

The Standing Commission on Peace

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MEMBERSHIP

- The Rt. Rev. William Davidson (1991), Retired
- The Rt. Rev. Donald P. Hart (1994), Hawaii
- The Rt. Rev. James H. Ottley (1994), Panama
- The Rev. Jane Garrett, *Chair* (1991), Vermont
- The Rev. Suzanne Peterson (1994), Iowa
- The Rev. William W. Rankin, II, *Vice Chair* (1994), California
- Dr. William H. Anderson (1994), Virginia
- The Hon. Hugh R. Jones (1991)*, Central New York
- Mr. Warren E. Preece, *Secretary* (1994), Western Massachusetts
- Mr. Lee Davis Thames ((1991), Mississippi
- Ms. Patricia A. Washburn (1994), Colorado
- Ms. Thelma Wilson (1991), Nicaragua
- The Rev. Brian Grieves, Presiding Bishop's Staff Officer for Peace and Justice,
New York
- Ms. Anne Shirk, *Seconded Staff Liaison*, Washington

*Executive Council Liaison

The Rt. Rev. William Davidson replaced the Rt. Rev. John T. Walker, *Vice Chair*, Washington, who died suddenly on September 30, 1989.

We join our voices with those of others within the Episcopal Church, the Anglican Communion, and throughout the world in both sacred and secular life to express our sadness and dismay at John's death and our joy and gratitude in the celebration of his life and ministry. John Walker was a powerful contributor and leader in the affairs of the Standing Commission on Peace. We have missed his clear vision, his undaunted courage

and determination, his lively good humor. John was a great and effective champion of peace with justice, and in saluting him we happily acknowledge that we have been greatly benefited as a commission and as its individual members in consequence of having walked with him.

Representatives of the Commission at General Convention

In the House of Bishops, the Rt. Rev. William Davidson, the Rt. Rev. Donald P. Hart and the Rt. Rev. James H. Ottley are authorized by the commission to receive non-substantive amendments to the report. In the House of Deputies, the Rev. Jane Garrett, the Hon. Hugh R. Jones and Mr. Lee Davis Thames are authorized by the commission to receive such amendments.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Income	1989	1990	1991
Appropriated by Convention	\$15,000	\$29,920	\$10,000
Revised by PB & F Challenge		36,870	9,730
Expenses			
General Meetings	14,656	17,446	7,619
Task Force Meetings*		17,681	0
Postage, Telephone, Xeroxing		491	387
Total	\$14,656	\$35,618	\$ 8,006

*The commission benefited from a project of the Diocese of Washington's Commission on Peace which sponsors trips to Israel, the occupied territories, and Jordan, with support from the PAX World Foundation.

SUMMARY OF THE COMMISSION'S WORK

The Standing Commission on Peace met five times during the triennium. In addition, two subcommittees made fact-finding trips in the summer of 1990: to Israel and the occupied territories and Jordan (Davidson, Hart, Garrett, Rankin, Jones, Thames, Washburn and Wilson) and to South Africa (Ottley, Peterson and Anderson). During the regular SCP meetings and in the course of the subcommittee trips, we benefitted from discussions with the following individuals and groups:

April 1989 (Washington, D.C.)

Under the leadership of the Rt. Rev. John T. Walker, the commission gathered for its first meeting and set priorities for its work during the triennium.

Representatives of the Commission on Peace, the Rev. Canon Charles Martin, *Chair*, Diocese of Washington;

Helena Cobban, journalist, Washington, D.C.

November 1989 (Washington, D.C.)

The Rt. Rev. Ronald H. Haines, Diocese of Washington

Congressman Ted Weiss (D., NY)

Betty Coats, Ph.D., and the Rev. Robert Brooks, Washington Office, the Episcopal Church

Jane Jackson, Oakland, CA

The Rev. Canon Samir J. Habiby, Old Greenwich, CT

Rabbi Andrew Baker, Executive Director, American Jewish Committee, Washington, D.C.

John Karefa-Smart, M.D., World Health Organization consultant, Chevy Chase, MD

The Rev. C. Parke Street, Washington, D.C.
The Hon. Robert S. Smith, Washington, D.C.
The Rev. Canon Michael Hamilton, Washington Cathedral
The Rev. Clive Barrett, National Chair, the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

March 1990 (Seattle, WA)

The Rt. Rev. Vincent Warner, Diocese of Olympia
The Rt. Rev. Robert H. Cochrane, Diocese of Olympia, retired
Sarah Ignatius, Esq., Joint Legal Task Force for Central America, Seattle
The Hon. Mike Lowry, former Congressman, Seattle
Margaret Shield, SANE-FREEZE, Economic Conversion Committee
Tom Sine, Ph.D., Seattle
The Very Rev. John Peterson, Dean, St. George's College, Jerusalem
The Rev. Canon John Huston, St. Mark's Cathedral, Seattle
Members of the St. Mark's Cathedral Palestinian Concern Group, Seattle
Prof. Farhat J. Ziadeh, Seattle
Dan Petegorsky, Western Region Director, Peace Development Fund
Glenn Pascall, Perkins Columbia, Inc., Seattle
Robert D. Lamson, R.D. Lamson & Associates, Seattle
Representatives of the Nicaraguan-Episcopal Health Assistance Project, Seattle
Paula Bretlinger, M.D., Seattle
The Rev. Canon Timothy M. Nakayama, St. Peter's Parish, Seattle
Greg Hope, Diocesan Refugee Coordinator, Diocese of Olympia

July 1990 (Israel, West Bank, Gaza and Jordan)

The Most Rev. Samir Kafity, President-Bishop of the Diocese in Jerusalem and the Middle East
The Rev. Mark Brown, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Jerusalem liaison of the Middle East Council of Churches
West Bank Palestinian Christian college professors
Elias Freij, Mayor of Bethlehem
The Very Rev. John Peterson, Dean, St. George's College, Jerusalem
The Rev. Canon Na'em Ateek, Canon Pastor, St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem
Rabbi Ron Kronish, Ph.D., Director, Israel Office, American Jewish Committee
Nava Frank, Israeli guide (*extraordinaire*)
Uri Gordon, Ph.D., Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Relations with the Churches of the State of Israel, Ambassador-designate to Turkey
The Rev. Marcel Dubois, head of a Dominican Monastery and Professor of Philosophy, Hebrew University
M. Bernard Resnikoff, Ph.D., Director emeritus, Israel Office, American Jewish Committee
Dan Ben-Simon, political reporter for *Davar*
Noemi Teasdale, Advisor on Christian Relations to Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem
Aria (Lova) Eliav, member of the Knesset for the Labor Party (A scheduled meeting with a representative of the Likud Party was cancelled by the Likud.)
Hospitality in the home of Howard and Eliana Sachar, West Jerusalem, where the Chair of the SCP talked with Natanel Lorch, an Israeli diplomat, and Ari Rath, a former editor of *The Jerusalem Post*

Rabbi Jeremy Milgrom, member of Yesh G'vul, the Rabbinical Human Watch, and Clergy for Peace

UNRWA representatives, Bheisheh Refugee Camp, West Bank

Randa Siniora, Al Haq, "Law in the Service of Men," Ramallah

The Rev. Manib Younan, Pastor, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hope, Ramallah

Jonathan Kuttub, Esq., co-founder of Al Haq, Jerusalem

UNRWA personnel, Jabalia Refugee Camp and Beach Refugee Camp, Gaza

Constantine Dabbagh, Area Secretary, Near East Council of Churches Committee for Refugee Work, Gaza

Haider Abdel Shafi, M.D., Chairman, Red Crescent Society of Palestine

Tawfig Abu Ghazala, Esq., Gaza Centre for Rights and Law

Samira Farah, Administrative Assistant to the Director of the Al Ahli Arab Hospital, Gaza

Hospitality of the Steimatzky family, Tel Aviv, which enabled the Chair to talk with many Israeli intellectuals and publishing people

Mark Heller, Ph.D., Senior Research Associate, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University

Yehuda Paz, Ph.D., Director, Afro-Asian Institute, Tel Aviv

Yoav Ossiya and Marilyn Fefer, Peace Now, Tel Aviv

Hospitality in the homes of Dina and Eliezer Fisher; Ramat Gan; Rachel and Izivore Haimov, Tel Aviv; and Avi and Tove Oron, Magdiel

Col. Ra'anana Gissin, Deputy Spokesman of the Israel Defense Forces

Chaim Peri, Ph.D., Director, Yemin Orde Youth Village

"Czech," Kibbutz leader, Kfar Ruppin, Galilee

Hospitality in the home of Anton Farah, Palestinian guide, Nazareth

Hospitality in the home of Mrs. Gamil Habiby, Jerusalem, where the SCP talked with many Palestinians who live and work in East Jerusalem

Bob Lang, Efrat Settlement, Gush Etzion

The Hon. Neville Lamdden, Deputy Secretary for North American desk, Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem (interview with Lee Davis Thames, Esq.)

