

# The Bible and the Land Called Holy

## Introduction: Why these studies?

At its sitting in 2019, the Provincial Synod of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa passed a resolution as follows:

### MOTION TO PROVINCIAL SYNOD: TIME TO ACT: SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINE

#### This Synod noting that:

1. This is the 10th year anniversary of the Palestine Kairos document, a document written by Palestinian Christians for our reflection and action ([www.kairospalestine.ps](http://www.kairospalestine.ps));
2. The South African government has withdrawn its ambassador from Tel Aviv;
3. It is reported that each year a few hundred Palestinian children are held in Israeli jails and there is evidence of human rights violation.
4. Prime Minister Netanyahu has recently said that "Israel is not a state of all its citizens", a statement which accurately reflects the nation-state law they adopted in 2018;
5. There is considerable environmental damage through injustice in the access to and distribution of water, the uprooting of olive trees and home demolitions, which in turn has led to environmental displacement, adding to the already large number of refugees

#### Acknowledging that:

1. The situation in the Holy Land demands the attention of the Christian church precisely because that is the place where Jesus the Christ was born, nurtured, crucified and raised;
2. The current political nation state of Israel and Israel in the Bible should not be confused with each other, and neither should the ideology of Zionism and the religion of Judaism be conflated;
3. Many Christian pilgrimages to the current state of Israel often ignore the Christians living in Palestine;
4. Israel was one of the very few states that continued to support the Apartheid State in South Africa until the very end;
5. There are possible similarities between Apartheid in South Africa and what is happening in Israel and Palestine and that in some respects the situation there can be described as worse than apartheid;
6. Several NGO's draw attention to the plight of those who suffer in Palestine and Israel, especially Kairos Southern Africa as well as the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI), for whose work we are grateful;
7. Southern Africans have a special responsibility to stand by the oppressed in the same way that others in the international community stood with us during our own oppression.

**Affirming that**

1. Palestinians and Israelis both deserve to live in peace and harmony as this will contribute to peace not only in that region, but globally;
2. Non-violent solutions underpinned by faith, hope and love, to the challenges there are the only solutions that the Church should actively pursue;
3. Current efforts by the International community are not enough and new initiatives towards peace, justice and reconciliation should be pursued;
4. The presence of the Christian community in Palestine and Israel is something that we should strengthen;
5. The military occupation of Palestine must end as soon as possible;
6. All forms of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia should be condemned in the strongest terms;
7. Jerusalem should be a place where all the nations are able to gather and it should not be for the exclusive use of one group over another.

**Resolves to:**

1. Encourage every Diocese within ACSA to pass this or a similar resolution at its next Synod and to work with the South African Council of Churches and its affiliates who have adopted resolutions on Palestine and Israel to seek ecumenical action towards maximum justice and peace for our sisters and brothers there;
2. Educate and inform ourselves as much as possible on the daily reality of the situation and to encourage members of ACSA who travel in the Holy Land to choose an inclusive and balanced itinerary that includes establishing contact with Palestinian Christians;
3. Support any non-violent action, especially well-directed Boycott, Divestment and Sanction actions against the Israeli state.
5. Pray the following prayer for Palestine: "God bless Palestine, Free all from oppression; and bring justice and peace. Amen.";
6. Respectfully request ACSA delegates to Lambeth 2020 to pass this resolution on to the Anglican Communion Office for possible consideration and inclusion in the Lambeth 2020 Agenda.
7. To respectfully request ACSA to appoint a Palestinian Study Group to prepare and disseminate study material for use in parishes and dioceses and that will prepare a report on the progress of implementing this resolution at the next Provincial Synod;
8. Pass this resolution on to the Ambassadors of Palestine and Israel who are based in Southern African countries as well as to the Palestinian church leaders, SABEEL and Kairos Palestine.

Although the Resolution was passed by a substantial majority, after its adoption there was some degree of concern expressed by a number of Anglicans and Anglican congregations. As is often the case in theological debates, too much heat and very little light is generated. In order to assist with an exploration of some of the theological issues this short series of 5 studies has been prepared and will, we hope, allow Anglicans to engage more reflectively with the emotive issues around the Land Christians call Holy.

