

For practical reasons, books written by German authors are compared in this section with books by foreign authors translated into German. This is of course not ideal, since it makes the selection dependent on the preference of German publishers and readers. This is more likely to diminish differences between nationalities than to amplify them, since the most dissimilar books may well be perceived as strange, or as too American or otherwise, and may therefore be avoided by publishers. Of special interest is the comparison with American translations. The set of American books with just over 70 titles is not a perfect sample either, but it includes many authors who are well known and successful both abroad and at home, and it may therefore be considered an acceptable sample of American positions. Israeli books are particularly interesting, and, as will become obvious, they are strikingly different from the rest; it needs to be kept in mind however that their number – 29 – is small.

#### 5.3.3.1 End-time (eeA, eeB, ei) and Israel (ie, ii) Books

Measured by this standard, German books give a little more attention to Israel than American books: more German books fall into categories ‘ie’ and ‘ii’, but the difference is slight (Fig. 5.20). It does not come as a surprise that Israeli authors give great attention to Israel.

#### 5.3.3.2 Restorationism and Christian Zionism (Type 0-6)

American books count substantially more ‘pure’ end-time books (Type 1) than German books do (Fig. 5.21). Taking Type 5 and 6 books together, the percentage for Germany and the United States is almost equal. However, more of the German books come in Type 5, suggesting a higher level of moderation. Noticeable is also the high percentage of German Type 2 books, likewise pointing to German interest and moderation. Type 2 authors overwhelmingly represent Pietist groups, the Gemeinschaftsbewegung, and the Premillennial brand of heilsgeschichtliche theology; they exemplify the Israel-friendly but not dogmatically Christian Zionist position of a large portion of leading Evangelicals noticed elsewhere (Chapter Four). Taking all of this together, it indicates interest in Israel is both greater and more moderate in German than in American books. Other nationalities score high on Type 4, but this is largely due to the fact that Wim Malgo and Mitternachtsruf have habitually majored in this kind of apocalyptic Israel-centred writing. That Israeli authors are overwhelmingly in Type 5 and 6 is, again, no surprise.

#### 5.3.3.3 Dispensationalism

Quite pronounced are the differences in Dispensationalism (Fig. 5.22). Israeli books are least likely to voice Dispensationalism explicitly and most likely to make statements incompatible with it. Next to Israelis, German authors are the least, American authors the most Dispensational. That other nationalities come out quite Dispensational is again largely due to Mitternachtsruf.

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<sup>17</sup> Needless to say, ‘ie’ and ‘ii’ books show high interest in the Middle East as well, but as with eschatology, this is a result of how they were defined.

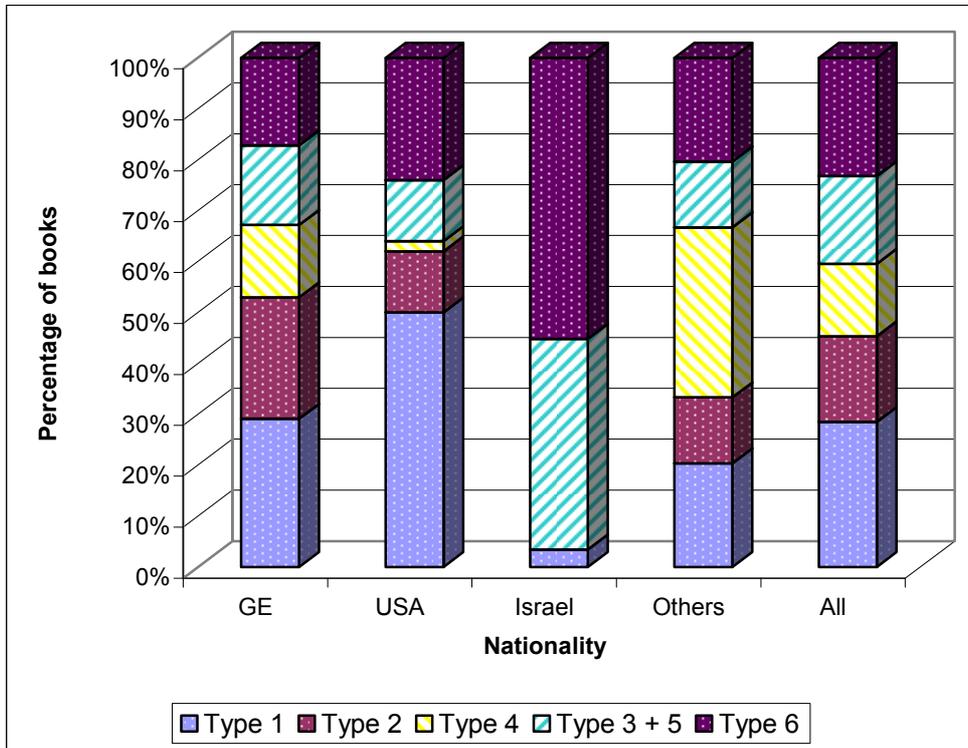


Fig. 5.21 Percentage of Restorationist and Christian Zionist books (Type 1-6) by nationality (GE = Germany)

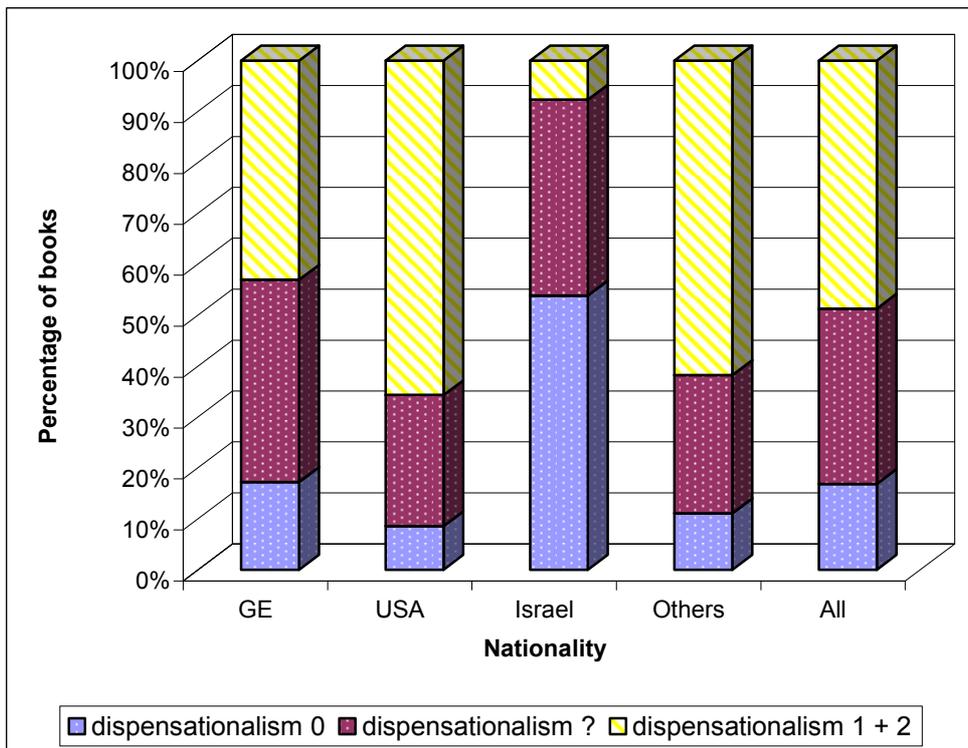


Fig. 5.22 Importance of Dispensationalism by nationality (GE = Germany)

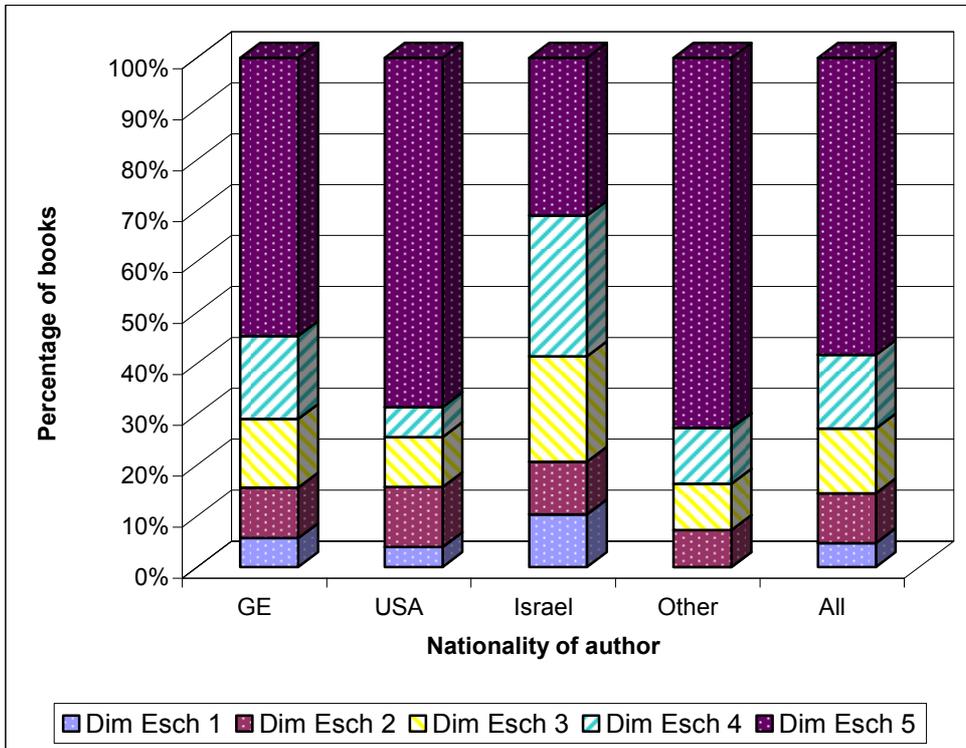


Fig. 5.23 Importance of the eschatology dimension (Dim Esch; 1 = not important, 5 = very important) by nationality (GE = Germany)

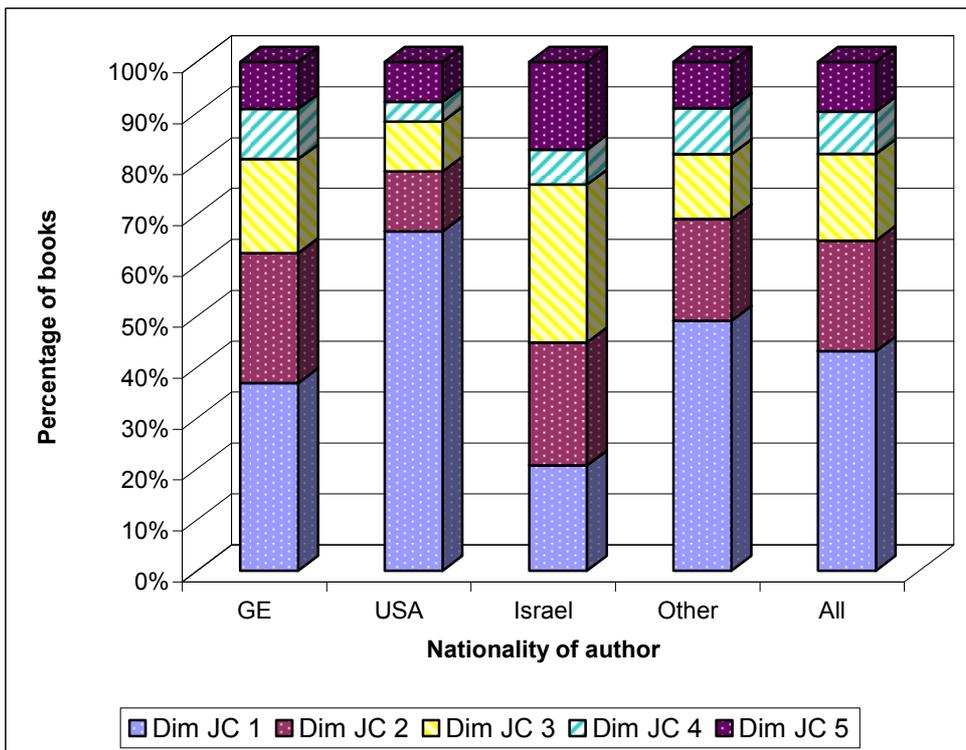


Fig. 5.24 Importance of the history of Jewish-Christian relations dimension (Dim JC; 1 = not important, 5 = very important) by nationality (GE = Germany)

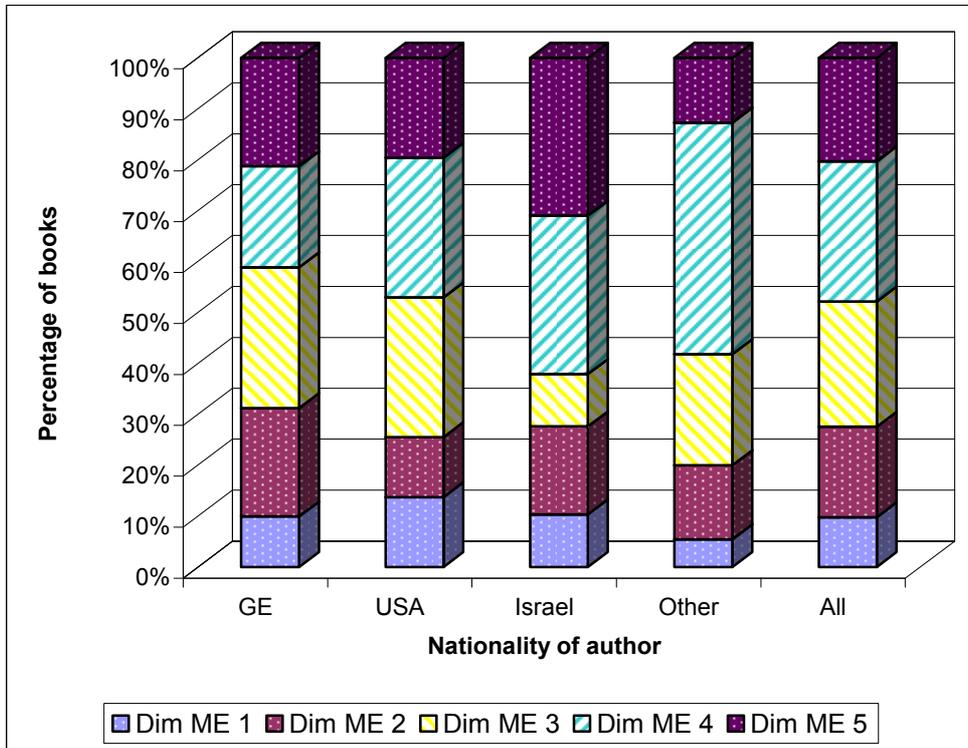


Fig. 5.25 Importance of the Middle East dimension (Dim ME; 1 = not important, 5 = very important) by nationality (GE = Germany)

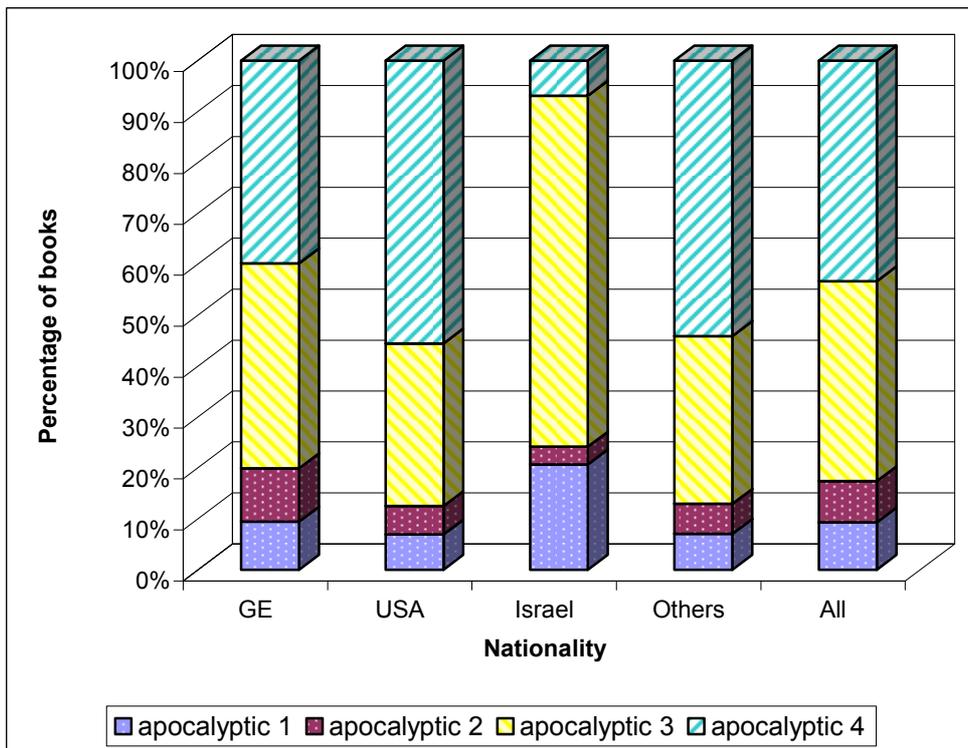


Fig. 5.26 Importance of the apocalyptic factor (1-4; 1 = not apocalyptic, 4 = strongly apocalyptic) by nationality (GE = Germany)

#### 5.3.3.4 Three Dimensions

For the eschatology dimension Germany scores slightly lower than the United States and other nations, but the differences are small (Fig. 5.23). For the dimension history of Jewish-Christian relations, Israel and Germany score higher, the United States lower than average (Fig. 5.24). For the Middle East dimension, Germany and the United States are close to the average, Israel and the other nations are above it (Fig. 5.25); for the latter, this is due to titles by Wim Malgo and Derek Prince.

#### 5.3.3.5 Apocalyptic

When it comes to the apocalyptic factor, German books clearly score lower than either American or other books (Fig. 5.26). Again, the indication is one of relative German moderation.

#### 5.3.3.6 Discussion: Germany in international comparison

Not counting Israeli books, German books show more interest in the Jewish-Christian past, as well as more moderation when it comes to eschatology and Christian Zionism than American books. They are less Dispensational and apocalyptic. These differences are sometimes minor, but then, the tools used are rather rough. Much is not captured by the mere numbers gathered here. The general impression gained from the literature included in this analysis suggests the numbers underestimate the actual differences. Germans reminiscing about their and the Jews' history – understandably – often show more personal remorse and are more personally disturbed by it than American or other authors. The amount of material is usually quite small, and therefore the score may be hardly affected by it, but when Germans write about Israel, the German past is never far away and is often deeply felt. Such reminiscences already appeared early on in the period of study<sup>18</sup> and continue well into the present.<sup>19</sup> In addition, German books frequently struck me as less militant, dogmatic, and speculative than American books. Militancy and geopolitical considerations, for instance speaking of Israel as 'our' ally in the hostile Middle East, are common among American Evangelicals, but rare in German literature. The latter of course matches differences in the broader culture.

On eschatology, no doubt the Gemeinschaftsbewegung, firmly rooted in the German Protestant tradition and in many ways quite down-to-earth, functions as a moderating influence. Besides, the history of Evangelicals and free churches in Germany is quite different from that in America. They were always a small minority, and for a long time faced opposition, state interference, and legal limitations. As a result, German Evangelicals did not develop the kind of exuberant optimism that dominated American Evangelicalism during the nineteenth century, and Postmillennialism never became as common as in the United States.<sup>20</sup> Neither did they swing as wildly into the opposite direction when Postmillennial optimism broke down. Non-Dispensational Premillennialism has had a strong, early, and continuing presence in Germany in Pietist circles from an early date, and therefore Dispensationalism could not achieve the almost total dominance it attained in the United States. This is not to deny that Dispensationalism gained a following in Germany as well; it just could not replace the older Historic Premillennialism the way it could replace

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<sup>18</sup> Most notably in Schlink (1967, first published in 1958), but also in Hartenstein (1952:11), A Salomon (1956:112-14), Huigens (1961:7f, 66f, 72; 1962:8, 88, 106), Bergmann (1973:49-52, 62-6), Ludwig (1966:11, 32, 48), and others.

<sup>19</sup> Especially the Marienschwestern, GGE, and Harald Eckert (CFRI, Israel Heute) continue to give much attention to this.

<sup>20</sup> For eschatological views of German Evangelicals in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see 2.1.2.

Postmillennialism. Existing side by side with Historic Premillennialism, it remained more open and flexible than American Dispensationalism. As a result, the general approach in German books appears more cautious and less prone to speculation; in short, it is more moderate.

### 5.3.4 **Typology**

Stephen Sizer (2002b:96-105, 306f; 2004:96-105, 255-7) proposes a typology of Christian Zionism based on (1) whether it is Dispensational or not; (2) its position on Jewish evangelism; and (3) its stance on several apocalyptic, political, and land-related issues. He distinguishes four types: covenantal Premillennial, Messianic Dispensational, apocalyptic Dispensational, and political Dispensational. Only the first is not Dispensational. The first two support Jewish evangelism. The third considers it optional and is more interested in apocalyptic questions. The fourth deems evangelism unnecessary and is primarily political. Each type is also characterized by a position on the issues just referred to under (3).

There are several problems with this typology. For one, it is based on relatively few organisations and people. To be sure, all the organizations included by Sizer are large and influential. But here the principle of the ‘long tail’ (Anderson 2006) applies: the large number of small organizations with a limited following taken together add up to a large portion of the Christian Zionist movement. It is unlikely that everyone engaged in witnessing to Jews thinks like either Jews for Jesus or like CMJ on other issues, or that every ‘political’ organization automatically shares the ICEJ’s position more or less across the board; not all political Christian Zionists have ‘repudiated’ Armageddon (Sizer 2002b:306). The typology works for Sizer’s sample, but if a larger, or different, sample is used, as in this study, the typology quickly breaks down.

In addition, it leans heavily on American representatives and on Dispensationalism, which, at least outside the United States, is not as central to Christian Zionism as is usually assumed. Many Christian Zionists whom Sizer would have to put into one of the Dispensational types make statements, especially on the relation between Israel and the church, which are not very or not at all Dispensational, including the ICEJ.

And above all: the factors that Sizer brings up are important enough, but they appear in virtually every conceivable combination. Political Christian Zionism can be quite apocalyptic – or not; Messianic Jews and those evangelizing Jews are often quite political, and can be apocalyptic as well; apocalyptic Christian Zionists can be quite political; if they were apolitical, they would not be Christian Zionists. In addition, Christian Zionists differ widely within each type on all the other issues that went into the typology. Even covenantalism and Dispensationalism can mix; there are expositions on the unity of Israel and the church based on Ephesians 2 in books that elsewhere contain Dispensational elements or effectively gainsay this unity by introducing various distinctions between Israel and the church (see 6.1 and 7.1.2.6). This is, of course, contradictory and inconsistent, but we are dealing with popular, not academic, theology, and the human brain is quite adept at holding incompatible ideas and beliefs together.

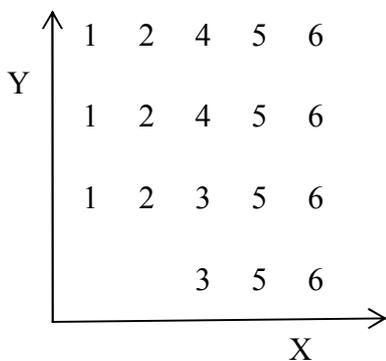
Least convincing of the four proposed types is Messianic Dispensational Christian Zionism; besides, its definition is not quite clear: is it to include Messianic Judaism (which is quite diverse on many issues), or is it limited to those, whether Jewish or not, who are interested in evangelizing Jews rather than in supporting Israel politically? But often evangelism and support go hand in hand.<sup>21</sup> Besides, some organizations focusing on Christian witness to Jews are not Christian Zionist at all. In addition, it is not true that this,

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<sup>21</sup> For organizations that want to cooperate with Jewish institutions evangelism is, of course, problematic, but otherwise it is quite possible to support Israel and evangelize Jews at the same time (cf. Jews for Jesus).

rather than the apocalyptic type, is where interest in the temple and restoration of its worship is highest, as Sizer suggests (2002b:307; 2004:255).<sup>22</sup>

All the labels mentioned by Sizer are important; they just do not make such a neat fourfold typology. Christian Zionism defies a rigid typology, especially one that is based on doctrinal positions. Many Christian Zionists do not seem to choose their connections on the basis of agreement in finer points of doctrine, and they are not necessarily critical about their own views and those of their associates.



**Fig. 5.27 Typology of Christian Zionism (Type 1-6), based on commitment to Israel (X) and apocalyptic eschatology (Y)**

It would therefore make more sense to base a typology on the strength of commitment to Israel and on the emphasis on apocalyptic eschatology rather than on a number of more detailed doctrinal opinions. This is the basis of the scale used in question three of the questionnaire (5.2.3). Treating these two, Israel and apocalyptic, as two axes, the result is a continuous spectrum, in which the six types of Restorationism and Christian Zionism from the scale used in this chapter can be arranged as in Fig. 5.27.

Additional denominators can be added to describe a particular representative of a type; he, she, or it can be Dispensational or Messianic Jewish, hold a particular view on Christian mission to Jews, or belong to the Charismatic variety of Christian Zionism to be discussed in 6.8. However, such denominators are not part of the definition of these types, since they do not appear in consistent patterns.

Of course, these types do show some affinity with Sizer’s typology. Type 2 and 3 partially overlap with covenantal Christian Zionism, Type 4 falls largely within Sizer’s apocalyptic form (although it is not always Dispensational), and Type 6 is close to Sizer’s political Christian Zionism. But they are defined differently, and, I posit, in a more functional way, providing a framework to think of Christian Zionism as a continuous spectrum of views displaying substantial variation on secondary issues.

## 5.4 CONCLUSIONS

German interest in the end times and Israel after 1945 is not a recent import, much less an American import, but has firm roots in the German Evangelical movement. There is, however, increasing influence from abroad beginning in the 1970s, most noticeably from the United States, from Israel, and through Mitternachtsruf.

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<sup>22</sup> Messianic Jews desire to develop Jewish forms for their worship, but this is not the same as yearning for restored temple worship.

Measured by number of titles, there was not much of a prophecy boom in Germany in the 1970s, although there was in other respects. In addition, there is a distinct Israel boom in progress since 1990. These two waves or booms are fundamentally different from each other. The first was predominantly prophecy-driven, the second is Israel-driven. Authors from and in Israel, together with authors representing Christian Zionist organizations, play a significant role in the second wave. The evidence in this chapter offers support for the thesis that Christian Zionism is not just an aspect or form of Evangelical beliefs about the end times, and may be emerging as a movement in its own right.

Particularly Dispensationalism tends to be considerably less frequent and less obvious in books predominantly dealing with Israel than in end-time books. It is equally weak in Christian Zionist books. This suggests Dispensationalism is not as central to the Christian Zionist system of ideas as is often assumed. In terms of fiction, Christian Zionism is typified by Zion Chronicles at least as much as by Left Behind. The American authors included in this study, however, are significantly more inclined to argue explicitly, consciously, and dogmatically from a Dispensationalist basis than others.

German authors tend to be more concerned about the Jewish-Christian past, less militant, and less apocalyptic than American and other nationalities.

In an assessment of Sizer's typology, a different way of looking at and dividing the spectrum of Restorationist and Christian Zionist views is proposed, based on the relative strength of commitment to Israel and of apocalyptic eschatology.

## UNDERSTANDING CHRISTIAN ZIONISM: ITS SYSTEM OF IDEAS

‘Maybe you can explain this to me. Why do the Christian Zionists support Israel so strongly? I would like to understand.’ (Abdul, a representative of Islamic Jihad, in conversation with Brother Andrew; Brother Andrew & Janssen 2004:14)

This chapter offers a description and explanation of Christian Zionism as a system of ideas. The theoretical and methodological approach taken here has already been presented in 1.2. As stated in 1.1, one aim of this study of the movement in Germany is to gain deeper insight into Christian Zionism in general. Although the majority of sources used in this chapter are in German, other sources have been consulted as well, and the resulting description has validity for the movement worldwide. Because of the international nature of the movement, ideas are shared widely across borders. German representatives may put special emphasis on the dimension of Jewish-Christian relations, but there are no ideas that are singular to the belief system in Germany. For these reasons, the scope of this chapter is broader than that of preceding chapters, and is not limited solely to Germany.

Various summaries and explanations of Christian Zionism have already been put forward by others. Summaries tend to limit themselves to a list of important elements. Particularly helpful in this respect is Chapman (2002:277-9). Although it limits itself to four points, these are central and shared by all Christian Zionists: (1) a God-given right to the land, usually including Jerusalem; (2) Israel and the return<sup>1</sup> of the Jews as the fulfilment of prophecy; (3) the theological significance of the state of Israel; and (4) the obligation of Christians to support this state. To these, the continuing election of and covenant with Israel should be added. Other summaries frequently include elements that are not shared by all Christian Zionists; this contributes to a certain stereotyping of the movement by many of its critics. These include: (1) emphasis on Armageddon (hence ‘Armageddon theology’<sup>2</sup>); (2) insistence on Biblical borders for Israel, frequently up to the Euphrates; (3) the importance of rebuilding the temple<sup>3</sup> and of *aliyah*; (4) rejection of the peace process; and (5) strongly negative views of Palestinians, the Arab world, and Islam.

Explanations tend to limit themselves to one or two factors, usually a literalist hermeneutic and Dispensational eschatology (eg Epstein 1984:4; Prior 1999b:136-8; Sizer 2002b).<sup>4</sup> Christian Zionism is often effectively equated with Dispensationalism, as if the two were synonymous or concomitant. Even Chapman (2002:279-84; 2004:108-127, esp. 119) all but implies this. Sizer occasionally uses the terms interchangeably, and in two chapters explaining Christian Zionist origins and theology writes extensively about classic Dispensationalism (2002b:20-220; cf. 2000a), only rarely distinguishing it from Christian Zionism. In his study of American Evangelicals and Israel, TP Weber (2004) speaks throughout of Dispensationalism, as if all Christian Zionists were Dispensationalists. The

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<sup>1</sup> To speak of ‘return’ of course already implies an interpretation and suggests numerous things; on the individual level this is certainly not a ‘return’. I am simply adopting the term because of its common usage in Evangelical literature.

<sup>2</sup> For a critique of this stereotype, see 7.1.2.2.

<sup>3</sup> This is not universally supported among Christian Zionists. Doron (1999b:116), for one, is critical of those who raise funds for this purpose; see also Quadflieg (1995b:51, 142f) and Reekie (1995:195f). Although Evangelicals in Germany are sometimes fascinated by the question of when and how the temple might be rebuilt, I am not aware of any of them raising funds for this.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Awad (nd): ‘Basic to Christian Zionist theology is the concept of dispensationalism.’ DE Wagner (nd): ‘Christian Zionism grows out of a particular theological system called premillennial dispensationalism.’

confusion no doubt originated because in the United States the two do coincide to a large extent. It is notable that these authors mostly refer to American apocalyptic writers as examples of contemporary Dispensationalists and Christian Zionists, and these do indeed combine the two. However, Christian Zionism is not identical with Dispensationalism, and not all Christian Zionists are Dispensationalists, nor are all Dispensationalists Christian Zionists.

For practical purposes, this distinction is an important one: an argument for or against Dispensationalism is not necessarily an argument for or against Christian Zionism. Although the latter generally follows a literalist hermeneutic not unlike that of Dispensationalism, it is particularly the Dispensational distinction of Israel and the church as two peoples of God which many Christian Zionists do not follow.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, as argued in 5.3.1.4, Christian Zionism is emerging as a movement in its own right, and should not be mistaken for a mere expression of Dispensational eschatology.<sup>6</sup> It does not need the complex Dispensational system; after all, the case for Christian Zionism can be as simple as ‘God promised the land of Israel to Abraham and his descendants for ever.’ The book analysis (Chapter Five) shows that many Christian Zionists do not argue from a Dispensational basis, and frequently are in conflict with it. Significantly, in a recent paper the ICEJ (*contra* DE Wagner 1995:100) explicitly distanced itself from Dispensationalism (Parsons 2005:2, 16, 18, and esp. 45 and footnote 79 on page 28). It remains to be seen whether ICEJ staff and supporters will really follow suit, since many of them may well be conscious or unconscious Dispensationalists, but such an explicit rejection is still significant, especially since it is not without risk for the organization.

Even apart from the Dispensational question, reductionist explanations based on one or two factors do not adequately explain the coherence<sup>7</sup> and persuasive power of these ideas, nor do they take the difference with Restorationism, with which it shares its hermeneutic and eschatology, into account. Below, a three-dimensional model (Fig. 6.1) is presented, which attempts to lead to a more comprehensive understanding.

## **6.1 DIMENSION 1: HERMENEUTICS, BIBLICAL THEOLOGY, AND ESCHATOLOGY**

The first dimension is foundational; it comprises the literalist hermeneutic as well as the eschatology and Israel theology derived from it. This hermeneutic does not always take the form of the dogmatic literalism which is the foundation of Dispensationalism. Other literal readings of the Old Testament, like that of many Puritans long before Dispensationalism, have also produced and maintained a philo-Semitic and Restorationist attitude (eg Culver 1995:109-113; Sharif 1983:13f; Toon 1970:24; Tuchman 1982:123-46).

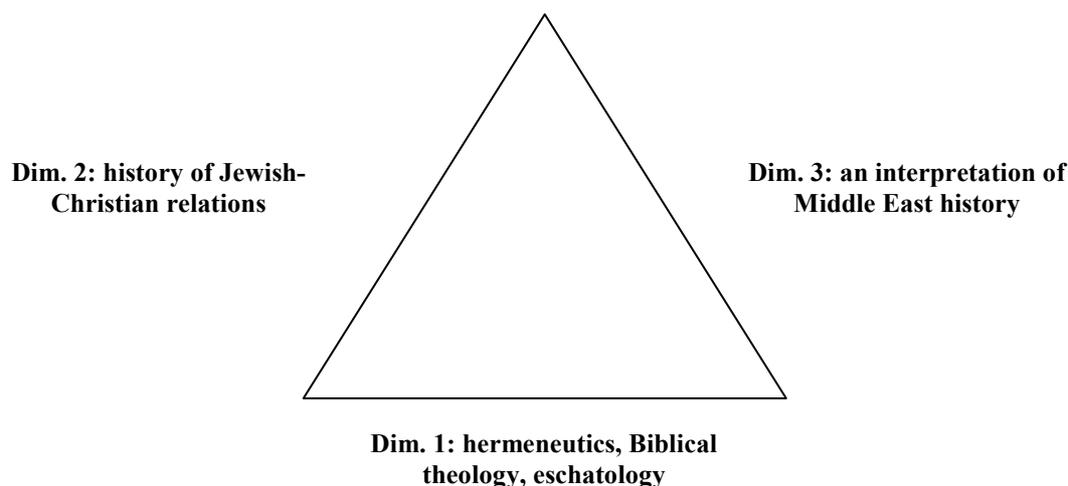
A literalist reading of Old Testament prophecy readily leads to an Israel-centred eschatology and to belief in the continuing validity of the land promise; from this, it is a small step to the identification of present-day Israel as the fulfilment of prophecy. Elements included in this eschatology can easily be gleaned from the end-time and Israel books analysed in Chapter Five, and are extensively documented in such studies as Boyer (1992), D Wilson (1991), and Sizer (2002b; 2004); there is no need to list them here.

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<sup>5</sup> In this light it is inexplicable why Sizer (2002b:170) makes the Dispensational distinction between Israel and the church ‘central to Christian Zionism’.

<sup>6</sup> In this respect, the survey discussed in 2.1 is significant: Evangelicals who support Israel are more likely to give political than eschatological reasons (56 versus 35 per cent), and they cite the land promise far more often than the end times (Hertz 11.6.2003; Huber 2004; Lobe 10.2002).