Justus Winer, Esq., Ministry of Justice, Department of Human Rights

The Hon. Philip Wilcox, U.S. Consel General, Jerusalem

The Rev. Canon Riha Abu El-Assal, Rector, Christ Evangelical Episcopal Church, Nazareth

Rafiq Hussein, Ph.D., Director, Medical Aid for Palestinians, Amman, Jordan

The Rt. Rev. Elia Khoury, Assistant Bishop of the Diocese in Jerusalem and member of the Palestine National Council, Amman, Jordan

Hospitality in the home of Johnny and Randa Hadda Snobar, Amman, Jordan

August 1990 (South Africa)

Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, and Leah Tutu—gracious sharers of hospitality and insights

The Rev. Mazwi Tisani, personal assistant to the Archbishop of Cape Town

Emma Mashinini, director of Justice and Reconciliation of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Johannesburg and other staff: Maggie Helass, Media Workshop, Maureen Simons, Secretary of the Mothers' Union, Cynthia Botha, Secretary of the Publishing Committee

The Rev. Canon Winston Ndungane, Provincial Executive Officer, CPSA, Cape Town

THE BLUE BOOK

Clergy and spouses of the Archdeaconry of Mitchells Plain

The Rev. A. P. Mdunyelwa, Rector of St. Peter's, Khayelitsha

Nomazizi Stuurman and Ntsiki Jaxa, members of St. Peter's, Khayelitsha

The Rev. Courtney Sampson, Anglican chaplain, University of the Western Cape

The Hon. Charles Bacquet, Consul General, U. S. Consulate, Cape Town

Prof. Renfrew Christie, Dean of Research, University of the Western Cape

Dr. Goolam Aboobaker, personal assistant to the Rector of the University of the

Western Cape

Paul Hess, staff with the Board of Social Responsibility, Diocese of Cape Town

Nabs Wessels, staff at Cowley House, Cape Town

The Rev. Simon Adams, pastor of the Volk Kerk, Ida's Valley, Stellenbosch

The Rev. Wilma Jakobsen, Anglican chaplain at Stellenbosch University and deacon

at St. Mary on the Braak, Stellenbosch

Ian Sacks and representatives of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, Cape

Town

Joe Lloyd, director of the Theology Exchange Programme, Athlone, Cape Town

Trevor Manuel and Amy Thornton, African National Congress, Cape Town

The Rev. John Frye, Rector of St. Peter the Fisherman, Hout Bay, Cape Town

"Charlemane," local organizer of the squatter community at Hout Bay

Tom Winslow, U.S. citizen working with Cowley House, Cape Town

Leslie Liddle, director of the Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC)

Anthony Dietrich, WPCC field worker in Justice and Reconciliation

Buyiswa Jack, WPCC worker with squatters and repatriation

South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU)—Florence De Villiers, Gertrude

Mafenuka, Myrtle Witbooi

Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics in Southern Africa, Stellenbosch University—

Hans Muller, Liesel Rossouw, Johann Kinghorn

Rob Goldman, Justice and Reconciliation worker, Diocese of Natal

Patty and David Geerds, sharers of gracious hospitality, Durban

The Rev. Lawrence Sibisi, rector of Prince of Peace Anglican Church, Inanda

Dorothy and Vishnu Appalasaamy, Koinonia/Southern Africa and students at the

Federal Seminary, Pietermaritzburg

Diakonia, ecumenical programme in Durban—Paddy Kearney, director, Mike Vorster, clergy support program, Maureen Manuel, communications staff, Elizabeth Mkane, advice centres, Sue Britton, social action network

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA)—Stephen Collins, conflict monitor, Gary Cullen, regional coordinator

Dr. Diliza Mji, ANC/Natal and a member of the ANC/Inkatha negotiating team

The Rt. Rev. Michael Nuttall, Diocesan Bishop of Natal, and Doris Nuttall,

Pietermaritzburg

Representatives of the Justice and Reconciliation Support Group, Durban

Peter Kerchoff, director of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA)

Representatives of the local Movement for the Ordination of Women Committee

Richard Steele and Anita Kromberg, local workers with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Durban

Brigalia Bam, Deputy General Secretary, South African Council of Churches, Johannesburg

Sheena Duncan, Vice President of the South African Council of Churches, and Neil Duncan, Johannesburg

The Rt. Rev. Duncan Buchanan, Bishop of Johannesburg
The Rev. Samson Makhalemele, Priest-in charge, St. Michael's and All Angels, Alexandra Township, Johannesburg

Allister Sparks, journalist and author, and Sue Sparks, Johannesburg

John Mallory, layman active in the Diocese of Pretoria

Kent Obee, Counselor of the U.S. Embassy for Public Affairs, Pretoria

The Rev. Desmond Potter, assistant priest, Sts. Peter and Paul, Springs

The Rt. Rev. David Beetge, Diocesan Bishop of the newly formed Diocese of the South Eastern Transvaal, Springs

The Sisters of the Order of the Holy Paraclete, St. Benedict's House, Rosettenville, sharers of gracious hospitality

October 1990 (Minneapolis, MN)

The Rev. Steven Charleston, Bishop-elect, Diocese of Alaska

Representatives of the Peace Commission, Diocese of Minnesota

Representatives of the Justice and Peace Commission, St. John's Church, Minneapolis

Mary Shepard, Women Against Military Madness

Legia Spicer, South Dakota Peace and Justice Center, Watertown, SD

January 1991 (Delray Beach, FL)

The final meeting of the SCP was devoted entirely to work on our report and proposed resolutions.

REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS

Introduction

God Is Found in Our World

The Christian understanding of God and humankind centers upon Jesus of Nazareth. In him we recognize "God for us" and know what we are called to do and to be. We discover fundamental axioms in his teaching and examples from which we should never depart. Among these are the infinite value of even the least among us (evidenced in the parable of the lost sheep), the irrelevance of geographical boundaries when compassion is needed (parable of the Good Samaritan), the universal love of God for the entire world (John's gospel and elsewhere), the divine forbearance (parable of the tares), the inexhaustible forgiveness of God (parable of the prodigal son), the inconsequentiality of cultural differences (woman at the well), and the special Christian calling to be peacemakers, reconcilers and healers (the gospels throughout).

The world itself is the locus of the divine saving process, as Paul told us when he wrote, "In Christ, God was reconciling the world to God's self, not counting their sins against them and trusting to us the ministry of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:19).

From all of this we believe with Simone Weil that each individual life is eternally destined and therefore infinitely precious to God, and so to God's people. We are correspondingly skeptical of collective identities—whether national, racial, or religious—which are offered as inducements or warrant for setting people against one another. From this theological perspective, nationalisms buttressed by quick resort to military force, challenge our most deeply held beliefs. War as the extreme instance of militaristic nationalism is wrong, and military people themselves are among its most dehumanized victims. These insights have been stated and restated by witnesses to the gospel throughout Christian history.

God's Kingdom

The earliest Christians believed that in Christ the powers of the Kingdom of God were present in our world. His wonderful acts of healing, forgiveness, and reconciliation fulfilled all that the prophets had foreseen as the peace (*shalom*) and justice (*mishpat*) of God's reign, about to be realized in our world. He came into the world of enmity and strife to "make all things new." He proclaimed liberation from all that stultifies the full and gracious flowering of human life; he came to nurture all who had no hope, save their hope in God alone.

He asked for faithfulness to him and, we believe, commitment to the community of all women and men, to children, and to justice and peace. In light of his claim upon us we regard war as that demonic event in which the weakest have suffered the worst, the strongest have perverted their humanity the most, and the seeds of future strife have been planted deepest. More than any other aspect of history, war displays the illness of the human condition which Christ has come to heal. The 1930 Lambeth Conference recognized that "war as a means of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Christ." This was reaffirmed by Lambeth and the Episcopal Church's General Convention in 1988.

This Report

We have brought these sensibilities to the exercise of our responsibilities as members of the Standing Commission on Peace (SCP), 1988-91.