The sessions are designed to run for about an hour (although one never knows how much talking a group has to do!) We recommend that, to the extent possible, people

with different backgrounds, cultures, ages and theologies come together. Any member of the group can facilitate, but the facilitator should take care not to dominate with her/his view point and also ensure that every member of the group has a chance to express opinions and ask questions.

## Session One: Getting to know the terrain

For those of us who live in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Southern Africa, it's not always easy to recall that the borders of our countries have not always been demarcated in the way that we know them – or indeed at all. Before the colonisation of Southern Africa by European powers indigenous people did not describe themselves as belonging to a *country*, but rather to a clan and a tribe. Boundaries between one tribe and another were usually quite fluid. In Biblical times the situation was similar.

Why is it important to know this? Because the nation state of Israel, established by European powers in 1948, is not the same as the Biblical people of Israel. In South African terms, it would be as if the contemporary province of KwaZulu Natal was regarded as the same as the amaZulu people. The amaZulu people are a group linked by culture and clan. KwaZulu Natal is a political construct.

There are several other matters we need to clarify before embarking on these studies. Firstly, the words Zion/ Zionism/ Christian Zionism:

*Zion* in the Bible is the name of one of the two hills on which Jerusalem was built. Sometimes in the Bible Jerusalem is referred to as “Zion”.

*Zionism* is an ideology, a nationalist movement that emerged in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe and that claims the Jewish people have been raised by God above all others and that God has set aside the land of Palestine for Jews.

*Christian Zionism* is an amalgamation of theology and politics. It teaches that the modern secular state of Israel is a fulfilment of a Biblical promise of God to give land to Jews and a sign of the End Times. Christian Zionists insist that it is the duty of Christians to support the state of Israel.

We shall come back to these ideas in a later study.

Secondly, as Christians, we need to be cautious not to fall into the trap of what is called Replacement Theology (also sometimes called supercessionism). This theology claims that Christians have replaced the Jewish people as God's chosen. Replacement Theology denigrates Jewish people and their faith, viewing it as incomplete. It is not too difficult to slide from this position to anti-semitism, which claims that Jewish people should suffer punishment for being the killers of the messiah. As Paul points out in Romans “all have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God.” As Christians we believe that God's promises are for all people.

Thirdly, we should remember that the scriptures are polyphonic. In other words, because the Bible was written over thousands of years by a great number of people, as

we might expect, there are many different “voices”. Just think about it: If you were to ask two Christians from different denominations - say Anglican and Baptist – to describe their understanding of “church” you would get some overlap, but also some very significant differences. Neither is wrong. Each describes what they know and see. But nevertheless there are important differences. The same thing happens with the scriptures. The bible is a story of peoples’ relationship with God, but there are some very varied understandings expressed. So we should be quite careful when we say: “The Bible says...” More than likely, we will find another text that suggests something different.

A visit to Israel-Palestine is a bit like picking up the Bible for the first time. There are so many voices and the long and complex history of the people who live in the Holy Land makes it difficult to know where to begin listening. As this study series cant possibly address that long, complex history in any details, we will start in a slightly different place – with the impressions recorded by a group of church leaders from South Africa and the USA, who visited the Holy Land in March 2019. IN their report, they said:

d. We visited Palestinian communities and homes where people are not allowed to have freedom of movement or self-determination.

e. We visited a refugee camp of displaced persons who still hold the keys to their homes that were confiscated over 70 years ago. We met and heard stories of men, women and children who have themselves or family members been victims of state-sanctioned violence in the form of detention, interrogation, teargassed, beatings, forced confessions and death.

f. We met with families who are fighting to keep their homes from being taken for Jewish settlements and developments.

g. We heard the stories of how Palestinians within the occupied territory of the Gaza Strip must contend with a perpetual blockade, the excessive use of force by Israel to subjugate the people in collective punishment of whole population and the debilitating confinement that renders Gaza as one big densely populated prison.

h. We heard of the acute shortage of fuel and electricity, seriously affecting daily life and the provision of especially health services in Gaza; and the heavily polluted and undrinkable water, aggravating child mortality rates.

i. We heard of the impact of fateful cuts by the Trump Administration, on humanitarian aid to the Palestinian Authority, and to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) that supports Palestinian refugees.