<sup>7</sup> To be sure, this coherence is superficial; when confronted with critical questions or more accurate information, it quickly breaks down. Where these are lacking, however, the coherence appears real and convincing.



**Fig. 6.1 The three dimensions of the Christian Zionist system of ideas**

Particularly noteworthy in this respect, because they do much to establish this link between eschatology and the state of Israel, are the exceedingly common motifs of Israel as the sign of the end times, as the Weltenuhr (clock of the world), and as the blossoming fig tree (based on Mk. 13:28; see 7.2.1). Since Israel attests the nearness of the end, its existence adds substantial excitement to both Restorationist and Christian Zionist popular theology; simultaneously, this explains the enormous significance of the state. The same link is provided by the ‘the times of the Gentiles’ motif; these end when Jerusalem is no longer trampled upon by the Gentiles (Lk. 21:24). According to many, this happened in 1967, although at an earlier date the founding of the Zionist movement (in 1897) and the British conquest of Jerusalem (in 1917) were understood the same way (D Wilson 1991:35, 41, 44f). Significant is also the ‘fishers and hunters’ motif (Jer. 16:16; see 7.2.1), since it provides an interpretation of and a link to Jewish Zionism. Fishers are all those who seek to persuade Jews to return to Israel/Palestine voluntarily. In contrast, hunters are understood as persecutors like the Nazis, who leave Jews no alternative but to return or perish. Already before World War I, Restorationists were interpreting Zionism as ‘fishers’ (D Wilson 1991:35). Interestingly, the verse remained a framework for passive observation and interpretation: this is what is happening, these are the fishers, those are the hunters. It was only with the rise of the modern Christian Zionist movement that it became a programme for action; especially Ebenezer has embraced this as its mission.

Next to literalism and eschatology, this foundational dimension includes a theology of Israel and the church.<sup>8</sup> Its most common expression is the slogan ‘Israel is God’s people!’ Its continuous reiteration serves the endorsement and maintenance of its belief system rather than promoting any meaningful communication of content, but it does reflect an underlying conviction of the continuing validity of Israel’s election and covenant. Israel’s right to the land, including Jerusalem, readily follows from this.

A crucial question, with more than one proposed answer, is that of the relationship between Israel and the church: if Israel is the people of God, what is the church? German Pietists sometimes use the pertinent phrase ‘das ersterwählte Gottesvolk’, the first-elected people of God – pertinent, because it is open-ended, and allows for the possibility of

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<sup>8</sup> There is some overlap with the second dimension, especially in the interpretation of Jewish history after Christ and in criticism of ‘replacement theology’; both topics are included in the next dimension.

supplementary or expanded election by adding nations or enlarging the circle of chosen individuals. In classic Dispensationalism, Israel and the church are consistently distinguished as two peoples of God. In Christian Zionism, this is by no means ubiquitous. Often, based on passages like Ephesians 2 (the ‘one new man’) and Romans 11 (‘grafting in’ of the ‘wild olive branches’ into the olive tree Israel), the unity of Jews and Gentiles in Christ is affirmed. Some explicitly deny the distinction between ‘a heavenly and an earthly people of God’, calling the separation of Israel and the church ‘not Biblical’ (Berger & Berger 1993c:27f, 41). At the same time, statements appear that seem to make distinctions between the two after all, and mark Israel and the Jews as a special class or caste of people with a unique calling: non-Jewish believers are ‘full sons and daughters’, yet ‘even within the body of the Messiah’ the Jews ‘have privileges and responsibilities’ (Boskey & Capelle 2004:30f).<sup>9</sup> In other words, unity and equality are professed, yet distinction is maintained. It is hard to see how this can avoid re-erecting the broken-down wall of Ephesians 2. There is little reflection on the resulting conflict, although one does come across explanations of Galatians 3:28, which states that in Christ ‘there is neither Jew nor Greek’. These effectively ‘bend’ the verse into its opposite: in Christ there is Jew and Gentile after all.<sup>10</sup> On this, classical Dispensationalism is more consistent, since it holds that in the church Jews and Gentiles are equals.

In concluding this section, it should be pointed out that, although this dimension is crucial and essential, it is an insufficient explanation for the emergence of Christian Zionist activism, and for the cognitive appeal of its system of ideas. The most passive Restorationist by and large shares this hermeneutic and this eschatology. Especially belief in the nearness of the end cannot explain Christian Zionism, since it is nothing new. It is certainly true that the events of 1948 and 1967 provided apparent confirmation of this belief, but the resulting wave of eschatological excitement cannot explain the sustained focus on Israel or the upswing in Christian Zionism during the 1990s. More is needed to explain Christian Zionism.

## 6.2 DIMENSION 2: THE HISTORY OF JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

In his searing critique of Zionism, Michael Prior (1999b:134, 136-8) voices what may be a consensus among critics of Christian Zionism: mainstream Jewish-Christian dialogue is ‘dominated by Holocaust theology’, but Evangelical Christian Zionism is determined by a literalist reading of prophecy and by eschatology, implying the Shoah is not a factor of importance. Gershon Gorenberg (2000:127), a Jewish critic of Premillennialism living in Israel, is exceptional in recognizing the significance of this third factor:

The reasons for that support aren’t restricted to Israel’s place in prophecy. In part, it reflects a wider Christian effort to come to terms with the Holocaust. The genocide demanded a moral reckoning with the Christian roots of European anti-Semitism. Supporting Israel is grasped as a concrete way of expressing repentance.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The only specification they give is that according to the law the firstborn son is entitled to a double portion of the inheritance; it is clear that to Boskey and Capelle this does not exhaust the special ‘privileges and responsibilities’.

<sup>10</sup> Part of the argument is that Christian Jews and females are still Jews and females; becoming a Christian does not change ethnicity, gender, or social class. It is overlooked that as far as status and salvation benefits (the promise) are concerned – that is, precisely where it matters – Paul emphatically denies all distinctions. Being Jewish or not, or female, becomes a non-issue, because it is swallowed up in a new identity: in Christ, we are all sons and daughters of God, and it does not matter whether someone is Jewish or not.

<sup>11</sup> Burge (2003:9f) refers to this factor as well, but as part of his explanation for Evangelical paralysis in relation to Israel.

There are indeed many indications that this dimension, including not just the Holocaust but also the 1,900 years of Jewish-Christian relations preceding it, is far more influential in Evangelical Christian Zionism than has commonly been recognized. Already in Chapter Five the importance of this factor was noted. Especially in German authors it appears early on (5.3.2.2 and 5.3.3.6). Particularly noteworthy is Schlink (1967, first published in 1958), the entire first half of which deals with this dimension (in 1958!); eschatology only appears in the second half of the book, which does not provide much of a scenario, but presents a simple and literalist reading of Old Testament promises. Also significant, because they became Christian bestsellers, are two early books by Petrus Huigens, who reports on his travels through Israel and reflects with obvious personal sadness and dismay on what has happened (1961:54-76, 72; 1962:21, 88, 105f, 154f).

Authors who write on Israel often also cover this dimension, at times devoting an entire book to it (eg Baar 1991; Eckert 2000b; May 1988; Pülz 2000). Already May's (1975:29-70) first book on Israel included two chapters on this subject. He enlarged on the theme of Jewish suffering and Christian guilt in Israel zwischen Blut und Tränen (Israel between Blood and Tears). The larger part of this book tells the tale of anti-Semitism and Jewish suffering through the ages. This account is mostly a presentation of the historical facts, but its tone has a clear rhetorical and passionate edge to it, and its tenor is far from objective; the author is emotionally involved, and he is arguing a case: the case against anti-Semitism, the case for reconciliation between Christians and Jews, and the case for a particular view of Israel.

Interest in this history is not limited to German authors. It has played a major role, for instance, in the ministry of Derek Prince (1996; 1997),<sup>12</sup> and the Christian past frequently features prominently in the new wave of Christian Zionist publications which began in the 1990s. This is most notable in Brown (1992; 2000), who devoted an entire book of above-average quality to the issue: Our Hands Are Stained with Blood (see 7.2.2).

The programme of conferences about Israel, which Christian Zionist magazines and newsletters habitually announce and report on, almost always includes at least one session dealing with aspects of this dimension. Many of these periodicals pay a significant amount of attention to the Holocaust and Christian anti-Judaism. Anniversaries of important events in the Third Reich are commemorated and have become the occasion for a continuing string of 'event repentance' (6.8.9). For a number of organizations discussed in Chapter Three, this dimension is a central concern. This is particularly true of RzV, CFRI until 2005, Marienschwestern, and Christliches Forum für Israel. The latter explicitly aims to be a platform to deal with historical guilt towards Jews (3.5.10). The Covenant, an elaborate musical written by Elizabeth and Robert Muren (2004) and produced by the ICEJ, contains much that is related to Jewish suffering, but very little eschatology.

This extensive attention given to almost 2,000 years of Jewish suffering and the Holocaust is not merely a recounting of this history; it also offers an interpretation. As for the Holocaust, it can be interpreted in remarkably different ways. It can be part of God's judgment, the consequence of Jewish disobedience and unbelief; this explanation is even put forward by Jewish Christians (Bennett 1996c:38f; Katz 2001). It can also be seen as God's loving discipline, however tough, aimed at wooing Israel back to its loving God. Or it can be understood as Satan's final attempt to destroy this people, just before it was to take its place among the nations again to fulfil its end-time calling. This latter possibility has the advantage of exonerating the Jews from any co-responsibility for the Holocaust.

The larger framework in which Jewish history was interpreted before the war is a scheme derived from Deuteronomy 28-32, consisting of four phases: (1) election, (2) rejection, (3)

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<sup>12</sup> See also Derek Prince Ministries (nd).

preservation or conservation coinciding with discipline or punishment, and (4) reacceptance. This scheme continued to be used afterwards; in Hartenstein (1952) and Bergmann (1973) for example it supplies the structural outline of the book, and in the case of Peter Beyerhaus it still sums up a Christian understanding of Israel in 2000.<sup>13</sup> However, with time it has become less common. Especially the negative middle of discipline and punishment often all but drops out, or is replaced with a simple history of anti-Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations. Among more theologically astute Restorationists, it has become customary to speak of a heilsgeschichtliche view, in which the final stage of restoration and return gets the most attention. Still, here and elsewhere, elements of the older scenario survive, although usually with a more positive bias: the emphasis is put on election, the miracle of Israel's survival, and Israel as a sign. Another surviving element – although infrequent – is that of Israel as a 'demonstration people', a lecture book or model for the church, or a 'witness people' (Katz 2001:100; Layer 1996: title; Schlink 1967:29f; Währer 1994:30). All of these are really variations of what Richard Haynes (1995:6) calls 'the witness-people myth', and next to its milder forms, it can still occur with shocking bluntness:

This curse pronounced upon themselves, Matthew 27:25, 'His blood be on us and on our children!' has come true in a terrifying way. The blessing and curse from the 28<sup>th</sup> chapter of Deuteronomy have been literally fulfilled ... With the rejection of His son these judgments had to fall on the people and the land. (F Vogel 1998:86)<sup>14</sup>

God is very gracious ... but he is also ruthless. (Prince 2000:45)

But then came the Holocaust! ... it ultimately served God's purpose ... He is utterly faithful in his love, but at the same time, if necessary, merciless in the pursuit of the aims he has set beforehand. (Prince 1992:50f)

If one reads the curses [in Deut. 28], and that is not very pleasant reading, and compares them with what happened to Israel through the centuries down to our own, one can only become silent with awe and shock. When we are in Israel with tour groups, we often read these passages in Yad Vashem, the Holocaust memorial for 6 million Jews, in which one can observe the incredibly horrible effects of these curses, described in detail, all the way to the gas chambers of Auschwitz.<sup>15</sup>

Two-thirds of the population of Israel will come under the curse because of their rejection of Jesus. (Liebi 1998:80)

The special status or quality of Jewish people which follows from the Israel theology discussed in 6.1 finds confirmation through this retelling of Jewish history as well as in other ways. Two themes in particular underline that Jews are special. The first is an exceedingly widespread story, the details of which differ considerably from source to source (cf. Haynes 1995:58f); in the most common variation Frederick the Great demands proof from his physician or chaplain that the Bible is true. The immediate answer: 'Majesty, the Jews.' The second theme is that of the disproportionate contribution made by Jews to civilization. One way this shows is in the surprisingly high percentage of Jews among those who have received a Nobel Prize. Somewhat ironically, this contributes to a renewed stereotyping of Jews, this time with positive stereotypes: 'Der Jude war schon immer überdurchschnittlich intelligent' (the Jew has always been of above-average intelligence, May 1975:310). In German, like any sentence with 'der Jude', this still sounds ominous.

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<sup>13</sup> Beyerhaus, P 2000: 'Israel in der Heilsgeschichte: Erwählung, Verwerfung und Wiederannahme des Alten Bundesvolkes' Diakrisis 21/3:132-44; until 1997, Beyerhaus was Professor of Missiology and Ecumenical Theology in Tübingen.

<sup>14</sup> Repeated in: Vogel, F 2005 'Das herrliche Bild des Volkes Israel' Bibel-Center Aktuell 49/4:18f.

<sup>15</sup> Keil, W 12.2003 'Die Bündnisse Gottes' Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem /34:21-8.

Needless to say, this second dimension forges a strong emotional bond with Israel and Jews, and adds substantial emotional power to the Christian Zionist narrative. It is the main reason for Christian Zionist activity in one particular arena: the fight against anti-Semitism. It offers part of the explanation why Christian Zionists became active on behalf of Soviet Jews who wanted to emigrate during the 1970s and 1980s, and therefore suffered harassment from the government; it was not only to fulfil prophecy. Particularly Charismatic-Pentecostal Christian Zionists rallied to this cause in the 1980s (eg Meacham 1984; Rawlings & Rawlings 1986), and the ICEJ ‘proclaimed that this is one of the main duties of Christianity in the whole world’ (Rawlings & Rawlings 1986:23). In other ways, too, the effect of attention given to this second dimension is to strengthen commitment to Jewish people and to Israel.

### 6.3 DIMENSION 3: A PARTICULAR READING OF MIDDLE EAST HISTORY

The third dimension involves a history of Israel/Palestine and the Middle East, as well as a defence of the state of Israel and its policies. The defence, as becomes clear below, borrows heavily from Jewish Zionist apologetics. The history, as indicated by its stereotyped yet warm-hearted retelling, is a mythology more than a serious attempt at writing history. It is often presented as a direct continuation of Biblical salvation history, to the extent that Theodor Herzl can become Moses *redivivus*, David Ben Gurion Joshua *redivivus* (Duvernoy 1987:136, 152), and Moshe Dayan ‘Moses II’ (Koch 1967a:40). In the perception of many Evangelicals, present-day Israel has undergone a transfiguration of sorts; this is no ordinary state. Parallels are drawn between recent events and Biblical narratives; dates like 1917, 1948, 1967 (‘The “Second Conquest of Canaan”’, Koch, 1967a:23), and 1973 take their place in an extended Biblical narrative:

Herzl facing the humiliated Dreyfus – isn’t that Moses confronted with his murdered brother in the Egyptian camp? No, we are not mistaken, it is again and again the same history with the same actors ... And this changed man, with the features of a semitic prince ... isn’t he Moses *redivivus* demanding of the pharaohs of his days: ‘Let my people go!’? (Duvernoy 1987:136)

Under unbelievable conditions, recalling some of the military feats at the time of the first conquest under Joshua, the strongholds in Galilee fell one after the other [in 1948], although the British army, before evacuating them, had delivered them with all the arms and ammunition into the hands of the Arabs. Throughout Galilee the word ‘miracle’ was in everybody’s mouth, even of those who were far from religious, and it was even used by the not particularly mystically inclined army commanders! (Duvernoy 2003:204f)

Jewish soldiers from different sections of the front [in 1948] reported in harmony that in the greatest need God himself intervened. The superior Arab forces surrendered or fled before the terror of visible-invisible hosts, which decided this war. A repetition of the old Biblical miracle signs in the days of the expulsion of the Canaanites! (Schäble 1957:32f)

The development of the new state of Israel displays the same elements of supernatural miracles as in the history of this people at the beginning. (Prince 1982:49)

Reading about those days [1967] is like reading a page from the books of the Kings or Chronicles in the Bible. (Finto 2001:116)

Israel’s victories are a riddle, a mystery, yes, a miracle. The tiny Jewish state always faced enormous Arab superiority ... But a military miracle happened [in 1967] which can only be compared with the Old Testament. (Hahne 1992:55f)

The astonished world then saw the Lord God, as in Old Testament times, fight for his people Israel against overpowering enemies who again and again, in 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973, set out to destroy Israel. (Glashouwer 2001:14)

It is particularly this sort of history that in the 1970s and 1980s became the catalyst for the modern Christian Zionist movement. In what follows, typical elements of this history or mythology are outlined.

Apart from Jewish suffering and persecution (dimension 2), a Christian Zionist history of Israel usually begins with Theodor Herzl and the birth of Zionism as an organized movement. A frequent quote is Herzl's journal entry reflecting on the first Zionist congress in Basel, 1897: 'In Basel I founded the Jewish state ... Perhaps in 5 years, certainly in 50, everyone will realize it' (Herzl 1983:538f). Two major events at this early stage were the Balfour Declaration and Allenby's conquest of Jerusalem, both in 1917. Occasionally the declaration is stated to be an explicit and direct reward for Chaim Weizmann's invention of a new method of acetone production (Finto 2001:114; Huigens 1961:10; Schäble 1957:29). In reality, the motives of Britain in issuing the declaration were far more complex than this. These motives and the ethics of the declaration are never questioned, nor are its profound ambiguities commonly recognized. Instead, the prophetic and eschatological significance is pointed out.

It is not unusual to give the Balfour Declaration a maximalist interpretation, to the extent that the British promised the Jews a state comprising the entire territory of the Mandate, that is, including what in 1922 became Jordan (eg Neerskov 1996:31-4; Peterson 1979:11), rather than a national home in Palestine, something far more ambiguous. The maximalist interpretation is the basis for the argument that Jordan is Palestine, that a Palestinian state therefore already exists (with no need for an additional Palestinian state), and that Israel including the West Bank is already much smaller than what was originally promised: in 1922, 78 per cent of Palestine was separated from the Mandate to become Jordan, and in 1947, the UN partition plan wanted to split the remaining 22 per cent yet again.<sup>16</sup> Christian Zionist historiography is usually quite negative about Britain's execution of Balfour and the Mandate, claiming Britain essentially betrayed Balfour. Not considered is whether Britain perhaps committed to do the impossible, thus setting itself up for failure. The picture often painted of British execution of the Mandate appears too negative; while certainly not impeccable, from a Zionist perspective there were also positive aspects to British rule, at least before the White Paper of 1939 severely limited Jewish immigration (Morris 2001:88-154; Segev 2000), but these are not considered.

Great attention is given to Israel's Declaration of Independence and its wars with the Arabs. The declaration itself is often referred to or even quoted; particular significance is ascribed to its mention of the 'Rock of Israel'. One regularly sees pictures of Ben Gurion reading the declaration. Ben Gurion has remained a popular figure among friends of Israel; they frequently quote his statement that 'anyone who doesn't believe in miracles is not a realist',<sup>17</sup> almost as if it were a verse from the Bible or a logion of Jesus, and point out his frequent reference to the Bible. But more important than these is the miracle of Israel's victory in war, which takes on a mythical quality. In 1948, 650,000 Jews, so it is claimed, faced a coalition of anything between 30 and 160 million Arabs (the latter number can be found in Hornung 1998a:41), with armies vastly superior in both numbers and equipment, and with no other aim but to drive all Jews into the sea. The 1956 Suez War is at best only briefly touched on. In 1967 and 1973 Israel again faced potential annihilation and a second Holocaust, and again miraculously prevailed. For Christian Zionists, the Lebanon War is less a tale about miracles than a demonstration of media bias and the utter unfairness with which Israel is judged; at the time, they often felt called upon to defend Israel's actions.

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<sup>16</sup> So for instance White & Pileggi (nd).

<sup>17</sup> This quote is common, although I have not been able to find its origin. A similar statement, 'In Israel, in order to be a realist you must believe in miracles,' was made by Ben Gurion in an interview on CBS-TV, 5.10.1956 (Andrews & et al. 1996b).

For the earlier wars, stories are told, or simply referred to generically, about miraculous interventions in the fighting; these serve to demonstrate that God was on Israel's side, and infuse this history with Biblical quality.

This stirring tale rarely gives serious attention to the victims or to any but the most obvious atrocities. In other ways, too, it is quite removed from reality. At all times in 1948, the Jews had more soldiers in the field than the combined Arab forces, although at first they were indeed at a significant disadvantage in terms of equipment (Morris 2001:217). Jewish military leaders at the time put their chances at fifty-fifty (Morris 2001:215). The situation was certainly serious, but not impossible.<sup>18</sup> In 1967, the Israeli forces were vastly superior, and – although this does not excuse Nasser's annihilationist rhetoric or his foolishness in manoeuvring the Middle East to the brink of war – Nasser was in no position to launch a serious offensive against Israel: 'In 1967 Israel had the best armed forces in the Middle East by a long way. American and British military intelligence reports show Israel's existence was not in danger at any point.' In fact, American and British intelligence estimated Israel would defeat its enemies in ten days or less (Bowen 2004:52, 59f). That Israel might have contributed to the causes leading to the wars of 1956 and following is never considered in Christian Zionism; all the blame is on the Arab side. Israel, so it is claimed, was at all times willing to make peace, both in 1948 and in the years and decades following; it was always the Arabs who were unrelenting, a picture we now know is not exactly true to fact either (Shlaim 2001).

Especially interesting are the issue of Palestinian refugees and a series of associated pro-Zionist arguments. While there is occasional sympathy for the plight of these refugees, the blame is laid squarely on the Arab, not on the Israeli side. An oft repeated claim is that the Arab states called on the Arabs of Palestine to temporarily leave their homes, so they would not be in the way of the attack. This is a propaganda myth that was perhaps forgivable in the 1950s, but was already repudiated by Sachar (1976:332f), and is by now thoroughly debunked. In reality, no such appeal or order was ever issued. 'Whatever the reasoning and attitudes of the Arab states' leaders, I have found no contemporary evidence to show that either they or the Mufti ordered or directly encouraged the mass exodus of April-May', so Israeli historian Benny Morris, although he does point out that local leaders sometimes did order people to leave, and that the Arab High Command urged women and children to evacuate certain regions (Morris 2004:174, 269f.95). Yet this claim is still widely circulated.

In the aftermath of the war, so the narrative continues, these same states (with the exception of Jordan) that had called on the people to leave their homes proved completely unwilling to assimilate these refugees, in contrast to the Jewish state, which fully integrated an equal number of Jewish refugees from Arab countries (so Israelis and Arabs are really on even terms). This refusal is considered all the more reprehensible in light of the fact that the Arabs have far more land than the Israelis; they could easily have resettled the Palestinian refugees, and left tiny Palestine to the Jews, who have no other country to call their own. Integration would have been easy, so it is claimed, since the refugees are all Arabs and speak the same language; in some versions, they are mostly recent immigrants, attracted by the economic boom the Zionist enterprise unleashed. Instead, the Arab states used the refugee problem as a political tool to put pressure on Israel.

At this point, a distinct Palestinian identity and, after the term entered common usage, the existence of a 'Palestinian people' (often in quotation marks) are flatly denied: there never

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<sup>18</sup> For more realistic assessments of the relative strength of the parties involved in this and succeeding wars and for more realistic historiography, see authors like Bowen (2004), Finkelstein (2003b), Flapan (1987), Gilbert (1999), La Guardia (2002), Morris (1997; 2001), Oren (2003), Sachar (1976; 1987), and Shlaim (1988; 1995; 2001). These sources and others have informed both my understanding of the conflict and the evaluation of Christian Zionist historiography in this section.

was such a people, nor was there ever an independent Arab state of Palestine, so why should there be one now? Quite typical is the following summary:

‘Palestinians’ have never been a distinct people and they have never had a sovereign land called Palestine. Jerusalem has never been their capital, there is no Palestinian language or culture, and there is no Palestinian people. It is a myth created after the Jews liberated Jerusalem in 1967. (White nd-b)

‘With the “Palestinians”, we are dealing with Arabs who in 1948 and 1967 decided [!] to leave Israel and become refugees.’<sup>19</sup> ‘Palestinians’, ‘West Bank’, and ‘occupied territories’ are all ‘Arab fables’, examples of a big lie strategy the Arabs learned from Josef Goebbels.<sup>20</sup> That Christian Zionists sometimes speak of liberated territories, and that many insist on Judea and Samaria or on das jüdische Kernland (the Jewish heartland) as a designation for these liberated/occupied territories presumably falls into a different category. ‘LIES!’ cries Derek White of CFI in Britain. ‘An extraordinary feature of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the blanket of misrepresentation, lies and the rewriting of history which more than ever characterises it’ (White nd-b). This is true, but it is a knife that cuts both ways.

To be sure, some of the arguments included above probably have merit, and there is certainly cause to criticize Arab behaviour as well (as in its treatment of Arab Jews). However, the one-sidedness of the tale and the uncritical acceptance of pro-Israeli arguments are disturbing. So is the claim, put forward without any critical query, that Arabs who had stayed within Israel’s pre-1967 borders were treated as equal citizens with full political and other rights, and that those Arabs living in the West Bank after 1967 were much better off in terms of economics and human rights than Arabs outside of Israel. The following portrait goes even further, painting an idyll long since disproved by the course of events:

The Arabs in Israel and in the occupied territories know exactly which advantages they have and which disadvantages would arise for them if Israel would vacate the occupied territories again. Because the Arabs under Israeli sovereignty are doing well in every respect and their way of life is not impeded, Arab propaganda from abroad does not have any effect worth mentioning among them. Even Palestinian terrorists find no support among them. When occasionally terrorist acts are committed in Israel after all, they do not come from the Arab population in the occupied territories, but from Palestinian terrorists in southern Lebanon or Syria.

In conversation with Israelis and Arabs I have repeatedly noticed that there is no hatred between them, but peaceful coexistence, often characterized by warmth, even friendship. They work together. They discuss with each other. They partially live in the same city or in the same village. They have the same rights and duties. This peaceful coexistence goes back to the fact that the Israelis do not treat the Arabs in Israel and occupied ‘West Jordan’ as ‘second-class citizens’. (May 1975:206f; emphasis added)

Needless to say, Israel never treated West Bank (or Gaza!) Palestinians as citizens at all, and they certainly never enjoyed the same rights as Israelis.

A further topic of great interest, or rather concern, to Christian Zionists is that of the peace process, which, for reasons that vary, is met with substantial suspicion. There are moderate voices, willing, with caution, to give peace a chance, and there are those who predict the utter failure of every attempt at peace, see it as the road to disaster, or consider it a direct contradiction of the will of God: ‘To now seek a human solution would mean to make God

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<sup>19</sup> Young, D 10-12.1981 ‘Israels politisches Dilemma’ Charisma /33:16.

<sup>20</sup> ‘Arabische Fabeln’ 9.1999 Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem /22-23:27f; ‘Betrugs-AG’ 2005 Watchmen from Jerusalem: Deutsche Ausgabe [Electronic version] /4:3f. Admittedly, the denial of the existence of a Jewish people in article 20 of the PLO Charta and elsewhere is no more convincing.

a liar ... The harder the nations seek a compromise solution, the deeper they will sink in the swamp of chaos and the faster they will bring about their self-destruction' (Baar 1980:225). Such critical voices may draw parallels to Chamberlain's 'peace for our time' (Price 2002:319f) or to the false prophets of peace in the Bible (Jer. 6:15; Ez. 13:10; cf. 1 Thes. 5:3). The Oslo Accords and their aftermath were particularly deemed critical, since they opened up the prospect of Israel relinquishing control over the occupied territories, to someone like Derek Prince an act of suicide.<sup>21</sup> Extreme Christian Zionist rhetoric reached a moral low after the murder of Yitzhak Rabin in 1995; Friedrich Vogel (Breckerfeld), Ludwig Schneider (NAI), Rainer Schmidt (Cfl), and FFD were among those interpreting this as an intervention by God, who stopped Rabin from giving way even more to Israel's enemies (Kloke 2000:22f, 36f):<sup>22</sup> 'God took him from his political responsibility through the bullet' (F Vogel 1998:152).

A concept with a place of importance in the Christian Zionist narrative is that of aliyah, in part because it is understood as the fulfilment of prophecy (dimension 1), but also because it adds a touch of wonder, infusing the narrative with Biblical quality. Occasionally, the five waves of aliyah before 1940 are recounted. Often, the miracle of the rebirth of the Hebrew language is celebrated. In the post-independence phase, three episodes stand out: (1) the airlift of Yemenite Jews in 1949-50 (eg Koch 1967a:13; Schäble 1957:33f), presumably fulfilling Isaiah 60:8f; (2) the even more dramatic airlift of Ethiopian Jews (Falashas) in 1990-91, to which May (1998b) dedicated an entire book; and (3) the opening of the Soviet Union and the release of hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews (see 6.2). The 'exodus' from 'the land of the north' (Zech. 2:6; Jer. 16:14f; 23:7f), always interpreted as the USSR, is a staple of Christian Zionist literature.

Although it takes us back to dimension 1, it is worth pointing out speculation on further waves of return. Since the largest Jewish population outside of Israel lives in the United States, such speculation often focuses on North America. Already Wim Malgo (1974:73) expected its departure: 'I say it emphatically: in America everything is in turmoil, because Israel will have to set out from there.' Tom Hess (1993:4, 32, 76-8) has predicted that economic difficulties (a 'complete collapse of Wall Street') leading to increasing anti-Semitism would be the catalyst to bring it about, and called on Christians to do everything possible to persuade Jews to leave, 'before it is too late'. An extreme point of view expects the return of every single Jew before the Second Coming: 'All Jews have to go home; therefore do not give the land away. It belongs to you' (Scheller 2001:175).<sup>23</sup> And Finto (2001:118) conjectures:

But the story is not complete. There are still 12 million, perhaps more, of Israel's children scattered throughout the nations. Ezekiel speaks of a time when they will all gather to their own land, 'not leaving any behind' (Ezek. 39:28). If the prophet's words are to be taken literally – and this is always the assumption until proven otherwise – then every Jew will one day return to the land of Israel.

It is common to reduce the entire complexity of the Arab-Israeli conflict to the Isaac-Ishmael dichotomy: 'Only through Abraham and his two sons Ishmael and Isaac can the present conflict between the Arab states and Israel be understood' (Makatowski 1998:10). Many Restorationists and Christian Zionists find in this narrative the real root of the problems and interpret the conflict as a dispute about an inheritance (eg the book titles of Baar 1993; Luchterhandt 1995). Since Ishmael is associated with Islam, this interpretation often goes hand in hand with the reduction of the conflict to its religious dimension: it is

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<sup>21</sup> Prince, D 1995 'Geistliche Hintergründe und Gebetsstrategie bezüglich der nationalen Krise in Israel' FFD Rundbrief/1:5-8.

<sup>22</sup> Becker, B 1995 'Liebe Freunde' FFD Rundbrief/3:1f.

<sup>23</sup> See also: 'Juden heimgeholt' 29.1.1992 ideaSpektrum/5:11.

understood as being in reality a spiritual battle, largely ignoring other aspects or at best treating these as secondary.

Already early on in Evangelical reflection on the Zionist project the myth appears of the land of Palestine as an empty wilderness (D Wilson 1991:46f, 72), which the returning Jews turned into the blooming desert foretold in Isaiah 35 and elsewhere. One frequently reads eulogies full of admiration for the accomplishments of the early Zionists and the Jewish state (and accomplishments they were). This is supported by the frequent quoting of Mark Twain's gloomy description in his travel report, *The Innocents Abroad*, of nineteenth-century Palestine as a treeless region practically void of human habitation. Such was the fruit of centuries of Arab abuse and mismanagement of the once beautiful and fertile land. Of course in reality the land was not empty at all, a fact ignored – or suppressed – by many early Zionists as well (Gilbert 1999:17; Shlaim 2001:1-4). That it was in such bad shape around the middle of the nineteenth century owed much to the incompetence of Turkish rule and the turbulences of the time, factors over which the rural population of Palestine had precious little control. The myth of an empty Palestine is by no means innocent or neutral (cf. Finkelstein's critique of this myth in *Zionism*, 2003b:88-98); it has the effect of undermining the legitimacy of any Arab claim to the land, and even of their very presence there.

The return of the people of Israel to what is deemed their land has even had an impact on its climate, according to Restorationist and Christian Zionist sources; again, a claim of great consequence: it 'proves' Jews, and not Arabs, are the legitimate owners of the land, which prospers only in their presence. Every once in a while it is claimed that the yearly rainfall in Israel/Palestine has increased significantly since the beginning of Jewish immigration in the late nineteenth century. This claim first appeared early in the twentieth century (D Wilson 1991:45f), and sometimes appears in extreme formulations: 'Since the crucifixion of Jesus, the early and the late rain stopped ... In the years 1901 and 1902 the early and late rain set in again' (Becker 1967:62). When D Wilson (1991:46, 62, 196) checked the rainfall statistics, he did not find such an increase there.

One more recurrent element worth mentioning is that of the spectacular mineral riches contained in the Dead Sea, which are expected to turn Israel into one of the richest nations on earth. One function of this element is that it provides a reason for the USSR, now Russia, to attack Israel (Ez. 38f). Rienecker (1958:111) offers a detailed calculation, leading to an estimate of more than one trillion dollars (in 1958!). Hal Lindsey (Lindsey & Carlson 1991:183) speaks of 1.27 trillion, and May (1991:46) puts the estimate at 1.5 trillion dollars. Since the realization of this wealth is spread out over many years, these amounts are actually far from overwhelming. Perhaps for this reason, Wim Malgo (ca. 1968:46) chooses a different formulation, and speaks of 'immeasurable mineral resources' with a value which 'surpasses the entire wealth of the world ... almost three times as big as the total assets of the United States'. According to Fünning (1948a:19), the riches of the Dead Sea are supposed to be greater 'than all the kingdoms of the world together'. Hahne (1992:54), a bit more realistic, mentions an undefined UN statistic, according to which Israel is the fourth-richest nation on earth in terms of mineral resources, a claim that still sounds utterly incredible considering the minute contribution of such resources to Israel's GDP and the enormous mineral wealth of oil producing countries.<sup>24</sup>

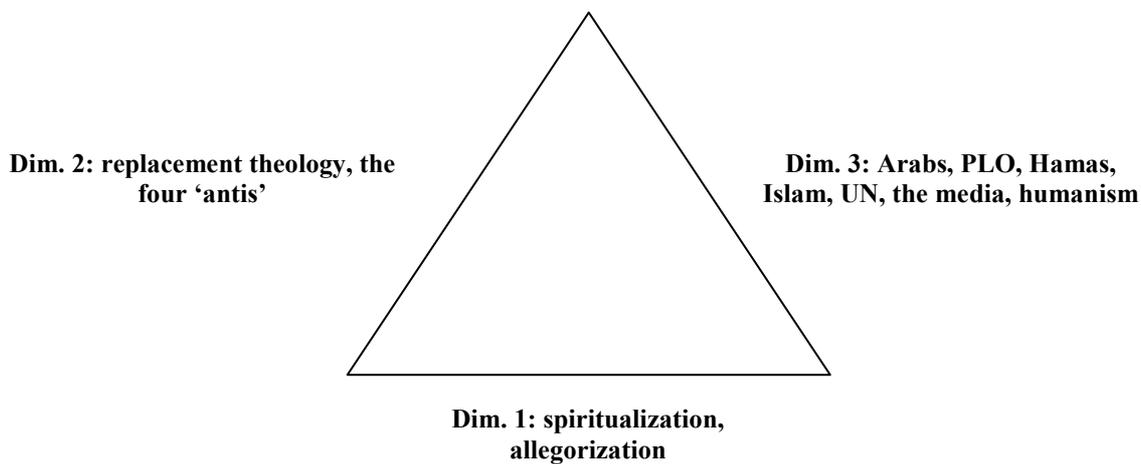
With these final elements, it seems the narrative has taken on mythic, even fairy tale-like quality. One is reminded of urban legends, that is, startling stories widely circulated by word of mouth, the internet, and print media, with one overriding characteristic in common: they are simply not true.