Below is the record of our inquiries into the roots of war in the Middle East, South Africa, and Central America. In them we find the ancient biblical testimony as timely as today's news. We have studied with equal alarm the tenacious structures of defense spending in the United States. These predispose us to war while gravely weakening the prospects for a just peace—at home and abroad.

Our judgments are fallible, our concerns are deep.

We offer this report to the Episcopal Church in the hope that all of us may summon the faithfulness, possess the sanity, mobilize the energy, and make the sacrifices necessary for Christian peacemaking in our world.

Economic Conversion

The Cold War era at last has ended, and the United States for the first time in decades has an opportunity, if it will grasp it, to reallocate significant portions of its resources from military purposes to an attack on its social problems. Though events in the Middle East are taken by some to demonstrate the necessity of continued funding of local troop deployments, the overriding factor in determining the kind and extent of long-range military spending is the astonishing reality of the political changes that have taken place in the last year in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Whatever justification there might have been for maintaining a strategic military posture has been eroded and many among us now recognize that America's deepest security needs have less to do with communism than they do with drug abuse, family disintegration, crime, failing educational systems, shoddy school facilities, homelessness, inadequate and frequently non-existent health care and the like. The staggering sums of money until now spent on our military can constitute a potent resource for addressing these urgent human needs.

We face a prospect that should inspire every Christian. If we are daring, appropriately diligent and sensitively innovative, we shall be able to enhance the quality of life and improve the welfare of all of the people of our land. We are convinced that our commitment to such an effort is consistent with the mind of Christ.

The goals, means, and problems of shifting enormous economic resources from military to civilian uses constitute the subject matter of what has come to be called "economic conversion."

Some Characteristics of the Recent Situation

Now little more than a political cliché, the term "military industrial complex" was first spoken by Dwight Eisenhower in 1961 in his farewell address, in which he warned the country that "only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals so that security and liberty may prosper together." Speaking of the "unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought," of the complex, Eisenhower pointed out that "every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired represents in the final analysis, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, who are cold and are not clothed."

Nearly a decade before Eisenhower, General Douglas MacArthur had also grasped the connection between military spending and civilian economic welfare, and had pointed out that if war could be outlawed, "it would produce an economic wave of prosperity that would raise the world's standard of living beyond anything ever dreamed of." Foreshadowing Eisenhower's later warnings, MacArthur noted that "it is part of the general pattern of misguided policy that our country is now geared to an arms industry which was bred in an artificially induced psychosis of war hysteria and nurtured upon an incessant propaganda of fear."

The warnings of both men went largely unheeded, and the military industrial complex which MacArthur implied and Eisenhower named became a dominant economic factor in American life. Today 6,500,000 military and civilian personnel are working in over 135,000 bases, factories, and laboratories, and there is hardly an American congressional district anywhere in the country that does not contain one or more of these facilities within its boundaries. The dependence of people upon the complex for jobs on the one hand and an apparently persistent need to be concerned with potential foreign enemies on the other resulted, perhaps inevitably, in a strong tide of support for ever rising levels of military spending. Columbia University Professor emeritus Seymour Melman has said that for over 40 years the United States diverted to military purposes "resources whose value exceeds the fixed reproducible tangible wealth of the entire civilian economy." Many thousands of factories, he argues, became "virtual wards of the Pentagon and, since in that position they were not subject to normal market forces, could, and did, adopt inefficient and costly operating methods." An indirect consequence of the overwhelming share of tax dollars funneled into the military establishment, Melman believes, was "a diminution of public investment in the infrastructure and its resulting decay."

Indeed, when one studies the economic applications of military and industrial spending in the United States, one discovers that from 1981 through 1987 the Pentagon spent two trillion dollars, a figure equivalent to \$21,000 for every household in the country. The Center for Defense Information puts the figures another way: we have been spending, it says, \$9,000 per second, or \$30 million an hour, every hour of every day on military goals, and at the same time the federal deficit has spiraled to unprecedented heights. From fiscal 1980 to fiscal 1989 the national debt more than tripled, from \$914 billion to \$2.8 trillion, according to Center figures, and "between 1980 and 1987 the U.S. went from being the world's largest creditor nation to being the world's largest debtor nation. During the 1980s military budgets more than doubled, with this accelerated spending accounting for more than half the increase in national debt. The military-driven debt,

in turn, led to a near tripling of the annual net interest on that debt. In 1987 spending on the military and interest on the national debt accounted for almost 90 percent of all federal income taxes collected from individuals and corporations.”

In the 1989 edition of her annual report, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, economist Ruth Leger Sivard dealt in worrisome terms with the American condition. “The world’s premier military power has slumped to 4th place among 142 countries in literacy, to 13th in maternal mortality rates, 21st in child mortality.” Her figures, which demonstrate a predominance of U.S. spending on military production and research and development programs, highlight the fact that “. . . the U.S. is the only country among the developed nations which does not have a public system providing health care protection for all or most of the population. Less than 25 percent of Americans have public health insurance. An estimated 37 million have neither public nor private health insurance.”

The justification for this lopsided ordering of priorities is increasingly being questioned. People who care about homelessness, for instance, are unhappily aware that each B-2 bomber produced costs nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars; each MX missile costs over 56 million dollars. To such people, in a post-Cold War era the fact that the MX missile can strike the Soviet Union seems little reason to continue producing them, and the fact that the B-2 bomber can fly undetected to the Soviet Union after a strategic nuclear exchange to drop nuclear bombs on anything still standing seems irrelevant.

Despite all of the above, and while it is obvious that dollars spent on guns are not available for butter and that much could be accomplished for millions of people and for the environment if reasonable percentages of military money could now be deployed to non-military ends, it is a fact that there is a persisting notion among Americans that spending large sums for military purposes must be good economics for the country. In this connection, however, it is significant that a study by Employment Research Associates has established that 321 of the 435 United States congressional districts are actually paying a net Pentagon tax—they are, that is, paying out more in federal taxes for military programs than they are receiving from military contracts and salaries.

Nor can huge military expenditures be defended on the basis that spending on military projects produces large numbers of jobs. Michael Renner, of Worldwatch, argues that while \$1 billion in 1981 dollars created 9,000 jobs in guided missile production or 14,000 in military aircraft production, the same amount would have created 21,500 jobs in local mass transit industries, 16,500 in water and solid waste pollution control, and 63,000 in educational services.

There is a further problem about jobs created by military expenditures: Melman submits that when large sums of money are allocated to the military, the end result is to create serious risks to individuals and their local municipalities because the jobs created are tied to only one customer (the Pentagon). What is more, the production, engineering, research, and management skills that are cultivated in defense industries have little transferability to the civilian section; defense plant equipment may be useless as a source of civilian production, and cost-plus contracting (in which the producer is paid for what he spends plus a profit at a fixed rate agreed to in advance) bears little resemblance to reality in the world of the free market. Given these factors, Melman says, on the local level the vulnerability of towns and cities to the loss of plants and of employees to the loss of jobs is considerable.

This vulnerability highlights the need for careful and sensitive planning throughout the whole economic conversion process. The impact on the areas affected by a federal decision in 1988 to close 86 military bases and partially close five more (out of 4,000) brings into sharp focus the need for local communities to decide as early as possible in the conversion process how to reposition themselves in terms of employment, tax base,

and overall quality of life for the changes that lie ahead. To cite only one typical case, the continuing story of Portsmouth, New Hampshire's response to the possible fate of nearby Pease Air Force Base, which has led some to propose converting the housing units on the base to homeless shelters, and others to be concerned about the dangers of hazardous waste that may have accumulated there over the years.

Clearly, the process of reallocating funds from military to civilian causes has already begun, and whether or not we want such changes, whether or not we prepare ourselves for them, they will increasingly be thrust upon us. The reasons this commission finds for preparing ourselves for them in advance include benefits to our overall social life as well as a pastoral concern for those more immediately and perhaps most dramatically affected by them.

Such a position is in harmony with pronouncements by major religious bodies:

The American Baptist Church has pleaded, "Convert armaments into implements that affirm life. . . ." The Union of American Hebrew Congregations urges, "Significantly reduce armament levels, thus making more resources available for human social benefits." The Unitarian Universalist Association urges, "Join . . . mutual nuclear weapons moratorium, immediately halting testing, production and deployment . . . and transfer funds . . . to civilian use."