j. We saw the patterns that seem to have been borrowed and perfected from other previous oppressive regimes:

- i. The ever-present physical walls that wall in Palestinians in a political wall reminiscent of the Berlin Wall.
- ii. Roads built through occupied Palestinian villages, on which Palestinians are not permitted to drive; and homes and families divided by walls and barriers.
- iii. The heavy militarization of the West Bank, reminiscent of the military occupation of Namibia by apartheid South Africa.
- iv. The laws of segregation that allow one thing for the Jewish people and another for the Palestinians; we saw evidence of forced removals; homes abandoned, olive trees uprooted or confiscated and taken over, shops and businesses bolted with doors welded to close out any commercial activities.
- k. We are overawed by the resolve in the hopeless of hope, of the ordinary Palestinians who live a grinding and dehumanizing existence.
- l. We heard and appreciated how the leaders of the Palestinian Authority had made a conscious decision to forgo armed solutions to the conflict and pray that this will be responded to in kind.”

Whatever our initial theological and political positions might be, there is no denying that for millions of Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza, life is very, very difficult. There is much suffering. And that suffering can be traced to the illegal Israeli occupation of territories previously occupied by Palestinians. (For a brief description of the West Bank see footnote<sup>1</sup>)

This first session has presented a great deal of information to assimilate. We suggest that participants spend about 15 minutes going through this material again. You might like to use the Personal Worksheet below to help you with your reflections.

After the time of personal reflection, re-group and give each person who would like to do so, an opportunity to share one or two of their reflections.

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<sup>1</sup> The West Bank is land west of the Jordan River designated for Palestinian people but occupied by Israel – initially in 1967 and thereafter at incremental stages by army invasion, the construction of Israeli settlements and, most obviously, the building of the wall. You can read more at the following websites: <https://www.vox.com/2018/11/20/18080034/west-bank-israel-palestinians>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-52756427>  
<https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-203742/>



## Session 2: Jesus and the land

The issue of the land, and who has the right to occupy it, is fundamental to the conflict in Israel and Palestine. Psalm 24 reminds both Jews and Christians that “The earth is the Lord’s...” Both Testaments envisage human occupation and use of God’s land but this is never unfettered. For example Leviticus 25 prescribes the principles of jubilee – resting the land and return of land taken to settle a debt. So too, justice is a precondition to occupation and use of the land. We shall explore this some more in this and the next session.

In order to understand some of the present tensions in regard to the land we suggest that you watch the short video clip “Israel and Palestine: A Very Short Introduction” at the following website <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/israeli-palestinian-conflict-101/>

So how do we, as Christians, begin to think about the “right” to land (recalling that all the earth belongs to God)? One starting point is in Matthew 5:5 which reads as follows: “Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth”. This verse of course forms part of the Sermon on the Mount. The verse is adopted from Psalm 37:11: “But the meek shall possess the land and enjoy the abundance of peace”

Some background notes:

1. The Greek word *makarioi* is translated as “blessed” and it has the connotation of honouring someone, bowing down before them. So for instance, “blessed are they that mourn” implies we bow down before those who mourn. We honour the peacemakers, and the poor in spirit. We bow before the meek and honour those who hunger and thirst for righteousness. The first four “blessings” in Matthew 5 are for the poor, those who mourn, the meek, those who long for justice. In Jesus’ time as many as 15-20% of the population would have been forced off their land and destitute. And if you had no family, if you mourned, you would be vulnerable. Loss of land and family would make you someone without honour and status. You would hunger and thirst – literally - but also for justice
2. The Greek word which is translated as “meek” in English is *praeis*. It is probably better translated as gentle. It certainly doesn’t mean weak, but rather has the implication of not being harsh. The same word is used to describe Jesus in Matthew 11:29 and 21:5.

Please read Matthew 5:1-12, Psalm 37:1-20 and Matthew 11:29 and 21:5 and then discuss the following questions:

1. Who are the people we usually honour/ bow down before in our communities?
2. Why do you think Jesus calls on his listeners to honour, bow down before, the poor, those who mourn, the meek and so on?
3. In our societies who inherits land? How does this happen?
4. Why do you think Jesus says that the **meek** (or gentle) will inherit the earth?
5. How does Jesus' promise challenge our ideas of inheritance?
6. If "the meek" are not a clan or a tribe or a nation, how might Jesus' promise challenge our ideas of land occupation and ownership?