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Sachar (1987:245): 'Israel's natural resources were minimal, after all. Chemicals from the Dead Sea were a steady earner, but of peripheral importance in the country's trade balance.'

## 6.4 ANTAGONISTS

If one accepts the basic assumptions (that is, the underlying hermeneutic of dimension 1) and overlooks certain internal tensions, the system of thought as described above is coherent, persuasive, and stirring. Its effectiveness is fortified by the adversaries and antagonists identified in each dimension (Fig. 6.2). Their contribution is to shield the system from discordant information by explaining, defusing, or repelling, and thus neutralizing it.



**Fig. 6.2 The antagonists in each dimension of the Christian Zionist system of ideas**

The antagonist in dimension 1 is any approach to Scripture which can be branded allegorizing, spiritualizing, or liberal, that is, any hermeneutic in conflict with the 'literal' hermeneutic underlying Christian Zionism; however, this factor does not play an overly important role. Far more significant is 'replacement theology'<sup>25</sup> as the main opponent in dimension 2. In principle, this denotes supersessionism, the theological position that the church has replaced Israel, which has been rejected and now is accursed because of its rejection of Jesus. In practice, it is the only alternative to Christian Zionism ever identified. Since the alternative is today widely discredited, this is effectively treated as evidence that Christian Zionism is true (the two-alternative fallacy: if one alternative is wrong, the other must be right). It also functions as a stigma, which for a lack of other labels may stick to anyone who would question Christian Zionism or subscribe to a position in conflict with it. It therefore wards off any opinion that could otherwise challenge the system. The frequent occurrence of the term in Christian Zionist publications illustrates how well their readers are indoctrinated to fear and avoid this evil of 'replacement theology'.

Related to 'replacement' are the three or four 'antis': anti-Judaism, anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, and (less common) anti-Israelism.<sup>26</sup> They are considered to be at heart the same idea with different names. Since criticism of Israel is more acceptable than anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism have become the new anti-Semitism. The state of Israel thus becomes the new scapegoat instead of the Jews (so esp. Jaffin 1987:19-24; 1995a:114). Often, Satan serves as the explanation for such old and new anti-Semitism: he

<sup>25</sup> In German, a number of authors prefer the term Enterbung (disinheritance) to Ersatz (replacement), although the latter prevails in Christian Zionist periodicals.

<sup>26</sup> They are especially prevalent in Cfl. In 2001, Cfl placed full-page ads protesting the four 'antis' in four major German and Israeli newspapers with a combined circulation of over 1.5 million. 'Über 1,7 Mio. lasen CFI-Anzeige' 11-12.2001 Christen für Israel /134:10f.

wants to destroy God's people and so thwart God's purposes.<sup>27</sup> An alternative explanation is Israel's election, which provokes the nations to jealousy or hatred, which really is hatred of God. Warnings abound that anti-Semitism is increasing, sometimes 'at a breathtaking speed'.<sup>28</sup> What one does not find is an exposition of when and in what way, exactly, criticism of Israel is permissible, and when it is unacceptable. Far more typical is the approach of Pfisterer (1992:8), who concedes that asking critical questions about Israel does not make one an anti-Semite. Yet he suspects a 'reproachful attitude' behind it, 'that perhaps will one day unintentionally cross over into anti-Semitism'. He fears a 'natural, uncanny slippery slope from anti-Judaism to anti-Semitism and onwards into open persecution of Jews' (*ibid.*:42).

Negative forces in dimension 3 include the Arab world, the PLO, and nowadays especially Islam and Hamas. Regular readers of Christian Zionist literature know for a fact that the PLO's main aim still is the complete destruction of the state of Israel, and that Islam cannot relinquish territory that once belonged to the 'House of Islam'. The portrayal of Islam sometimes reminds one of how communism was perceived by Evangelicals at an earlier date; in some ways it has taken its place, something that is especially clear in Lindsey (1994:169-84). Frequently, parallels with National Socialism are pointed out, which can be considered a forerunner (so Baar 1991:104) of the real Antichrist coming out of a new, Arabic-Islamic world power (*ibid.*:69-71, 123); according to Baar (1980:18, 133, 165f, 186-96), the Arabs are the people of the Antichrist, and the Dome of the Rock is the abomination of desolation, although not many have followed him in this. More common is identifying Israel's ancient enemies with contemporary Arab states (eg W Malgo 1981:77-96; *nd*:62-70; Wolff 1974:75-110). Behind all of this, the activity of Satan is suspected, and the conflict is commonly reduced to its spiritual or religious dimension; in addition, there is no way out but the Second Coming. At times, however, Christian Zionists include a more positive note; they may point to the reconciliation of Jacob and Esau as a model for Arabs and Jews, or remember that God gave a promise to Ishmael as well (Doron 1999a:141-5; Intrater 1994; Shulam 1994),<sup>29</sup> and they are regularly at pains to distinguish between the people and the political or religious system controlling them.

Further antagonists are the United Nations, particularly and understandably after the 1975 resolution equating Zionism with racism, the media, and humanism. No complaint is as common as that about media bias and distortion. To judge the validity of this reproach is beyond the scope of this thesis,<sup>30</sup> but it is unlikely the media are as consistently or as blatantly unfair and anti-Israel as Christian Zionism claims:

O Christian, O America, whatever you do, do not forsake Israel in these end times. No matter what you hear on the media's interpretation of the news, do not be deceived by their bias against Israel. There has been a total misrepresentation of the facts. There

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<sup>27</sup> A typical example of this understanding is Finto's retelling of the Old Testament as the attempt to destroy the holy seed (2001:65-74).

<sup>28</sup> 'Israel in die Gemeinden' 4.2004 Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem 1-3 [no issue number given].

<sup>29</sup> Likewise Jürgen Bühler (ICEJ), lecturing in the Christuskirche München (Christ Church Munich), 19.2.2005. See also Hornung (nd).

<sup>30</sup> Astrid Hub (1998) researched Israel's image in German print media for a six-week period in each of the war years 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982; for these limited periods she did not find a generally negative image, although at times there was substantial criticism of Israel's foreign policy, especially in 1982. She certainly does not provide confirmation of Christian Zionist perceptions, although her research does not cover the more relevant years after 1982. For the beginning months of the second Intifada, Siegfried and Margarete Jäger analysed seven major German print media and concluded: 'Both the image of the Israelis and that of the Palestinians is determined by prejudice and stereotypes. A strengthening of anti-Semitism and racism can be the result' (2003: back cover). This is considerably less than Christian Zionists claim. Besides, if one would apply the criteria used by the Jägers to Christian Zionist media, they would fare far worse.

has been a purposeful demonic attempt to discredit Israel in the eyes of America and the world. (Juster & Intrater 1991:156)

This negative image of the media effectively shields the system: negative news reports on Israel lose their power to question the system; on the contrary, they function as confirmation – the media are indeed against Israel. Some see the true and most dangerous threat in humanism:

In spite of the threat of Islam, we believe that the final enemy is not Islam, but Humanism ... Today, the spirit of Humanism (the spirit of 'Greece'<sup>31</sup>) is using Islam for its own purposes. Eventually Islam will be destroyed (bound) and Humanism will reign supreme, with the Anti-Christ bringing this age into its final battles. Perhaps Humanism will step in with their 'strong man' who will rescue the world from Islamic terror and domination. Or perhaps Israel will be used by God as His battle-axe to strike a death blow to Islam, and then Humanism and its strongman would have an excuse to come against Israel. (Ebenezer nd-c).<sup>32</sup>

After all, humanism is the motor (or spirit) behind deceptive peace efforts and human rights claims,<sup>33</sup> and even behind the UN partition plan of 1947 (Reekie 1995:138). Sometimes the circle of antagonists is drawn even wider. For Juster and Intrater (1991:156) the coalition against Israel includes 'terrorist groups, eastern religions, humanist movements, cult groups, secular media and international political organizations ... all unified on one point: their denunciation of Israel.' And Ludwig Schneider anticipates the entire world population of 6 billion people turning against Israel: one Israeli against a thousand, truly Biblical proportions (cf. Jos. 23:10; Schneider 2002).

An additional protective mechanism, not pertaining to one of these dimensions, is the Israelschwärmer (fanatic or enthusiast). In modern German Pietism, any form of euphoria or Schwärmertum is suspect, and this makes its criticism of Israelschwärmer understandable and consistent. Klaus Moshe Pülz uses the term to criticize other Christian Zionists who in his opinion are too enamoured with Israeli power and public figures, and therefore abstain from evangelism (Pülz 2000:94, 178, 193; likewise Quadflieg 1995b:35-7, 48-52); it is quite clear about whom he is talking, and this, too, is intelligible. However, in most cases the term refers to a phantom or straw man. It is never clear who the fanatics might be. Its function is rather to ward off the accusation of exaggerated Israel enthusiasm: yes, it exists, and it is of course to be deplored, but it is only some unnamed others who are guilty of it. With some exaggeration one could say: all those to the right of the author may be considered Schwärmer, whereas all those to the left are quite possibly tainted with 'replacement theology'.

## 6.5 A DRAMA IN THREE ACTS

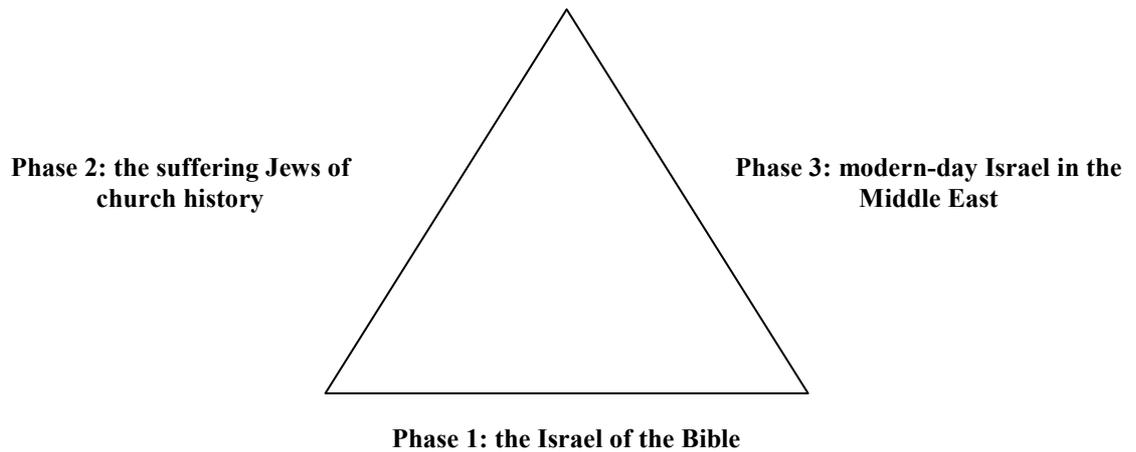
The three dimensions discussed above also correspond to three phases of Israel's history, and in a sense represent three distinct Israels: the Israel of the Bible, the persecuted and suffering Jews of church history, and the present-day state of Israel (Fig. 6.3). The Christian Zionist narrative unites these three in a moving story with great persuasive power, which interprets all three phases as salvation history. It is a drama in three acts, which will shortly reach its culmination.

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<sup>31</sup> The origin of humanism is traced to Greece and its philosophers. Based on Zech. 9:13, 'I will stir up your sons, O Zion, against your sons, O Greece,' it is understood as the main antagonist in the last days; Dan. 8:21, 'the king of Greece', is taken to identify the spirit or principality behind ancient Greece, now at work in humanism.

<sup>32</sup> See also: 'Humanismus – die letzte Schlacht' 2005 Watchmen from Jerusalem: Deutsche Ausgabe [Electronic version] /2:1.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Hornung (nd).



**Fig. 6.3 The three dimensions as three phases in Israel's history**

At times this drama is literally performed as such, as a theatrical play or musical. To celebrate 40 years of Israel's independence, Hänssler came out with an oratorio, Israel Shalom, recounting the people's history from Abraham until the present.<sup>34</sup> Feigenbaum offers a 35-minute multimedia presentation, which also covers the entire 4,000-year history (Feigenbaum eV nd). But by far the most spectacular and professional is the ICEJ-sponsored The Covenant (E Muren & R Muren 2004), which has been translated into Hebrew, and, judging by reports published by the ICEJ, has been very well received in Israel. The musical picks up a limited number of Old Testament scenes, and in several more scenes covers Jewish suffering and the Holocaust. Towards the end, it includes an original recording of Ben Gurion reading the Declaration of Independence, implying that this, too, is virtually a Biblical story, as well as the singing of the national anthem, 'HaTikvah', together with the audience. Survivors of the Holocaust throw off their concentration camp uniforms, and turn out to be wearing military uniforms underneath. This is no doubt intended to symbolize the emergence of Israel from the ashes of the Holocaust, and the Maccabean transformation of powerless victims into 'the fighting Jew'; but perhaps it also, unintentionally, provides a hint that something may have gone wrong with the Jewish state (cf. Ellis 1994; 2004), or at least with this particular Christian perception of it.<sup>35</sup> The soldiers sing Psalm 23 and express trust in God. Religion and nationalism blend into an intoxicating mixture, and the emotional force of the performance is huge. There are no Palestinians in the musical. It is worth noting that it is not based on eschatology, but on the covenant. Otherwise it is a perfect illustration of the three dimensions described above.

## 6.6 FUNCTIONS OF ISRAEL

This model and the underlying analysis of Christian Zionist thought suggest various functions Israel has for Evangelicals. They are either explicit in the literature, or they can be clearly inferred from it by paying attention to the way people write, speak, and (re-)act. These functions offer at least a partial explanation for the strong appeal Christian Zionism

<sup>34</sup> 'Kurzmeldung' 2.3.1988 ideaSpektrum /9:23.

<sup>35</sup> It is one thing to claim that the state of Israel needs a strong army to survive; it is quite another thing to turn this into an occasion for joyful celebration.

has for many Evangelicals, and for what could be called ‘The Evangelical Love Affair with Israel’ (paraphrasing Marsden 2000:122).

1. Evidence for Christian truth claims. Despite several expeditions to Mount Ararat (Young 1995:314-19), Noah’s Ark has not been found there, and the alleged fossil human footprint stepping on the footprint of a dinosaur – when it was still fresh, thus disproving evolutionary chronology – at Paluxy River, Texas, did not survive close scrutiny.<sup>36</sup> This leaves the state of Israel as the most tangible evidence that the Bible is true: ‘A testimony for the truth of his word that cannot be ignored ... The historical facts force you and me to a decision for or against Christ’ (Bergmann 1973:52). That the Jews survived as a people and succeeded in establishing a state, defending it against a vastly superior enemy – in short, the Middle East myth discussed above – simply cannot be explained by mere coincidence or human initiative. Israel, then, is an evangelistic argument: ‘Your majesty, the Jews’ (6.2).

2. A sign that the end is near. This is the most common function of Israel in Restorationist literature. It explains why elements like the fig tree and Israel as Weltenuhr are so prevalent. The reappearance of Israel is a point of light which inspires hope: God is about to bring his work to completion. Combining these first two functions, Israel can be described as ‘God’s raised index finger’ (eg Bergmann 1973:41ff), with which he points to the truth of his Word and the shortness of time remaining.

3. A source of edification. Israel can be taken as an example or model, even a Lehrbuch (textbook, so literally in the title of Layer 1996) for Christians. This is true in a general sense; already Ernst Ferdinand Ströter (ca. 1900) called Israel ‘Das Wundervolk’, the miracle people (see also Bergmann 1973:40). The story of Israel thus becomes a faith builder. In the words of Bergmann: ‘During my third trip to Israel I have again experienced the building of faith that Israel inspires.’<sup>37</sup> In addition, events related to Israel can be used to convey or illustrate more specific lectures. Peter Hahne (1992:23) recognizes in Operation Solomon<sup>38</sup> ‘a parable for God’s great rescue operation.’ Wim Malgo (ca. 1968:26) draws parallels between the Egyptian threat in 1967 and the ‘Egyptians’ that assail Christians and threaten to overwhelm them. Just as the enemies of Israel ‘sanctified’ themselves for the fight against Israel, so Christians should sanctify themselves in the light of the Second Coming (W Malgo ca. 1981b:65, 67). The Israel magazine published by Mitternachtsruf regularly points out, in a fairly naive way, principles illustrated by a news item, or presents a short lecture derived from it. These comments often take the form of a question. Following an article that Israel may have as many as 400 nuclear weapons, including hydrogen bombs, the application was: ‘Is Israel’s armament not also an illustration for us Christians? ... We Christians should also daily put on the armour of God’.<sup>39</sup> The comment concluding an article on successes of the Israeli army stated: ‘There must be a higher power behind this. Christians know: it is the God of Israel!’<sup>40</sup>

4. A key by which to interpret world affairs. ‘Everything that happens in the world one always has to see in relation to Israel’ (Häselbarth nd-a). ‘The fate of nations is decided by their stance on Israel’ (G Salomon 1978b:78f). This way, a complex reality can be simplified and explained; history begins to make sense by interpreting it according to the pattern of blessing and curse established in Genesis 12:3: ‘The principle of blessing and

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<sup>36</sup> See the Talk.Origins website, <http://www.talkorigins.org/faqs/paluxy.html>, for extensive discussion.

<sup>37</sup> Bergmann, G 12.5.1975 ‘Impressionen aus dem Land der Bibel’ idea /19:IV.

<sup>38</sup> The airlift of Ethiopian Jews (Falashas) in 1991.

<sup>39</sup> Malgo, C 8.2002 ‘Israel als Atommacht: Bericht über Atomwaffenarsenal’ Nachrichten aus Israel 8/10f.

<sup>40</sup> Malgo, C 3.2002 ‘Spezialeinheiten der israelischen Armee: 600 Einsätze in 17 Monaten’ Nachrichten aus Israel 3/13f.

curse is a principle underlying all of history. When nations curse the Jewish people, then that curse falls back on them like a boomerang.<sup>41</sup> At times, Christian Zionists produce a relatively detailed analysis of history, in which major developments are connected to the treatment of Israel and the Jews (eg Bennett 1996a:302f; 1996b; Finto 2001:175-7; Makatowski 1998:16-19): the rise and fall of empires (decline of Britain after ‘betraying’ the Balfour Declaration; re-emergence of Germany after the Second World War due to reparations and support of Israel; likewise Assyria, Babylon, Spain, Turkey, and Nazi Germany); the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years War (after Luther’s anti-Jewish writings); the resignation of Chancellor Willy Brandt in 1974, in reality not because of the Guillaume Affair,<sup>42</sup> but because of his friendly attitude towards Israel’s enemies (so G Salomon 1978b:78f). Occasionally, recent events are interpreted this way as well:

Almost daily we see in the media how nations worldwide get in trouble and natural catastrophes occur after they have spoken or acted against God’s people. The punishment for anti-Israeli statements often follows immediately. (Häselbarth 2000b:8; cf. Koenig 2004 for a detailed analysis of the supposed link between American politics vis-à-vis Israel and subsequent catastrophes)

This quickly descends into arbitrariness and absurdity. Bulgaria experienced a bloodless end of communism because it sought to protect ‘its’ Jews in the Nazi era; it remains unclear how we can know this, and there is no explanation given for the decades of communist oppression in between. George Bush senior lost the elections because of US pressure on Israel during the negotiations leading up to the Oslo Accords. One day after Clinton met with Syrian President Assad to discuss the possibility of an Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, an earthquake hit California, three days later there was a wave of extremely cold weather, causing over a hundred casualties, and five days later Assad’s son died in a car crash.<sup>43</sup> Hurricane Katrina, which flooded New Orleans in 2005, followed US pressure on Israel to evacuate Gaza.<sup>44</sup> Admittedly, these examples are extreme; most expressions of this view are more restrained, as is Derek White: ‘What Christian Zionism is not ... It is not a belief that the ONLY criterion of Divine judgement on nations and individuals is their attitude to and treatment of the Jews’ (White nd-a). But even to him it is apparently an important one.

5. An indication of the supernatural in everyday life. After all, Israel is ‘Das Wundervolk’. Israel is exciting; its story in the twentieth century reminds many Evangelicals of the supernatural, and adds colour to a grey reality. It is part of the Wiederverzauberung, the re-enchancement, of a world largely demythologized by science. Some of the excitement may be quite natural: it is the appeal of a winner. The re-establishment of Israel and the Six Day War are two of the most breathtaking stories of the century even apart from the possibility of divine intervention. But these stories and others are also understood as evidence that God is at work in this world; if nowhere else, in Israel at least this becomes a visible reality. Thus, Israel may be considered a material, physical Narnia, which can be visited, not by groping one’s way through a magic wardrobe, but by boarding and exiting an aeroplane.

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<sup>41</sup> ‘Vortrag von Lance Lambert in Jerusalem auf All Nations Convocation Okt. 2003, “Israel und die Nationen” 12.2003 Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem /34:39-47.

<sup>42</sup> Brandt resigned when it was discovered that his aide Günter Guillaume was an East German spy.

<sup>43</sup> All these examples are included in Bennet (1996:302f) and Makatowski (1998:18f).

<sup>44</sup> ‘Die USA nach dem Hurrikan’ 9.2005 Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem /37: 14-16. It is noteworthy that the ICEJ was quick to distance itself from such speculations, calling the link ‘pure presumption’: Hedding, M 2.9.2005 ‘Katrina: Think Again’ ICEJ News [E-mail newsletter]. Soon after, however, Hedding warned the nations (‘threatened’ would perhaps better express it) which pressed for the Gaza withdrawal that they would soon hear from God, and that ‘they are actually already hearing from him now!’ What else would that refer to but Katrina and the tsunami of 2004? Hedding, M 9-10.2005 ‘Um Zions willen werden wir nicht schweigen! ICEJ-Stellungnahme zum Gaza-Abzug’ Wort aus Jerusalem 25f.

6. An identity marker. The extensive, consistent, and admiring attention paid to Israel suggests it also serves to build Evangelical identity and to boost morale. Jewish feasts, Jewish symbols (menorah, Star of David, Israeli flag), Hebrew words, and Jewish musical styles are adopted by Christians and integrated into Christian worship. Israel is part of what Evangelicals stand for, at least to the mind of Christian Zionists, and Israel as a concern, a cause, and a fascination binds them together. Christian Zionism with its activities and worldview creates a community. One inadvertent result of this strong identification with Israel is that Christian Zionists may be perceived by outsiders, even Evangelicals, as an 'Israel fan club'. Indeed, they can be as patriotic and nationalistic about Israel as Israelis; as Axel Springer professed in an interview, 'the second fatherland of every Christian' is Israel.<sup>45</sup>

7. A cause to embrace. The activist impulse of Evangelicalism finds in Israel a worthy, colourful, and clear-cut cause to support, an outlet for its altruistic energies. As a movement and a system of ideas, Christian Zionism includes a number of aims in its programme. These find expression in humanitarian aid projects, education, and information, but also include more political activities, like lobbying and public demonstrations of support.

8. An icon, star, champion, hero, idol (in the sense of someone greatly admired or revered). Jewish accomplishments in Israel give Evangelicals something to be proud of: it was their God, and the people of their God, who did it; they can be admired, and one can identify with them. In a sense, Israel becomes something to hold on to, an object of veneration (see point 9), a reality or presence that accompanies and comforts us. As noted in point 5, the Six Day War is an exhilarating story; it demonstrates that 'our God wins'. 1948 and 1967 have turned Israel into a hero, and heroes are attractive. The admiration and adulation can also be directed to Jerusalem and to the entire land of Israel: 'The whole atmosphere of the city breathes hope' (Ekman 1999:128); 'Zion – that is God's own country ... It is the land in which God dwells on earth' (May 1998b:11; an understanding that seems far removed from New Testament Christianity).

Israel as a religious star: for this to be convincing, it is often felt that an explanation has to be given for the secular nature of the state. This can be done by pointing out the importance of the Bible in Israeli schools and culture, as indicated by the popularity of Bible quizzes, by pointing out Israeli interest in the Jew Jesus, or by explaining how even apparently secular Jews are really quite religious inside or in their basic attitude, almost by virtue of their being Jews. As with stardom in general, a substantial measure of projection takes place; what counts is not necessarily the real person, but the image. This is nothing new; in the Middle Ages, all sorts of negative images were projected onto the Jews, with Judas or the Pharisees as the archetypical Jew. In Christian Zionism, the projection is overwhelmingly positive: the Israelis are Samson, Joshua, and David against Goliath.

9. A leading or central symbol of the Christian faith. To many, Israel has effectively if not explicitly become a central symbol of Evangelical faith. As a result, Israel and Jerusalem function as holy objects or holy space, and thus become visible objects of veneration. For a parallel, one may think of the Roman Catholic practice of the veneration of saints and of Mary, which has its visible focal point or object in the form of statues.<sup>46</sup> The parallel is not, of course, that Evangelicals would pray to Israel, but lies in the longing for something of the holy that can be seen and perhaps adored. Other parallels that come to mind are relics,

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<sup>45</sup> 'Dankbar für Glaubensverbundenheit und Liebe zu Israel: Paul Deitenbeck zum 70. Geburtstag von Axel Springer' 5.5.1982 [ideaSpektrum](#) /18:12.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Barr (1977:36f) on the Bible ('the supreme tangible sacred reality') in fundamentalism: 'The Bible in fundamentalism is comparable to the virgin Mary in Roman Catholicism: it is the human visible symbol involved in salvation'.

holy sites, and the way in which the crusades treated the Holy Land as a holy object. The point here is not that Christian Zionists are crusaders, at least not in a literal sense, but that they share with the crusaders of old a certain attitude or outlook perhaps best labelled 'religious materialism'. For many Christian Zionists, Israel counts as a visible representation, as the visible beginning of the invisible kingdom.

At the same time, Israel's symbolic function goes far beyond its concrete, material existence as an 'object': Christian Zionists give Israel – not just Biblical Israel, but modern-day Israel as well – a central place in the Christian story, which they retell in a manner that is not just Christ-centred, but also Israel-centred.

## 6.7 RESTORATIONISM VERSUS CHRISTIAN ZIONISM

Obviously, many of the ideas and functions expounded above are shared by Restorationism and Christian Zionism; to a large extent they follow the same narrative. The question then is how the two belief systems differ, and what may cause a transition from one to the other. What turns a Restorationist into a Christian Zionist?

Some indication of how the two differ has already been given. In Chapter Three and Five, a shift was noticed from Restorationism to Christian Zionism; this coincides with a shift from eschatology first to Israel first. In Restorationism, the primary interest is in the end times. Since Israel plays a role in it, there is also an interest in Israel, but this often remains schematic; at stake is not the 'real' Israel or 'real' people, but the Israel of an end-time scenario. In Christian Zionism, at least of Type 5 and 6, Israel takes first place, although customary end-time beliefs are usually not far away. As a result, it tends to display a stronger interest in Jewish people and Israeli affairs, as well as a strong emphasis on pro-Zionist apologetics, as noted in 6.3. In addition, dimension 2 is of paramount importance, and Israel functions as a cause and as a central symbol. Interest in the Middle East and in the Jewish-Christian past is certainly not absent in Restorationism, but although it observes and reflects on the issues, it remains passive in dealing with them. It tends to be more naive or idyllic; it is less political in its portrayal of Israel, and lacks the ideological or dogmatic harshness often displayed in Christian Zionism. Instead, Restorationism emphasizes Israel's function as evidence for the faith, as the key to understand the world and the times, and as a sign.<sup>47</sup>

Besides this difference in emphasis, the two also differ in how they read and interpret certain parts of the story. In general, Christian Zionism tends to make use of it to support 'the cause' and to back its appeal, whereas Restorationism limits itself to admiration (Israel, 'das Wundervolk') and eschatological speculation, drawing edification, instruction, and encouragement from it. Restorationism and Christian Zionism differ particularly in how they read Jewish suffering and the 'miracle' of Israel. They tell a similar story of Israel's rejection, suffering, and restoration, but the point is different. In Restorationism, Jewish history is a lecture for Christians, something to ponder on; it is observing from a distance, or sometimes on location, but it is observing; there may be little personal involvement or sense of guilt. For Christian Zionists, the sense of shame, dismay, and even guilt can be acute, and Israel's history is not merely a lecture or model, but a reason for embracing the cause and doing something. In Restorationism, a sense of wonder is cultivated: in Israel, the Bible comes true. Christian Zionists do this too, but they do not stop there. In Restorationism, the Jews are special, and this proves the truth of the gospel: 'Your majesty, the Jews.' In Christian Zionism, the Jews are special, and we should therefore support them.

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<sup>47</sup> These same elements can already be observed in the Gemeinschaftsbewegung (community movement) in the German Kaiserreich, 1867-1918, as noted by Heinrichs (2000:262-310, esp. 303f).

Obviously then, Christian Zionists have embraced Israel as a cause, while other Restorationists have remained almost completely passive and theoretical, or developed a less partisan position. Yet they read the same Bible, and they do not read it very differently. So what explanation can be given for the transition that has been made by some but not by others? For the movement as a whole – as was argued in 3.6 – the perceived threat to Israel beginning in the late 1960s played a major role. What triggers this for individuals? The methodological approach taken in this thesis is not ideal to answer this question, but does provide some insight. Although evidence in the consulted literature is scarce, it suggests that the answer is usually to be found in a person's biography, and that it can be caused by any one of the three dimensions. Of course, these three paths are not mutually exclusive, but they do indicate that the dynamics leading to a fully developed Christian Zionism are diverse.

1. There are those like Wim Malgo, Hal Lindsey, and many American Evangelicals, whose Christian Zionism develops out of their eschatological interest, through dealing with Biblical prophecy; their Christian Zionism often remains highly apocalyptic.

2. For others, a confrontation with the German or Christian past plays a decisive role; this can also be a meeting with Holocaust survivors. Christel Dieckmann (RzV), reflecting on her visit to Israel and Yad Vashem in 1980, writes: 'Never before had the terrible guilt of our German people become so clear to me'. She met Rachel, who told her about her experience in Auschwitz, and describes her response:

Later I asked Rachel in tears: 'Why are you so friendly to us Germans? I cannot understand this!' ... 'Children, you were not yet alive back then. Do not feel guilty. Please make sure that something like this NEVER happens AGAIN in Germany!'<sup>48</sup>

After this experience, she vowed 'never to be silent for Zion's sake'; ever since, she has worn a necklace or an earring with the Star of David.<sup>49</sup> Both Jürgen Bühler (ICEJ) and Harald Eckert (CFRI) were involved with a confessional initiative at Yad Vashem in 1992, 50 years after the Wannsee Conference. Bühler testifies he heard an almost audible voice at one point during his stay, telling him he would come back and live in Israel; the visit eventually led him into full-time ministry with the ICEJ.<sup>50</sup> Eckert describes the event as a deep personal experience.<sup>51</sup> In part, such responses can be understood as a form of repentance and a desire to make up for the terrible treatment of Jews in the past. It may well be given a Biblical-eschatological rationale, but the actual impulse did not or not only come from the Bible.

3. Yet others come to Christian Zionism through an encounter with Middle East history, or with the land and state of Israel, which may trigger a process of politicization (eg Nothacker, 3.1.4; Schneider, 3.3.6; Reusch 2003:4); it is for good reasons that Israel tours feature high among Christian Zionist activities. For Derek Prince the encounter took place as early as 1948, during the War of Independence, which he experienced on location in Israel/Palestine. Witnessing the events of the time, he became convinced that Biblical prophecies were being fulfilled; Israel has been an important topic in his teaching ever since.

Just as for the movement as a whole, the perceived threat to Israel and the antagonists described in 6.4 can also play a significant role in personal biographies; to support Israel

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<sup>48</sup> Dieckmann, C 1995 'Wiedersehen mit einer bemerkenswerten Frau' RzV /3:9.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Jürgen Bühler lecturing in the Christusgemeinde München, 19.2.2005.

<sup>51</sup> Harald Eckert in personal conversation, 10.2.2005; Eckert, H 14.10.2005 [Letter]; Eckert, H 2005 'Harald Eckert stellt sich als neuer 1. Vorsitzender den Freunden von Israel Heute e.V. vor' Israel Heute – Israel aktuell Freundesbrief /22:1.

becomes a matter of justice. Whether or not the accompanying indignation is perhaps ill-informed or unfounded is a different matter; it does not make the perceived offence to justice any less real.

Interestingly, the confrontation with Middle-East reality can also have the opposite effect and lead Evangelicals away from Christian Zionism to a broader understanding of the Middle East (cf. Prior 1999b:154f). As such, it is a crucial feature in the biography of leading alternative voices like Burge (2003:1-8), Sizer (2000b), D E Wagner (1995:13-5, 24-58), and Brother Andrew (Brother Andrew & Janssen 2004), all of whom started out with a Christian Zionist perspective on the Middle East.

Sometimes, Christian Zionists describe the deep love they experience for Jewish people as a gift or a conversion of sorts, as a change that God worked in their hearts. Harald Eckert states he had a ‘personal revelation’ of God’s love relationship with Israel when he was in London in the early 1980s, years before the Wannsee initiative in 1992. He looks back on this as a turning point in his relation to Israel.<sup>52</sup> Hannah Hurnard, who served as a Quaker missionary in Palestine before and during the War of Independence, describes the profound change she experienced at the end of the war as ‘a complete mental revolution’:

I felt almost like a person who had been born again. A completely new attitude of mind had been created in me, and everything I looked at and listened to seemed transformed and coloured by this new outlook. It was a completely new attitude towards the people of Israel. (Hurnard 1950:115)

An example of someone for whom all three dimensions played a role of importance in his ‘conversion’ to Christian Zionism is David Dolan, a Christian reporter in Israel. He states he deliberately put a chapter on Jewish suffering and persecution at the beginning of his book (Dolan 1991a:vii). His story of how he came to Israel begins in 1973, when he heard on the radio the news of the beginning of the Yom Kippur War, to which he reacted with strong emotions and tears (*ibid.*:6f). It led him to start reading prophecy books: ‘I soon found myself devouring various Christian prophecy books that pointed to the Arab-Israeli dispute as the centrepiece of God’s prophetic “end-time plan” for the world’ (*ibid.*:7). His first visit to Jerusalem again provoked strong emotions of awe and excitement (*ibid.*:14f). Shortly after, he visited Yad Vashem, and yet again reacted with strong emotions and weeping (*ibid.*:16).

In short, there are more ways that lead to Christian Zionism than fascination with the end times. However, something must happen. It is factors like the ones discussed here that breathe fire into the story, and turn Restorationist theology into Christian Zionist ideology.

## 6.8 A CHARISMATIC-PENTECOSTAL VARIETY OF CHRISTIAN ZIONISM

In the Charismatic-Pentecostal movement, the Christian Zionist system of ideas takes on a number of unique features, warranting the distinction of a separate, Charismatic-Pentecostal variety of Christian Zionism. Its origin and stronghold is among neo-Pentecostals, and its priority is the spiritual realm and ‘spiritual’ activity, rather than political activity or apocalyptic speculation. It is especially this variety which contributes to the new wave of publishing and other activities beginning in the 1990s, as described in Chapter Three and Five. Its main features are introduced below. It should be pointed out that Christian Zionism in Germany is stronger and more influential among Charismatic-Pentecostals than among non-Charismatic Evangelicals, as evidenced by the great attention given to Israel, the widespread support for Christian Zionism among nationally known

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<sup>52</sup> *ibid.* See also: Riggans (1988:32); Rüdiger, L winter.2002 ‘Von der Ostseeküste ins Heilige Land’ *ICEJ-Informationen für Deutschland und Österreich* 7; ‘40 Jahre Israelauftrag’ 4.1995 *Was geschieht auf Kanaan und draußen?* 2-4.