In addition, the U.S. Roman Catholic bishops, in a March 27, 1990, letter to members of the House and Senate Budget Committees, asked that the Congress give "special scrutiny" to costly weapons systems and adjust the nation's "misplaced priorities" by greatly expanding domestic social spending. Asking for reduced military spending and increased commitment to meeting human needs, the bishops spoke of the "added urgency, given the dramatic changes in the world's political and military structures, the pressing needs of new democracies and the continuing reality of hunger, homelessness and poverty in our land and around the world."

It is time now to examine some of the details of the planned reallocation of massive national resources from a military to a sound civilian economy as they may be envisioned under the heading of "economic conversion."

Economic Conversion

Professor Melman and Lloyd Dumas, a University of Texas political economist, have written in the April 16, 1990, *Nation*, "By conversion we mean political, economic and technical measures for assuring the orderly transformation of labor, machinery and other economic resources now being used for military purposes to alternative civilian uses."

In the words of the Center for Economic Conversion, the subject includes "transforming defense plants to civilian production—e.g., from building submarines to subways, diversifying the economies of military-dependent cities, and establishing new national priorities designed to revitalize our society, restore our natural environment, and educate our population."

The most visible and widely discussed conversion proposal so far on the political agenda is Congressman Ted Weiss's bill H.R. 101, the Defense Economic Adjustment Act, introduced into the House on January 3, 1989. Although it is not the only way to implement economic conversion, it is an excellent example of a practical application of the concept.

The background, intent, and rationale surrounding H.R. 101 are best summarized in Melman's book, *The Demilitarized Society*. The book's major proposals, which are reflected in Weiss's bill are these:

1. Mandatory creation, within each and every military facility, arms plant, or laboratory of “alternative use committees” composed of local labor and management representatives and charged with identifying appropriate alternative civilian production which could be undertaken at the installation;

2. Support for advanced conversion planning to be concerned with marketing, materials, and plant requirements for alternative uses;

3. Requirements that the government give advance notice of impending contract terminations in order to enable affected communities and industries to prepare for conversion;

4. Establishment of obligatory skills retraining programs, especially for upper level supervisors, to enhance employee effectiveness in converting to civilian production;

5. Support for contingency planning and funding as necessary for the relocation of workers;

6. Insistence on local control of conversion planning;

7. Guarantees of income support for workers during conversion; and

8. Capital investment of funds presumably to be saved by cutbacks in military spending in the civilian infrastructure, human services, and environmental projects.

Economic conversion goals envisioned by the bill’s sponsors include, but are not limited to, repairing the whole of the U.S. infrastructure—roads, bridges, railroads, waste disposal facilities, providing new housing, cleaning up toxic and nuclear waste, repairing school buildings, refurbishing libraries, addressing health care needs, eliminating hunger and poverty, providing for child care and alleviating smog, acid rain, congestion, noise and global warming through the development of urban transportation and the like. Job opportunities created in all of these fields obviously would be significant.

The economics of such a program are compelling. The *Boston Globe* has estimated that the \$68 billion cost of the Stealth bomber program would go two-thirds of the way toward meeting U.S. clean water goals by the year 2000; the \$100 billion cost of the Trident II submarine and F-18 jet fighter programs equals the estimated cost of cleaning up the 10,000 worst hazardous waste dumps in the United States, and the \$6 billion cost of development of the Midgetman ICBM would equal the annual cost of cutting American sulfur dioxide emissions by eight to ten million tons per year in the fight against acid rain.

In much the same vein, *Business Week* has reported that “by eliminating missiles and demobilizing troops, America could reap a sizeable peace dividend by the year 2000. Short-term interest rates could fall to less than 5 percent, housing could surge, the federal budget would move into surplus and growth would accelerate.” Reporting the results of computerized projections of the effects of continuing defense budget cuts during the 1990s, the magazine’s writers said that after a reasonable phase-in period, during which there would be slower growth rates, “. . . later, as a shrinking deficit pushes interest rates lower and keeps inflation tame, capital spending rises, production revives, and overall growth rates accelerate” until the resulting payoff “becomes enormous.”

The Standing Commission on Peace believes deeply in economic conversion.

Proposed Resolution on Economic Conversion

Resolution #A146

Economic Conversion

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
- 2 **of the Episcopal Church strongly endorse the development of federal policies to shift**
- 3 **economic resources from military to civilian uses and urge the parishes and dioceses**
- 4 **of our Church to study and to discuss the application of economic conversion prin-**
- 5 **ciples and to prepare for their implementation.**

Report of the Middle East Task Force

*Pray not for Arab or Jew
for Palestinian or Israeli
but pray rather for yourselves
that you may not divide them in your prayers
but keep them both together in your heart.*

(Prayer from bulletin board at St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem)

Introduction

The work on our report was begun during the final days of our trip to the Holy Land and Jordan. We celebrated the Feast of St. James on July 25th with a simple eucharist in the lounge of the Hotel Jerusalem International in Amman, Jordan. St. James, brother of John, son of Zebedee, was the first of the apostles to be martyred for his faith in Jesus Christ. He was the first to taste the cup of suffering that Jesus said was part of following him.

First and clearest in our thoughts and prayers throughout that eucharist was the Christian Church in the Middle East and especially the Anglicans of the Diocese in Jerusalem—a people and church under enormous pressure. We had seen the work of Anglicans in cities and in refugee camps. We had heard the bishops, several of the clergy and many laity speak of their life and of the difficulties they face. But most of all we had been impressed by their courage and hope and joy. We were inspired by them, and we call our Church to continue with them in prayer and to be generous in our support of their work.

Events since our July 1990 visit to Palestine-Israel have made this report an even more critical task. We are aware that we were specially privileged to visit the Middle East when we did and, perhaps as a consequence, our reflections and recommendations will carry with them a special urgency.

While there are innumerable issues we might address, we have chosen to focus our reflection on the following: (1) issues of human and civil rights, (2) reaffirmation of the 1988 General Convention resolution supporting a two-state solution, (3) the need for dialogue and communication, (4) the troublesome area of “anti-semitism,” (5) the lack of accountability in the use of U.S. aid by Israel, (6) the need for increased Christian-Muslim dialogue, and (7) an affirmation of concern for and solidarity with our fellow Christians in the Middle East.

(1) Issues of Human and Civil Rights

As members of our commission met with Israelis and Palestinians, we encountered almost opposite opinions about both the fact and the extent of human rights violations. Palestinians detailed extensive lists of charges for us; the Israelis by and large denied or downplayed offenses, or blamed them on the Palestinian uprising, the intifada.

We recognize that some Palestinians overemphasize their plight and oversimplify proposed solutions to it and some depreciated the degree to which their own actions have provoked Israeli overreactions. We are also aware that Palestinians with Israeli citizenship are not subject to the same restrictions as Palestinians living in the occupied territories (the West Bank and Gaza), many of whom carry no citizenship at all.

It is also true that many in Israel and elsewhere seem to be unaware of Israel's treatment of Palestinians in the occupied areas. The Israeli government and Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) are quick to justify their policies for reasons of national security, and they give evidence that considerable effort is being made to investigate some human rights

violations and to punish any soldiers or others who are responsible for them. Indications that the problem is now openly recognized are seen in such comments as Simon Peres's reference to it as "the tragedy between two peoples."

Some Israelis with whom we spoke said that the intifada had challenged the morality of Israel; others, that Israel survives not on morality or justice but on power. It was even suggested that these people who have themselves been oppressed for 2000 years have now become oppressors while still viewing themselves as oppressed. It seemed reasonable to us that the people who survived the Holocaust and have become a powerful nation would tenaciously uphold moral and ethical principles and respect the rights of others. We recognize, of course, that the thoughts and actions of the Israeli government and people, to an extent that it is difficult for an outsider to comprehend, are permeated and driven by a theology of the Holocaust and by a pervasive preoccupation with concerns of national security.

It would be impossible to detail the individual or corporate violations of human rights reported to us and the evidence we saw of their reality, but in broad categories, and against the above background, they are as follows:

A. *School and University Closings.* During the last two years, some schools for Palestinian children in the occupied territories have been shut down, or allowed to operate only intermittently, so that the only education available has been clandestine home study classes operated under constant threat of discovery and ensuing punishment. Likewise, Palestinian universities in the West Bank have been closed for three years and colleges only recently have been allowed to reopen on a limited basis. None has been permitted to seek funds outside the territory to maintain facilities or faculties. The Israeli rationale for such closings is that schools are organizing and staging areas for intifada street violence. Nonetheless, the immediate and long-term effects of this policy are to have hundreds of idle children and young adults growing up in ignorance and with a mounting anger towards their oppressors.