### Session 3: What about the promise to Abraham?

(This session contains quite a lot of material and so you may choose to study it over two gatherings)

As we already noted in Session 1, there is a difference between the Biblical idea of Israel as a people and the modern secular state. This is important because it is sometimes claimed that the citizens of the modern secular state of Israel are entitled to exclusive occupation and use of the land based on the covenant with Abraham and his descendents, described in Genesis. However, things are not quite as simple as they might, at first glance appear. For example, even in the Bible, the term “Israel” doesn’t always mean the same thing. We will return to this issue in the next session. But first we will deal with the promise to Abraham.

Please read Genesis 12:1-9

Now consider the following issues:

1. Which Promised Land?

The first complication is that there are different descriptions of the Promised Land. For example compare Genesis 12:1-9 with Genesis 13: 14-18 and with Genesis 15: 13-21.

The Biblical scholar E A Knauf describes the land of Genesis 13 as follows:

“Beth El in the North to Beth Zur in the South, which is a well-known territory. It was the province “Jehud” during the neo-Babylonian and Persian time”<sup>2</sup>

Genesis 15 however, describes the land as everything from the Nile to the Euphrates

Now compare these with Genesis 25. This chapter holds a different view of “land.”

“It leaves out Egypt and the Euphrates, but it depicts as “land” the region of Syria, Palestine, and northern Arabia, where all eight sons of Abraham are living. It extends from the south (with Ishmael) to the west (Isaac) and the east (the six sons of Ketura), and covers the wider region of Jordan including the desert regions in the south and north Arabia.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ernst Axel Knauf, “Der Umfang des verheißenen Landes nach dem Ersten Testament,” *Bibel und Kirche* 55 (2000), 152–55, at 154.

<sup>3</sup> U. Bechmann. Genesis12 and the Abraham-Paradigm Concerning the Promised Land. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/erev.12199>

Although we will not make an in-depth study here, we might also note that the empire of David and Solomon is different from the land as conceived of in Joshua. There is no single description of what constitutes the Promised Land and its boundaries.

2. Who occupies the land?

We should also note that throughout the Bible, people who are not Hebrew people have lived in the promised land. As the scholar Norman Habel points out, the lands to which Abraham and his descendents travel are neither empty nor hostile. Abraham and his descendents are not conquerors who must annihilate or drive out the local inhabitants<sup>4</sup> (See for example Genesis 13: 7. Also read Genesis 26:26-29 where Isaac makes a treaty with Abimelech to co-exist in peace)

The Bible does not generally envisage exclusive occupation of the land by one tribe or people.

Furthermore, living on the land is linked to issues of justice. For example, in Leviticus 26:31-39 and Deuteronomy 4:25-28, direct links are made to disobedience to God's ways and the loss of the land. As the theologian Mitri Raheb points out, "possession of the land should never be turned into a claim"<sup>5</sup>

3. Who are the "children of Abraham"?

Jews, Christians and Muslims are all children of Abraham. For example, read Galatians 3: 6-9.

In the light of what has been said, please discuss the following questions:

1. What struck you as you read the Biblical texts and notes above?
2. If you can find a map of the Middle East in the time of the Patriarchs and of the empire of David, try to see if you can compare the various descriptions of the promised land.
3. There are so many passages in the books of the prophets calling for justice. For example see Isaiah 3:13-15, Amos 5:7, 11-12; Micah 3:1-3. Go back to the church leaders' statement we read in session 1. Can you see connections between these judgements of the prophets and the injustices noted by the church leaders?
4. If Jews, Christians and Muslims are all children of Abraham, what meanings can we give to the promises in Genesis 12?

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<sup>4</sup> Norman C Habel. *The Land Is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies*. Minneapolis. Augsburg, Fortress Press. (1996).

<sup>5</sup> Mitri Raheb. *I am a Palestinian Christian*. Minneapolis, Fortress Press. (1995), 76.