Charismatic-Pentecostal leaders, and the almost complete lack of criticism and alternative voices.

### **6.8.1 Parallel Restoration**

According to this Charismatic-Pentecostal variety of Christian Zionism, Israel and the church are experiencing a parallel process of restoration. For Israel, this began with the birth of the Zionist movement. For the church it began with the renewed end-time outpouring of the Holy Spirit which gave birth to the Pentecostal movement. According to Spornhauer (2001:120f), Derek Prince was an important popularizer of this idea,<sup>53</sup> although he did not go into detail the way others do, who cite numerous parallels (eg Doron 1999b:101-107; Finto 2001:38-48; Juster & Intrater 1991:115; Makatowski 1998:3f): (1) the beginning of Zionism or the Balfour Declaration – the beginning of the Pentecostal movement; (2) the revival of the Hebrew language – the re-emergence of glossolalia; (3) the founding of the state of Israel in 1948 – an evangelistic and healing revival (Billy Graham, Oral Roberts, TL Osborne), and the beginning of the latter rain movement (so Synan 1997:212f); (4) the conquest of Jerusalem in 1967 – the beginning of the Messianic Jewish movement and the Jesus movement, as well as the breakthrough of the Charismatic movement in the mainline churches. Reekie (1995:129-31) adds: (5) the Lebanon War – a new movement of the Spirit in the 1980s; (6) the Intifada – an increase in spiritual opposition; (7) the return of Jews from the former USSR – awakening in Eastern Europe. For the latter, Hornung sees the Christian parallel in the rise of the prophetic movement in the 1980s, and adds a third string of parallels tracing the development of Jewish Christianity and Messianic Judaism (Hornung 2001). Most striking in all these parallels is a glaring omission: no one identifies a Christian parallel to the Holocaust.

### **6.8.2 The Great Schism and the One New Man**

Very early on in the history of the church, a split with far-reaching consequences occurred: that between Jews and Gentiles. It was the Urschisma or Urbruch (Amelung 2001:28; Häselbarth 2000b:22), the original schism (Berger & Berger 1993c:65f; Makatowski 2003:20f; Pfisterer 1985:34-6), which separated the church from its roots:<sup>54</sup>

Tragically, from that point on, the Gentile church became more and more anti-Semitic in its policies and official pronouncements. One hundred years after the official severing of the Jewish believers from the nourishment of the body, the world plunged into a thousand years of spiritual darkness. Indeed, there is a direct correlation between the alienation of the Jewish brethren and the fallen spiritual condition of the church. (Doron 1999b:115)

Doron (1999b:19, chapter title) therefore calls it ‘The Root of All Divisions’, since all other schisms and divisions followed from it.<sup>55</sup> ‘The spirit of arrogance and pride’ in the relation to Judaism and Jewish Christians also manifested itself ‘in all later internal church splits’ (Boskey & Capelle 2004:35, 37). ‘By breaking from those who birthed us, the Church has produced one division after another;’ this became the new ‘DNA’ of the church (Finto 2001:98).

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<sup>53</sup> Prince presents his views on this in: Prince, D 2.1983 ‘Parallele Wiederherstellung: Eine Darstellung von Gottes Handeln an seinen beiden Bündnisvölkern – Israel und der Kirche’ Wiederherstellung /3:1-8. See also: Passon K-D 10-12.1984 ‘Jeschua: Warum?’ Charisma /45:18f. For Charisma, ‘God’s activity in today’s Israel as a physical parallel to the spiritual restoration of the church’ became an explicit priority in its reporting in 1981; ‘10 Jahre “Charisma”’: Die Geschichte der Zeitschrift “Charisma” und des “Jesus-Hauses” 10-12.1984 Charisma /45:10f.

<sup>54</sup> The idea is not entirely unique to the Charismatic branch of Christian Zionism (witness Amelung and Pfisterer), but it does take on far greater significance there.

<sup>55</sup> In Doron’s view, the schism begins even earlier, with the calling and separation of Abraham.

It is therefore of immense importance to heal this division, because only in this way can the church regain its lost unity and become everything it is intended to be. To this end, some in the movement have launched the ‘Toward Jerusalem Council II’ initiative (cf. Acts 15), to prepare a ‘Gentile council called to decide how to welcome back Jews without requiring that they become Gentiles;’ it is to be ‘an initiative of repentance and reconciliation between the Jewish and Gentile segments of the Church’, in order ‘to welcome Jewish believers back into the family of their own Messiah’ (Finto 2001:103-105, 189; see also Hocken 2004). Through reconciliation between Jews and Gentiles, the ‘One New Man’ (Doron 1999b: book title; Finto 2001:150, chapter title; Roth 2001: book title) of Ephesians 2 will finally become reality, racism will be overcome, and the church will be a source of great blessings for all nations:

When this Urbruch heals, disunity between Christians will come to an end, and denominations will find back to unity. And when this has happened, Jews and Christians will come to a very deep love and mutual appreciation, and will build each other up. We will be this new man of Ephesians 2. (Häselbarth 2000a:24)

This is one reason why the Messianic Jewish movement, the subject of the next point, is so significant: it is the beginning of the healing of this wound (eg Finto 2001:101f).

### **6.8.3 Messianic Jews**

Interest in the Messianic Jewish movement is not limited to Charismatic-Pentecostal circles, but it takes on far greater significance there. For those who emphasize the ‘One New Man’, Messianic Judaism not only marks the beginning of the eschatological conversion and spiritual restoration of Israel, but also provides ‘the crucial link or bridge between the Church and Israel’ (Juster & Intrater 1991:127), and the means to heal the great schism: ‘Messianic Israel is – next to the Messiah – the true and perfect bridge between the church and Israel, because it is the redeemed Israel, and part of both’ (Berger & Berger 1993c:84). Untold blessings will be the result when Jewish and Gentile believers are reconciled and both take their place in the church:

God has prepared a special revelation, a special gift of grace, and a special mystery of his love, which he wants to give to the whole church through the Messianic community<sup>56</sup> of believers. This mystery is a key both for the restoration of Israel as well as for the restoration of the church ... That will bring the universal church into its identity as the ‘Israel of God’ in a way that has never been seen through all of church history. (Berger & Berger 1993c:83)

At stake today is a new partnership between believers from the Jews and from the nations. Only together can we communicate the heart and salvation of God to the world. (G. Keller 2002: back cover)

It is keenly noticed by proponents that in this form and under this name, the movement emerged around the time of the Six Day War, which underlines the salvation-historical and spiritual significance of both. For this reason, Finto (2001:138) calls 1967 ‘the year that brought a change in the heavenlies’:

About the same time, there began to be a noticeable increase of Jewish believers in Jesus. (Ibid.:139)

The year 1967 is a date to remember. Since the first century, there has never been a generation that has seen so many Jewish people in so many parts of the world – both in Israel and in the Diaspora – coming to believe in Jesus. Something happened in the heavens when Jerusalem came under Israeli control in 1967. (Ibid.:127)

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<sup>56</sup> It is unclear to me whether this refers to the community of Messianic Jews or to communion between reconciled Jewish and Gentile believers.

None of this existed before 1967, the year the Lord turned that prophetic key in the heavens to unlock some of the hearts of His covenant people. (*Ibid.*:142; cf. Cohn-Sherbock 2000:63-5; Makatowski 2003:32f)

#### **6.8.4 Israel's Special Role**

That Israel still has a special role to play is a belief not unique to the Charismatic-Pentecostal variety of Christian Zionism, but in other versions this is usually largely or entirely located in the millennium and the time after the Second Coming (or, in Dispensationalism, after the rapture). This view, however, puts special emphasis on this expectation. In addition, it is convinced Israel will play a crucial role before the millennium, on this side of the Second Coming. Understanding of this role is not entirely uniform. Many speak of Israel's calling as a light to the nations and a people of priests (which it will yet fulfil), or describe Israel as in a unique way still an 'agent of revelation and blessing' (Kischkel 2003b). In other words, 'Israel is elect; they have a role; they have a gift; they have a calling – world redemption. Their part in effecting world redemption is irrevocable' (Juster & Intrater 1991:82); they 'have the authority from God and the calling to bring the nations of the world into this full blessing' (G. Keller 2002:25). In respect to teaching and leadership this means the following:

There is a unique role for the Jewish believers in Yeshua to play in interpreting and transmitting the revelations of end-times prophecy to the Church body at large ... But as the end-times revelations have so much to do with a restored remnant of Jewish or Israeli believers, they in turn will have a special perspective to understand those prophecies that the Gentile Church in general will not have. (Juster & Intrater 1991:151)

'Ten men from all languages and nations will take firm hold of one Jew by the hem of his robe and say [both literally and figuratively] "Let us go with you, because we have heard that God is with you"' (Zech. 8:23). We are about to see Jewish leadership restored to the entire Body of the Lord. We are entering a time when the Jewish nation will become known as worshipers of Jesus/Yeshua, and the whole Church will honor and accept Israel's fulfilled role as a light to the nations (see Isa. 60:3)... It could be a combined Jew/Gentile leadership that we are to expect. (Finto 2001:157; the square brackets are included in the original)

#### **6.8.5 'Greater Riches' World Revival**

This special role is often linked with the expectation of a 'mighty end-times revival' (Juster & Intrater 1991:104), a large, worldwide outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Reekie (1995:191) speaks of a second 'Jerusalem Pentecost'; based on Romans 11:12, Finto (2001:38, chapter title) calls it the 'Greater Riches World Revival'.<sup>57</sup> Its catalyst is the conversion of the Jews in Israel. In fact, Finto argues the revival is already underway, parallel to the partial restoration of Israel over the past century and the beginning of the Messianic Jewish movement. After all, world revival and Israel's 'homecoming ... both physical and spiritual' are 'inextricably bound to each other' (*ibid.*:43; cf. 6.8.1); all the signs of Christian growth and vitality of the past 100 years are therefore evidence for his view of Israel (*ibid.*:38-48). At the same time, much more is yet to come: 'The latter rain of the Holy Spirit will be greater than the early rain' (Hess 1993:45). One result will be a release of power, authority, and 'resurrection life' in the churches, and 'the greatest harvest of souls the church has ever seen' (Reekie 1995:202). Kischkel (2003b) concurs:

A time of revival in Israel is therefore at hand. This chosen nation will enquire about its calling anew, and many will receive Jesus into their hearts. Consequently, the

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<sup>57</sup> Roman 11 has been read in many different ways, but it hardly supports the interpretation that the fullness of Israel – and with it, the 'Greater Riches World Revival', or whatever Paul meant with 'greater riches' – precedes and triggers that of the Gentiles; if anything, it seems to be the other way around.

testimony of the gospel will once more spread out into the nations like a bush fire, and will bring the Christian church the greatest increase it has ever experienced.

This may lead to the conclusion that the Second Coming is dependent on Israel's conversion: 'His brethren must expect him. Only then will he come' (Brown 2000:184; the 'brethren' are ethnic Jews). According to Juster and Intrater (1991:78), this age will reach 'critical mass', and then an 'explosion' will take place. But this explosion is not Armageddon:

The Gentile believers with the saved remnant of Israel influence Israel's leaders to confess, 'Blessed is He who comes in the name of the Lord.' That leads to Israel's acceptance and life from the dead! It is the establishing of the Age to Come in fullness. (ibid.:79)

There will be

... a spiritual outpouring and revival that takes place right before the return of the Lord. The glory fire of God not only causes revival, but also purifies the people of God from sin and causes judgments to fall on the world systems. (ibid.:106)

As our passion for Yeshua grows stronger and as the time of His return draws near, that lover's desire in Him and in us will release a fire on this earth that will destroy every evil and conquer every stronghold. (ibid.:108)

They do expect intense conflict and spiritual warfare during this time as well, resulting in both victory and martyrdom (ibid.:94). In the final battle and revival:

The spiritual pressure of those days will be almost unbearable. The people of God will be in such a state of constant intercession that signs and wonders, previously unheard of, will be taking place all over the world. Angels will be making an appearance in and out of the scene. Open visions of heaven and the throne room of God will be regular experiences in prayer meetings ...

Worship will become so powerful and enrapturing that it will be a mere step away from actually being lifted into the air physically to meet Yeshua ...

The increasingly miraculous level of worship in the end times ... prepares the people of God to be caught up in the air at the coming of Yeshua. (ibid.:166f)

In this eschatological design, Jewish and Gentile believers joined together 'trigger' the conversion of Israel and the eschatological revival, and so usher in the consummation and the age to come.

#### **6.8.6 A New, Extravagant, and Positive Eschatology**

The features discussed above clearly demonstrate that the movement has produced a new and radically different eschatology. It has rewritten the script in a creative and innovative way, and the result is something that is much more positive than traditional Evangelical eschatology. It may still expect major upheavals (so Juster & Intrater 1991:128: 'enormous tribulation') in the near future, but it is less focused on Armageddon, and does not display the extreme scenario-orientation of typical end-time books with their detailed speculations on the order of events. In addition, the new, simpler scenario is fantastic, in more than one sense of the word. It raises extravagant expectations. This gives it an appeal beyond that of classical Evangelical books on the topic with their eschatological pessimism and Dispensational horror scenarios.

#### **6.8.7 Prophecy**

Prophetic words are spoken and received with great seriousness. Those that touch on Israel may speak of severe judgments or upheavals, including persecution of Jews in Russia or America, but are definitely upbeat, at times extravagantly so, about the prospects of revival, as in 'all of Egypt will completely convert to the Lord' (Rick Joyner, cited in

Reekie 1995:158). A good German example are the writings of Arnd Kischkel (2003a),<sup>58</sup> who emphasizes ‘prophetic’ intercession: intercession guided by prophetic impressions and direct guidance by the Holy Spirit. Much of his writing appears to be based on prophetic impressions or is even presented as a direct speaking of God, using introductory phrases like ‘I had the impression’, ‘the Lord made clear to me’, and ‘during a prayer time, I heard the Spirit say’. Kischkel predicts another Arab-Israeli war, which will not be the final battle, but will be critical for Israel. This crisis will result in a spiritual awakening in Israel, leading many to believe in Jesus as the Messiah. This in turn results in a great blessing for the church and in worldwide revival. It will be a time of terrible shaking and turbulence, but also of great power and anointing for the church in Israel and around the world. In short, he presents the eschatology just discussed, but as a prophetic revelation. Kischkel quotes at length from a prophecy given in 2000 by John Mulinde, a Ugandan intercessor, which includes similar predictions:

The storm you have seen is the power of darkness. They are the winds of evil, blowing from all ends of the earth. They increase in strength and in number. They sweep down on Israel. They will cause evil in the land. It will be the greatest opposition against the power of God in the entire history of Israel. It will be the greatest confrontation between the power of light and the power of darkness. The rain you have seen is the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. There will be an outpouring of the Holy Spirit on Israel even greater than on Pentecost 2,000 years ago. These waves will reach the four ends of the earth. And the beginnings of this outpouring will produce strength. As soon as it starts in Israel, it will release a wave of revelation revealing the face of Jesus.<sup>59</sup>

Mulinde calls it an end-time scenario, but it is far removed from Dispensational schedules, and clearly matches the positive eschatology of 6.8.6. A redeeming feature of Mulinde’s vision is the positive and inclusive perspective on all nations, including the Arabs. These and other prophetic words, then, pick up, combine, reinforce, and emphatically underline several of the features discussed in this section.

A special case – because of its enormous influence – is the vision of Steve Lightle (1983), which was discussed in 3.4.1. It continues to be quoted or referred to, and still inspires further prophetic revelations regarding this ‘second exodus’. The MJAA has launched a humanitarian aid project, ‘The Joseph Project’, which aims to bring a substantial amount of aid goods to Israel for the coming mass immigration. The project is based on ‘a clear, prophetic call of God’ dating back to 1996; according to a prophetic word of then MJAA General Secretary Joel Chernoff, ‘a million Jews would be “frightened or driven out of Eastern Europe and Russia and immigrate to Israel” ... The prophetic word was “much like the one given to Joseph to prepare for famine in Egypt.”’<sup>60</sup> Jim Goll (2001:25) recounts hearing an audible voice in April 1999, saying: ‘In 18 months “the hunters” will begin to be released to hunt down the Russian Jews.’ This received independent confirmation from Cindy Jacobs at a conference in England a month later; she predicted an exodus from Russia coming ‘across the North Sea seeking refuge’ (*ibid.*:26), which ‘could begin’ to happen in November 2000.<sup>61</sup> These words were taken seriously; Häselbarth (2000a:25) for instance referred to them in an address: ‘God has told them it will begin this autumn,’ and quoted a third prophet besides Goll and Jacobs: ‘Get ready, you Christians, to receive the Jews.’ What happened in late 2000 was of course not persecution in Russia, but the second

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<sup>58</sup> See also Kischkel (2001a, 2001b).

<sup>59</sup> This prophecy was printed in: Mulinde J 5.2000 ‘Israel und die Nationen’ Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem /25:11-17. See Mulinde (2000a, 2000b) for an internet version.

<sup>60</sup> Samuels, AB 28.3.2003 ‘Messianic Jews, Christians Pour Aid into Israel: “Blessing centers” aim to help those below the poverty line’ Charisma News Service [E-mail newsletter] Available at <http://www.charismanews.com/a.pl?ArticleID=7415> Accessed 31.3.2003. For the actual text of the prophetic word, see Chernoff (1996).

<sup>61</sup> So the extended version of Goll’s 1999 prophecy (Goll nd).

Intifada. Incomprehensibly, when Goll (2001:179) later in his book purports to evaluate his prophetic word, he refers to this 'heightened level of violence' in Israel, and notes it resulted in 'a virtual standstill' of Russian immigration; in other words, the very opposite happened, yet he shows no sign whatsoever of even registering the enormous contradiction between his prophecy and what actually took place.

Tom Hess has applied the concept to America. In one of his books, he describes a vision of judgment coming on America and of a mass emigration of American Jews to Israel (Hess 1993:12). In another vision he foresaw a network of shelters for Jews who had failed to get out in time. 'Later I found out that many Christians in rural areas of America have already furnished separate houses as sanctuaries for such Jews' (*ibid.*:79). He also recounts a vision by another person, who had seen how 14,000 Russian Jews crossed to Alaska; for them, too, American Christians are preparing shelters (*ibid.*:79). Obviously, Lightle's vision continues to inspire multiple others to see similar visions.

### **6.8.8 Intercession**

The previous section already began to touch on this aspect; in the neo-Pentecostal movement, prophecy and intercession are closely connected. Its intercession movement has always had a strong Christian Zionist touch to it, although there is no reason for this inherent in the practice of intercession itself. It is rather the consequence of its most influential and founding members: people like Derek Prince, Steve Lightle, Lance Lambert, Johannes Facius, Kjell Sjöberg, and Gustav Scheller, all convinced Christian Zionists. As noted in 3.5.11, regular prayer conferences in Jerusalem have taken place since 1983. Many other prayer initiatives have followed, frequently within an unambiguously Christian Zionist framework. Especially the prophesied 'second exodus' from the Soviet Union has been a major prayer goal. Tom Hess for instance, founder of the International House of Prayer in Jerusalem, has organized 24-hour prayer watches to pray for the return of Jews from Russia and America; he has also undertaken a number of 'Jericho-type prayer marches' to Russia (Goll 2001:86-8; Hess 1993:16, 164f), presumably to break down spiritual strongholds. Such prayer trips and 'prophetic actions' are a hallmark of the movement. Goll (2001:81-5) describes how throughout the 1980s small bands of intercessors visited the USSR and prayed in 'strategic locations'; in one instance they launched 'a "spiritual missile" at the office (specifically, the spiritual principality behind the office) of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin.' According to Goll (2001:81, section title), this is 'The Truth Behind [*sic*] the Fall of the Iron Curtain'. It all happened in order to enable Soviet Jews to return to Israel:

We have already seen miracle after miracle come to pass on behalf of the Russian Jews in response to prayer in recent years. There is no other explanation for the rapid disintegration of the world's second-ranked superpower. There is no other rationale for the fall of the Berlin Wall after decades of unrestrained terror and bondage. (*Ibid.*:164f)

We meet here the conviction that tremendous power and influence can be wielded by small groups of believers in the realm of the unseen. They are thought to exercise enormous leverage, far beyond what the number of those involved would suggest, and this transformation is effected wholly through 'spiritual' means: intercession, symbolic or prophetic actions, and authoritative pronouncements. The extravagance noted in 6.8.6 also shows in the 'turbo' language some intercessors use: 'spiritual missile', 'divine payload', 'prayer avalanche', 'crisis intercession' (Goll 2001:83, 85, 105, 165), 'Apostolic Council of Prophetic Elders', 'Generals of Intercession'.<sup>62</sup> The conviction that faith can move mountains can be found in Matthew (17:20 and 21:21) and Mark (11:23), but Christians have not normally thought it is so easy and so achievable.

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<sup>62</sup> The latter two are American groups or ministries.

### 6.8.9 Identifying or Representative Repentance

In Charismatic and neo-Pentecostal circles, a distinctive understanding of guilt and repentance, leading to distinct remedies and rituals to deal with it, is widespread. Guilt is not just a moral category which applies to individuals. It is also understood as something with an almost independent existence, a spiritual presence or burden, which belongs to the collective that caused it; it therefore lingers on from generation to generation, long after the actual perpetrators are gone. As such it has a spiritual effect on people and country, causing a curse which remains in effect until it is dealt with:

... where historical guilt has arisen and this guilt has not been brought to the light, it continues to have an effect. Time alone does not heal. Where guilt is confessed and the curse caused by the shedding of blood is broken, the promise of purification and forgiveness holds.<sup>63</sup>

Guilt is a fact. It is present until someone asks for forgiveness.<sup>64</sup>

Repentance therefore is more than the receiving of divine forgiveness and a change of lifestyle based on regret for past wrongs. It becomes a way of overcoming this guilt and thus removing the curse.<sup>65</sup> Since the German term 'Buße' (repentance) can also refer to punishment and to penance ('paying for'), 'Buße' and 'Buße tun' (to repent; tun = to do, it is something you do) are more prone to such an understanding than their English equivalents, but this understanding of repentance can be found in both languages.

Since the curse is often associated with demonic powers that have a hold on a people or region because of sin which has not yet been dealt with, there is a link with neo-Pentecostal spiritual warfare practices. Confessing guilt from the past opens the way to authoritatively addressing the spirit powers and breaking the curse. There is also a connection to the revival expectation of 6.8.5: unconfessed guilt is a major obstacle blocking revival; it cannot happen unless the curse is broken:

In his book Dr Michael Brown shows the fundamental connection between the process of overcoming historical guilt towards the Jewish people on the one hand, and on the other the fullness of blessing and also the power of God for the church of Jesus of the end times.

With this, Dr Michael Brown underlines the conviction that our nation will not see a deep and nationally significant spiritual revival if we as the church of Jesus do not face this matter appropriately, that is, in a most serious and radical way. I consider it one of the church's central tasks in preparing the way with regards to revival in Germany to execute this ministry of dealing with historical guilt ... with great commitment and resoluteness. (Harald Eckert on back cover of Brown 2000)

Personally, I have not yet experienced a prayer meeting in which people were moved by the Holy Spirit to this extent to identify with the collective guilt of their nations (colonialism, world wars, slavery, genocide, and civil wars), and ask for forgiveness. The accompanying ministry of reconciliation created a strong spiritual unity. This made it possible to take action in faith against spiritual bulwarks of darkness over the nations.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> 'Erhebt eure Stimme! Ein Aufruf zur Umkehr an die deutsche Nation – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verhältnisses zum jüdischen Volk' 10-12.1999 Charisma /110:4-6.

<sup>64</sup> So Karl-Heinz Michel (Jesus-Bruderschaft Gnadenthal), cited in: Mockler, M 20.8.2003 'Wenn Christen die "Sünden der Väter" beichten: Immer häufiger gibt es Aktionen "stellvertretender Buße" – Sind Pietisten am Holocaust schuld?' ideaSpektrum /34:19-21.

<sup>65</sup> This understanding of repentance as it relates to Israel is particularly strong in newsletters of CFRI, in Charisma, and in Pinke (2000) and Häselbarth (2000a).

<sup>66</sup> Passon, K-D 1-3.1997 'Gottes "Vereinte Nationen": Ein Bericht von der zweiten "All Nations Convocation"-Gebetskonferenz in Jerusalem' Charisma /99:26f.

The latter quotation points to one more crucial aspect of this view: the required repentance is ‘identifying’ (identifizierend) or ‘representative’ (stellvertretend; this, rather than identifizierend, is the most commonly used term in German literature). The intercession of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah on behalf of Israel, with its accompanying confession of guilt, provides the Biblical model for this practice. ‘Identifying’ means that the individual identifies with the people and their sins of the past; they also concern that person. ‘Representative’ goes a step further: the intercessor makes himself a representative of his collective identity, and confesses in the name of that group for that group. The difference is subtle but real, although it is rarely reflected on; Klaus-Dieter Passon is an exception to this when he calls ‘representative repentance’ a ‘somewhat unfortunate formulation, easy to misunderstand,’ and writes that this practice can never mean ‘that I could perform a personal repentance instead of or for another person. It rather means that I acknowledge their sin, and face the fact that it happened, and that it can also happen in my generation.’<sup>67</sup> However, when he states that by ‘placing ourselves under the guilt of the past, we break its power and its effects in the present,’ he goes beyond the mere recognition of a historical debt or liability, although it remains somewhat unclear what ‘placing ourselves under the guilt of the past’ entails.

The actual practice is often a lot less discerning than Passon’s article, and can be as simplistic as this: at a neo-Pentecostal Easter conference in 1984 Peter Dipple (Charismatic Centre Munich) asked Arie Ben Israel (RzV) ‘on behalf of Christians and Germans’ (stellvertretend als Christ und als Deutscher) for forgiveness, which the latter pronounced, ‘stellvertretend als Jude’.<sup>68</sup> When a group of young Germans visited Yad Vashem on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Wannsee Conference (3.4.3), Claus Philippin (International Christian Chamber of Commerce) bowed ‘under this dreadful guilt and [repented] in the name of the German business world.’<sup>69</sup> When Don Finto (2001:86f) travelled to Spain with a group of Jewish and non-Jewish believers to visit ‘historical sites of anti-Jewish legislation and persecution’, they asked ‘for forgiveness on behalf of ancestors long dead, whose decisions have continued to affect us to this day.’

The latter quotation illustrates recent developments. The process of dealing with historical guilt towards Jews should not be limited to the recent past (Holocaust), but move further back in time. It is also necessary to dig deeper and repent broader in other ways. Häselbarth (epilogue in Boskey & Capelle 2004:58, 60f) wants Christians to repent for ‘anti-Semitic guilt of cities, regions, nations, professional groups, politicians, and denominations’, as well as that of ‘social groups and classes’. In relation to our personal ancestors he urges:

Go in representative repentance, as deep as you can. Draw a family tree which includes all family members, and let us pray for each person into ultimate depth, and repent, do representative repentance, bow under the guilt of ancestors which may date back three or four generations. (Häselbarth 2000a:23)<sup>70</sup>

Eckert points out that guilt can be personal (in thought, words, deeds), or concern our family, church, or place of residence; he calls for ‘a deeper dimension and concretization of the awareness of guilt and liberation from guilt’.<sup>71</sup> The possibilities are endless:

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<sup>67</sup> Passon, K-D 7-9.2002 “‘Stellvertretende Buße’?” Charisma /121:32f.

<sup>68</sup> ‘Jeschua: Impressionen von der Oster-Pessach-Konferenz’ 7-9.1984 Charisma /44:14f.

<sup>69</sup> But who made him its representative? ‘Reden zum “Akt der Versöhnung”’ 4-6.1992 Charisma /80:10f.

<sup>70</sup> The German original is as jagged as this translation. On ancestor guilt and generational curses, see also Häselbarth (1998).

<sup>71</sup> Eckert, H 1-3.2002 ‘Wie oft sollen wir noch Buße tun? Überlegungen zur Aufarbeitung historischer Schuld am jüdischen Volk’ Charisma /119:34.

The question remains for us: has the process of repentance, has repentance on the local and national levels really already been completed? Two dimensions should be considered. First, the historical dimension in the sense of a 900-year history of anti-Semitism in our people. Second, the branching out of anti-Semitic guilt into countless individual and concrete situations. This concerns the local history of many places, the family chronicle of many houses, this concerns districts, bishoprics, dukedoms, this concerns many social and professional classes.

What has been accomplished in terms of repentance on the national level must now be spelled out in many individual situations.<sup>72</sup>

As far as Germany is concerned, the latest investigations of the Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary in Darmstadt have shown that in the past 9 centuries of Christian anti-Semitism – not counting the Third Reich! – there have been 591 pogroms in 388 German towns ... In how many of these towns and villages has this guilt ever been publicly confessed? (Harald Eckert in his foreword to Brown 2000:8)<sup>73</sup>

What German advocates of this practice are actually looking for is a nationwide movement of repentance. The fact that this is not happening (at the most thousands, not millions, are involved) has led to a curious argument. In Sodom, 10 righteous people would have saved the city, that is about 0.1 per cent. For Germany, this means 80,000 German Christians, sincerely repenting for the sins of the past, could open the way for a truly national repentance.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps since not even this number is in sight, or perhaps because of a simple mistake, Rudi Pinke, pastor of a large neo-Pentecostal church in Frankfurt am Main, has changed the numbers. He has also dropped the subsequent nationwide repentance as a requirement:

The guilt of Germans in relation to Jews will only be extinguished when Christians, when the church of Jesus Christ in this country, deal with it in a Biblical way before God as a representative, representative, and liberating process of repentance – because it is a process; it is not something one can do selectively.

Representative – what does that mean? I am asking this in the awareness that Abraham in his wrestling with God asked for 10 righteous people out of a population of about 100,000 – that is 0.01 per cent. That would still have been representative! We can consider this: if in a nation of 80 million people 8,000 or 10,000 Christians complete this process, then I believe one can expect an enormous change in this country. (Pinke 2000:16)

On a final note, and not surprisingly, this practice of identifying repentance is controversial within the wider Evangelical movement. Even Wolfram Kopfermann, a former Lutheran pastor close to the Charismatic movement, rejects ‘such a way of dealing with the past’. He denies both its ‘exorcising effect’ and the link with revival, since it played no role at all in any revival in the past. In his view, this practice only leads to an ‘endless preoccupation with the past’.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> ‘Erhebt eure Stimme! Ein Aufruf zur Umkehr an die deutsche Nation – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verhältnisses zum jüdischen Volk’ 10-12.1999 Charisma /110:4-6. See also Eckert (2000a).

<sup>73</sup> But why this narrow focus on sins against Jews, as serious as these are? And are we really to believe that revival hinges on the public confession of each of these 591 pogroms?

<sup>74</sup> Eckert, H 5.2003 ‘Auf dem Weg zur nationalen Buße’ Rundbrief der CFRI 1-6. See also: Eckert, H 10.2003 ‘Schritt für Schritt dem Ziel entgegen’ Rundbrief der CFRI 1f.

<sup>75</sup> Mockler, M 20.8.2003 ‘Wenn Christen die “Sünden der Väter” beichten: Immer häufiger gibt es Aktionen “stellvertretender Buße” – Sind Pietisten am Holocaust schuld?’ ideaSpektrum /34:19-21. See also: Aschoff, F & Stadelmann, H 3.4.1996 ‘Pro & Kontra: Für Kreuzzüge um Vergebung bitten?’ ideaSpektrum /14:15.

### **6.8.10 Reconciliation**

Possibly a hopeful development (but see 7.1.6) is an increased emphasis on reconciliation among Charismatic-Pentecostal Christian Zionists.<sup>76</sup> In part, this is a logical conclusion drawn from the ‘One New Man’ concept: it requires reconciliation between Christians and Jews, as well as between Jewish and Arab believers. Interest in Salim Munayer and the Musalaha ministry in Israel/Palestine has grown, and several outspoken Christian Zionists in Germany have launched an initiative of their own, Philippus-Dienst (3.5.8), which aims to support both Messianic Jews and Arab Christians in Israel.<sup>77</sup> Where this will lead, and how hopeful it really is, remains to be seen, but from a Christian perspective supporting Arab and Jewish communities of believers certainly makes sense, and has the potential to make a positive contribution to the region.

### **6.8.11 Conclusion to 6.8**

Earlier in this chapter it was concluded that the Christian Zionist system of ideas presents a narrative of substantial appeal and persuasive power. For those open to entertain it, the Charismatic-Pentecostal variety intensifies this narrative by adding a fourth dimension to it, and produces a ‘turbo version’, which shows a distinct resemblance to the emperor’s new clothes: in spite of strong claims, there may not be much there.

Extravagant spirituality is a typical neo-Pentecostal attribute. In his extensive and well-balanced critique of the movement, Hempelmann (1998:195; cf. 2004) identifies exaggeration as its foundational principle. The material examined in this section (6.8) would seem to confirm his conclusion.

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<sup>76</sup> The GGE has always had this emphasis.

<sup>77</sup> See Makatowski (2003) and [www.philippus-dienst.de](http://www.philippus-dienst.de), as well as Rebiai (2004) and Gemeinschaft der Versöhnung (Community of Reconciliation), [www.gdv-cor.ch](http://www.gdv-cor.ch). See also Moser (2004).

## CONCLUSIONS AND CRITIQUE

'And the Lord whom you seek will suddenly come to his temple; and the messenger of the covenant in whom you delight, behold, he is coming, says the Lord of hosts. But who can endure the day of his coming, and who can stand when he appears?' (Mal. 3:1b-2a)<sup>1</sup>

'Brothers, do not be children in your thinking. Be infants in evil, but in your thinking be mature.' (1 Cor. 14:20)

## 7.1 CONCLUSIONS

The extended description of Christian Zionism as seen through the lens of its literature has been completed. It has brought many facets and aspects of Christian Zionism to light. Chapter Three, Four, and Five presented an examination of its form, strength, and development in Germany. As in other countries and with few exceptions, a fully developed Christian Zionist movement only began to emerge in Germany during the 1970s. It was a reaction to perceived threats of Israel, after the Six Day War had first underlined its significance. Christian Zionism proved to be not an import, but a movement with substantial roots in German Evangelical history, although there has been increasing cross-fertilization internationally; the latter is especially visible in the second wave of end-time and Israel-related books appearing in the 1990s.

German Evangelicals, as was particularly shown by the analysis of *ideaSpektrum*, are usually pro-Israel, often take 'solidarity with Israel' for granted, and display a narrower spectrum of theological and political views on Israel than Evangelicals in North America and Great Britain; there are few alternative voices, and none of these are institutional. They are usually Restorationists, but not necessarily ideological or dogmatic Christian Zionists. Overall, German Evangelical publications are less militant than American ones, and Dispensationalism is less dominant in Germany than in the United States. Naturally, the German and Jewish-Christian past is of great importance in Germany, although it increasingly plays a role abroad as well.