Clearly, the policy of school and university closings must be abolished in order to restore to this generation of Palestinians their basic rights to obtain the tools of learning and decency which should be the right of all human beings.

B. *Collective Detention and Punishments.* Since December 1987, as many as 10,000 Palestinians have been imprisoned without trial by Israeli authorities through the practice of "administrative detention" for periods which now may extend to one year, without disclosed evidence of unlawful activity. We visited a college professor who had completed a four-month prison sentence with the only known charge being that he operated a small shed from which he sold seedlings and provided gardening instruction for residents of his small town, following a lengthy boycott of Israeli produce.

In many instances authorities go beyond individual punishment to summarily demolish or seal off the homes of whole families of presumed offenders, sometimes before they are tried or convicted of the crimes for which they are detained. Thirty-eight houses were sealed or demolished in January, 1990, the second highest monthly total ever.

One further form of collective punishment is the curfew imposed on entire refugee camps or villages because of the misbehavior of one or a few of the inhabitants. The Gaza Strip has been under continuous dusk to dawn curfew for over a year. One refugee camp in the West Bank suffered a 115-day curfew, and one whole village was under curfew for 40 days.

The commission believes that extended periods of "administrative detention" for individuals and the collective punishments listed above are unwarranted interventions in

the lives of persons, who are deprived of the right to pursue their life and work and of the right to be free of suspicion and accusations unless proven to be guilty. We believe that these punishments should be discarded entirely or greatly limited in their use.

C. Property, Water Rights, and Market Accessibility. During Israeli rule, 42% of the land in the Gaza Strip and 52% in the West Bank has been directly confiscated from Palestinian owners or its use otherwise restricted. The practice of forcibly removing owners from property—land and building, both personal and commercial—continues. At the same time, Israel's capacity to absorb new immigrant populations of Jews from other parts of the world is being stretched remarkably. We saw settlements being established in Gaza and the West Bank to accommodate new Israelis while the Palestinian population is being further restricted. Though these settlements on disputed land are viewed by many as being in direct violation of the Geneva Convention with respect to confiscation, the Israelis argue that they are not occupying the Palestinian land but are simply providing military administration, and are not therefore subject to the accords.

There are similar inequities in water use both for living and for agricultural purposes. In the entire region water is at a premium and its long-term supply is in question, yet Israel's "settlers" are given generous allowances while Palestinians are severely limited both in camps and elsewhere. We were told, for instance, that in 1987 per capita water consumption for Palestinians in the Gaza Strip averaged 175 cubic meters, compared to an average of 1320 cubic meters per year for the Israeli settlers.

In addition, serious restrictions are applied to Palestinian producers of agricultural and other goods as compared with their Israeli counterparts. Tax laws discriminate against Palestinians as do prohibitions on the development of credit and loans, particularly in terms of trade and markets. Palestinians have only restricted access to Israeli and foreign markets and have no protection from the importation of Israeli goods, which further exacerbates their economic situation and impinges upon their rights as human beings.

The commission is unable to understand the logic of these forms of harassment and unfair treatment, which have a devastating effect on the per capita income of Palestinians, causing them to request food rations and other assistance. Surely the Israeli government must reexamine these policies and develop new approaches which will consider the needs and the humanity of the people over whom they exert control.

D. Use of Military Force and Weaponry. Members of the commission deplore violence on either side and have seen evidence of the violence to which Palestinians have resorted since the intifada. We nevertheless assert that their stones, knives and occasional Molotov cocktail all too often have been met with disproportionate responses from the Israeli Defense Force (IDF). At the Al Ahli Arab Hospital in Gaza, we were given statistics indicating that emergency room admissions from gunshot wounds and beatings had increased from 44 in December, 1987, to 598 in May, 1990. Sadly, we were told that the age of victims is dropping to the point where one-third are under 15. We saw the results of the rubber and plastic bullets, originally introduced as "non-lethal," and we examined tear gas cannisters (made in Strasborg, PA) that were reported to have been tossed through windows in homes and hospitals. Even reasonable provocation for the use of tear gas would not justify its use in this manner.

Given the increased use of reserve troops (IDF) instead of active duty personnel to respond to Palestinian conduct in the intifada, the commission became concerned that adequate riot control and civil defense training had not been given to the young Israeli men and women who often find themselves the object of rock throwing. Our information indicates that frequently only minimal or no such training is given. The disaster

potential in this circumstance seems to have occurred in October 1990, when over 20 Palestinians were killed and 150 injured in an eruption of violence between fundamentalist Jews and Palestinians on the Temple Mount; the military border police, not being equipped with anti-riot equipment (masks, shields, tear gas), opened fire with live ammunition.

From our observations, we are convinced that the military forces could proceed with their task of occupation in a much more humane manner. Considerable improvement is needed in the monitoring of the IDF by the Israeli government to assure adherence to international standards on the use of force by occupying troops.

E. *Other Policies and Procedures.* Other violations of human rights include: (1) currency restrictions limiting the amount of money that can be received from abroad; (2) unfair taxes, assessments, licenses, fines, and levies which have been imposed on Palestinians with questionable means of collection; (3) unreasonable restraints on the travel of Palestinians outside of Gaza and the West Bank; (4) denial of citizenship to Palestinians in the occupied territories and the right to travel (If they are outside the country for more than one year they are not able to return.); (5) population transfer used as an instrument of national policy—tragically reminiscent of the suffering Jews have themselves endured over the years.

In sum it should be noted that the law currently governing the occupied territories is a complex, confusing set of regulations going back many generations and still incorporating most of the Emergency Defense Regulations of 1945, created and administered during the British Mandate. Civil liberties and human rights are luxuries not contemplated by these regulations. Evidence of any concern for justice in these matters on the part of Israel is not convincing.

(2) *The Two-State Solution*

In 1988 both General Convention and the Lambeth Conference affirmed “the existence of the State of Israel and its right to recognized and secure borders . . . [and] the right of Palestinians . . . to self-determination, and the establishment of their own state.” In our conversations with them, many Israelis and Palestinians supported these affirmations, but there is little agreement between them as to how there can be a just and equitable partition of the area which both claim as “homeland.”

As a rational and pragmatic solution, however, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) has announced its readiness to negotiate a democratic, secular, unarmed state comprising the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Palestinians express confidence that leadership exists that could govern such a state, and opportunities are there to make it economically viable, especially, they say, if a confederation can be developed that includes Israel and Jordan, and eventually other nations. Whether the Palestinian diaspora, including those registered as refugees outside of the proposed new state, would return in any great number is unknown. They would be comforted to know that, like the Jews, they have a national identity which would give them standing among the nations. The status of the Israeli settlements within the occupied territories and of Jerusalem would remain to be negotiated, and there is little ground for optimism in the refusal of the government of Israel to accept the establishment of any such state or to recognize the PLO as speaking for Palestinians.

We believe that the successful settlement of the Israel-Palestine problem will be the key to Israel's making peace with all of its Arab neighbors. Clearly, Israel, supported by the United States, should make every effort to initiate and pursue a policy of negotiations that will bring about the existence of two autonomous states in the hope that this will lead to further peace with justice for the whole Middle East.

The case of Jerusalem itself transcends the two-state debate. Bishop Samir Kafity, President-Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese in Jerusalem and the Middle East, has spoken of Jerusalem as the mother. "The significance of the motherhood of Jerusalem to Judaism, Christianity and Islam, lies in the fact that true motherhood does not discriminate or have any preferences. Jerusalem is a mother who loves all her children equally and alike. . . . This symbol of motherhood, of love and peace, is what Jerusalem has offered to humanity across the years. We pray that it may regain this eternal symbolism and may once again be the answer to the quest for peace. May it be a city completely shared in every respect and at every level by Jews, Muslims and Christians?"

This eloquent statement speaks to the commission's concern that Jerusalem remain an interreligious municipality, allowing the coexistence of the three faith groups that claim it as holy ground.

(3) *Communication*

After the invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent deployment of U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia, Professor Edward Said of Columbia University, a member of the Palestine National Council, wrote, "The Palestinian drive toward self-determination has been dealt a grievous, perhaps even catastrophic blow. It now seems to be both the Israeli and the Arab impulse to drive things back to the way they were in 1948, with the Arab states and Israel dealing with each other over the Palestinian heads."

It is quite apparent that one of the critical issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the matter of communication. Much of our discussion with people centered on who the rightful representatives of the Palestinians might be and with whom the Israelis were willing to talk. The impasse seems to be that, by our estimates, 90% of the Palestinians consider the PLO as their representative, and the Israelis refuse to negotiate with the PLO. If Israel persists in its present position, there seems little hope for meaningful negotiation.