## Session 4: Who/ what is Israel

As we noted in the previous session, there are different meanings attributed to the word “Israel”. This is the case even in the Bible.

Please read the following texts and note alongside each what is meant by “Israel” in that text. (If you get stuck, some suggested answers are provided at the end of this session!)  
Genesis 32:22-28.

Genesis 46: 8

Psalm 14:7

Exodus 1:9

Exodus 40: 38

2 Kings 17:18 (and compare with 1 Kings 12:16)

In the New Testament, “Israel” is used to refer to the ‘Jewish nation’ (for example in Matthew 10:6) but also to refer to Jewish Christians as the ‘new Israel’ (for example in Ephesians 3:6).

In 1947 the United Nations voted (without the approval of the resident Arabs) to partition Palestine into two states, one Arab and one Jewish. The state of Israel came into being in 1948. The term Israel here referred to a political state (in the modern sense of the term). As we may recall from the video in Session 2, a precursor to the creation of the state of Israel, was the displacement of resident Palestinians (both Christians and Muslims) into exile, or, for many of those who remained “refugee camps”.

### Discussion

1. What did this series of readings about the term ‘Israel’ teach you about the Israelites?
2. Who were the other peoples who lived in this land but did not follow Jacob or his descendants?
3. Do we confuse in our times the terms Israelite, Jew, and Israeli? Is it useful in modern times to use the terms ‘Israeli’ and ‘Jew’ separately?

“Israel” in the Hebrew scriptures:

Genesis 32:22-28 -- is the name given to Jacob as a result of his wrestling with the stranger

Genesis 46:8 --the name given to Jacob’s descendants ‘the sons of Israel’

Psalms 14:7 – a tribe: ‘the people of Israel’, ‘the Israelites’ (Exodus 1:9), ‘the house of Israel’ (Exodus 40:38);

2 Kings 17:18-- it becomes the collective name of the northern half of the divided nation (the southern part is Judah)

## Session 5: Interfaith issues

(This session contains questions that may lead to quite a lot of discussion. You may choose to spread parts 1 and 2 over two meetings)

As we begin this session it is important to note two things:

1. The situation in Israel and Palestine is not a struggle among religions, as some people maintain. It is, rather, about human rights and equality: about land, water and access to work, education and worship. Nevertheless, religious identity does play an important role, as we shall see
2. Sometimes in Southern Africa below the conflict is framed as a Jewish/ Islamic conflict. This is also not correct. There are a number of Palestinian Christians who suffer in the same way that Islamic Palestinians do. If you are interested in the stories of Palestinian Christians you might like to read the books by Mitri Raheb and Naim Ateek listed in the resources at the end of these studies.

In the first session of these studies we were introduced to Zionism as well as Replacement Theology (also sometimes called supercessionism) which claims that Christians have replaced the Jewish people as God's chosen. In this study we will return to some of these ideas as we consider their influence on the conflict in the Holy Land. Much of the material in this session comes from the study guide prepared to accompany the Kairos USA Document. You can access the full study guide at <https://kairosusa.org/study-guide/>

### Part 1: Christian Zionism

We begin with a reminder of the definition of Christian Zionism. This definition comes from the Kairos USA document.

“Christian Zionism is a movement in Christian theology that has enjoyed popular support in churches. Appearing in a number of forms, it has had an impact on Christian thinking and theology in modern history, even influencing the actions of governments, including our own. Traditional Christian Zionists maintain that the Jewish possession of the Holy Land presages the End Times. The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 was, in their view, the next step toward the fulfillment of God's plan as is foretold in the Bible. Indeed, belief in the Jewish people's special tie to the land can be found across the Christian theological spectrum. Many Roman Catholic and Protestant theologians today grant the Jewish people a special claim to the land linked to their election by God for a special role in history. The establishment of the State of Israel continues to take on a clearly biblical cast; the emergence of the Jews from the horror of the Nazi era into the

miracle of the Jewish state evokes the triumphalism of the exodus and the conquest as depicted in the Old Testament narrative. In this view, Israel's military victories in 1967 and 1973 were further confirmation of a divine hand at work in history

Discussion Questions:

1. What experiences have you had with Christian Zionism, as defined here?
2. Did you/do you hold some of these beliefs yourself?
3. Have you observed this view influencing conversations about Israel-Palestine?