Chapter Five brought a number of historical shifts to the light. Evangelical books dealing with Israel and the end times published between 1945 and 2004 increasingly paid attention to Israel and the Middle East, at the expense of purely eschatological material. They also displayed a shift from Restorationism to an increasingly Christian Zionist position. The increase in titles dealing with these subjects took place in two waves which proved fundamentally different from each other, as demonstrated in 5.3.1.4. This justifies speaking of an 'Israel boom' for the 1990s and beyond. Since it is also reflected in an increase of Christian Zionist activity and organizations, it is clear that it represents more than just a publishing phenomenon. Because the body of literature on which these conclusions are based is, as argued in 1.2, 'both formative and expressive', and since developments and shifts in the literature are therefore likely to correspond to changes in the thinking of Christian Zionists, it seems justified to take these results as indicative of changes in the movement as a whole.

As for the 'hypothesis' referred to in Chapter One, it has become quite clear that both the history of Jewish-Christian relations and the Middle East are indeed crucial dimensions of Christian Zionist thought, more so than commonly acknowledged. For the former, the evidence can especially be found in 6.2 and 6.4, as well as in a number of early representatives and in several organizations covered in Chapter Three. For the state of Israel and the Middle East, the sheer weight of attention given to them already strongly

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<sup>1</sup> All quotations from the Bible are taken from the English Standard Version.

suggests this, as do their role in the emergence of the movement in the 1970s (3.6) and their function in the Christian Zionist system of ideas (6.3-6.7). Further evidence is provided by the book analysis in Chapter Five, which showed a clear shift from interest in the end times to interest in Israel (5.3.1.2; see also 5.3.2.2). Although the latter does not directly prove that the Middle East is an important element in the Christian Zionist system of ideas, it does make this likely. It also means that interest in eschatology has suffered a relative decline in this literature (see esp. Fig. 5.3 in 5.3.1.2).

However, it cannot be concluded that the eschatology dimension is, or has become, of lesser importance. Eschatological considerations and beliefs continue to be present in many publications and with many representatives. Some show a willingness to reconsider apocalyptic eschatology (eg Brimmer *et al.* 2006; Parsons 2005; see 7.2.2.2), and there are authors (eg Winfried Amelung, Karl Dipper, Rudolf Pfisterer, Robert Währer) for whom eschatology plays at the most a very limited role. Figure 5.16 (5.3.2.2) shows that low interest in eschatology is concentrated in Christian Zionist books of Type 5 and 6. Taken together, this suggests that Christian Zionism does not necessarily need popular apocalyptic eschatology as a foundation, but so far, individuals adopting such a position are clearly a minority. It will be interesting to observe further developments in this.

With Dispensationalism, the situation is clearer. Although many Christian Zionists continue to be Dispensationalists, there are also a significant number of authors and leaders who are not. Dispensationalism proved weakest in those books in which Christian Zionism was strongest, and these were most likely to include statements that contradict Dispensationalism (5.3.2.1). For a number of early representatives, Chapter Three showed that other factors than Dispensationalism led them to Christian Zionism. It is striking that many Christian Zionist publications, including newsletters, do not argue explicitly from a Dispensationalist basis and do not even refer to it, although some do (eg Mitternachtsruf, Bibel-Center Aktuell). It is of course possible that their authors, or their readers, are nevertheless influenced by Dispensationalist ideas, but this would still mean that they display little or no commitment to Dispensationalist theology, and that their Christian Zionism is not simply a function or outflow of Dispensationalism. The case for Israel in Christian Zionist periodicals is rarely supported through an exposition of the Dispensationalist system. By all appearances, Christian Zionism is increasingly a movement and a system in its own right, not just an expression of Dispensationalist or Premillennial eschatology, and a significant number of Christian Zionists care about Israel without paying any attention to Dispensationalism.

It proved helpful to look at Christian Zionism in its broader context, as a movement within the Evangelical movement, because this brought out its considerable diversity, a diversity that defies rigid typologies, especially if these are based on doctrinal issues. Chapter Six moved beyond the particular manifestation of Christian Zionism in Germany, using this manifestation to gain a deeper understanding of the underlying system of thought as it is shared by Christian Zionists worldwide. It offered a description and explanation of this belief system in the form of a three-dimensional model or narrative, a retelling of the gospel and world history in which Israel takes a central place. This relatively complex narrative enables a better and deeper comprehension of Christian Zionism than a more limited explanation. The antagonists that could be identified in each dimension add substantial explanatory power to the model, as do the functions of Israel for Evangelicals which could be inferred. The model and the literature analysis also gave some indications as to how and why people may embrace Christian Zionism. Especially Derek Prince, Hannah Hurnard, and David Dolan proved interesting case studies. However, on this point the amount of evidence was limited, and other methods of research are bound to be more fruitful than those chosen here.

Building on this, the present chapter brings the thesis to a close with a twofold critique: one of Christian Zionism as a theology and a movement, and one of the structures of

popular Evangelical thought and its interaction with the world – in short, the popular Evangelical mind – which gave birth to it.

## 7.2 A CRITIQUE OF CHRISTIAN ZIONISM AND ITS CRITICS

This is of course not the first such critique. Notable critics of Christian Zionism include Rosemary and Herman Ruether (1989), Grace Halsell (1989), Michael Prior (1999b), Gershom Gorenberg (2000), and among Evangelicals Colin Chapman (2002, 2004), Stephen Sizer (2002b; 2004), Peter Walker (Johnston & Walker 2000; Walker 1994; 1996), Gary Burge (2003), and Donald Wagner (1995). Of the latter, Chapman stands out as particularly fair, even-handed, well-informed, and sharp in its perception but not in its polemics. Sizer emphasizes the role of Dispensationalism and the impact of Christian Zionism on politics and justice. The essays published by Johnston and Walker, papers presented at a conference of the Biblical Theology Study Group of the prestigious, Evangelical Tyndale Fellowship in 1999 on the topic of the land, concentrate on issues of Biblical interpretation and Biblical theology within an Evangelical framework. Burge and Wagner are less academic and aim at a broader audience. Where appropriate, a discussion of their criticism will be integrated into the discussion below.

This critique takes an inner-Evangelical standpoint, testing the consistency of Christian Zionism with its own fundamentals. It also takes the structure of the movement into account. Chapter Three, Five, and Six have investigated how philo-Semitic attitudes and Restorationist beliefs gave birth to Christian Zionism. In turn, it now influences the wider Evangelical movement, partially feeding back into the broader stratum of pro-Israel feelings and attitudes. The resulting structure of the movement is complex: a committed core existing in several varieties, weaker margins consisting of those influenced but not fully indoctrinated, both coexisting with the older pro-Israel attitudes and Restorationist theology, while boundaries between them are vague and open, and many ideas are shared. Therefore any critique has to be multilayered or -faceted; there cannot be a ‘one size fits all’.

### 7.2.1 Heresy, Therefore Anathema?

Before launching into a more detailed critique, a general question must be addressed: Is Christian Zionism heresy, and therefore anathema? Is it such a departure from the essence of the gospel that it must be condemned with such force? Sizer (2002b:310), quoting John Stott, concludes at the end of his critique that it is:

To suggest, therefore, that the Jewish people continue to have a special relationship with God, apart from faith in Jesus, or have exclusive rights to land, a city and temple is, in the words of John Stott, ‘biblical anathema’. Paul’s warning to the Church in Galatia concerning the nationalistic and legalistic Christian Judaizers infecting the church of his own day is perhaps an appropriate description of and response to contemporary Christian Zionism: ‘Get rid of the slave woman and her son’ (Galatians 4:30).

The citation of Stott is taken from DE Wagner (1995:80); since Stott is a figure of authority among Evangelicals, this carries substantial weight, although it should be pointed out that the statement was only made in private conversation. The Middle East Council of Churches (1988) and Ruether (1989) utter the same judgement, for the reason that Christian Zionism elevates one ethnic group over others, not unlike the South-African apartheid ideology, and because it sacralizes the state of Israel.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ruether (1992:152) has also called it ‘false messianism’. See also Hafften (19.2.2003).

So is Christian Zionism anathema? Although there is much in Christian Zionism I find problematic, I find this conclusion problematic as well. It is the heaviest tool in Christianity's arsenal, and it should only be used in extreme cases, and then only as a final resort. For one, it would put an end to all dialogue, since a dialogue with those who have been devoted to destruction seems out of the question. For another, it is easy to return the favour; there is much in Prior and Ruether, especially their view of Scripture, that to Evangelical ears would sound less than orthodox, and the MECC could conceivably be accused of supersessionist theology, for many also an anathema. In the end we would all be anathematized. And finally, it does not do justice to the diversity of the movement, nor to its nature as a popular movement. 'Christian Zionism Is a Heresy', says Ruether (1989), but what exactly is Christian Zionism, where does it begin, and where does it end? If someone simply or even simplistically believes God promised the land of Israel to Abraham and his descendants, and that therefore the Jews have a special entitlement to the land, is this enough to warrant so heavy a curse? Is this really, as the MECC and Ruether claim, elevating one ethnic group over others, in short: racism? Is the Old Testament racist? Is Pietism with its long philo-Semitic tradition also anathema?

Christians disagree on many issues concerning the history and the theology of the Jewish people, and much may be lost if the argument is cut short by crying 'heresy!' A detailed critique has a better chance to yield progress than a general condemnation.

## **7.2.2 Hermeneutical Basis, Biblical Theology, and Eschatology**

### **7.2.2.1 Literalism**

The critique presented in this section (7.1) is organized according to the three dimensions and the functions described in Chapter Six. A common and obvious point of criticism is the literalist hermeneutic underlying much of Christian Zionism. Popular Evangelical literature on Israel is often substandard in its use of Scripture, as Scheerer (1997:153f) points out in his response to Basilea Schlink and others:

Since to them Scripture and Word of God are identical, one would expect that the Scriptures would possess an unsurpassable dignity and authority. But far from it: light-heartedly, verses and parts of verses are torn out of context, combined with other incomplete verses, and freely paraphrased.

Unfortunately, it is deficient not just by liberal, but also by its own, conservative Evangelical standards of hermeneutics. Literalism makes for a simple key to the Bible, but one guaranteed to miss or distort its meaning (for some examples, see 7.2.1). Besides, too often this literalist interpretation is not literal at all, as Sizer (2002b:147-55) demonstrates for Hal Lindsey and others. In Europe, especially Wim Malgo and other representatives of Mitternachtsruf have displayed such amazing exegetical gymnastics that a few examples are in order.

Norbert Lieth (1995:27-37) understands Jairus – leader of a synagogue – and his 12-year-old daughter – pointing to the twelve tribes – as images of Israel. The woman with the blood flow who intervenes represents the nations, who have to be cleansed and saved before Israel. The doctors who could not help her represent idolatry, philosophy, and astrology. The tumult that follows when Jesus finally enters the house of Jairus 'prophetically describes 1948 and 1967' (*ibid.*:36f). The story of Zaccheus likewise becomes a fairly detailed portrayal of Jewish history (Lieth 1997:38-60). Days are interpreted as representing millennia: Jesus' parents in Luke 2 search for two days, and find him on the third – after 2,000 years the Jews will find him (Lieth 1995:47-53; since the days will be shortened, they will find him at the beginning of the third millennium, not later, 62f). On his final journey to Jerusalem, Jesus stopped in Samaria, which represents

the nations, for two days. These represent 2,000 years of Gentile missions. This provokes the question: ‘Will the Lord return to Israel after a period of 2,000 years?’ (Lieth 1995:41).

Admittedly, *Mitternachtsruf* is untypical. Much more common than such unwarranted typology are excessive literalism, a narrow selection of proof texts, failure to consider literary form and textual, cultural, and theological context, and a complete ignorance of alternatives (more on this in 7.2.1). These issues are of course not unique to Christian Zionism, but underlie all popular prophecy literature, and to a large extent determine Restorationist thinking as well. Particularly problematic in this hermeneutic is its a-historical reading: it tends to read the Old Testament or Jewish Scriptures at face value, as if Christ’s coming makes little difference. Those who would read the old in the light of the new are quickly accused of allegorizing or spiritualizing – which, considering the preceding paragraph, is ironic. Too often, Christian Zionists and Dispensationalists fail to grasp the deep and profound theological and hermeneutical rationale behind such Evangelical alternatives; they reject what they do not understand. As a result, the reading tends to become Israel-centred rather than Christ-centred. In extremis it may lead to this: ‘You will experience your Bible in a completely new way when you read it in the light of the people of Israel ... The key to the Bible is the people of Israel.’<sup>3</sup> Not all Christian Zionists would go this far, but the vital question remains: What difference do the coming and message of Jesus make for the way Christians read the Jewish Scriptures? On this, especially the work of Wright (1992: esp. 365-417, 444-64; 1996: esp. 428 to the end), the essays in Johnston and Walker (2000), and the more accessible version of these ideas in Chapman (2002) and in numerous publications of InterVarsity Press are knocking on the door; these are works Christian Zionists could read without having their Evangelical view of Scripture ‘attacked’ or undermined, and they should be taken into account – but are not.

#### 7.2.2.2 End-Time Thinking

The large majority of Christian Zionists – and of Evangelicals in general – are convinced that the end is near and that the Bible contains a relatively specific scenario of end-time events, in which Israel plays a central role. It is not uncommon for critics to reduce Christian Zionism to this eschatological dimension, claiming it is only interested in Israel because of the latter’s role in a Christian end-time scenario: ‘Evangelical love of Israel, then, can be seen as a longing for the return of Jesus’ (Epstein 1984:4). One of the most eloquent formulations of this ‘Israel-for-prophecy’s sake’ (the phrase used by Gorenberg 2000:83) perspective is given by Simon Schoon (1986:145):

For many Christians, especially the eschatological fundamentalists, the attachment to Israel can be chiefly explained with the expectations they have concerning the role of Israel in the end times. For the order of end-time events and the developments leading up to them, various plans have been designed. In these scenarios, the Jews form a kind of ‘marionette in the end-time theatre’. Since these groups are convinced that the state of Israel pushes end-time events forward, it enjoys their full and unquestioning support. The scheduled course of events and the division of time in different ages lead to a passive attitude towards politics among supporters of these theories. Sometimes the emphasis on successive ages leads to the support of different systems of ethics for Israel and for the nations. With all these scenarios it is difficult to resist the impression that Israel serves as the plaything of Christian fantasy and as a projection of Christian desires, and that little interest is paid to the way Israel understands itself. In spite of this, there is an element of truth in the protests of different chiliast groups against views common in the church and in theology, like the replacement of Israel by the church and the spiritualizing of history. The continuation of history after the completion was always taken seriously in chiliasm, and Israel’s role in it was not pushed aside.

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<sup>3</sup> Vogel, F 1-2.1995 ‘Der Schlüssel zur Bibel: Israel!’ Bibel-Center Aktuell 39/4:14. The author perhaps accidentally overstated his point, but his statement is still illuminating.

So Schoon does find a silver lining, but he virtually equates interest in Israel with interest in a prophetic scenario. However, this thesis provides evidence that the latter, while certainly important to Christian Zionism and Restorationism, is by no means the complete story. The reduction of Christian Zionist motivation to eschatology is precisely that: reductionist, and therefore incomplete. There is no reason why eschatology and various other – perhaps more commendable – concerns would be mutually exclusive. There definitely are those for whom interest in Israel is largely or entirely eschatological. But when Kloke (2000:24) writes: ‘It cannot be emphasized clearly enough: these groups are not motivated by concern for Israel’s security; ‘divine’ principles are at stake – meaning the restoration of apocalyptic structures in the Middle East,’ he produces a caricature, a picture that is too black-and-white. Many do (also) care about Israel’s security and well-being, while at the same time being motivated, sometimes more, sometimes less, by apocalyptic expectations.

In fact, Christian Zionists have begun to object to such stereotyping, especially when it uses the label ‘Armageddon theology’ (as do Gunner 1996:381; Halsell 1989:9, 17; Nederveen Pieterse 1992a:222; Sizer 2004: book title; TP Weber 2004: book title; D Wilson 1991: book title), admittedly both a stereotype and a caricature. On this, it is worth taking note of Walter Riggans’s (1988:32) statement, although he is somewhat untypical because of his extensive theological training:

I love and support and speak up for Israel at all points, but this support is not bound up with timetables about the Second Coming of Jesus, or the nature of the millennial rule, or with whether or not there will be a third Temple. So I will not be disappointed if things fail to work out according to somebody’s system. The Jewish people need have no fear that I will ‘drop them’ in favour of some endtime theological plan! ... I know that they are real people living real lives and dying real deaths; and it is this Israel and these people whom I love and respect. All of my friends, Jews, Arabs and expatriates, know that I am definitely a ‘Zionist’ of some kind, and that Israel for me is a real place and people, not a theoretical construct.

Malcolm Hedding (ICEJ) states: ‘This is about promises, not prophecies, that God made 4,000 years ago ... The prophecy part we leave to Him.’ Noting the emerging agreement on Israel between diverse streams of Christianity, he concludes that it ‘signifies that their support is based on the teachings of the Bible and not anyone’s particular “end time agenda.”’<sup>4</sup> The ICEJ’s David Parsons (2005) has even dedicated an entire paper to protest such criticism.<sup>5</sup> What Parsons fails to admit however is that he and Hedding are a minority; the majority of Evangelical friends of Israel hold precisely such an Armageddon scenario, and belief in a future Holocaust, as in ‘2/3 of Israel’s population will come under the curse because of their rejection of the Messiah Jesus’ (Liebi 1998:80; this belief is based on Zech. 13:8), is widespread. It is unclear why Parsons’s version, in contrast to the other varieties, would be ‘real’ Christian Zionism. Besides, even Parsons (2005:43) continues to believe in Armageddon as a literal battle, and denies only the ‘thirsting for Armageddon’ reproach. It should also be noted that ICEJ publications continue to reflect a strong

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<sup>4</sup> Parsons, D & Schiavi, N 15.10.2003 ‘Jerusalem Revels in Christian Diversity: From hip-hop bands to parliamentarians – pilgrims come from 70 Nations’ in Schiavi, N (ed.) ‘ICEJ Special Report from the 2003 Feast of Tabernacles Celebration’ [ICEJ News Service from Jerusalem](#) [E-mail newsletter]. Soft-peddling on some of the more controversial eschatological elements – first and foremost the claim that two-thirds of the Jews will perish in the final conflagration (Zech. 13:8) – is noticed by Gunner (1996:381, 385f) and Sizer (2002b:306).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Brimmer *et al.* (2006), a joint response of BfP, CFI, and the ICEJ to the Jerusalem Declaration on Christian Zionism, a wholesale condemnation of Christian Zionism as false teaching, colonialism, and militarism by four Middle Eastern bishops and patriarchs. The response includes the following statement: ‘Christian Zionists do not base their theological position on end-time prophecy, but on the faithful covenant promises of God given to Abraham some four thousand years ago. They do not have a “thirst for Armageddon,” and do not claim to know the sequence of events that will lead to it.’

eschatological tenor. Caricatures convey truth by exaggeration. So ‘thirsting for Armageddon’ may exaggerate, but this does not mean there is not a measure of truth in it. Christian Zionist rhetoric leaves considerable doubt as to what Christian Zionists will do if war in the Middle East were to become imminent: will they work to avoid it, or will they welcome it as the beginning of the end?

Gorenberg, who avoids a one-dimensional explanation and recognizes that not all Christian Zionists support an extreme apocalyptic scenario (2000:127, 168), writes about his experience with one of the volumes in the Left Behind series as follows:

I’m reading a book set largely in the country where I live – but not really, because the authors’ Israel is a landscape of their imagination, and the characters called ‘Jews’ might as well be named hobbits or warlocks. Israel and Jews are central to Nicolae and the other books of the hugely successful Left Behind series – but the country belongs to the map of a Christian myth; the people speak lines from a script foreign to flesh-and-blood Jews. (Gorenberg 2000:31)

With this, he is obviously looking at Christian Zionism in its apocalyptic form (Type 4), and American representatives at that, but this does not mean it has nothing to do with ‘real’ Christian Zionism elsewhere. The criticism of Schoon, Gorenberg, and others may not always be true – but neither is it always untrue. It leads to probing questions. Can Christian Zionists see Jews – and Palestinians! – as people? Or are they too dominated by an end-time agenda? Or by the ‘witness-people myth’ (Haynes 1995:6), by ‘mythical rather than real concepts of the Jews’ (Keith 1997:86)? I do not imply that the answer to these questions is yes for all Christian Zionists, but it is yes for some, and probably for a large number. They appear quite certain that the end is near. What if it is not? After Israel returned from the Babylonian exile, the restored community lived in the land without major salvation-historical events<sup>6</sup> for well over 500 years. The same could apply to 1948; the present stand-off in the Middle East could easily persist for a long time.

The fact is, Evangelical commitment and excitement have often appeared self-serving to observers. Although this may not always have been justified, deterministic and insensitive statements like this certainly do not help to defuse such misgivings:

What Israel needs in this final phase of the tribulation of Jacob ... is not a political peace process. The so-called Oslo Peace Accord is dead. Every other peace accord ... will suffer the same fate.

For us intercessors it is important to understand that God is not looking for a political solution that leads Israel out of the continuously increasing tribulation. In God’s plans for Israel there is no place for a good democracy organized according to a Western model, entailing peaceful coexistence with Islamic neighbours ...

It is according to God’s principle that he uses very tough difficulties every time he wants to save people, so that they will look out for a saviour ...

Before the salvation of the remnant of Israel there will be a situation of extreme weakness, in which Israel’s strength has completely disappeared and in which they will have no one and nothing, except to turn to the God of Israel ...

That is God’s ultimate plan for us intercessors who love [!] Israel and have it on our hearts.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> With the arguable exception of the Maccabean period.

<sup>7</sup> Eckert, H; Facius, J; & Wangler, W ‘Der Geist der Gnade und des Flehens: 6. nationale Israel-Gebets-Konferenz 27.3.-30.3.2003’ [Brochure] Altensteig, Germany: JMS-Zentrum. The fact that not even the Holocaust had the effect envisioned here gives an indication of what ‘very tough difficulties’ must entail.

### 7.2.2.3 Fulfilment of Prophecy

Another basic element in both Christian Zionism and Restorationism is closely associated with literalism and end-time thinking. It is the claim that the state of Israel or at least the return of the Jews to the land of Israel is the fulfilment of prophecy. One has to admit that in respect to Jewish restoration Evangelicals expecting such a restoration were right, at least in part. And it may have been due to more than luck; for all the idiosyncrasies of the accompanying eschatology, they may have been right to sense God was not just going to forget about the Jews, that the Jewish part of the story was not over and done with. When one considers the survival of a Jewish identity through the centuries, the intense persecution of Jews climaxing in the Holocaust, and the emergence of a Jewish state in 1948, it is a justifiable question to ask: What does it mean? It certainly makes one wonder. To answer that theologically it means nothing, is less than convincing. To claim to know more or less precisely what it means, however, is by no means more convincing. The interpretation of history is notoriously difficult, and to determine what might have been God's part in bringing it about all but impossible. To then predict as some do where it is all going, and how, and when, can only lead to utter failure; the dismal record of end-time writing bears this out, as documented by Alnor (1989), Boyer (1992), Stuhlhofer (1992), and D Wilson (1991).

So are we witnessing the fulfilment of prophecy or not? It is understandable that Christian Zionists and Restorationists object to those who say 'no', and who instead identify the return from the Babylonian exile and the restoration following 539 BC as the fulfilment (so for instance Sizer 2002b:177f, 217). The prophets spoke about something far greater than that cluster of events; much remained unfulfilled. But this also applies to 1948. The book of Isaiah does not predict irrigation projects in the Negev (in Is. 35:1f) or Jaffa oranges (in Is. 27:6), but envisions a complete transformation of the created order. In addition, although 539 BC is not 'the' fulfilment of the prophecies, it does have something to do with it. One cannot just ignore these events, and pretend the prophets were speaking of (and to) a much later era – as if they were making discrete predictions that have their exact counterpart in a specific fulfilment in our time, one on one, that is, as if they directly foresaw 1948. Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones (Ez. 37:1-14) is a passage rarely missing in Christian Zionist books, which read it as a straightforward prediction of the state of Israel rising from the ashes of the Shoa. They rarely consider the relation of the passage to its original Babylonian context. It is one thing for Jews after the Holocaust to use this as an image of their national experience, and recycle it as a literary motif; it is quite another to claim it as a prediction-fulfilment pair, as if Ezekiel described 1948.

When Restorationism makes modern-day Israel 'the' fulfilment, this is therefore as unsatisfactory as the attempt to locate a complete fulfilment in the sixth and fifth century BC. It becomes even more untenable when it is realized that Jesus is largely left out of the equation. Surely his coming and his interpretation of the prophetic promise should carry decisive weight within a Christian understanding of the prophets. It is understandable that Jews see it differently, and this is to be respected. But for Christians, their faith stands or falls with Jesus being the fulfilment of the hope of Israel. Jesus claimed the restoration was happening in and through his redemptive ministry, as Wright (1996: esp. 477-539, 612-53) has so convincingly demonstrated. A better Evangelical solution would therefore be to see 539 BC and beyond as a beginning of fulfilment; this process was intensified and brought to a higher level through the ministry of Christ, and it continues to await its consummation.

So is 1948 the fulfilment of prophecy? The answer is no, at least not in the sense of Christian Zionism, but this does not necessarily mean it is completely unrelated. Even if the fulfilment of the promise is caught up and concentrated in Christ, there is still room for the Jewish people; the promise may have an application to them as well in a way that leaves a visible trail in our world. However, if it does, this no longer has the absolute, central, and exclusive significance it once had, and we really do not know much about how

this may come about.<sup>8</sup> As a sign and a prophetic fulfilment, the state of Israel is simply too ambiguous. Is it the beginning of redemption, or rather evidence that redemption is not yet? Sometimes Christian Zionists unwittingly testify to the ambiguity of this supposed ‘fulfilment of the prophetic writings’:

For many Christians this is a reason to rejoice over the fulfilment of Biblical prophecy, the restoration of Zion, and the return of the Jewish people to its homeland. We from the social department of the Christian Embassy however are often confronted with a different sight, since for many Jews sufferings do not end with arrival in Israel. Especially in recent times, for many the fulfilment of the prophetic writings means strain, fear, or even the loss of their job. Countless people in the Holy Land live in poverty and sadness.<sup>9</sup>

Return and independence did not bring the Jews everlasting joy (Is. 35:10), it did not bring them salvation, nor any of the things associated with the redemption of Israel other than a renewed presence in the land.<sup>10</sup> National restoration and statehood, while not without value, have not brought salvation, except in a very limited sense, and they should not be overvalued.

#### 7.2.2.4 The Land

Likewise flowing from literalism and end-time thinking is the Christian Zionist understanding of the land of Israel carrying immense theological – or perhaps one should say redemptive – significance, and not just because it is the location of the final conflict and the consummation. Reservations similar to the ones expressed above apply: the land can no longer have the absolute, central, and exclusive importance it once had. Prior (1999b:229-50) even considers the land not a completion of Judaism, but a regression, and discusses a number of Jewish critics who voice concerns about what possessing land and power can do and in their opinion has done to Judaism and Israel. Based on Biblical scholarship, a strong case can be made that in the teachings of Jesus and the early church land is simply not theologically significant anymore, as Davies (1974:161-376), Chapman (2002:150-90), Wright (1992:366f, 451; 1996:403-5, 429, 445f), and other scholars have argued.<sup>11</sup> Davies, in studying Paul’s understanding of the land, speaks of

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<sup>8</sup> One Evangelical proponent of such a view is MR Wilson (1979; 1985). He presents a balanced and well-reasoned case, in which he warns against ‘deterministic thinking’ (1985:15) and states that he is ‘not prepared to say at this point that Israel’s return to the land is clearly a fulfilment of prophecy. But it could be ... At the same time, it could be that the present state of Israel will collapse. Who really knows? If this were to happen God some day would gather a new Israel in her place, for his promise concerning Israel’s future is inviolable’ (1979:41). In other words, he remains an unabashed Restorationist, but shows commendable and necessary caution when it comes to the fulfilment of prophecy. Cf. Holwerda (1995:183f): ‘God will use history, as he always has, to lead both Jews and Gentiles to acknowledge the authentic resolution of their basic problem. Someday the fullness of Jewish Israel will be included with the fullness of Gentile believers in the one people of God. How all this will be achieved in terms of visible events, or how many Old Testament particulars God will rerun or allow to reoccur, I do not know. One perspective shapes all that I do know: There is one people of God, not two; one way of salvation, not two; one way to citizenship in the City of God, not two. The universalizing of the promises in Christ illumines the authentic meaning of the particular promises.’

<sup>9</sup> ‘Barmherzigkeit’ 7-9.2002 Wort aus Jerusalem 13-15.

<sup>10</sup> The standard Restorationist explanation, at least after 1948, is based on Ezekiel 37: the restoration is to take place in two phases, first physical, then spiritual. This reads too much into this passage. It is the sequence of Ezekiel’s experience, not necessarily of a scenario, and in 37:14 the order is reversed. It also overlooks the possibility that the return of 539 BC and Pentecost (Acts 2) make for an adequate if not yet complete fulfilment. In addition, it is typical and striking that Ezekiel 37 gets such prominent status, whereas most passages on a return from exile get far less attention; they know nothing of two phases, and some posit a return to God before a return to the land. The one passage that fits (or might fit; phase 2 has not yet arrived) what happened gets highlighted; the ones that do not fit are, at least in this regard, ignored.

<sup>11</sup> See especially the essays in Johnston and Walker (2000).

‘disenlandisement’, and concludes that for Paul the land has been ‘Christified’; land, promise, and inheritance are not spiritualized, but personified – in Christ (1974:213, 219). ‘And once Paul had made the Living Lord rather than the Torah the centre in life and in death, once he had seen in Jesus his Torah, he had in principle broken with the land. “In Christ” Paul was free from the Law and, therefore, from the land’ (*ibid.*:220).

Going further back in time, to the beginnings of salvation history as recorded in the Bible, it becomes clear that already at this point all the nations were in view, and not just Israel. In Genesis 12, Abraham is introduced as God’s answer to Adam; he is the beginning of the programme to undo Adam’s sin and the consequences of the Fall. The land of Canaan – an echo of Eden – was a beginning of this restoration, but its aim was – and is – the entire globe. The land promise is therefore expanded in the New Testament<sup>12</sup> to include even the ends of the earth; it will find its ultimate fulfilment in new heavens and a new earth. In the mean time, the circle of salvation history has expanded to include all of the inhabited world; this history is no longer centred on the land of Israel, but is happening everywhere. From an Evangelical perspective, Chapman (2002:244), basing much of his argument on Davies, Wright, and others, therefore concludes:

Jews and others have presented convincing historical, political, and psychological arguments to justify the creation of a Jewish state in the land in the twentieth century. But on the basis of the New Testament understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles outlined here, it is hard to see how Christians can produce convincing theological arguments based on the Bible for the appropriateness and necessity of a Jewish state in the land.

One would wish that Christian Zionists would give this Evangelical alternative more serious thought, but they rarely interact with it in a satisfactory manner, if at all. In a rare reaction to Chapman, Samuel Külling (1996:8-20), although one of the most erudite Christian Zionists, does not get beyond a wooden defence of literalism as a foundational hermeneutical principle, although the alternative view is far too sophisticated to be refuted by merely branding it spiritualization.

In spite of all this, it is possible to argue that this universal outlook does not preclude some kind of Jewish fulfilment, and there is room for debate on this point; to believe that the land promise has to have some form of fulfilment to the Jewish people and ‘on location’ in the land of Israel is not unreasonable. In fact, the essay in Johnston and Walker (2000) by Messianic Jewish scholar Baruch Maoz (2000) takes such a position. However, even if this is the case, land and the possession of land cannot have the absolute significance they used to have and still have in the Christian Zionist universe. Sometimes one gets the impression that Christian Zionists seriously believe that Jewish ownership of land brings God’s kingdom and shalom closer, and that further progress of salvation history depends on this. What is overlooked in this perspective is that land is simply not central to the gospel or to the New Testament, and that land, when it is made central, can easily become an idol, all the more so when it is ‘holy land’.

#### 7.2.2.5 The Ethical Questions

Even if one takes the view that the land promise must have some application to the people of Israel in the land of Israel, it needs to be understood that neither this nor the alleged fulfilment of prophecy provides a basis for a ‘right’ to part or all of the land:<sup>13</sup> (1) put in

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<sup>12</sup> Eg Mt. 5:5 (cf. Ps 37), Rom. 4:13. This universal outlook is well prepared in the prophets, the book of Psalms, and other passages, to the extent that Paul has no difficulty defending his Gentile outreach by quoting from the Jewish Scriptures. For a rare example of a German Evangelical arguing this, see: Gäckle (2001).

<sup>13</sup> The issue here is not the legitimacy of the Jewish state, but the use of ‘divine right’ as a Christian Zionist argument.

plain language, just because God promised something, does not mean one can simply go and take it; (2) fulfilling prophecy never turns a wrong into a right, and it cannot be used to justify any action otherwise deemed unethical; Judas' betrayal of Jesus is an extreme case in point; (3) the land promise does not stand in isolation, but is an integral part of the covenant, a package deal including all sorts of grave consequences for breaches of contract; it is hard to see how this provides a basis for 'rights' without fulfilment of the conditions.<sup>14</sup> The dilemma for Christian Zionists is this: if they consider the national community of today's Israel the carrier of Old Testament Israel's special calling and promises, they would have to judge the present-day nation or state by Biblical, that is prophetic, standards; much of the prophetic criticism of Old Testament Israel would still apply.<sup>15</sup> They may try to deflect this by arguing that of course the state of Israel is not perfect and will fulfil this role only in the future. But then why would it be entitled to special treatment and to the land today? Special privilege and special responsibility go hand in hand. Where end-time prophecy takes centre stage, this is often overlooked, leading to a neglect of the ethical questions involved.<sup>16</sup> The prophets of Israel, for whom justice was always central, would be indignant over such a travesty.

Some Evangelical friends of Israel understand this. Most do not. Andreas Meyer (amzi) and Marvin Wilson are among those who do, and their opinions are worth taking into account:

Even if I am convinced of the validity of all promises, I have to face the questions: With what right do we expect an exhaustive fulfilment of the land promise today of all days, and can modern Israel in the conflict over its borders as a state argue on the basis of the land promises? (A Meyer 1999:12)

I am convinced that one may not put forward the land promises in isolation to answer the current political questions of Israel ... the ethical aspects of the law have to be taken into consideration as well. (*Ibid.*:13)

The ultimate human concern in dealing with Zionism must be a prophetic and theological concern: 'What does the LORD require of you but to do justice ...' (MR Wilson 1979:42)

If one grants the right of Israel to exist as a nation, that decision must be made on the basis of what is just and moral rather than simply on the grounds that it fulfills prophecy. Humanitarian and altruistic motivations must be of prime consideration. From the view of God's sovereign, eternal, cosmic perspective, events are determined. He is the Lord of history and controls it in accord with his plan. Nevertheless, man is accountable for the way in which he fulfills the purposes of God. The Hebrew Scriptures are replete with examples of those who stood under the judgment of God for their unjust actions. The end has never automatically justified the means. (MR Wilson 1979:43)

#### 7.2.2.6 The People of God

From a theological perspective the question of peoplehood is even more crucial than that of the land: Who is, who are the people of God?<sup>17</sup> Here too, Evangelicals need to take the work of scholars like WD Davies, NT Wright, Colin Chapman, Peter Walker, and for Germany Eckhard Schnabel (1996) and Jürgen Roloff (1993) into account.<sup>18</sup> Jesus

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<sup>14</sup> Among the few who realize this are Ellisen and Dyer (2005:167-71).

<sup>15</sup> A point argued at length by Burge (2003:130-64).

<sup>16</sup> Some authors included in Chapter Five do focus on questions of international law and ethics, but usually with blatant bias and partisanship (eg Dipper 1977; Geipel & Landmann 1997).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Holwerda (1995:27-31), who makes 'Who is Israel?' the central question. Because of the multiple meanings of Israel, it makes more sense to formulate the question as above.