To that end it was felt that one of the opportunities we have in the Episcopal Church is to encourage dialogue between American Jews and Palestinians. There are a number of models for such dialogue groups, including ecumenical efforts. We need to expand this dialogue to include not only Christians but Muslims.

We found that our trip was enriched by planning assistance from the American Jewish Committee, which provided a more balanced program than many we have seen. Thus our understanding of the Jewish concerns and positions was enhanced. We hope that consideration will continue to be given to trust-building measures between the Jerusalem staff of the American Jewish Committee and the Diocese in Jerusalem, and we recommend that the Church Center staff give support to these efforts.

We call upon the Church Center staff to develop objective educational materials for use in parish religious education programs to help the Church to better understand Islam, Judaism and the Palestine-Israel issue.

We are also concerned with U.S. government participation. In many of our briefings we heard a hope that the United States would take a more active role in the mediation and negotiation of the conflict. There was a sense of urgency that the U.S. begin to take this role much more seriously, a feeling that the longer the crisis in the Middle East continues, the more difficult it will be to keep violence in check. The willingness of Palestinians to suffer on behalf of their claims to a just settlement was deeply moving. Negotiations must begin with the moderate Islamic elements before the rise in Islamic fundamentalism makes this more complicated. We have seen this become less a theoretical

concern and more a reality of the situation. Daily it grows more difficult for the U.S. to play a mediating role as anti-American sentiment and rhetoric escalate and fundamentalism becomes more popular.

The commission agrees with Canon Na'em Ateek of St. George's Cathedral, who quotes Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor under President Roosevelt, on the role of the Church in bearing witness to issues of public policy: "The Church informs the conscience of the people, presents the moral implications of choice, stimulates strong defense of the dignity, and with it the liberty and responsibility, of the individual in the course of collective action. The Church continues to present to the State the moral principles of restraint, of human rather than material considerations in its action, of respect for individual rights and differences, and a sense that the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, and that officers of government are stewards." Canon Ateek adds, "To pursue peace with justice is the Church's highest calling in Israel-Palestine today, as well as its greatest challenge."

(4) *Anti-Semitism*

Any discussion of anti-semitism as applied to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict must begin with the awareness that since many Palestinians and Israelis share a common Semitic heritage, it is perhaps more accurate to speak of anti-Jewish or anti-Israeli sentiment rather than of anti-semitism. We are deeply aware of the painful history of discrimination that has been part of Jewish history. Dr. Ron Kronish of the American Jewish Committee suggested that this anti-Jewish attitude has helped to keep Jews "Jewish" during periods of assimilation and rising secularism. The history of the Jewish people as displayed in the Museum of the Diaspora is a poignant rendering of a cycle of acceptance, rejection and expulsion spanning over 2,000 years. We state unequivocally that anti-Jewish action and sentiment are to be abhorred as a deeply regrettable part of history for which Christians must have a profound sorrow.

However, as Father Marcel Dubois of Hebrew University noted, Christians expect that Jews will be faithful to their call and chosenness as we ourselves must be faithful to our highest moral calling. Thus, when we see activities of a nonreligious nature that we believe to be unjust, it is appropriate to lift up those concerns without fear of being branded as anti-semitic or anti-Jewish. Criticism of Israeli foreign policy is a legitimate task of this commission. A post-Holocaust attitude tends to make Christians feel guilty for their silence during the Holocaust, which in turn makes them loath to speak critically of any actions by Jewish people. We must not be caught in the trap of refusing to name injustice when we see it, whether it is our fault, or that of Israelis, Palestinians or others.

Our use of language often reinforces our prejudice. What do we mean by Israel? In this report, the commission has used the term Palestine-Israel, or vice versa, to refer to the land claimed by two peoples; but, as the historian Arnold Toynbee has pointed out, Israel once meant "a religious community of devout worshippers of ancient Israel's God." Membership in such an Israel was conditional upon obedience to God's commands and following his precepts, declared by the mouth of his prophets. "Present-day Israel," Toynbee says, "has, for all of us, obliterated or, at least, adumbrated the spiritual Israel of the Judeo-Christian tradition."

Na'em Ateek says, "Before the creation of the State, the Old Testament was considered an essential part of Christian scripture, pointing and witnessing to Jesus. Since the creation of the State, some Jewish and Christian interpreters have read the Old Testament largely as a Zionist text to such an extent that it has become almost repugnant to Palestinian Christians. When we pray, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel [who] has visited and redeemed the people,' we must ask: Which Israel? Whose redemption?"

As a consequence of the Holocaust, society may be unwilling to address this paradox: much of Israeli government policy and practice is abusive of Palestinians and resembles the way in which the Jews themselves were abused. The oppressed has become the oppressor. When this phenomenon is named, as it was by Archbishop Tutu—in likening Israeli behavior to that of South Africa—it is frequently labeled as being anti-semitic.

Anti-Arab prejudice is a growing problem as well—and anti-Palestinian prejudice—even in some parts of the Arab world. Among Arabs, Palestinians are often seen as “Jews” of the Arab world. We also note that the term “terrorist” has become politicized to such an extent that all Palestinians are stereotyped as terrorists. It is this stereotype that is used to justify the Israeli reluctance to speak with the PLO, which is perceived as a terrorist organization. We as the Church must strive time and again to reduce anti-semitism against both Arabs and Jews.

(5) *Israel and the United States*

Over the years the United States has demonstrated a tremendous sympathy for the Jewish people because of their long history of oppression and particularly because of the Holocaust. The concept and the development of a Jewish homeland and Jewish state has received support from U.S. Jews and non-Jews alike.

As members of the commission traveled throughout Israel, we were deeply impressed with much that we saw. There are modern cities, thriving agriculture, and expanding commerce. Cultural and educational development is clearly a high priority, as seen in the many universities and museums. We were impressed with the accomplishments of the youth village, Yemin Orde, in changing the lives of abandoned young people from many lands, and we visited with Dr. Yehuda Paz, director of the Afro-Asian Institute, to learn how this institution trains leadership for cooperatives, youth, labor, agriculture, and community organizations in 97 countries around the world.

We enjoyed the hospitality of Jewish people in Tel Aviv and the Kibbutz Kfar Ruppin in Galilee, and we visited the Knesset to try to understand how Israel as a democracy has been able to survive while surrounded by non-democratic Arab nations. We saw evidence of the continuous immigration into Israel of Jews, many of them refugees, from around the world. We saw the preparations and efforts being made to assimilate the new wave of thousands of Soviet Jews. The commission members recognize that Israel and its leaders have faced formidable challenges.

We did carefully consider, however, that the government of Israel receives more than \$10 million in U.S. aid per day. Of this, \$1.8 billion per year is for military aid, and \$1.2 billion is in economic support funds, with additional funding for refugee settlement and some other programs. We were told that the U.S. requires no accounting for these funds and sends such large sums that Israel is able to realize considerable interest by investing money that is received before it is needed. Whereas virtually all other recipients of U.S. aid must spend the money in the U.S., Israel is permitted to spend \$300 million of its military assistance in Israel. Reports state that about \$500 million in economic support funds are being used to finance Jewish settlements in the West Bank despite U.S. government policy, and it now appears that \$1.8 million in Israeli government funds was used to help purchase St. John's Hospice in the Christian quarter of Jerusalem.

For these and other reasons mentioned elsewhere in this report, the commission members urge the United States to reconsider its aid to Israel policy and require that the funds be used only for purposes that are consistent with U.S. policy and humanitarian concerns. In addition, we recommend that the U.S. require accountability for aid funds to Israel, both military and economic support, and that a USAID office be established

in Israel to facilitate this purpose. For the continuation of such good relations as have flourished in the past between the United States and Israel, we believe that the matter of economic support needs the careful attention of both nations.

(6) *Christian-Muslim Dialogue*

From a Palestinian Arab, we heard, "I am a Christian in religion, but I am a Muslim in history and tradition."

This was the paradox articulated to us by a resident of Beit Sahour. This succinct definition by a Christian Palestinian helped us to realize the complexity of relationships and alliances in the Middle East. We are woefully ignorant of the Palestinian population, which is overwhelmingly Muslim. These are the "people of the land," descendants of the many other tribes mentioned in the Old Testament. To understand their claim we need to understand their history and their own culture.