The Kairos USA document goes on:

“We maintain that it is theologically, historically and politically incorrect to equate biblical Israel with the modern State of Israel. We reject Christian Zionism in all its forms because it supplants God’s gracious presence in all the world with a territorial theology and with the promise of land to one particular people, a promise that leads inevitably to the oppression and even dispossession of other peoples. We reject the idea that God’s ongoing covenantal faithfulness to the Jewish people can be legitimately bound up with such claims. We believe that a role for the Jewish people will include their participation with all peoples in a new order of justice, equality and universal peace that Jesus calls the realm of God. In embracing this vision, we are not taking the land away from the Jews or in any way denying to the Jewish people their fundamental right to live in peace and security and to express themselves as a people and a culture. Nor in this are we challenging the reality of the Jewish people’s special tie to the land in their own experience and in the view of many Jewish as well as Christian theologians. But we believe, in the words of the Kairos Palestine document, that the land “has a universal mission. In this universality, the meaning of the promises, of the land, of the election, of the people of God open up to include all of humanity, starting from all the peoples of this land.”

Discussion Questions:

1. What is the problem with Christian Zionism identified by Kairos USA?
2. What alternative view is being put forward? Why?
3. Do you with this alternative view? Why or why not?

## Part 2: Replacement Theology

The drafters of Kairos USA are alert to the possibility that they may be accused of Replacement Theology (supercessionism). They note as follows:

“We are aware that in denying a theology of entitlement that gives the Jewish people exclusive rights to the Holy Land, we risk the charge of reviving the Christian doctrine known as replacement theology (sometimes known as supersessionism). In this view, the Church takes the place of Israel in God’s purposes, denigrating Judaism itself and

condemning the Jews to suffering for rejecting the Gospel. Christians have rightly wished to distance themselves from this destructive and divisive doctrine. We repudiate the anti- Semitic legacy of the church's past and the theology that undergirds it.

Our core Christian belief is that God's promise in the Gospel is a promise to all nations. This means that God's kingdom work in Christ is a promise to everyone regardless of race. We believe that the Church has found in Christ a fulfillment of all that God promised in Abraham, and that both Jews and Gentiles have been invited equally into this promise of a world renewed in love and compassion. The Church does not replace Israel. Jews continue to have a place in God's plan for the world. In Christ, all nations can be blessed (Genesis 18:18, 22:18; Galatians 3:8). In these times of growing international conflict and cultural mistrust, this is a significant promise. Theologies that privilege one nation with political entitlements to the exclusion of others miss a central tenet of the Gospel and inspire increased conflict."

Discussion Questions:

1. What is the problem with what has been called replacement theology or supersessionism?
2. What specifically is the document rejecting about replacement theology? What alternative view is being put forward? Why?
3. Do you agree with this alternative view? Why or why not?

### Some resources for further study:

This short series cannot hope to cover the wide and complex terrain. However, there are some easily accessible resources to guide further study:

1. <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/israeli-palestinian-conflict-101/> offers an excellent introduction to the roots of conflict since the creation of the state of Israel in 1947/8
2. <https://www.ochaopt.org/page/about-us> is a publication of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in the Occupied Palestinian Territories which offers a number of facts sheets on the humanitarian issues faced in the Palestinian Territories.
3. From a more local (South African) perspective here is an interview with Rev Frank Chikane [https://youtu.be/priOUpCxL\\_M](https://youtu.be/priOUpCxL_M)
4. Mitri Raheb. *I am a Palestinian Christian*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press. (1995)
5. Naim Stifan Ateek. *A Palestinian Christian Cry for Reconciliation*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books. (2008).
6. The Kairos USA has prepared an excellent set of study materials based on the Document *A Call to Action*. The study material is available online at <https://kairosusa.org/study-guide/>
7. An incredibly comprehensive set of resources can be found on the Methodist Church website <https://www.methodist.org.uk/our-work/our-work-in-britain/public-issues/peacemaking/israel-palestine/resources-for-studying-theological-issues-relating-to-israel-palestine/>