<sup>18</sup> In Schnabel's understanding, the New Testament is silent on a national future of Israel, and presents the church as the new people of God. He therefore rejects 'a literalist and particularistic fulfilment of the divine

redefined the people of God. He drew a new, far wider circle with himself instead of peoplehood, land, and Torah as the centre. By implication, what God promised to the people of Israel he is now offering to all people everywhere, still including of course Israel itself. To Jesus, heirs of the promise are not those who keep certain formal requirements of the law or fulfill an ethnic prerequisite, but those who believe in him; according to Paul, it is the latter who are ‘the sons of Abraham ... heirs according to promise’ (Gal. 3:7, 29; cf. 4:5-7). This is ethnic universalism and inclusivism, and it stands in contrast to the ethnocentric particularism that characterizes Christian Zionism.<sup>19</sup>

The result of this renewal and expansion is a Christ-centred community consisting of Jews and Gentiles, the ‘one new man’ of Ephesians 2. It is a new community in the sense that it has been renewed and expanded, not in the sense that it is a different body instead of or next to the old. The church is not Israel, but it is the people of God. At best, Christian Zionists and Restorationists, if they are not or not consistent Dispensationalists, acknowledge this. Often, though, as noticed in 6.1, the confession of the unity of God’s people in Christ is undermined elsewhere. They are at pains to maintain a special role and status for the Jewish people, and thus introduce a conflict into their view which is not often discussed, much less resolved. Christian Zionists usually overlook or do not seem to grasp the implications of Gentile adoption into the people of God with, according to Ephesians 2 and 3, full citizenship as ‘fellow heirs, members of the same body, and partakers of the promise’ (Eph. 3:6). It is one thing to reject the claim that Israel is no longer the people of God; Christian Zionists have a point with Romans 11:29. It is quite another to assert that Israel is the people of God, without any qualification; the relationship between Israel and the church is too complex for such sloganeering.

This somewhat muddled and adoring theology of Israel has consequences. One is overlooking the distinction between people and state; they are not identical. Even if God promised certain things to the Jewish people, it does not follow these promises directly apply to the state of Israel. A second consequence is the embrace of the more extreme forms of Jewish and religious nationalism by numerous Christian Zionists. Jesus emphatically rejected the Jewish nationalism so rampant in his own day, warning that it would carry dire consequences (Walker 2000:111-15; Wright 1996:320-68). Why do Christian Zionists so ardently support it? It is ironic to read the following quotation from a French theologian, Roland de Pury, in an article by Rudolf Pfisterer, because it shows at the same time real insight and astounding blindness:

If Jesus had been a Frenchman or an Indian, a Senegalese or Argentinean, then his gospel would blend in a dangerous way with the politics of these nations. But he is a Jew; this means he cannot be adapted and monopolized, and he remains a stranger

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promises’ now that they have been universalized (1996:212); one can ‘hardly ignore the explicit statements of Jesus in order to put the spotlight on the old national-Messianic expectations of the Jewish people, linked with a “literal” understanding of Old Testament prophecies’ (*ibid.*:203). Whatever God does in Israel is at best ‘the outcome of God’s mercy, which can also be observed in other nations. And particularly here, in relation to the Jewish people, we Germans are obligated on the basis of the horrifying events of the Shoa to support Israel politically wherever this is possible’ (*ibid.*:207). With this view, Schnabel is exceptional, even among German Evangelical theologians. In Roloff’s (1993:61-7, 117-43, 198-204) understanding of Jesus and Paul, the eschatological gathering of the people of God promised by the prophets finds its fulfilment in the ecclesia of the New Testament.

<sup>19</sup> This universalism should of course not forget the (Jewish) particularity – not particularism – of Jesus and the gospels. Needless to say, there exist yet other conceptions of how church and synagogue, Christianity and Judaism, relate, mostly among non-Evangelical Protestants and Catholics, but these are beyond the scope of this thesis. In Evangelical circles, it is mainly the two Biblical theologies contrasted here, one emphasizing the national-ethnic, the other the inclusive-universal, that compete with each other.

in Europe as much as in Africa and Asia ... A Jewish God is indeed not suitable to serve the plans of some imperialism or nationalism.<sup>20</sup>

This makes an important point: religion and nationalism can be a powerful mix with potentially disastrous consequences, but realizing that Jesus, the Bible, and the Biblical God are Jewish neutralizes this potential at least in principle and at least to some extent. What Pfisterer and others fail to see is that this applies to every nation on earth, with the exception of the modern state of Israel. Because it is Jewish, a Jewish Jesus or a Jewish Bible can readily be put to political and imperial use,<sup>21</sup> and whereas Israel has arguably shown a measure of restraint in this respect, most Christian Zionists have not.

The latter problem points to a third, that of ethnocentricity and ethnocentric nationalism. This certainly does not help to see Jewish people and the state of Israel as they really are. It ascribes undue importance to Jewishness,<sup>22</sup> turning the Jews into a special category of people, different from all other people: 'Whoever seeks to reduce Jews and Gentiles to a common denominator shuts himself off from the facts' (Pfisterer 1985:37; even though Paul seems to do just that, both 'in Adam' and 'in Christ'). At worst, this degenerates into plain racism: in every Jew God sees 'a drop of Abraham's blood'.<sup>23</sup> Emphasis on Jewishness is strongest among Messianic Jews and their close associates. However, it seems out of the question that ethnicity after Christ is this important or that Messianic Jews, because they are Jewish, have special access to and better understanding of the Scriptures, and therefore produce better teachers than the Gentiles (as claimed by Juster & Intrater 1991:151; Stern 2002:93; see also Häselbarth nd-a). Equally doubtful is that they are destined to lead the church, as some would have it (Finto 2001:19, 155-7; Juster & Intrater 1991:180, 211f). It seems that some of them, with their friends, overestimate their role and importance. In reality, a number of Messianic Jewish speakers regularly promote a crude Dispensational eschatology that owes more to American Evangelicalism than to Judaism, or they indulge in the extreme and 'innovative' eschatologies discussed in 6.8.6. There is tremendous creative theological energy at work, but many of the results are speculative to the extreme.<sup>24</sup> This is not an argument against a Jewish way of following Jesus, but points out its special dangers and pitfalls. Messianic Judaism is probably here to stay, but it still has a long way to go until it approaches the level of excellence attained by that famous Messianic Jewish tract called the Letter to the Hebrews.

To balance this: even in the more extreme forms of Christian Zionism there simultaneously runs a streak of universalism, a willingness to embrace ethnic diversity and include all nations and cultures, giving them a place in the ultimate redemption. The yearly Feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem under the auspices of the ICEJ, for instance, brings Christians from many nations together. Whatever one thinks of the underlying theology and political stance, cultural diversity is celebrated. This appreciation of ethnicity provides at least a partial antidote to potential racism, ethnocentricity, and xenophobia.

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<sup>20</sup> Pfisterer, R 28.7.1988 'War Jesus ein Palästinenser? Von der Neuauflage eines uralten Versuches: Wenn Christus als erster Freiheitskämpfer bezeichnet wird' ideaSpektrum /30:13f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Marc Ellis's phrase 'Constantinian Judaism' (2004:206, 211, 216, 232f).

<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, non-Evangelical 'Holocaust theology', as Haynes points out (1995:120-40), does essentially the same thing.

<sup>23</sup> Klein, A 12.2004 'Israel aus Gottes Sicht' Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem /35:19-27.

<sup>24</sup> It should be acknowledged, however, that there are also those who, like Juster (1995) and Stern (1988), have engaged in more thorough theologizing.

### 7.2.3 Jewish-Christian Relations

Moving from Biblical theology to history confronts us with the German and the Jewish-Christian past. As demonstrated in preceding chapters, this dimension is far more important to the movement and its system of ideas than is commonly understood. It should be acknowledged that there is much here that is positive. To begin with, there is a positive theology of the Jewish people which goes back several centuries. It certainly did not make Evangelicals immune to anti-Semitism, and there was – and still is – substantial ambivalence<sup>25</sup> built in, but compared with other theologies before 1945, it definitely stands above average. In the period after 1945, a number of Evangelicals have been in the forefront of initiatives seeking to set signs of reconciliation, as discussed in Chapter Three. This includes the work of the Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary and Liebeswerk Israel ‘Zedakah’ among Holocaust survivors in Israel, Dienste in Israel, and Friedrich Hänssler, who used his publishing company to improve relations between Germany and Israel. That Jews experience something positive from Christians through various social and aid projects in Israel and elsewhere is a welcome break with the past. Through their message of forgiveness and reconciliation, Jewish Christians like Mary Hajos and Arie Ben Israel have helped Germans to face their past, which for many has been a healing experience. Many Christian Zionists have responded earnestly to this past and are eager to avoid its errors. Occasionally ‘true’ Christians are exonerated too easily, leaving all the blame with the ‘nominal’ churches (eg Baar 1991:46-56), but this is not the norm. Among Christian Zionists there is no Holocaust denial, annoyance about the continuing attention given to it in the media and in politics, or calls to ‘close the book’ (Schlussstrichdebatte). Still, there are critical questions to be asked in relation to this dimension.

1. Too often, one comes across simplistic and confident explanations of the Holocaust (6.2). But can we really know what the Holocaust ‘means’? To see the Holocaust as an expression of God’s loving discipline suffers the difficulty that the object of this love is largely an abstraction (the people of Israel), whereas the individual people, who should be the objects of love, mostly perished. If it is understood as correction or punishment due to Jewish unbelief or to Jewish unwillingness to return to Palestine, one wonders why all Jews, including Jewish Christians and pious Jews, were ‘punished’ with equal severity quite irrespective of the person. Either way, questions are raised about the consequences this has for our understanding of God. One also wonders whether those Christian Zionists who see it this way have given empathetic thought to the human side of their beliefs.

2. In Christian Zionism, the lessons drawn from this tortured past are usually quite narrow, as if it would suffice to renounce anti-Judaism and combat anti-Semitism. However, this was not the only error of Evangelicals in the 1930s. Studies of Evangelicals in the Third Reich document the ‘uncritical acceptance of NS propaganda’ (Strübind 1995:153) and the ‘vulnerability of wide sections in the Gemeinschaften [communities] to National Socialism’ (Rüppel 1969:8). Thadden (2004:657) speaks of ‘unquestioning loyalty to the state and love of country’ as a cause of this vulnerability; Rüppel (1969:8, 50-52, 238f) blames the anti-democratic spirit of the Weimar Republic and the Gemeinschaftsbewegung, as well as the Zwei-Reiche-Lehre (theology of the two realms or

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<sup>25</sup> Eg Ariel (1991:47, 52-4, 102-120), Haynes (1995:158f), Heinrichs (2000:262-310, 530-64), and Railton (1998:171-89). What exactly the ambivalence entails differs from observer to observer: considering Jews a special group, interpreting Jewish history according to a scheme of blessing and curse, expecting horrific judgements for Israel (Armageddon, future Holocaust), and emphasizing Christian witness to Jews as of special importance. Sometimes even the simple belief that such witness is part of the church’s mission or that Jews are in need of conversion is taken as a symptom of ambivalence. Interestingly, Haynes (1995:117) argues that ‘any conception of Jews which locates them at the centre of a theological vision of history should be cause for concern in the post-Holocaust environment,’ and therefore finds the same ambivalence in more liberal Holocaust theology (ibid.:120-40, 171-5), pointing out numerous parallels with Christian Zionism (ibid.:168-70).

kingdoms), political naivety and gullibility, and an individualistic, presumably ‘apolitical’, and world-fleeing attitude, leading Christians to neglect public responsibility. At the same time, and in a somewhat contradictory manner, history was commonly interpreted theologically, and Hitler could thus be welcomed as a saviour sent by God to save Germany from Bolshevism (Railton 1998:22, 32; Ruppel 1969:222; Strübind 1995:172). This illustrates how easily theological interpretations of political realities go wrong. In addition, a narrow and eclectic biblicism (eg Strübind 1995:40-42) led most Evangelicals, based on Romans 13, to unquestioningly submit to the new governing authorities after January 1933. This is particularly striking in the case of Paul Schmidt, national director of the Baptist Union in Germany. Schmidt had no illusions about the anti-Christian nature of National Socialism, and had clearly expressed his criticism before 1933 (Strübind 1995:61-5, 72f). After Hitler came to power, however, he felt Christians were obligated to loyalty to the state and its new rulers (*ibid.*:74-6). That the Bible contains material – particularly the prophetic tradition – conducive to a different, more active and critical posture was not taken into account.

In pondering the greatest crime of all times, Christian Zionists rarely move beyond consideration of Israel and anti-Semitism. Surely the repercussions are – or should be – broader than this. However, one does not read reflections on Sudan and Rwanda in this context, or on North Korea. There is little awareness that this is not about guilt or remembrance only, but also calls for a political response in the form of a continuing renewal of political civilization and democratic culture, as Grunenberg (2001: esp. 28, 32) argues. Also missing is any reference to the importance of critical distance: no state or political movement is worthy of unquestioning loyalty, and there has not been a clearer demonstration of this than National Socialism and the Third Reich. In spite of this, lack of critical distance is characteristic of the way Christian Zionism relates to the state of Israel.

3. In spite of the power of prejudice demonstrated in the Holocaust, Christian Zionists regularly create stereotypes of their own, and at times demonize Arabs, Palestinians, and Islam. Baar (1980:18; see also 186-96) considers the Arabs the people of the Antichrist, and claims: ‘Wherever Arabs came or passed through, they left a desert behind.’ Bennett’s (1996a:23-41) description of Arab mentality opens with hospitality as a positive trait, but then offers many pages with nothing but negatives. Later he demonizes Arafat and the PLO: the spirit of National Socialism is now at work in them (*ibid.*:94, 297).<sup>26</sup> And Reusch (2003:92) claims: ‘In the “Holy War” of the Muslims, cunning and deception are permitted and normal ... Islam is of demonic origin (see Salman Rushdie: Satanic Verses)!’ Parallels between National Socialism and the Holocaust on the one hand, and the PLO and other Palestinian factions on the other are not uncommon. At a CfI conference, Ernst Schrupp criticized Palestinian liberation theology thus: ‘It brings to mind the theology of the “German Christians” in National Socialism, who “paved the way for the Holocaust”.’<sup>27</sup> At an Israel celebration in 2003, Sister Joela Krüger of the Marienschwestern pressed her audience to stand with Israel in order not to become guilty like their ancestors in the Nazi era. She continued: ‘The question why so many intelligent people were taken in by Adolf Hitler must today be asked anew with reference to Yassir Arafat.’<sup>28</sup> Thus, the Holocaust was the method of the Nazis, the peace process that of Arafat; both aim to make the

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<sup>26</sup> At the 2005 All Nations Convocation in Jerusalem, the fanatical Islamic spirit at work in the Arab world was equated with the spirit behind Hitler; Demian, D 1.2006 ‘Israels Zeit ist jetzt’ Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem /38:16-25.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Frieden nur, wenn alle dem Koran folgen? Dialog mit Islam ist sinnlos’ 9.9.1992 ideaSpektrum /37:4. The original statement of Palestinian liberation theology was formulated by Naim Ateek (1989), and hardly qualifies as being related to National Socialism or the theology of the Deutsche Christen.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Konsequenz: Für Israel eintreten: Holocaust-Überlebende bei Evangelischer Marienschwesternschaft’ 27.8.2003 ideaSpektrum /35:10.

respective land judenrein (free of Jews).<sup>29</sup> That same year, the Marienschwestern, CFRI, and Johannes Facius produced a video, Wider das Vergessen, Lest we Forget, which ‘demonstrated a close intellectual and spiritual kinship between the Holocaust in the Third Reich and Islamic-Palestinian terror of the present.’<sup>30</sup> Another negative stereotype is that Arabs or Muslims only understand the language of force, and interpret any concession as a sign of weakness (eg Price 2002:48).

4. In these examples an instrumentalization of the Holocaust and the German past becomes visible; this is not learning from the past, but using, if not abusing, that past for present political goals. Without condoning Palestinian terror, such broad condemnations based on spurious parallels and speculation on what Palestinians might do in the future must be rejected. Another form of instrumentalization is the ‘four antis’: anti-Semitism, anti-Judaism, anti-Zionism, and anti-Israelism (6.4). There are indeed serious problems involved, and resistance against prejudice and anti-Semitism is commendable. However, without careful definition and discernment these terms are wide open to abuse, and can easily be aimed at Christians who would ask critical but honest questions of today’s Israel. Although criticism of Israel is in principle stated to be permissible, such criticism is quickly marked anti-Israelism and therefore anti-Semitism.<sup>31</sup> Especially when all four are listed in one breath it becomes doubtful that any real interaction with these problems is happening; this has succumbed to rhetoric and polemics. It may not be intentional, but one effect is to close minds and shut mouths, leaving little room to consider alternative possibilities for a theology of Israel or to openly and fairly debate the Middle East conflict.

5. One is tempted to think of this dimension as a ‘guilt factor’, and understand Christian Zionism as at least in part driven by guilt. This is in fact Prior’s criticism of how more liberal Jewish-Christian dialogue and ‘Holocaust theology’ operate:

It does this by a crude process of fuelling guilt in contemporary Christians for sins for which they themselves have no responsibility, while ensuring that they will not intervene in an area for which they have some. With contemporary Christians wallowing in cheap guilt for the outrages committed against Jews in the past, and mute on the injustice perpetrated by Israel on the Palestinians in our own day, all moral response is suspended. (Prior 1999a:71; see also 1999b:134)

According to Prior, this leads to an inability to respond ethically to the Middle East conflict or even to see the conflict and its history as it really is:

Invariably in such circles [of Jewish-Christian dialogue], consideration of the origins of Zionism and of the birth of the State of Israel betrays either ignorance, naiveté or dishonesty, and contradicts both the theory of Zionism and the reality of the expulsion of the Palestinians. Reflecting an irredentist benevolent Zionist interpretation of events, it distorts facts of history, omits core elements of the discourse, and makes claims that lack substance. (Prior 1999a:71)

Although Prior (1999b:123-36; see also Ruether & Ruether 1989:207-219) discusses a number of theologians for whom this seems to hold a large measure of truth, this is not the full picture. There are theologians who show great concern for Christian co-responsibility for the Holocaust, but have not stepped into such a ‘guilt trap’. For Germany, Helmut Gollwitzer and Rolf Rendtorff come to mind (see Kloke 1990:115-7, 133-5, 194); in their case, ‘guilt’ did certainly not destroy ethical, political, and historical perceptiveness. The official studies on Christians and Jews published by the EKD (Evangelische Kirche in

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<sup>29</sup> For a critique of this claim, see Duncker (1999:41).

<sup>30</sup> Eckert, H 10.2003 ‘Schritt für Schritt dem Ziel entgegen’ Rundbrief der CFRI 1f.

<sup>31</sup> One example is the reflex-like reaction in Christen für Israel to a lecture I once gave which included several points of critique also included in this chapter: ‘This is not just one of the worst current Christian heresies, but also disguised anti-Judaism and anti-Israelism’; ‘Freikirchler attackieren christliche Zionisten’ 2005 Christen für Israel /154:5. For a more serious example, see Pfisterer (1992:8, 32, 39-42).

Deutschland 2002) do not fit Prior's mould either. They, too, take the Jewish-Christian past seriously without overlooking Palestinian needs and rights. Prior's critique of Zionism, in contrast, does not make much room for this dimension of Jewish suffering in Europe, other than as a 'guilty conscience' explanation of Western support for Zionism and Israel. There is, however, every reason for Christians to take this suffering seriously, and this is not automatically 'cheap guilt'.

Applying this to Evangelical Christian Zionism, it seems too easy to deride it as a mere 'guilt trip'. However, although Prior's critique strikes me as too one-sided, there is a real danger that this dimension dominates and distorts perception of the Middle East dimension (7.1.4). Feelings of guilt and shame can be a hindrance in seeing the Middle East as it really is, and they can obstruct dealing with the ethical issues. It is understandable that many Evangelicals experience a special affinity, an emotional attachment, to Israel, both because of the Bible and because of the Jewish-Christian past. However, a one-sided partisanship such as advocated by Christian Zionism is neither Biblical nor is it an appropriate way to make up for past wrongs.

6. Ironically, these quotations from Prior share with many Christian Zionists a confused and incorrect understanding of guilt. They do not distinguish between personal guilt (a moral, legal, and juridical issue, and a matter of conscience) on the one hand, and collective historical responsibility and liability on the other. As a result, for many Christian Zionists every member of a collectivity (eg Germany) personally shares its guilt. For Prior, as we just saw, they are unnecessarily 'wallowing in cheap guilt' over sins for which they carry no responsibility. Both are wrong. No one is personally guilty for what others did, but everyone is a member in collective identities, and these bodies do carry responsibility for their past – collectively, not individually. On this, it is worth quoting Hannah Arendt:

Many people today would agree that there is no such thing as collective guilt or, for that matter, collective innocence ... This, of course, is not to deny that there is such a thing as political responsibility which, however, exists quite apart from what the individual member of the group has done and therefore can neither be judged in moral terms nor be brought before a criminal court. Every government assumes political responsibility for the deeds and misdeeds of its predecessor and every nation for the deeds and misdeeds of the past ... It means hardly more, generally speaking, than that every generation, by virtue of being born into a historical continuum, is burdened by the sins of the fathers as it is blessed with the deeds of the ancestors ... It is quite conceivable that certain political responsibilities among nations might some day be adjudicated in an international court; what is inconceivable is that such a court would be a criminal tribunal which pronounces on the guilt or innocence of individuals. (Arendt 1979:297f)

Both sides in this debate would benefit from noting the distinction; it is a crucial prerequisite for developing a healthy culture of remembrance and responsibility, while avoiding an unreal and exaggerated reaction to the past.

7. After all, the confrontation with the past comes with compelling emotional force; as 6.2 showed, it adds considerably to the strength and appeal of Christian Zionism. This should be all the more reason to handle it carefully and conscientiously, avoiding emotional manipulation. However, Christian Zionist activities and publications in this area can be highly emotive. A booklet by Derek Prince on anti-Semitism is a case in point. He argues most Christians are not qualified to sing joyful songs of praise: 'Something needs to happen before we can sing such songs with all our hearts and with the anointing of the Holy Spirit. We have to put things right with God and with the Jews' (1997:29). 'Anyone who committed a crime is guilty, regardless of whether he is aware of it or not. And I have to say, we Christians are guilty!'<sup>32</sup> (1997:38). And what to think of 'Our Hands Are

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<sup>32</sup> But who committed the crime? This illustrates point 5; it is misleading to transform collective responsibility or historical indebtedness into personal guilt.

Stained with Blood' (Brown 2000)? Another example is the emotive Israel Prayer by Basilea Schlink (1995:6):

It cries out,

it cries out without end / the blood on our hands, / the great sin to Israel. / It has not been cleared away, / no human can ever express, / how high like a mountain this burden is.

Dealing with this past can never be unemotional, but at what point do feelings and 'guilt' unduly become the focus? When does it degenerate into mere catharsis, an exercise in feeling good through feeling bad, a modern form of self-flagellation – one, incidentally, that does not hurt nearly as much as the old one? It can be cheap to repent of sins one did not commit. 'It is quite gratifying to feel guilty if you haven't done anything wrong: how noble!' (Arendt 1979:251). Where does 'wallowing in cheap guilt' (Prior 1999a:71) begin? These are questions, not accusations, but they do come out of my unease with common Christian Zionist practice in this area. There is a fine line between cultivating remembrance and practising a cult of guilt.

8. The confusion noted in point 6 is most pronounced in Charismatic-Pentecostal circles that practise identifying repentance.<sup>33</sup> Here, as explained in 6.8.9, historical guilt is transformed into a spiritual or metaphysical quantity that needs to be dealt with through repentance rituals. Individuals are to 'place [themselves] under the guilt of the past',<sup>34</sup> confess, and repent. Complex historical and relational predicaments are met with ritual and spiritual treatments, often with excessive expectations regarding the results (spiritual breakthroughs, revival). When members of the offended group are present, people who did nothing wrong ask forgiveness of those to whom in many cases no direct harm was done. There is something to be said for this, since collective identities keep past hurts alive. It is important to speak the truth about the past, and it can have a powerful liberating and healing effect when members or descendants of an offending group ask forgiveness, even if the underlying theology or terminology ('forgive', 'guilt') is confused. It becomes spurious, however, if lengthy confessions take place for purely spiritual aims.

Often, reference is made to the examples of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, who identified themselves with the sins of the fathers and of their nation (Ezra 9; Neh. 1; Dan. 9). It needs to be pointed out, however, that neither of them engaged in a lengthy and ongoing ceremonial process, confessing sins repeatedly and in detail, as is promoted by practitioners of identifying repentance. Their confession remained quite general, and was not concerned with sin that was purely past. Their aim was not a full confession, but intercession; their focus was the future more than the past. Although confession can definitely play a role in remembrance and reconciliation, and may well be given a place in intercession, the practice of identifying repentance usually goes significantly beyond this, and comes with an exaggerated estimation of its spiritual effects.

9. Occasionally, Christian Zionists are portrayed as potential or crypto-anti-Semitists, not just because of their inherent ambivalence in relation to Jews, but also because philo-Semitism is understood as the alter ego of anti-Semitism, with real potential to turn into its dark side. Gorenberg (2000:223, 227), while cautious, considers this possible if eschatological expectations linked with Israel are seriously disappointed. Kloke (1997:279-81; 2000:25-8) even uncovers signs that this may already have started; however, that the

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<sup>33</sup> An exception is an article by Klaus-Dieter Passon already noted in 6.8.9, which shows some understanding of the distinction: 'Although I am not responsible for the personal sins of another person (cf. Ez. 18), I nevertheless carry co-responsibility for the collective guilt of the family or nation to which I belong.' Passon, K-D 7-9.2002 "'Stellvertretende Buße'?" Charisma /121:32f.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

most important of these is anti-Semitic tendencies in the marginal circle around Dieter Braun (Morgenland-Verlag) does not make for a convincing case.

Admittedly, Christian Zionism and anti-Semitism do have two things in common: both believe that Jews are special, and that Jews are the key to understanding the world. In addition, it is a valid question whether one does a service to Jews by making them this special, putting exceptionally high expectations on them, a burden 'that neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear' (Acts 15:10). However, Christian Zionists and Restorationists have so far been remarkably constant in their eschatological expectations and also in their philo-Semitism. Anti-Semitic stereotypes in Evangelical literature, common before the war, largely disappeared soon after, although occasionally one still meets them.<sup>35</sup> It seems farfetched to condemn an entire movement because at some point some of its members may out of disappointment turn anti-Semite or become extremists who help the apocalyptic plan once it gets stuck. The latter is actually Gorenberg's greater and more realistic fear, and does warrant keeping an eye on the movement, especially its fringe. Beyond this, however, it seems more appropriate to judge people by what they do, not by what they possibly might do.

#### **7.2.4 The Middle East Dimension**

According to Chapman (2002:284), 'Christian Zionists tend to think about the present Middle East situation primarily and largely in biblical or theological categories;' they 'make no attempt to understand the conflict between Zionism and the Palestinians in its own terms.' In terms of the model, this dimension often gets 'eaten' by the eschatology dimension (more on this in 7.2.2). This leads to a distorted view of the Middle East conflict and its history, turning the latter into a myth that on many points is at odds with historical reality (6.3). The historiography of the conflict indulges in stark contrasts; it is written in black and white rather than in shades of grey. It is not recognized that in Israel/Palestine, the battle is not between right and wrong, but between two rights – and two wrongs. This in turn leads to a one-sided political stance, always on Israel's side, often on the right of the political spectrum in Israel; especially Type 6 Christian Zionists frequently sympathize

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<sup>35</sup> Lieth (1997:34): 'It is a well-known fact that the financial world largely was and is in Jewish hands.' Quadflieg (1995b:53f) approvingly quotes Marius Baar (no reference given), who describes an Orthodox synagogue meeting as 'an assembly of brokers', in which 'rabbis recite old prayers without inner participation ... What do Israeli children study, what do they read today? The traditions of the ancestors, wretched legends, vane laws of their Talmud-teachers, or soul-destroying writings of modern unbelief. They do not even own the Word of God. They are given at the most excerpts of it. Material interests completely occupy them'. In short, the ultra-Orthodox are 'wretched, religious fanatics' (*ibid.*:54). Noting the large number of Israelis leaving Israel, Quadflieg remarks: 'Thus the "wandering Jew" of old becomes in our time the wandering Israeli' (*ibid.*:99; cf. Pülz's critique of Orthodox Jews discussed in 3.3.9). Topic (a Biblical-eschatological commentary on news and trends originally published by Klaus Gerth): the ultra-Orthodox are 'modern Pharisees' and pave the way for the Antichrist; 'Mea Schearim' 1986 Topic 6/2:2. F Vogel (1998:86): 'The Jews are known for their gift to be successful in financial transactions.' He also draws a causal connection between Matthew 27:25 ('His blood be on us and on our children') and Jewish suffering and the Holocaust; *ibid.*:86; Vogel, F 2005 'Das herrliche Bild des Volkes Israel' Bibel-Center Aktuell 49/4:18f. Clöter and Baur (1972:125-8): 'However, there is also an atheistic, political-socialistically inclined Wirtschafts- und Finanzjudentum [economic – that is, trade and industry – and finance Jewry], wholly fallen away from the faith of the fathers, which is closely connected to so-called Freemasonry and strives for earthly world power;' it played an important role in the Russian Revolution, which is not the only conspiracy on the road to Jewish world dominion the authors make out. Ziegler (2001:111) likewise sees the world economy and banking largely 'in the hands of the international "Jewish spirit", which also controlled Judas'. He uses the Protocols of the Elders of Zion as one of his sources; these presumably prove that Jews 'also have complete [?] control over every [?] person and every [?] country' (*ibid.*:113). 'The power of international Jewry and the Illuminati is their money' (*ibid.*:118). Communism is 'a system controlled by Jews' (*ibid.*:121). In addition there are those who, like Quadflieg, are in some respects quite critical of the secular state of Israel, or who interpret it as a step towards the rule of Antichrist.

with extreme forms of Zionism. Thus Ludwig Schneider: ‘Those are the controversial Jewish settlers; they have my very special respect, because they are doing precisely what God has promised’ (Schneider 2002). As far as ethical questions are concerned, they are either ignored, receive a biblicist and prophetic-apocalyptic answer (God said so; it has to be thus, because the prophets foretold it), or are answered with borrowed Jewish Zionist arguments and rationalizations that have not been critically questioned.<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, this adoption of Zionist argumentation has a parallel in more liberal ‘Holocaust theology’. Prior’s criticism of this has already been noted (point 5 in 7.1.3); Ruether and Ruether (1989:216) concur:

The highly biased statements about Arabs and Palestinians in Eckardt, Littell, and Van Buren ... must be regarded as culpable ignorance on their part ... The ideological bias of these thinkers has blocked them from making the most minimal efforts to verify their views with alternative information. Frank criticism of political injustices in Israel is not anti-Semitism.

One should not conclude from this, however, that Christian Zionists do not care about justice or pay no attention to the history and current developments of the region. They actually care – and write – a great deal about it. In addition to a substantial number of books, there are the various magazines, newsletters, and e-mail services covered in Chapter Three, and most of them give substantial room to reporting on the Middle East. In their view, Israel is often treated unjustly by the rest of the world. The issue therefore is not justice, but truth. Since this touches upon the interaction of Evangelicals with the world around them, further discussion of this point is taken up in 7.2.2.

### **7.2.5 Functions and Mission**

In 6.6, various functions Israel has for Evangelicals were discussed: (1) evidence for Christian truth claims; (2) a sign of hope; (3) a source of edification; (4) a key to interpret world affairs; (5) an indication of the supernatural in everyday life; (6) an identity marker; (7) a cause to embrace; (8) an icon or star; and (9) a central symbol of the Christian faith. This amounts to a substantial functionalizing of Israel: it is to play a role – for us. As a consequence, Israel is in a category fundamentally different from other nations. This is not unproblematic; it continues to put a heavy burden on the shoulders of Jews. Instead of welcoming Israel into the family of nations – from a Christian perspective perhaps not quite ‘like the other nations’, but definitely a member of equal standing, expected to abide by the same ethical and legal standards – Israel is condemned to be special, separate, and increasingly at war with the rest of the world, because the Bible tells us so. In reality, however, its worldview may be considerably less deterministic than this assumes.

Regarding these functions, one has to admit that the history of Israel includes the kind of material that makes one wonder; at the same time, there is too much about this state that is troubled and problematic to make for easy evidence, unequivocal signs, and unproblematic edification, or to declare all of this ‘salvation history’. What does it do to us to make the state of Israel and its recent history a central symbol of our faith? Is it that worthy of imitation? Does it embody, exude, and evoke the values we desire to emulate as Evangelical Christians? It should also be pointed out that treating Israel as the key to interpret the world leads to excessive simplicity. It is wonderful to have a narrative that holds everything together. It brings order to a confused world, and conveys a sense of elite knowledge, but at the expense of reality.

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. Gronauer (2005:802, quoting May 2001:73): ‘The “Palestinian propaganda of lies” is refuted without ever asking whether there could also be an Israeli propaganda.’ See 6.3 for a discussion of such arguments. They certainly deserve a hearing, but not uncritical acceptance.

In 6.6, a parallel was pointed out to the Roman Catholic practice of the veneration of saints and Mary. Most Evangelicals would consider this an unacceptable practice, yet when it comes to Israel they do something quite similar. The hiddenness and invisibility of God are difficult to bear. In the book of Exodus, it is this need for visibility which leads to the worship of the golden calf.<sup>37</sup> To the extent that Christian Zionism makes Israel a visible sign of God's presence in the world, and makes support of Israel a tangible expression of its faith and worship, it stands in danger of turning Israel into a golden calf in an effort to escape the unbearable invisibility of God.

From a theological point of view, it is particularly problematic to make Israel a central symbol or a focal image of our faith; it turns a circle – with a single centre or focal point – into an ellipse, which has two.<sup>38</sup> This implies that Christian Zionism diminishes the centrality of Jesus, and perhaps even replaces him.<sup>39</sup> It would no doubt vehemently deny the charge, and there is no single statement that could be put forward as a conclusive 'proof text', yet the totality, the sheer weight of the emphasis on Israel effectively accomplishes this.<sup>40</sup> In the gospel of Christian Zionism, if you want to be blessed, you have to bless the people of Israel. In addition, 'a messianic role' (Duvernoy 1987:71) is projected onto Israel; after all, 'salvation is from the Jews' (John 4:22, present tense), and 'their part in effecting world redemption is irrevocable' (Juster & Intrater 1991:82). At this point it becomes understandable why some think Christian Zionism is heresy; it begins to sound like a different gospel:

Question 50: What is God's will for today? ANSWER: This can be stated in one word: Israel! (W Malgo ca. 1976:110)

In the Jewish question – today Israel question – all people are challenged. In this question of all questions it is again about setting the course for the history of mankind ... Every one of us must know what to do with his life! Everyone has to take a stand on the Israel question ... (Reusch 2003:13)

In the centre of God's plan of salvation for this world stands Israel ... We have to provide Biblical evidence why Israel plays such a central role in the hope that is within us. (Gerloff 2002b:9)

All religious systems take pains to give meaning to human existence in the world. In this respect the apostle Paul offers nothing [!] special in Romans 1-8 and 12-16. With the treatise in Romans 9-11, however, we come across the fundamental difference between all religious efforts and the Biblical revelation. (Gerloff 2002b:16)

The pivot of God's history with this world is Israel! There is no way around this fact. Israel as a people and a nation is the 'theatre', the 'stage', on which God's history of revelation took place and comes to its completion. So yesterday, today, and tomorrow Israel is as it were the 'window' that gives us insight in and an outlook on God's revelation and salvation history. (Eiwen 1998:59)

All of us who are not Jewish owe every single important spiritual blessing that we ever inherited to one single nation: the Jews. (Prince 1997:63)

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<sup>37</sup> This analogy was suggested to me by Haddon Willmer in personal correspondence.