There has been a major effort, originating in the 1970s, to better understand Christian-Jewish relations. Most recently this work has been carried on by the Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations, an advisory committee that has as its purpose to "maintain an overview of the wide field of relationships between Anglicans and Jews in the U.S. and around the world." No comparable effort has been made to relate to the Muslim world. Christians represent a very small percentage (3.2%) of the population of Palestine-Israel. Many more Christian Palestinians are in the diaspora. As the Lutheran pastor in Ramallah quipped, "I have a congregation of 400 people, 300 of whom live in Detroit." In order to support a Christian presence in the Middle East, it is essential that we understand our Muslim neighbors.

Two major concerns need to be addressed. First, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism is a source of anxiety throughout the Middle East, and especially among Palestinians, who remain among the best educated of all the Islamic world. They fear that unless there is a marked movement toward peace soon, the frustration and pain of the intifada will make fundamentalism an attractive alternative to an exhausted and oppressed population. We are seeing that already in the current crisis.

Second, since few seminaries offer courses in Muslim theology, we need to encourage more of them to do so. We have already noted the need for denominational resources for parish education, but would reemphasize that here.

(7) *Solidarity With and Concern For Anglicans*

The Anglican presence in the area of our concern is under the leadership of the Most Reverend Samir Kafity, President-Bishop of the Diocese in Jerusalem, which includes Israel and the occupied territories, as well as Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. As Metropolitan of the whole Anglican Province, Bishop Kafity's jurisdiction also includes the Dioceses of Cyprus and the Gulf, Iran, and Egypt, which includes North Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia. Even with the commission's limited travel in this area, we came to an appreciation of the tremendous scope and diversity of the territory and the difficulty of maintaining a sense of Anglican identity and community within it.

We were privileged to observe the growing ecumenical witness of Christians through the Middle East Council of Churches, as well as the leadership of Anglicans in the council and their faithful presence in Jerusalem, Israel and the occupied territories. Our conversations with Bishop Kafity in Jerusalem and his assistant bishop, Elia Khoury, in Amman, Jordan, as well as other Anglican clergy and laity, helped us to realize how deserving they are of the prayers and support of our own Church and of the whole Anglican Communion.

St. George's College and St. George's Cathedral in Jerusalem form the center of

Anglican church work. There are eight service institutions in the diocese, and exciting work is going on in Bethlehem, Ramallah, Nazareth, Haifa, and elsewhere, including the Al Ahli Arab Hospital in Gaza. We saw the health and educational and vocational training projects in Gaza, where Anglicans cooperate with the Middle East Council of Churches and the United Nations Relief and Works Administration to accomplish useful ministries, especially among those in need.

It is our strong recommendation that the Episcopal Church continue to support the Anglican presence in the Holy Land with greater understanding and concern and with fervent prayers. We must also support them financially to whatever extent possible in accordance with needs identified by Bishop Kafity and diocesan authorities. The bishop must be free from harassment by Israeli authorities in the normal administration of the diocese and his pastoral ministry in Israel and the occupied territories.

The Episcopal Church should recognize that there is a dwindling number of Anglicans and other Christians in the Holy Land, due to the rapid rate of Christian emigration from the Middle East. The future of a Christian presence in the Holy Land is threatened by this phenomenon, and our attention needs to be drawn to its long-term consequences.

We were deeply impressed with the attitude of many Palestinian Anglicans and other Christians in their hopes for peace and for reconciliation with their Jewish neighbors, although their cries for justice also ring in our ears. We believe and sincerely pray that healing and reconciliation can come—*salaam, shalom* and peace.

*There is a time for healing and a time for forgiving
There is a time for building bridges and that time is now
Oh, take our hearts, Lord, take our minds
Take our hands and make them ONE.*

(A banner at St. George's Cathedral.)

Proposed Resolutions on Palestine-Israel

Resolution #A147

In Support of a Two-state Solution

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
- 2 **of the Episcopal Church reaffirm:**
- 3 **1. The existence of the State of Israel and its right to recognized and secure borders,**
- 4 **as well as the civic and human rights of all who live within its borders, and**
- 5 **2. The rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, including choice of their**
- 6 **own representatives and the establishment of their own state.**
- 7 **[See Resolution D053s of the 1988 General Convention, Journal, p. 293]**

Resolution #A148

Palestinian/Israeli Relationships

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
- 2 **of the Episcopal Church convey to the President of the United States, to the Secretary**
- 3 **of State, and to Episcopalian and other appropriate Members of Congress:**
- 4 **1. Its deep concern for the peaceful, fair, just, and timely resolution of the dif-**
- 5 **ferences between the Palestinians and the people and government of the State of Israel,**
- 6 **and also its concern that there be respect and fair and just treatment of both the Palesti-**
- 7 **nians and the Israelis pending the achievement of such resolution;**
- 8 **2. Its conviction that in communications and negotiations with the Palestinians**
- 9 **and the State of Israel, the United States government should use persuasion and ap-**
- 10 **propriate accompanying pressure:**

- 11 a. To bring about an end to the violations of civil and human rights and
12 the unnecessary brutalities to individuals, families and groups which are now
13 occurring;
- 14 b. To restrict the use of military force to measures and practices proportionate
15 to the situation and suited to the legitimate control of civilian populations, and,
16 to that end, to assure that military personnel and units, before assignment to du-
17 ty, be given proper training in riot control and the techniques and practices of
18 control of civilian populations;
- 19 c. To cause the State of Israel to discontinue the use of administrative deten-
20 tion and collective punishment (“curfew”), except in those instances when it can
21 be demonstrated that such use is essential for the legitimate concerns of national
22 security;
- 23 d. To accomplish the reopening of schools, universities, and other educa-
24 tional institutions for the Palestinians in the occupied territories;
- 25 e. To cause the State of Israel to be evenhanded and fair in the recognition
26 and enforcement of the rights and interests of the Palestinians with respect to their
27 personal safety, property rights, water rights, and rights of access to commercial
28 markets; and
- 29 f. To encourage and facilitate open, candid, and patient communication
30 between the representatives of the Palestinians and the State of Israel and between
31 the Palestinian and the Israeli peoples; and
- 32 g. To support the continuation of the City of Jerusalem as an interreligious
33 municipality in which full respect is accorded the rights and interests of Chris-
34 tians, Jews and Muslims.

Resolution #A149

Accountability for U.S. Aid to Israel

- 1 *Resolved*, the House _____ concurring, That the 1991 General Convention of
2 the Episcopal Church urge the President and the Congress of the United States to
3 develop a policy requiring the State of Israel to account to the government of the United
4 States for all aid in whatever form that the United States grants to the State of Israel
5 and its instrumentalities.

Resolution #A150

Support for Anglican Presence in Middle East

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, That the 1991 General Convention
2 of the Episcopal Church express its gratitude for and its solidarity with the Anglican
3 Church in the Middle East, and assure the Most Reverend Samir Kafity, President-
4 Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East, and the clergy and
5 laity of the Anglican Church in the Middle East, of its high regard and firm support.

Resolution #A151

Christian-Muslim Dialogue

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, That the 1991 General Convention
2 of the Episcopal Church urge its individual members and appropriate units within the
3 several Dioceses of the Church to engage in study and dialogue with respect to Chris-
4 tian/Muslim relations, and to that end request that the staff at the Church Center
5 distribute balanced resource materials to nourish such study and dialogue.

Resolution #A152

Deploing Anti-Jewish Prejudice

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
 2 **of the Episcopal Church deplores all expressions of anti-Jewish prejudice (sometimes**
 3 **referred to by the imprecise word “anti-Semitism”) in whatever form on whatever oc-**
 4 **casation and urges its total elimination from the deliberations and affairs of the Episcopal**
 5 **Church, its individual members, and its various units; and be it further**
- 6 *Resolved*, **That the Episcopal Church recognizes that a distinction exists between the**
 7 **propriety of legitimate criticism of Israeli governmental policy and action and the im-**
 8 **propriety of anti-Jewish prejudice.**

Resolution #A153

Distribution of Resolutions Relating to Palestine/Israel

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the Secretary of the 1991**
 2 **General Convention of the Episcopal Church be requested to send copies of all resolu-**
 3 **tions adopted by this Convention relating to Palestinian/Israeli relations to the Presi-**
 4 **dent of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to Episcopalian and other ap-**
 5 **propriate Members of Congress, to the representative of the Anglican Consultative**
 6 **Council to the United Nations, to the Middle East Council of Churches, and to the**
 7 **Most Reverend Samir Kafity.**

Report of the South Africa Task Force

Allister Sparks in *The Mind of South Africa* points out that most of us know South Africa “as a symbol of racism” but know little about “the tragic, beautiful power of the place . . . its endless agony and enduring hopefulness . . . the fire that it carries in itself which burns into the soul of everyone who ever goes there and which will not let them alone again.” Those of us who went to South Africa on behalf of the Standing Commission on Peace have returned committed to sharing the truth of these words.