<sup>38</sup> The image can be found in Schenk (1985a:6). That Schenk's own theology is old-style Lutheran supersessionism, and thus hardly less problematic, does not negate this criticism.

<sup>39</sup> Again Stuhlhofer's (1992:77, quoting Malgo 1974:122) – Evangelical – critique is exceptionally perceptive on this point: 'To some extent therefore Israel seems to take the place of Jesus. One could get the impression that the decisive issue is no longer Jesus, that it is not one's position on Jesus which decides salvation, but one's position on Israel. Who is God's agent of blessing for the world? Jesus? For Malgo it is at least in part Israel! "Israel is God's agent of blessing and salvation for this world."'

<sup>40</sup> In all fairness, Christian Zionists occasionally address this danger, as does BFP Präses (President) Ingolf Ellbel: 'The centre of our faith must remain Jesus and his gospel for all nations.' Cited in: Hedding, M & Bühler, J 1-2.2005 'Gemeindearbeit und Israel' Wort aus Jerusalem 18-20.

At stake is also the church's mission in the world; what does this do to our understanding of this mission? In the past, Evangelical action centred around missions, evangelism, social reform, and humanitarian aid; Christians prayed for the completion of the Great Commission. Today's Christian Zionists are more likely to pray for 'the completion of the Great Second Exodus' (Goll 2001:21). That Israel as a cause has become so important indicates that the traditional mission of the church has undergone radical change. To claim that the fate of Jewish people and their state should be a concern to Christians is one thing; to make partisan support for this state and active involvement in returning Jews to this land (Ebenezer) a central cause for Christians to embrace – while effectively forgetting that justice for all should be a cause too – is quite another.

Again, Christian Zionists may vehemently deny the charge, and it is true that they are not indifferent to other Christian causes, but their strong emphasis on Israel effectively narrows their sense of Christian responsibility in the world. A case in point is the plea of Johannes Facius 'to hasten his coming' (2002; cf. 2 Pet. 3:12). In its Biblical context, this phrase is connected with sanctification and lifestyle; Facius understands it as a call to partnership in fulfilling prophecy. This would not be too bad, if Facius did not narrow fulfilling prophecy to promoting aliyah (*ibid.*:28-40). He does not call for active participation in fulfilling the prophetic visions of, say, justice, peace, or restoration (beyond aliyah). In fact, when it comes to peace, human initiatives are explicitly frowned upon (*ibid.*:111-22). This makes for an exceedingly narrow notion of what the church is called to do and what 'fulfilling prophecy' entails.

That Christian Zionists have made Israel a central symbol and cause goes a long way to explain the deep-seated attachment to Israel and the intense emotional reactions at perceived attacks on Israel, as if not only the apple of God's eye, but also their own is being touched; in a sense, it is. However, it is problematic when the symbol and idea of Zion becomes too closely identified with a political reality on this side of eternity, in this world. Christian Zionists frequently accuse their opponents of spiritualizing, but it needs to be asked if they themselves are guilty of its opposite: religious materialism. This is what the crusaders and millennial sects of the Middle Ages did; it is what the Anabaptists of Münster did; it is what those do who ascribe to their own nation a special, God-given role and status; and it is what Christian Zionists do when they interpret Israel as the beginning of the end. Biblical eschatology maintains the tension between the already and the not yet, and distinguishes between the heavenly and the earthly Mount Zion. When that tension is reduced, Christianity can slide into dangerous and apocalyptic extremism. As long as Zion is an idea or a future reality, it has the potential to inspire the best in us; when it becomes located in the material world, geographically, as was done in Strasbourg and Münster, it can be a recipe for disaster; this is all the more true when the location is Jerusalem. No earthly city, or land, or people, can bear that burden. The overriding and central symbol of Christianity is neither a city nor a land; it is Jesus.

#### **7.2.6 Towards an Evangelical Alternative: Ethnic universalism**

Not everything about Christian Zionism, then, is bad; some of its activities and aims are certainly recommendable. Nevertheless, both as a theology and as history it shows deficiencies; programmatically, it tends to be misdirected. Some of the main points of criticism included above are: (1) Israel-centred literalism and poor exegesis; (2) a dogmatic and often speculative apocalyptic-eschatological outlook, which contributes to (3) a neglect of ethical considerations and (4) a partisan, shallow, and distorted interpretation of the Middle East; (5) an unclear theology of the church as the people of God; while rightly rejecting 'replacement theology', no credible alternative that does justice to all of the relevant Biblical material is offered; (6) Israel as a central symbol of the Christian faith and effectively an object of veneration; (7) a changed understanding of the mission of the church.

In spite of this, Evangelicals may yet make a positive contribution to the region. A case in point is ‘Brother Andrew’ (Brother Andrew & Janssen 2004), who is reaching out to the church of the Middle East and to militant Muslims, including terrorists, presumably on the simple logic that this is what Jesus would have done. Likewise, the increasing emphasis on a ‘ministry of reconciliation’ (6.8.10; cf. 3.5.8) is a hopeful sign. There are things Evangelicals generally do well, and things they usually do not. Wrestling with complex political problems is not among the first (cf. Freston 2001: esp. concluding chapter), but bringing people together and confronting personal issues are. However, these reconciliation efforts are likely to fail if Arabs are simply expected to embrace Restorationist theology and accept a thoroughly Zionist version of what happened (as in Moser 2004: esp. 11-21, 39, 55, 71f; likewise in the Messianic Jewish contributions to Munayer 2000 and Munayer *et al.* 1994). For reconciliation ministry to succeed, it needs a better theology and a different approach to the Middle East conflict, one that is historically more accurate and politically more balanced.

Even apart from such considerations related to reconciliation, an Evangelical alternative to Christian Zionism seems a dire necessity. In the discussion above, theological alternatives were pointed out or implied. Together they make up a theology of the Evangelical critics of Christian Zionism included in this chapter. There is some uncertainty about what to call the alternative. The proposal on the table is ‘covenantalism’ (Sizer 2002b:310f). Problems with this term are:

- It suggests Reformed covenant theology (explicit in Sizer 2002b:156), a category from systematic theology, even though Evangelical alternatives lean heavily on Biblical studies and Biblical theology rather than systematic theology, and may not always subscribe to covenant theology in this narrower, technical sense.
- Christian Zionism could argue that it is also founded on the idea of covenant; this is in fact what Parsons (2005:18-35; cf. Eckert 2005:23-65) does; whatever its value as an ‘academic and theological monograph’, it has a point in that ‘covenant’ is indeed a foundational concept in Christian Zionism.
- It is questionable whether ‘covenant’ is really the essence of the debate. The issue at stake rather is whether this covenant has a special ethnic-national meaning, or whether it is to be understood in an expanded, universal-inclusive sense with Christ as its centre.

This latter idea is the real heart and centre of the Evangelical alternative. It would thus be more aptly described as ‘ethnic universalism’, or at least as a covenantalism that is ethnically universal, as opposed to the ethnocentricity of Christian Zionism.<sup>41</sup> Those subscribing to it should be careful not to absolutize this universalism to the point of eradicating particularity. It is to be balanced by a positive theology of cultural and ethnic diversity, including Jewish culture and ethnicity. The vision is one of many tribes and nations and languages, not of a nation-less Christian internationalism. Although it rejects the idea of Israel as a special soteriological agent or of Jews as a special class or caste of humanity, it leaves some room for different conceptions of Israel’s role and place. Salvation-historically at least Israel used to be a special category for a long time, and the Jewish people and the state of Israel may yet make a special contribution.

Next to a theological alternative, there is also a need for a more comprehensive approach to the Middle East. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to develop such an alternative, but the model presented in Chapter Six suggests a basic requirement: all three dimensions of the

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Holwerda (1995:102-105, 110, 177-184), who uses terms like ‘universalized’, ‘universalism’, and ‘universal’ repeatedly to characterize Paul’s and the New Testament’s understanding of the fulfilment of the promise.

triangle must be fully taken into account, without one dominating, distorting, or swallowing another. Since various aspects of the dimensions pull into different and opposite directions, this is, in good German, a Zerreiprobe, a tension test. It confronts us with multiple dilemmas. These must be endured, since failure to do so will make a travesty of truth and justice. When Christians do this, and take their position in the middle, between the parties, empathizing with both – rather than standing on one side or the other – they may be able to avoid being part of the problem, and perhaps become part of the solution.

### 7.3 A CRITIQUE OF POPULAR EVANGELICAL THOUGHT: THE ELEMENT OF TRADITION

With this, the research objectives pertaining to Christian Zionism as defined in Chapter One have been accomplished, with one exception. This study of Christian Zionism was not only undertaken for its own sake, but also to gain insight into the broader subject of popular Evangelical thought. Interest in the Evangelical mind is what brought me to Christian Zionism as a research topic to begin with, and it is therefore fitting to end the thesis with a partial analysis of this mind. Popular Evangelical thinking, it may be observed, is out of tune with much of its surroundings on a number of issues, such as end-time prophecy, evolution, the role of women, and of course Israel. Underlying these concrete positions are certain thought patterns and ways of interacting with the world which together make up this mind. The Christian Zionist movement is one place where it can be observed. By no means are all Evangelicals Christian Zionists, and not everything in Christian Zionist thought can be generalized to apply to the larger movement. However, it does illuminate the workings of the broader Evangelical mind.

Various explanations of either the Evangelical or the Christian fundamentalist mind have been put forward. The five-volume Fundamentalism Project offers a multi-faceted explanation, but particularly points towards militant reactions to the modern and secular world (Marty & Appleby 1991-5), as does George Marsden (1980: esp. 3f, 17-21, 102-123; 2000: esp. 1-3, 36-9). Such reactions can be observed among German Evangelicals as well, especially in the nineteenth-century revival movement (Holthaus 1993) and in the Bekennnisbewegung of the 1960s (Scheerer 1997:14f, 58-63). Marsden (1980:14-17, 55-62, 110-16; 2000:117-19, 122-34) and Mark Noll (1994:84-99) explain the American Evangelical mind as a result of embracing Baconian inductionism and Scottish common-sense realism, both of which believed in objective truth and scientific method; Marsden calls this embrace ‘The Evangelical Love Affair with Enlightenment Science’ (Marsden’s title for Chapter Five; 2000:122). The same common-sense and Baconian empiricist epistemology was ‘scientifically’ applied by later Evangelicals to Biblical interpretation and theology (Noll 1994:164-8). This explanation is perhaps too focused on academic thought, and is definitely too American – as recognized by Marsden (2000:126f, 168) – to explain the popular and worldwide movement of Christian Zionism. However, the resulting American fundamentalist heritage – with, according to Noll (1994:109-145), its simplistic hermeneutic, dualistic worldview, anti-intellectualism, anti-traditionalism,<sup>42</sup> exaggerated supernaturalism, ‘self-assured dogmatism’ (*ibid.*:127), and ‘Bible-onlyism’ (*ibid.*:107) – is a strong influence on Evangelicalism everywhere, which often displays similar traits.

A different angle is opened by James Barr (1977) in his landmark study of the narrower phenomenon of fundamentalism. He sees it as essentially a religious tradition, which has produced an intellectual structure to defend and shield itself, the most prominent part of which is its doctrine of the Bible:

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<sup>42</sup> What Noll seems to mean is not an active opposition to tradition, but the assumption that it is of little value and does not need to be considered, leading to passive neglect and ignorance.

Contrary to general belief, the core of fundamentalism resides not in the Bible but in a particular kind of religion ... This religious tradition on the one hand controls the interpretation of the Bible within fundamentalist circles; on the other hand it entails, not as its source but as its symbol and as an apparently necessary condition of its own self-preservation, the fundamentalist doctrine of the Bible ... It is the powerful hold of this religion on the soul that supplies the dynamic for the zeal and the cohesive force of the fundamentalist movement ... (Barr 1977:11)<sup>43</sup>

In reflecting on the body of Evangelical literature surveyed for this thesis, it is this element of tradition<sup>44</sup> which stands out above other factors shaping the Evangelical mind: a tradition that dictates how numerous Bible verses are to be read, and a tradition that in part results from, but at the same time tends to replace, interaction with the surrounding world, in this case Israel and the Middle East. Although the following analysis does by no means apply to all Evangelicals, it does apply to a large number of them, and especially to many publications and ministries that aim at a broad Evangelical audience.

### **7.3.1 Evangelicals (Christian Zionists) and the Bible**

Many Evangelicals do not consciously distinguish between the Biblical text and their interpretation of it. They act as if their interpretation – or what they have been taught their interpretation ought to be – is what the Bible says. They assume that the Bible gives clear and unequivocal answers to numerous complex questions.<sup>45</sup> In the popular literature studied for this thesis, conscious and critical reflection on the process of interpretation is rare, as is interaction with different views (more on this in 7.2.2). What this means in practice is, of course, that tradition dictates meaning. The process understood as the teaching of Biblical truth is in reality the passing on of a tradition.<sup>46</sup> The following sample of relevant and commonly quoted verses with their Christian Zionist interpretation illustrates these phenomena.<sup>47</sup>

1. Genesis 12:3 ‘I will bless those who bless you, and him who dishonours you I will curse, and in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed.’ Without any discussion, ‘you’ in this verse is always taken to refer or at least apply to Israel. In two cases, the verse was even emended by replacing ‘you’ with ‘my people’ (Maschke 1992:201f) or by adding ‘(Israel)’ behind the pronoun as if it were part of the text (Philippus-Dienst nd-a). In reality, the pronoun ‘you’ is singular, which in German is readily discernible, and the addressee clearly is Abraham, not Israel. Whether the verse has broader implications is something that would have to be established by argument, but it never is. The tradition leads everyone to read this as ‘I will bless those who bless Israel’, and – through constant repetition – turns it into one of God’s most important commandments for the church today.

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<sup>43</sup> Barr is here of course not just referring to tradition as a body of ideas, but also to experiential and experienced religion, something that for epistemological reasons is partially out of reach for this thesis and its chosen research approach. Still, understanding Christian Zionism as a tradition in this more limited sense (defined in the next footnote) adds to our understanding of the phenomenon.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Tradition’ is understood here as an established body or set of ideas, knowledge, a framework for interpretation, and practices of a community, which is effectively maintained and passed on to new members over a longer period of time (that is, more than one ‘generation’). This is essentially MacIntyre’s (1988; 1990) concept of traditions of rational enquiry applied to popular movements. Behind a tradition stands a worldview, which in part expresses itself through the tradition. ‘Paradigm’ is a related term, more fitting for scientific communities.

<sup>45</sup> As in: ‘With overwhelming clarity the Bible reveals God’s will and plans for the Jewish people’ (Facijs 2002:43; cf. Marsden 2000:119).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Barr (1977:318f): interpretation is ‘a reiteration of the normal fundamentalist religious position ... a ritual repetition of what the group as a group believes, and this serves also as an initiation for newcomers’.

<sup>47</sup> There are of course more verses that are commonly quoted (eg Ez. 37:1-14; several verses from Zech.; Lk. 21:24; Acts 1:6f; Rom. 11), but their number is surprisingly small.

2. Isaiah 40:1 ‘Comfort, comfort my people, says your God.’ To many Christian Zionists, this verse at the beginning of the grandiose vision filling Isaiah Part II is programmatic for their activities; it functions as their mission statement. Together with aliyah, statehood, and possession of the land, these activities are the content of ‘comfort’. This is more than borrowing and recycling a fitting literary phrase; it is understood as the active fulfilment of the prophecy, and it sets the stage for an Israel-centred reading of the remaining chapters of Isaiah. The question is whether this is compatible with its interpretation in the New Testament or even with the broader context of Isaiah itself. Is Isaiah’s idea of comfort national-political restoration, a Likud Israel, or is it more in the line of Jesus’ vision of healing, liberation, and forgiveness, a spiritual renewal rather than a national revival? And if these prophecies are about the Jewish state and its future, what are they to those of us who are not Jewish? Why should we even read them very much? At this point, a virtual schizophrenia becomes evident. In personal devotion, in worship songs, and in many sermons, these passages are taken without qualms as promises to Christian believers and the church. When the focus is on Israel, however, the same passages are taken literally and applied to national Israel. Within the movement and often within the same brain, these interpretations run side by side, on two different tracks. Conscious reflection on these dual reading strategies and the conflicts they engender is rare. Tradition simply permits one, for personal use, and when relating to Israel, prescribes the other.

3. Isaiah 66:8 ‘Who has heard such a thing? Who has seen such things? Shall a land be born in one day? Shall a nation be brought forth in one moment?’ This verse is commonly understood to describe the miraculous birth of the state of Israel; it was supposedly fulfilled in the Declaration of Independence on 14 May 1948 – literally in one day. The fact that declaring independence usually does not take more than a day is never acknowledged. Overlooked is also that decades of hard and sacrificial work had preceded that statement, and that the state was thus not ‘born in one day’ at all. But the tradition decrees Isaiah 66:8 says it was.

4. Jeremiah 16:16 ‘Behold, I am sending for many fishers, declares the Lord, and they shall catch them. And afterward I will send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain and every hill, and out of the clefts of the rocks.’ The common Restorationist interpretation of this verse was discussed in 6.1. Few interpretations are repeated as frequently as this one, but it is unlikely Jeremiah intended the first image, different from the second, as benevolent. After all, the relation between fish and fisherman is not essentially different from that between animal and hunter. In addition, it is a real question whether this verse should be read in connection with the preceding two verses, which do indeed speak of restoration, or whether it goes with the succeeding verses, which continue the theme of judgment that dominates the chapter. Considering the nature of the imagery, the latter seems far more likely. In that case, both images, fishers and hunters, depict the judgment about to come upon Judah in Jeremiah’s days. That these things are never considered means the verse is always read through Restorationist glasses.

5. Joel 3:2 ‘I will gather all the nations and bring them down to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. And I will enter into judgment with them there, on behalf of my people and my heritage Israel, because they have scattered them among the nations and have divided up my land.’ This verse is less common, but where it appears, it is always used as a ‘sword’ against those advocating any sort of division of the land or pressing Israel to give up part of it, as in the 1947 UN proposal, a two-state solution, or the 2005 Gaza withdrawal. What is overlooked is first of all that those rebuked by Joel are dividing up land for themselves, not for others, which can hardly be equated with efforts to find a way out of the present conflict. Whether partition is a workable solution or not is in itself a valid question, but Joel 3:2 has nothing to do with it. Also overlooked is the context. It describes the crimes associated with the dividing, which substantially contribute to the indictment – it is not just about dividing land. It promises what the New Bible Commentary calls ‘a divine version of

the Nuremberg trials' (Carson *et al.* 1994: the commentary on Joel 3:2). Needless to say, today's partition proposals neither call for nor condone such war crimes.<sup>48</sup> It appears therefore that the verse and its context are not actually being read; they are simply being used in a standard, almost canonized way.

6. Mark 13:28, 30 'From the fig tree learn its lesson: as soon as its branch becomes tender and puts out its leaves, you know that summer is near ... Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away until all these things take place.' Without hesitation the fig tree is identified as Israel, although nothing in the context suggests this, nor is there much else to commend the idea that the fig tree was an established symbol for Israel. The appearance of leaves is ... well, this has changed with time. As D Wilson (1991:25f) points out, in 1855 John Cumming recognized in Jews living in Jerusalem a first sprouting of leaves. After 1897, Zionism became the budding of the fig tree (*ibid.*:34). Then there were the Balfour Declaration in 1917, statehood in 1948, and the conquest of Jerusalem in 1967. So the starting point keeps shifting, as does the duration of 'this generation',<sup>49</sup> but clear is: the budding of the fig tree cannot mean anything else than the re-emergence of Israel, and 'this generation' is the one witnessing this event. The fig tree as Israel, the budding as national restoration, 'this generation' not contemporary with Jesus or Mark, but located in the distant future – it is inconceivable Mark or his readers could possibly have understood it this way. But today's readers are indoctrinated to understand it precisely thus – and it seems inconceivable to them that one could possibly understand it any other way.<sup>50</sup>

What is especially astounding in these examples is how common, widespread, and utterly consistent the interpretations are, even when they are exceedingly dubious. The problem here is not belief in the inerrancy or special authority of the Scriptures, but: (1) the failure to distinguish between these Scriptures, inerrant or not, and one's interpretation of them, which can most certainly err; (2) the failure to recognize the enormous power of Evangelical preunderstanding and tradition in the process of reading and interpreting; and (3) the absence of interaction with other traditions and interpretations – and with the text.

The result of confusing tradition and interpretation with the Biblical text, of virtually equating them with 'the word of God', is of course great certainty and great authority. On Israel and other issues, these Evangelicals can speak out without hesitation. This is not because there is no theoretical room for doubt; there simply is no reason to doubt, because 'the Bible tells me so', unequivocally. When confronted with different views, these can only be the result of 'a partial rejection and erroneous interpretation of the inspired word' (Baar 1991:21). The reason people came up with them must be 'either because they do not take God's word at face value, or because they believe their own ideas and spiritual fantasies more than the written word of God' (Facijs 2002:60); they 'have not read their Bible properly' (*ibid.*:58; cf. Häselbarth 2000a:24). Although these statements show at least awareness that interpretation is going on, their authors are so certain that what they advocate – their tradition – corresponds with Biblical truth, that, obviously, it is the other side that is guilty of gross misinterpretation and perhaps of wilful distortion.

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<sup>48</sup> Christian Zionists may argue that, by undermining Israel's security, partition will eventually lead to such crimes. However, this would still be in a different category to Joel 3, and who knows which detrimental consequences a maximalist Zionism may carry.

<sup>49</sup> From 40 years starting in 1948 in Lindsey and Carson (1970:53f) to 40-100 years starting after 1967 in Lindsey (1994:3).

<sup>50</sup> A case in point: when Lance Lambert responded to a different interpretation of these verses (which understood the fig tree as an image of approaching summer), he confessed, perplexed: 'It is completely clear for those who know their Bible – and I simply do not understand some of our Bible scholars ... I simply do not understand it.' 'Vortrag von Lance Lambert in Jerusalem auf All Nations Convocation Okt. 2003, "Israel und die Nationen"' 12.2003 [Die Brücke Berlin-Jerusalem](#) /34:41.

### 7.3.2 Evangelicals (Christian Zionists) and the World

Tradition is a major force in Evangelical understandings of the surrounding world as well. In this case it consists of a set of Biblical interpretations combined with accumulated understandings of natural, historical, social, and other phenomena. This is particularly true in the well-studied case of Evangelical interaction with evolutionary theory; where a literalist reading of Genesis 1 is subscribed to, there is little room for an open dialogue with science (eg Marsden 2000:153-81; Noll 1994:177-208). It is also true in the case of Israel, for which a three-fold body of tradition hampers real interaction and prejudices perception: (1) the body of Biblical interpretations just discussed; (2) partisanship leading to the adoption of a thoroughly Zionist understanding of the Middle East conflict and its history; and (3) an established reading of this conflict and history in a salvation-historical and apocalyptic framework. The remarkable uniformity in argumentation and beliefs, with the exception of a limited number of points that are subject to intense debate, confirms that a tradition is in place. As a result, readings of the modern Middle East are largely dictated by a tradition in which a particular reading of the Bible takes undue influence on readings of the Middle East: ‘Prophecy buffs [and Christian Zionists] apply a grid from Scripture to their understanding of the world;’ they read ‘the world in the light of Scripture’ (Noll 1994:174f, 199; although ‘Scripture’ here really is a standardized interpretation of Scripture). In this way, Sola Scriptura takes on an entirely new meaning. There is no feedback loop from science, history, and so forth to the process of interpreting Scripture which could challenge the interpretation and lead readers to reconsider their conclusions.<sup>51</sup> Readings of the world therefore remain highly deficient: grace destroys nature, Glaubenswelt verschlingt Lebenswelt, the belief system – a tradition – swallows understanding and interpretation of the world in which we live.

The influence of this three-fold tradition can be readily observed in the books surveyed for Chapter Five. Those giving substantial attention to the Middle East either present a strongly partisan Zionist account, usually in an argumentative and polemical tone (eg Jenni 2004; Neerskov 1996; Price 2002; 2004; Reusch 2003; R Schmidt 1998), or they tend to be naive and uncritical, at times resembling a eulogy rather than a history (eg Eibler & Nännly 1993; 2001; Huigens 1961; 1962; Moser 2004; SF Weber 2002).<sup>52</sup> The latter group includes many representatives of the heilsgeschichtliche view, and, it should be admitted, is usually better in dealing with issues of justice and in historiography than the first. It is striking how consistent and similar accounts are, not just in books, but in other publications as well. They follow similar patterns and include the same elements. This suggests that a more or less fixed canon has developed, a tradition of which certain basic parts – eg the ‘miracle’ of 600,000 Jews defeating 40 million Arabs in 1948 – are retold over and over again, and which in many cases replaces a study of what actually happened.

It is not wrong to be influenced by tradition; in fact, it is inescapable. What is essential, however, is:<sup>53</sup> (1) to become aware of one’s tradition and critically reflect on it; (2) to interact with other traditions, voices, and opinions,<sup>54</sup> and (3) to interact with reality.<sup>55</sup> One

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<sup>51</sup> In the context of young-earth creationism, it is often an explicitly articulated conviction that the Bible dictates many points Christians are to believe about science, and prescribes the room in which Christian research can take place; in this view, any feedback loop from science to the interpretation of Scripture is emphatically rejected on theoretical grounds (see Böhringer 1988 for an analysis of this view of Scripture).

<sup>52</sup> For a critical overview of common elements in this history, see 6.3.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Osborne (1991:403-405, 411-15).

<sup>54</sup> In a rare case where a differing view – an Amillennial critique of Premillennialism and Dispensationalism – was published, the publisher felt compelled to justify this: ‘In this study a certain – Biblical – view is unfolded, which presents noteworthy viewpoints of the Scriptures, which we should thoroughly consider, even where we cannot agree with the author. Particularly at a time in which certain works of fantasy about the end times flourish, this book can call us back to listen to the Scriptures ... The present investigation came

way to test whether such interaction and reflection have taken place is to examine bibliographies. The large majority of books surveyed in Chapter Five contain no bibliography or notes with references. If they do, they are occasionally well informed on the history of Jewish-Christian relations, referring to quality academic works. However, on Middle East history, not a single bibliography appeared adequate in the sense of covering a reasonably broad spectrum of research and opinion, and of showing awareness of newer historical research.<sup>56</sup> Most are exceedingly short and narrow, frequently limiting themselves to Zionist historians and Israel's founding fathers (eg David Ben Gurion, Abba Eban).<sup>57</sup> One would expect those who write on the Arab-Israeli conflict to at least take notice of the 'new historians' like Simha Flapan (1987), Benny Morris (1997; 2001; 2004), and Avi Shlaim (1988; 2001). However, in the entire body of literature surveyed for Chapter Five, Flapan appears twice, as does Morris; Shlaim and others do not appear at all. Instead, Fritz May, Marius Baar, Ramon Bennett, David Lewis, and publications of NAI appear as serious sources. So does Joan Peters (Bennett 1996a:117-26; Ekman 1999:40, without explicit reference to Peters; Hagee 1999:161f, 235; Hoeven 1997:162; Price 2002:151f, 416). The fact that Peters (1984) has written a highly controversial account described by her critics (Farrell 1984; Finkelstein 2003b:21-50; Finkelstein & Paul 1985; Said 1986) as fraud is not noticed by these authors.<sup>58</sup>

In what follows, rather than focus on the worst examples, a few of the more thorough and balanced books will be briefly discussed to assess the influence of tradition, the quality of historiography, and the strength of bibliographies. This provides a number of revealing illustrations of the Evangelical mind and the way it interacts with the world around it.

1. Michael Brown (1992; 2000), otherwise best known for his involvement with the Pensacola revival, has written a remarkable book. It is based on extensive use of often academic sources, and shows real interaction with differing Evangelical positions on Israel and the church (*ibid.*:151-3), a rare thing in popular-level Evangelical writing. Both Harald Eckert in his foreword to the German translation and Don Wilkerson in the foreword to the American edition point out how well founded and researched the book is (*ibid.*:9, 11). This is particularly true of the Holocaust, (Christian) anti-Semitism, and persecution of the Jews. It is somewhat less true of his interpretation of the Old Testament, and not at all of his view of the Middle East conflict. Admittedly, the latter is not the focus of the book. It does voice a clear position, however, and for this, the sources used are just too few and too narrowly selected; besides, on this topic genuine interaction with differing views does not take place. Most of the relevant material appears in Chapter Six and Seven (*ibid.*:61-95). It

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about in interaction with representatives of other views who are largely unknown to us. Yet their opinions can definitely be found among us. We should not forget that most Biblical writings came about in the interaction with other viewpoints. Christian doctrine and Christian proclamation do not live in a "vacuum", but always in conversation with other – often impermanent – conceptions. Hearing and consideration should precede "rejection" (Grier 1978:4). The point to make here is that such thoughtful consideration of different views is apparently such a revolutionary concept for an Evangelical book that the publisher has to explain it.

<sup>55</sup> I expect those who do not accept the critical realism (cf. Wright 1992:31-46) implied here will at least agree it is an improvement to the uncritical realism that is being criticized.

<sup>56</sup> With the exception of Chapman (1984), who is neither a Christian Zionist nor a Restorationist.

<sup>57</sup> I certainly do not mean to imply such works should be excluded; however, they should not be the only or the main sources.

<sup>58</sup> Those who refer to it hold this book in high esteem: 'The single best documentation on the background of the Arab-Jewish conflict, with a mass of information and facts' (Price 2002:416). 'JOAN PETERS has written an excellently researched book about this. From Time Immemorial is widely acknowledged as a standard work on this topic. Perhaps it is one of the books that the enemies of Israel hate and fear most' (Hoeven 1997:162). Bennett (1996a:122) claims Peters and her staff went through boxes of material 'literally filling entire rooms from floor to ceiling', and 'searched through entire archives in the largest public libraries in the world.'

begins with a wholesale condemnation of the media as malicious, deceptive, and anti-Israel (*ibid.*:61). There is no real attempt to understand the roots of the conflict or the other side. Brown simply repeats well-known Zionist assertions and rationalizations without questioning them. This unquestioning, even dogmatic, attitude also shows in his treatment of the land question. God has promised it to Israel forever (*ibid.*:89), and he clearly defined its boundaries (a surprising claim; *ibid.*:139). On the Middle East, Brown uncritically accepts what is essentially a tradition.

2. Of Randall Price (2001; 2002; 2003; 2004) two relevant titles have been translated into German. His academic credentials include a Master's degree from Dallas Theological Seminary in Hebrew and a PhD in Middle East studies from the University of Texas. Both works are detailed and recent essays on the Middle East; they claim to present The truth behind the headlines and Fast Facts on the Middle East Conflict. Precisely here one would expect discussion of newer historical research, but it is absent. His references are technically correct, but his sources are often inferior or partisan (Jerusalem Post, Bar Ilan University), and are not dealt with critically. It is surprising how often Price quotes quotes. His portrayal of Palestinians and the PLO (2003:57-74) often appears biased or even incorrect: 'In 1987, the PLO started a popular uprising (Intifada) against Israel, employing terrorist tactics designed to force Israel to retaliate and gain international recognition of the Palestinian plight' (2003:12; however one judges the Intifada, it was not 'started' by the PLO). It contains familiar but dubious claims like: there is no such a thing as a Palestinian people, since they were mostly recent immigrants; Palestinians are 'a hodgepodge of Arabs and Turks ... masquerading as a "people," and made into a "people" by the PLO and many in the world community who relished attacking the Jews in yet another novel way' (*ibid.*:62; his source for this is former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu). Al-Nakbah is a 'myth of a national catastrophe' 'created' by 'historical revisionism' (2002:14); the question whether Israel perhaps engaged in a measure of 'historical revisionism' of its own is not considered. He all but denies 'The Legend of Deir Yassin' (2003:90-92):

Although the attack on Deir Yassin has been labeled a 'massacre' in which it is claimed an innocent village of women and children were slaughtered by Jewish troops, history shows [?] that the residents of Deir Yassin opened fire on the Irgun and that the battle lasted several hours. Moreover, some 200 of the residents left unharmed by an escape route provided by the Irgun and were later trucked to a safe village by Jewish soldiers.<sup>59</sup>

The information on the Middle East conflict presented in these books offers substantially more detail than that in the average Evangelical book on Israel; much of the material is original (meaning it is not included in other Evangelical books), and does not simply repeat a tradition. What it does not offer, however, is an honest and thorough attempt to understand what really happened in the Middle East and why.

3. Hans Eißler and Walter Nänny (1993; 2001), Restorationists rather than Christian Zionists, have written a series of sketches of important people like Herzl, Weizmann, and Ben Gurion, and of a number of significant events surrounding the beginnings of the Jewish state. From the start, the authors confess their love and admiration for Israel, and make clear they do not claim to write 'objective' history (2001:8). However, their tone is moderate and non-polemical, and they express the aim to do justice in their presentation to the Palestinians and neighbouring Arab countries (2001:8). They discuss episodes like the Irgun's attack on the King David Hotel (2001:171f), the massacre of Deir Yassin (2001:189-91), the 1953 Qibya attack with its numerous civilian victims (1993:85), and the

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<sup>59</sup> His source for the latter point is a conversation with a certain Ory Mazar, who was present and participated in the transfer, at Kibbutz Kalia, 9 September 2002. This, then, is presumably how 'history shows'. While the exact details of what happened are still being debated (see Morris 2005 for a recent summary), and while it is true that accounts often exaggerated what happened, there can be no doubt that serious war crimes were committed by Jews.

Sabra and Shatilla massacres, including Ariel Sharon's responsibility (1993:89). They also recognize that wave after wave of new Jewish immigrants led the Arabs of Palestine to protest with increasing severity during the twenties and thirties (1993:40, 91). This is considerably more than most Evangelical books on Israel manage.

This is not to say that the two books qualify as a thorough and honest analysis of the roots and development of the conflict. The Sinai Campaign of 1956 (1993:53-9) and Golda Meir's premiership (1993:72), for instance, are hardly as admirable as they make them to be. That the Arabs represented by Emir Feisal were quite willing in 1919 to leave Palestine to their Jewish 'cousins' is at best a highly incomplete picture of the situation (2001:87; did Feisal, or anyone, ask the people living in Palestine?). The authors admit that in 1948 there were expulsions – in the north and 'for security reasons'; the main reason for the Arabs' flight elsewhere was the 'fact' of appeals by Arab leaders to do so (2001:190; for the fact that this is no fact at all, see Morris 2004: *passim*, esp. 269f). Although some attention is paid to Arab suffering, there is no real attempt to understand the Arab perspective and experience, and Zionist attitudes and thoughts towards the Arabs of Palestine before 1948 are placed in too positive a light (eg 2001:123, 135-9). Although both books are better than average, the authors fail to accomplish the stated goal of fairness towards Palestinians. It is telling that the later book (2001:11-15) opens with five pages (!) of small-print Bible verses relating to Israel's promised return; clearly, tradition prejudged perception.

4. Because of his way of writing, it is difficult to determine what Ernst Schrupp (1992a; 1992b; 1997; 2001; 2003) really believes. His thinking is not linear, and he includes a multitude of voices without necessarily expressing a clear opinion of them. More often than not, he raises a number of questions, and then moves on. Many subjects that are taken up are not brought to any definite conclusion. Still, his tendency clearly is pro-Israel, on the border between Restorationism and Christian Zionism, although Schrupp is too thoughtful to take an all-out partisan stance.

The strength of his work is that Schrupp has read a lot, including some non-Christian and Palestinian sources. On this, his work is above average. Characteristically, he leans heavily on German newspapers, reporters (Peter Scholl-Latour, Gerhard Konzelmann), and news magazines; although these are not the best sources one could use, it does mean he interacts with reality and often employs better sources than Christian Zionist publications. His final two books (2001; 2003) especially stand out positively, since he visited Israel and met with Palestinian Christians.<sup>60</sup>

His main weaknesses are: (1) he only includes German material; none of his sources are in English; (2) his sources are highly selective in another respect as well: they include many Restorationist and Christian Zionist authors, with whom Schrupp does not interact critically; (3) he is weak on history; serious historical research is almost completely lacking; (4) he always ends his books (with the exception of Schrupp 2001) with a Premillennial end-time scenario, at times getting surprisingly speculative (eg 1992b:140-80). This shows the force of traditional Evangelical eschatology in his outlook: he lives with a closed horizon, and Middle East realities are interpreted within a Restorationist – Schrupp's term is of course salvation-historical – framework.

5. Tilbert Moser (2004) is a Capuchin monk and a priest from Switzerland, active in the Catholic Charismatic renewal movement. His book was included in Chapter Five, because it was published by the GGE and therefore addresses Evangelical Protestants. It includes a broader spectrum of literature than most. Moser is one of those few who mention Benny Morris and Simha Flapan. At the same time he includes and recommends several of the

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<sup>60</sup> Thus disproving TP Weber's (2004:246) claim that Dispensationalists are not interested in Palestinian Christians, who 'never seem to make it on the premillennial list of concerns'.

strongest Christian Zionist authors and organizations (Baar, May, Bennett, Duvernoy, the ICEJ, NAI, Israel Heute, CFRI, ZeLeM, Israelnetz; *ibid.*:59, 68, 72). That such Evangelical literature is ‘sometimes not critical enough’ is a considerable understatement (*ibid.*:59), but it does show a beginning of critical awareness.

In writing on the conflict, Moser shows a measure of differentiation and balance, and an awareness of its complexity. He acknowledges *al-Nakbah* and Deir Yassin (*ibid.*:13), and concedes Israel is partly to blame for the first Intifada (*ibid.*:18). However, such acknowledgments are substantially relativized by statements like: ‘This injustice presents itself in a milder light when we place it in its larger international context’ (*ibid.*:14; see also 13, 15); according to Moser, various criticisms of Israel merely contain ‘a small grain of truth’ (*ibid.*:12). Positive – and rare – is that Moser gives substantial room to Palestinian voices involved in reconciliation ministry (*ibid.*:71-9), and advocates working for peace. There is no ‘Armageddon theology’ here declaring all such efforts useless, although Moser does hold a surprisingly Evangelical and apocalyptic end-time view. In the end, this more than anything else determines his interpretation of the Middle East. To him, the conflict has a Biblical and salvation-historical dimension as well as a political-historical dimension (*ibid.*:8, 69), and he explicitly gives precedence to the first (*ibid.*:19). This leads to partisanship for Israel and to an all too uncritical acceptance of traditional Zionist defences, but he does make an attempt to come to terms with a difficult situation.

6. David Dolan (1991a; 1991b; 1998a; 1998b) writes as a Christian reporter based in Israel; the 1998 edition is an updated version of the 1991 book. He is the second author to refer to Benny Morris, and the only one to actually interact with Morris’s landmark study of the origins of the Palestinian refugee problem (Morris 1988), which he discusses at some length (Dolan 1991a:115-19). A number of times, he expresses empathy with the Palestinians (*ibid.*:119, 157, 207f). Dolan usually ends up with a moderate pro-Zionist opinion, but after real consideration of the issues. Sometimes, his conclusions sound somewhat naive, as when he claims: ‘It was not inevitable that the Arabs of Palestine became refugees. Western-educated Jewish Zionist leaders did not intend to displace them, believing the land was big enough to house both peoples, which it was’ (*ibid.*:231), or when he simply accepts a statement by Chaim Weizmann that the Zionists did not wish to supplant the Arabs (*ibid.*:99). Yet at other times Dolan is careful and restrained.

A good example of his comparatively judicious judgment is his handling of the Lebanon War (*ibid.*:144-56). He is generally supportive of Israel, but accurate in his portrayal and not unfair in his judgments. ‘Prime Minister Begin thought he was authorizing a limited operation to push the PLO out of southern Lebanon. His defence minister, Ariel Sharon, had other ideas, which were apparently soon accepted by Begin’ (*ibid.*:146). This displays a more detailed and accurate knowledge of the war than I have found in other Evangelical books. Although he complains about ‘one-sided and exaggerated’ coverage (*ibid.*:148-51), he also admits that ‘unfair reporting does not change the by-now-obvious fact that Israel bit off more than she could chew in surrounding Beirut’ (*ibid.*:151).

His general assessment of media bias is moderate:

Overall, I would say that the reporters I know have striven, as I have, to present a balanced and accurate picture. Yet we journalists are very fallible human beings ... Many of my colleagues tend to favor the Palestinian position over Israel’s. (*ibid.*:224)

This is a far cry from common Christian Zionist perceptions of ‘the media’. Significant is also the way Dolan handles the famous Twain quote (6.3): the condition of the land is explained as the result of wars, not of Arab defectiveness; he does not draw ideological capital from it (*ibid.*:63f). Dolan has written an unusually thoughtful book, and that is precisely the point to make here: he is, unfortunately, an exception, not the rule.

7. The book by Brother Andrew and Al Janssen (2004; 2005) was not included in Chapter Five, because it was not published in German until 2005. Its bibliography is not long, but it is broad and excellent. In fact, apart from Chapman (1984), it is the only Evangelical book in German containing a bibliography that can be considered adequate. It includes several Palestinian authors, as well as several of the new historians. The book is an exception in another respect as well. Its author has engaged in very real interaction with the realities of the Middle East, on both sides; one meets real Palestinians in this book who tell their story, and Brother Andrew really listens. This is what enabled him to break out of his Restorationist idyll, as described in the book. It did not turn him anti-Zionist or anti-Jewish, but it did make him pro-Palestinian and, although lacking all academic credentials, a better historian than Randall Price.

### 7.3.3 **A Potential Remedy**

Beyond this, bibliographies of books analysed in Chapter Five by and large betray narrow reading habits as well as confirmation bias: their authors prefer to read what matches their views and confirms their tradition. The literature under consideration is for the most part poorly and narrowly informed on the Middle East. It does not wrestle with difficult questions or engage in a quest for truth and understanding. Instead, it mostly engages in polemics – or in admiration and celebration. One would expect Christians to show more concern for historical truth and more due diligence when writing history.

In addition, Christian Zionists move in a small world. Although their network is highly international and spans the globe, it is actually quite small in terms of active and leading agents.<sup>61</sup> Conferences are dominated by a relatively small number of speakers; one keeps reading the same names, and most of them hold largely the same views. This is especially true of the Charismatic-Pentecostal subset of the movement. Although this leads to greater certainty, it does not increase accuracy. It may not lead to outright ‘groupthink’, but it does contribute to a radicalization of views, which can be readily discerned in Charismatic-Pentecostal circles, where new and extreme eschatological expectations have developed.

Since the authors involved largely limit their reading to what fits their views and predominantly associate with those holding similar views, the tradition is never seriously challenged, except perhaps by outsiders, which does not carry any real weight. Criticism of insider views, of those within a particular circle or network, is decidedly not a part of the tradition. There is little system to make it happen. Most Evangelical magazines for instance serve a constituency of like-minded people, offering teaching, but not a platform for debate, something that applies a fortiori to Christian Zionist periodicals. Where discussion or debate does happen, it is usually on the basis of that circle’s established body of beliefs, which itself does not become the subject of questioning. In addition, special interest groups serve as guardians of truth, which is especially true in the case of Israel. Significant publishing power is in the hands of people like Ludwig Schneider and Fritz May, who readily use it whenever they perceive, rightly or wrongly, the slightest hint of anti-Israelism. Consequently, the threshold is high for anyone daring to challenge Christian Zionism, and although Evangelical theologians may often know better,<sup>62</sup> the laity remains largely uninformed, or they are alarmed about such stubborn survival and revival of ‘replacement theology’.

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<sup>61</sup> One result is that the transfer of ideas, a process that social scientists call diffusion, can take place with surprising speed. This applies to social movements in general, and leads to ‘striking similarities between kindred movements in different countries’ (Porta and Diani 2000:246); this is certainly true for Christian Zionism.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the three theologians interviewed by ideaSpektrum, as discussed in 4.5 under point 7.

By and large, these patterns are not limited to Christian Zionism nor to the issue of Israel, but can be observed widely among Evangelicals, both in their interpretation of Scripture and in their understanding of the world. As a result, a significant section of Evangelicalism is in danger of closing its mind, perhaps even losing it altogether, increasingly removing itself from reality and from thought in the surrounding world, thus isolating itself in an intellectual ghetto. What is needed to prevent this from happening is the crucial awareness that the Bible and Evangelical interpretation of it are two things, and that tradition is a force to reckon with. In other words, a high view of Scripture needs to be balanced with a comparatively low view of human interpretation, that is, a realistic estimate of human fallibility in the process of understanding sacred texts. Also needed is broader and more open interaction both with the surrounding world and with different theological traditions and views, since this provides a vital feedback loop that puts interpretations and traditions to the test.

When Christians consider the Middle East and other topics, the aim should not be to prove Israel right, nor to maintain and defend a traditional view on certain secondary issues. Instead, it should be a quest for truth and understanding, which is always a dialectic process. In the teleological view of creation inherent in Evangelical faith, it seems justified to claim that this is why God gave us eyes to see, ears to hear, and a brain to think: to read, to watch, to listen, to ponder. If Evangelicals do this, allowing their interpretations to be challenged by using their eyes, ears, and minds, they should be able to come to a more balanced understanding of the Middle East conflict and of the place of Israel in Christian theology than the understandings documented in this thesis.

## APPENDIX: BOOKS INCLUDED IN THE BOOK ANALYSIS (CHAPTER FIVE)

Below, the results of the book analysis discussed in Chapter Five are summarized. Listed are in this order:

1. Type of Christian Zionism (0-6)
2. Presence of Dispensationalism (0, ?, 1, 2)
3. Presence and strength of apocalyptic elements (1-4)
4. End-time or Israel book (eeA-ii)
5. Importance of eschatology (1-5)
6. Importance of the history of Jewish-Christian relations, Jewish suffering, and the Holocaust (1-5)
7. Importance of Israel and the Middle East (1-5)
8. Nationality of author; AUS = Australia; CH = Switzerland; DK = Denmark; GE = Germany; NL = Netherlands; Pal. = Palestine
9. Author
10. Date of publication; where a later edition was used, the original year of publication is given first; the year of the edition used is given in square brackets

6	0	2	ii	2	5	5	GE	Amelung	2001
4	2	4	ei	5	3	4	GE	Baar	1979 [1980]
4	2	4	ei	5	3	4	GE	Baar	1984 [1993]
4	2	4	ei	5	4	3	GE	Baar	1991
4	2	4	ei	5	2	4	GE	Baar	1994 [1995]
4	2	4	ie	5	3	5	GE	Baar	2002a
4	2	4	ie	5	3	5	GE	Baar	2002b
0	0	1	ii	1	3	5	GE	Baltes	2004
6		1	ii	1	1	5	USA	Bard	2002
	?	4	eeA				GE	Baum	2002
1	?	3	eeB	4	1	3	GE	Becker	1967
5	?	1	ii	2	5	1	Israel	Ben Israel	1990
6		1	ii	1	5	4	Israel	Ben-Ari	2002
6	0	3	ie	5	3	5	Israel	Bennett	1993 [1996c]
6	0	3	ii	3	2	5	Israel	Bennett	1996a
6	0	3	ii	5	3	5	Israel	Bennett	1996b
6	0	3	ie	5	2	5	Israel	Bennett	2000
5	0	3	ie	4	2	2	Israel	Berger & Berger	1993a
5	0	3	ie	5	3	2	Israel	Berger & Berger	1993b
3	0	3	ie	3	3	1	Israel	Berger & Berger	1993c
2	0	3	ei	4	2	3	GE	Bergmann	1961 [1973]
	0	3	eeA				GE	Bergmann	1974
	2	4	eeA				USA	Bloomfield	1986
	2	3	eeA				GE	Boddenberg	1983
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Böhmerle	1962
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	1	USA	Boice	1975
	?	4	eeA				GE	Borowsky	1985
3	0	3	ii	4	5	1	Israel	Boskey & Capelle	2004
2	0	3	ii	3	1	4	GE	Bremer & Geppert	1998
2	0	1	ii	3	1	5	UK	Bridge	1990
	2	4	eeA				GE?	Briem	1991
	?	4	eeA				GE?	Britt	1969

6	0	3	ii	3	5	3	USA	Brown	2000
4	2	4	ie	5	1	2	GE	Buchwald	1978 [1980]
0	0	1	ii	2	4	2	GE	Burchartz	1997b
1	?	4	eeB	5	3	3	USA	Cantelon	1972
0	0	1	ii	2	2	5	UK	Chapman	1984
1	2	3	ie	5	1	2	France	Chasles	1950
1	0	4	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Clöter & Baur	1970 [1972]
	?	3	eeA				USA	Coffey	1999
6	?	3	ii	2	4	2	Israel	Cohen	1997
1	2	3	ei	5	2	2	UK?	Conrad	1953
5	?	4	ii	3	3	3	Israel	Damkani	1996
6		1	ii	1	1	5	USA	Davis	1987
1	?	3	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Denkert	1990
0	0	1	ii	2	2	5	GE	Dietz <u>et al.</u>	1991
6	0	1	ii	2	4	5	GE	Dipper	1977
5	?	2	ii	2	4	5	USA	Dolan	1991b
5	?	2	ii	2	4	5	USA	Dolan	1998b
6	0	3	ii	4	3	3	Israel	Doron	1999
	2	4	eeA				GE	Dreher	1958
6	0	4	ei	5	1	4	Israel	Duvernoy	1994
6	0	1	ii	4	2	4	Israel	Duvernoy	1998
1	2	4	ei	5	1	4	USA	Dyer & Hunt	1991
	2	3	eeA				USA	Eade	1984 [1986]
	0	2	eeA				GE	Eber	1996
1	1	3	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Eckart	1957
6	?	3	ii	5	5	2	GE	Eckert	1999 [2000b]
	?	3	eeA				GE	Einhaus	1948
0	0	1	ii	1	5	2	GE	Eisenblatt	1980
2	?	2	ii	3	2	5	GE	Eißler & Nänny	1993
2	?	2	ii	2	4	5	GE	Eißler & Nänny	2001
6	?	3	ie	5	5	5	Sweden	Ekman	1999
0	0	1	ii	2	1	5	USA	Elliot	1970
	?	4	eeA				DK	Facius	1997
6	?	4	ie	5	2	3	DK	Facius	2002
		3	ie				Other	Falk <u>et al.</u>	1976
6	0	3	ie	5	5	5	USA	Finto	2002
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	2	USA	Fruchtenbaum	1984
	?	4	eeA				GE	Fuhr	1998
1	2	3	ei	5	1	1	GE	Fünning	1948a
		3	eeA				GE	Fünning	1948b
2	2	3	ei	5	1	3	GE	Fünning	1949
2	2	3	ie	5	1	3	GE	Fünning	1950
1	1	4	eeB	5	2	2	GE	Gassmann	1991
1	1	4	eeB	5	2	2	GE	Gassmann	1999
		4	eeA				GE	Gassmann	2000
		3	eeA				GE	Gassmann	2002
1	2	4	ei	5	1	3	GE	Gassmann <u>et al.</u>	2002
6	?	1	ii	1	1	5	GE	Geipel & Landmann	1997
2	2	3	ei	5	2	3	GE	Gensing	1991
2	?	2	ii	3	2	5	GE	Geppert & Geppert	1994
0	?	1	ii	1	1	5	GE	Geppert <u>et al.</u>	2001
5	0	1	ii	3	1	5	GE	Gerloff	2001
5	0	1	ii	2	1	5	GE	Gerloff	2002a
3	0	2	ii	3	3	2	GE	Gerloff	2002b
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Gerth	1981 [1982]
4	2	4	ei	5	1	3	GE	Gerth	1984
4	2	4	ei	5	1	3	GE	Gerth	1991
5	?	3	ie	5	5	4	NL	Glashouwer	2003

1	2	4	eeB	5	1	3	USA	Goetz	1983
6	?	3	ie	4	3	4	USA	Goll	2000
							USA	Graham	1993
0	0	1	eeA				UK	Grier	1978
							GE	Großmann	1986
0	0	2	eeA				GE	Großmann	1991
6	?	3	ii	5	2	4	GE	Grotholtmann	1975
1	0	3	eeB	5	2	2	GE	Grünzweig	1974
6	2	4	ie	5	5	3	USA	Hagee	1999
							GE	Hahn	2004
5	0	3	ii	4	2	4	GE	Hahne	1992
3	1	3	ii	3	4	1	Hungary	Hajos	1968 [1973]
							Norway	Hallesby	1984
0	0	2	eeA					Hartenstein	1952
0	0	3	ie	5	2	2	GE	Hasselblatt	1950
1	0	2	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Hauser	1948 [1958]
							CH	Heide	1992
							GE	Heijkoop	1951
							NL	Herdejost	1993
5	?	1	ii	1	1	3	GE	Hess	1993
5	?	4	ie	5	2	4	USA	Hess	2001
5	0	3	ie	5	3	4	USA	Hess	2004
5	?	3	ie	5	2	4	USA	Hillel	1992
6							Israel	Hindson	1997
							USA	Hirsch	1986 [1997]
5							Israel	Hizak	1983
							Other?	Hoefl	1996
6	?	4	ie	5	3	5	NL	Hoeven	1994 [1997]
5	2	3	ie	4	5	2	GE	Hoffmann	2004
5	0	2	ii	3	4	4	GE	Hornung	1998
1	0	2	eeB	4	1	3	UK	Hosier	2001
1	2	4	eeB	5	2	2	GE	Hubmer	1949 [1987a]
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	1	GE	Hubmer	1958
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Hubmer	1966
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Hubmer	1971
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Hubmer	1987b
							GE	Huhn	1946
2	?	3	ii	4	3	4	GE	Huigens	1959 [1962]
2	?	3	ii	3	3	4	GE	Huigens	1961
2	?	3	ii	4	3	4	GE	Huigens	1974
6	2	4	ie	5	3	4	USA	Hunt	1996
1	2	4	eeB	5	2	2	USA	Hunt	2002
4	2	4	ie	5	2	4	USA	Hunt	2003
							GE	Huntemann	1973 [1974]
							USA	Ice & Demy	1997a
							USA	Ice & Demy	1997b
							USA	Ice & Demy	1997c
2	2	4	ei	5	1	4	USA	Ice & Demy	1997d
							USA	Ice & Demy	1998a
							USA	Ice & Demy	1998b
2	2	4	ei	5	1	3	USA	Ice & Demy	1998c
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	3	USA	Ice & Demy	2000
							GE	(Impressionen aus Israel)	1998
5	?	3	ie	5	3	4	GE	Jaffin	1987
							GE	Jaffin	1991
5	1	3	ii	4	2	3	GE	Jaffin	1995a
2	0	2	ie	5	2	2	GE	Jakober	1977
6	?	1	ii	2	2	5	CH	Jenni	2004

1	2	4	eeB	5	1	3	USA	(Jesus Christus – Felsengrund)	1973
	?	3	eeA				GE	Jugel	1973
	?	4	eeA				CH	F Käser	1994
	2	3	eeA				CH	H Käser	1958
1	?	3	ii	4	5	1	USA	Katz	2000 [2001]
2	?	1	ii	2	5	2	GE	Keller	1966
	2	4	eeA				USA	Kirban	1972
2	?	3	ii	4	3	3	GE	Kirsten-Herbst	1986
5	?	3	ie	4	1	3	GE	Kischkel	2003b
5	?	1	ii	2	4	5	GE	Klempnauer	1975
2	?	3	ie	5	2	5	GE	Koch	1967a
2	?	4	eeB	5	1	3	GE	Koch	1967b
2	?	4	eeB	5	1	4	GE	Koch	1969
2	?	3	ie	5	3	5	GE	Koch	1978
1	?	1	ii	1	3	3	GE	Kohler	1996
	0	3	eeA				GE	Kreßel	1976
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	3	USA	LaHaye	1974
2	2	4	ei	5	1	4	USA	LaHaye	1985
	2	4	eeA				USA	LaHaye	1991
	2	4	eeA				USA	LaHaye	2004
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	2	USA	LaHaye & Ice	2003
	2	4	eeA				USA	LaHaye & Jenkins	2002
6	?	3	ii	4	1	4	Israel	Lambert	1983
6	?	3	ii	4	1	4	Israel	Lambert	1992
2	2	3	ie	4	1	4	France	Lamorte	1970
1	0	1	eeB	3	1	1	GE	Lamparter	1967
	?	2	eeA				GE	Lamparter	1968
1	0	1	eeB	3	1	1	GE	Lamparter	1992
	1	3	eeA				GE	Langhammer	1998
1	0	3	eeB	5	1	1	GE	Laubach	1973
2	?	3	ii	5	4	3	GE	Layer	1996
2	?	3	ii	2	2	4	USA	Levitt	1975 [1976]
6	1	3	ii	3	1	5	USA	DA Lewis	1984
	?	3	eeA				USA	Liardon	1994
4	2	4	ei	5	1	4	CH	Liebi	1993 [1998]
4	2	4	ei	5	1	2	CH	Liebi	1994
	2	4	eeA				CH	Liebi	1994 [1999]
	2	4	eeA				CH	Liebi	2000
	?	4	eeA				GE	Liebmann	1960
4	2	4	eeB	5	2	3	GE	Lieth	1995
	2	4	eeA				GE	Lieth	1996
4	2	4	ie	5	1	1	GE	Lieth	1997
4	2	3	ie	5	1	3	GE	Lieth	1998
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	2	GE	Lieth	1999 [2003]
4	2	4	ei	5	2	3	GE	Lieth	2004
6	?	3	ii	5	2	3	USA	Lightle	1983
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	1	USA	Lindsey	1976
1	2	4	ei	5	1	3	USA	Lindsey	1977 [1978]
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	2	USA	Lindsey	1981 [1982]
	2	4	eeA				USA	Lindsey	1984
1	2	4	ei	5	1	3	USA	Lindsey & Carlson	1971 [1991]
	?	4	eeA				GE	Lorenz	1975 [1985]
1	1	3	eeB	5	1	1	GE	Lubahn	1976
1	1	3	eeB	5	1	1	GE	Lubahn	1987
	?	2	eeA				USA	Lucado	2003
6	?	3	ii	3	5	3	GE	Luchterhandt	1989 [2001]
6	?	3	ii	4	3	5	GE	Luchterhandt	1991
6	?	3	ii	4	3	5	GE	Luchterhandt	1994 [1995]

2	?	2	ii	3	3	4	GE	Ludwig	1966
		2	4	eeA			CH	Lüscher	1954
		2	4	eeA			CH	Lüscher	1956
		2	4	eeA			CH	Lüscher	1959
		2	4	eeA			USA	MacArthur	2004
		2	4	eeA			GE	Mackintosh	1984
		?	2	eeA			GE	Maier	1995
6	?	3	ie	5	3	4	GE	Makatowski	1998
6	?	3	ii	4	4	3	GE	Makatowski	2003
		?	4	eeA			GE	Malessa	1951
1	2	4	ei	5	1	2	CH	M Malgo <i>et al.</i>	2004
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	2	CH	W Malgo	1968
2	2	4	ei	5	2	4	CH	W Malgo	1969
4	2	4	ie	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	1973
4	2	4	ie	5	3	4	CH	W Malgo	1974
4	2	4	ei	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	1975
4	2	4	eeB	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	1976
4	2	4	ei	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	1978
4	2	4	ei	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	1980
4	2	4	ei	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	1981
4	2	4	ei	5	1	3	CH	W Malgo	1982a
4	2	4	eeB	5	1	3	CH	W Malgo	1982b
4	2	4	eeB	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	1982c
		2	4	eeA			CH	W Malgo	1984
		2	4	eeA			CH	W Malgo	1986a
		2	4	eeA			CH	W Malgo	1986b
4	2	4	eeB	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	1987a
4	2	4	ei	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	1987b
4	2	4	ie	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	ca. 1968
4	2	4	ei	5	2	4	CH	W Malgo	ca. 1976
4	2	4	ie	5	3	4	CH	W Malgo	ca. 1981a
4	2	4	ei	5	1	4	CH	W Malgo	ca. 1981b
1	0	2	ii	3	1	1	USA	Marcellino & Ben Yehuda	2002
		0	4	eeA			GE	Markmann	1981
6	?	4	ie	5	4	5	GE	May	1975
6	?	3	ii	2	5	2	GE	May	1987 [1988]
6	?	3	ie	5	3	5	GE	May	1990 [1991]
6	?	3	ii	3	2	3	GE	May	1996 [1998a]
6	?	3	ii	2	2	4	GE	May	1998b
6	?	4	ie	5	3	5	GE	May	2001
1	1	4	ei	5	1	3	USA	McCall & Levitt	1974 [1975]
1	2	4	ei	5	1	4	USA	McCall & Levitt	1975 [1980]
5	?	1	ii	4	5	2	Israel	Meacham	1984
		?	3	eeA			GE	Merz	1961
		2	ii				CH	A Meyer	1999
		1	4	eeA			GE	E Meyer	1978
		0	2	eeA			GE	Michel	1992
		0	2	eeA			GE	Michel	2004
		0	3	eeA			Other?	Milne	1981
		2	4	eeA			GE	Mink	1962
		2	4	eeA			GE	Mink	1965
		?	2	eeA			GE	Modersohn	1980
5	0	2	ii	3	4	5	CH	Moser	2003 [2004]
1	2	4	eeA				GE	Mücher	1991 [1996]
1	2	4	eeA				GE	Mücher	2004
1	?	3	eeB	5	1	2	GE	H Müller	1962 [1981]
		?	3	eeA			GE	H Müller	1969
1	2	4	eeB	4	1	3	GE	P Müller	1965

1	?	4	eeB	5	2	3	GE	Müller-Bohn	1968
		1	ii				Pal.	Munayer	2000
		1	ii				Pal.	Munayer <u>et al.</u>	1994
4	2	4	ei	5	2	3	GE	Nadge	2002
6	?	3	ii	2	2	5	DK	Neerskov	1996
		2	3	eeA			GE	Neufeld	1954
		2	3	eeA			GE	Neufeld	1956 [1965]
		?	4	eeA			GE	Neumann	1977
5	?	2	ii	2	5	4	GE	Nothacker	1961 [1966b]
		2	3	eeA			NL	Ouweneel	1975
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	2	NL	Ouweneel	1977
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	3	CH	Pache	1961
1	0	3	ii	5	1	1	GE	Pasedag	1964 [1967]
2	?	3	ie	5	3	4	GE	Pasedag	1968
4	1	4	ei	5	1	3	GE	Penkazki	1993 [1994]
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	1	USA	Pentecost	1978
6	?	1	ii	3	1	5	USA	Peterson	1979
6	0	1	ii	2	5	4	GE	Pfisterer	1968 [1985]
6	?	2	ii	2	4	4	GE	Pfisterer	1992
		?	4	eeA			GE	Philberth	1962 [1975]
		2	3	eeA			GE	Platte <u>et al.</u>	1988
5	?	3	ie	3	4	2	GE	Poljak	1947 [1952]
5	?	3	ie	4	2	1	GE	Poljak	1950
5	?	3	ii	3	3	3	GE	Poljak	1951a
5	?	3	ie	4	2	3	GE	Poljak	1951b
5	?	3	ii	3	2	3	GE	Poljak	1951c
4	?	4	ei	5	1	2	GE	Poljak	1956
4	?	4	ie	5	1	1	GE	Poljak	1958a
4	?	4	ei	5	2	3	GE	Poljak	1958b
6	?	3	ii	2	1	5	USA	Price	2002
6	?	1	ii	2	1	5	USA	Price	2004
6	?	4	ie	5	4	4	UK	Prince	1982
6	?	3	ii	4	3	3	UK	Prince	1992
		?	4	eeA			UK	Prince	1993
6	?	3	ii	4	5	4	UK	Prince	1997
6	?	3	ie	5	5	4	UK	Prince	2000
6	?	4	ie	5	4	4	UK	Prince	2001
5	?	4	eeB	5	2	3	UK	Prince	2004
		?	3	eeA			GE	Pritzlaff	2003
5	0	3	ie	5	3	5	Israel	Pülz	1979 [1998]
5	0	3	ie	5	2	4	Israel	Pülz	1995
5	0	3	ii	4	5	4	Israel	Pülz	2000
		2	4	eeA			GE	Quadflieg	1987
4	2	4	ie	3	1	3	GE	Quadflieg	1995b
		2	4	eeA			GE	Quadflieg	1995c
		2	4	eeA			GE	Quadflieg	1996
		2	4	eeA			GE	Quadflieg	1998
6	?	3	ii	5	2	4	Israel	Rawlings & Rawlings	1984
6	1	3	ii	5	3	3	Israel	Rawlings & Rawlings	1986
5	0	3	ii	4	3	4	Other?	Rebiai	2004
5	?	3	ie	5	2	4	AUS	Reekie	1995
		2	ii				GE	Renz	1997
6	?	1	ii	3	5	5	GE	Reusch	2003
		2	4	eeA			Other	Rice	2000
1	2	4	eeB	4	2	3	GE	Rienecker	1958
1	2	4	eeB	4	2	3	GE	Rienecker & Huigens	1968
2	?	3	ii	2	3	4	Sweden	Rimmerfors	1978 [1979]
		?	4	eeA			GE	Ringwald	1965

1	2	3	eeB	5	1	1	USA	Rosenthal	1994
	1	3	eeA				GE	Sadlak	1960
1	?	1	ii	1	1	4	GE	A Salomon	1956
1	1	3	ei	5	2	2	GE	G Salomon	1965
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	1	GE	G Salomon	1967
1	1	4	eeB	5	1	2	GE	G Salomon	1969
	2	4	eeA				GE	G Salomon	1969 [1978a]
1	?	4	eeB	5	2	3	GE	G Salomon	ca. 1970 [1978b]
	0	2	eeA				UK	Sanders	1994
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	1	GE	Sauer	1946
	2	3	eeA				GE	Sauer	1950
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	1	GE	Sauer	1955
2	?	3	ie	4	1	4	GE	Schäble	1950
	0	3	eeA				GE	Schäble	1955
2	2	3	ie	4	2	5	GE	Schäble	1957
	0	4	eeA				GE	Schäble	1965
0	0	1	ii	1	4	5	GE	Schaefer <u>et al.</u>	1965
6	?	3	ii	4	4	2	CH	Scheller	1998 [2001]
	?	3	eeA				GE	Scheunemann	1993
2	?	4	ei	5	2	3	GE	Schirmacher <u>et al.</u>	1974
6	?	4	ie	5	5	4	GE	Schlink	1958 [1967]
	?	4	eeA				GE	Schlink	1961 [1971]
2	1	4	ie	5	3	3	GE	Schlink	1968 [1969]
6	?	3	ii	3	2	5	GE	R Schmidt	1998
	1	3	eeA				GE	Schmitz	1947
6	?	3	ii	3	3	5	Israel	Schneider	1996
6	?	3	ii	3	1	5	Israel	Schneider	2003 [2004]
5	1	4	ei	4	1	4	GE	Schoepf	1970
5	1	4	ei	4	1	5	GE	Schoepf	1973
2	2	3	ie	5	3	5	GE	Schrupp	1991 [1992a]
2	2	3	ie	5	3	4	GE	Schrupp	1992b
5	2	3	ie	4	5	4	GE	Schrupp	1997
2	2	3	ii	4	4	4	GE	Schrupp	2001
2	2	3	ii	5	5	5	GE	Schrupp	2003
1	2	3	eeB	5	1	3	GE	Schumacher	1964
2	2	3	ie	5	2	5	GE	Schumacher	1982
	2	4	eeA				USA	Scofield	1974
	2	4	eeA				UK?	Scott	1987
	?	4	eeA				GE	Seibert	1986
	?	4	eeA				GE	Skovgaard-Petersen & Prahl	1950
1	1	3	ii	3	4	2	Israel	Sorko-Ram	1995
3	0	3	ii	3	3	2	USA	Stern	2002
1	?	4	eeA				GE	Stricker	1991
	2	4	eeA				CH	Stukenbrock-Sternberg	1982
	?	3	eeA				GE	Sücker	1980
2	?	3	ii	3	3	1	AUS	Taine	1961 [1976]
5	1	3	ie	5	5	3	AUS	Taine	1969
2	2	3	ii	3	2	2	AUS	Taine	1970
1	?	4	ei	5	1	3	AUS	Taine	1978
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	1	UK	Tatford	1969 [1972]
1	2	4	ei	5	1	3	UK	Tatford	1971
2	2	4	ei	5	2	3	GE	Tlach	1991
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	1	USA	Unger	1976
	2	4	eeA				GE	Urban	2004
6	2	4	ie	5	3	4	GE	F Vogel	1998
	2	3	eeA				CH	L Vogel	1947
	2	4	eeA				GE	A Wagner	1991
1	2	3	eeB	5	2	2	GE	R Wagner	1995

3	0	2	ii	3	4	3	GE	Währer	1994
	2	4	eeA				UK	Wallace	1995
	2	4	eeA				USA	Walvoord	1992
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	2	USA	Walvoord	2002
1	2	4	ei	5	1	4	USA	Walvoord & Walvoord	1974
	2	3	eeA				CH	Wasserzug-Traeder	1950 [1967]
2	?	2	ii	2	3	5	GE	SF Weber	2002
1	2	4	eeB	5	1	3	USA	White	1973 [1975]
1	1	4	eeB	4	1	3	USA	White	1977 [1978]
	2	4	eeA				USA	Wilkerson	1974
2	2	3	ie	5	1	3	UK	Wilkinson	1950
	?	3	eeA				GE	Will	1955
2	?	3	ie	5	1	4	USA	Wolff	1969 [1974]
2	?	3	ii	5	1	4	USA	Wolff	1970
	2	4	eeA				GE	Zaiss	1956
6	2	4	ei	5	1	4	GE	Ziegler	2001
1	2	4	eeB	5	2	3	CH	Zopfi	1982

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Primary sources in the form of newsletter and magazine articles are not included here, but are given in footnotes. They would unnecessarily clog up the References section, and since many of them do not mention an author, the Harvard middle note system works poorly. In addition, the titles of ideaSpektrum articles often are excellent summaries of the articles; this makes it useful to keep them close to the text.<sup>1</sup> Only infrequently has a source been used more than once, necessitating a repetition of the full reference; redundancy is thus minor.

The Evangelical books on Israel and the end times which were included in the book analysis discussed in Chapter Five are marked with \*. Where a later edition was used for this analysis, the year of original publication is included in square brackets after the year of the edition used; for books first published before 1945, the date given in square brackets is that of first republication after the war, not of original publication, since this is the date that was used in the analysis.

All quotations from German sources included in the thesis have been translated by me. All quotations from the Bible are taken from the English Standard Version.

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<sup>1</sup> IdeaSpektrum titles are often complex: next to a main title and a subtitle, they frequently include a pre-title. In all cases, the main title is given first. Additional titles are also included, unless they do not add meaningful information or lead to a nonsensical sequence. The capitalization of ideaSpektrum has varied somewhat with the years, and originally it included a dash; I have consistently used ideaSpektrum.

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