Our delegation was received by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA), which consists of the dioceses in South Africa, Namibia, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland. He provided us with valuable insights and information about the work and witness of the CPSA and expressed concern that we should become acquainted with, and hear from, others in the Church who are working for peace and justice. One such person is Emma Mashinini, the province’s resource staff person for justice and reconciliation programming. Her personal story and witness are as a long-time labor organizer who experienced the harsh reality of extended detention and solitary confinement; as a wife and mother who journeyed through the pain of losing a teenage daughter to the overt violence of apartheid and several babies to an iniquitous health care system, which is the result of apartheid; and now as a full-time church worker. She bore powerful testimony to the intensity of the struggle that is the day-to-day reality for so many South Africans and to the particular burden that women bear in that struggle.

The suffering and inhumanity that are the fruits of apartheid are not pretty. As we traveled through South Africa we saw people living in extreme poverty and subhuman conditions in a country with riches and space enough for everyone if only they could be shared; we saw the effects of unemployment and the desperation idleness fosters when human resources are not properly utilized and rewarded; we saw young people who have come to believe that liberation takes precedence over education, and so are now less

amenable to being educated; and we saw young people who still value education but are frustrated by the low quality education being offered them in the inadequate facilities designated for black youth. We saw young people who have come to believe that violence is the best or the only way to solve problems and others who have come to believe that authority, whether white or black, is not to be obeyed or trusted, and we saw older people tired out by their struggle to change things and frustrated at the continuation of intolerable conditions despite their best efforts to make a better life for themselves and their loved ones. We spoke with people about these problems, and our perspectives were broadened by what we heard. We learned that these people who suffer are a people of deep spirituality living in trying conditions.

The Struggle for Peace and Justice

As we listened to people speak of their struggle for justice and reconciliation, we were deeply moved by their faith, courage and perseverance in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Men and women, young and old, lay and clergy, black, colored, Asian and white, they have united against the evil of apartheid and have spoken with one voice for a "new" South Africa, where peace with justice for all will be the guiding reality. Many with whom we spoke came to their convictions and witness because of their faith. Others worked from secular perspectives. Many have offered their witness at great price, including imprisonment and torture.

As we saw the fruits of their labors and heard them speak of their own conversion, transformation and empowerment in the face of persecution and suffering, we were inspired and instructed. Despite the recent resurgence of violence and the tragedy of continued injustice and killing, the vast majority of them continued to express faith and hope in the future. Disappointments and frustrations have brought them up to but not over the brink of despair; they have not given up. Although the immediate future gives cause for pessimism, they continue to press for a just society. From the stories of a few of the people we met, we may deduce models of conversion and peace education which we may apply in our own situation.

Mrs. Nabs Wessels serves as coordinator for the Dependents' Conference, a department of the South African Council of Churches housed in the Anglican-owned Cowley House, which is under the joint trusteeship of the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town and the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). The conference serves the families of political prisoners by providing accommodation to those who are visiting relatives and loved ones in prison. It also provides assistance in legal matters, attorneys' fees and bail for detainees when necessary. Finally, it provides counseling and tries to help people in readjusting to life when they come out of prison. The government provides none of these services and usually releases prisoners with only minimum prior notice.

Mrs. Wessels first became involved in this work when her husband, a Moravian pastor, was imprisoned for organizing a church in 1976. He was detained for five months and was later reincarcerated for three and a half months. In the wintry three months of his last period of imprisonment, Pastor Wessels was stripped of his clothing for the entire time. At one point his jailers smeared his body with feces and gave him only cold water with which to wash. Sometime later Mrs. Wessels was herself arrested in the middle of the night for an alleged traffic violation. In describing the psychological treatment which her husband had needed to recover from his imprisonment, interrogation and torture, she spoke little of her own suffering but expressed concern for the impact all of this

has had on her children: one daughter is now extremely fearful and concerned not to violate any laws so as to be imprisoned herself; their oldest son, who is 14, on the other hand, is extremely militant and engages in demonstrations in which there are sometimes confrontations with police. Recently he had been picked up and detained by the police for a day before his parents could locate him. The police, who accused him of carrying live ammunition, were unable to provide any evidence to justify the charge.

On our first Sunday in South Africa we saw other examples of Christians working for peace and justice. We attended services at St. Peter's Church in Khayelitsha, a black township where many of the residents had located as a result of forced removals instituted by the South African government. Though Khayelitsha is a Xhosa word meaning "new home," most homes in this depressed area looked to us to be anything but new or homey. Members of St. Peter's spoke of displacement from their original homes because of their race, and they told us that there would have been even more people at the eucharist at St. Peter's had it not been for the previous day's protest, in which several thousand people had marched on the Council Hall to demand that the township be provided with much-needed public services and amenities.

After the service and dinner at the church, we visited one of the most depressed squatter settlements in the area, where Nomazizi Stuurman welcomed us without apology into her shack covered with black plastic, and invited us to take pictures of her in the house with her children. Ironically, Mrs. Stuurman, a health care worker assisting handicapped children and their families, must herself live in unhealthy surroundings. She had been one of the leaders of the previous day's demonstration and told us that she was particularly happy about the very good attendance and behavior of the demonstrators. The thousands who participated had kept everything peaceful, and when the police had used tear gas had dispersed without throwing rocks in return.

Ntsiki Jaxa, who had also attended the demonstration, is a member of St. Peter's and a worker in the Church. She lives in one of the small, four-room concrete houses built by the government. A considerable improvement over the housing in which Mrs. Stuurman must live, her matchbox dwelling is, nevertheless, small, stark and austere. Mrs. Jaxa spoke to us about her work with the Church's agency for refugees and told us she had been laid off recently when the agency had closed for lack of funds. Commenting on the sad state of affairs being experienced by refugees coming into the city from the "homelands" which can no longer support them, she said that because the government has not responded adequately to these needs, the Church has attempted to fill the gap, and people have come to depend on the Church.

The Consequences of Racial Division

Later, we got still another view of church workers in South Africa when we visited Mitchells Plain, an area designated for colored people, many of whose residents had been displaced from District Six of Cape Town by the Group Areas Act and had had to start all over again in Mitchells Plain. The housing we saw was of a much better quality than that in Khayelitsha, but the disruptive consequences of displacement were evident in the fact that the Anglican Church building in which we found ourselves was a converted ranch-style house. The archdeacon and six other clergy and their spouses who had invited us to a cookout dinner spoke to us about the problems created for their parishioners by the unjust policies of the government and the hopes and anxieties brought about by recent changes. Like so many of the people with whom we spoke, they worried that, while recent changes seem dramatic to those outside the country, the fact is that for the non-white population inside South Africa, little in their day-to-day existence has changed.

Our hosts spoke about their continued resolve to work for justice in the emerging order, but like others, they predicted dark days ahead during the process of change.

The so-called colored people of South Africa have always found themselves in an ambiguous situation with regard to racial and social separation. A colored priest, the Rev. Courtney Sampson, showed us around some of the areas of Cape Town that have been set aside for Coloreds and Blacks. After showing us some very depressing squatter settlements near Crossroads, he drove us to the University of the Western Cape (UWC), where he serves as a chaplain. An institution with a predominantly black and colored student body, the university, of which Archbishop Tutu is chancellor, sees itself as a balance to the other two major universities in the area—the University of Cape Town, predominantly influenced by English-speaking South Africans and representing their point of view and their interests, and the University of Stellenbosch, predominantly Afrikaner and serving as a think tank for Afrikaner interests. Intellectuals at UWC talk of making it the primary institution representing black interests and perspectives. They see their task as one of cooperating with and supporting the development of the surrounding communities by making the fruits of knowledge and research more accessible to them. The university's dean of research, Renfrew Christie, told us of the institution's efforts to foster greater participation by, and increased proficiency of, black and colored people in the area of science and mathematics.

Dean Christie told us that UWC takes seriously the slogan of the African National Congress (ANC) challenging blacks to "prepare to govern." At the same time, both the dean and Father Sampson acknowledged the very serious problems of classroom discipline in the high schools and the very poor preparation of black youths for college. Both spoke of the difficulty teachers have in educating a generation of children who have boycotted schools and protested in the streets and have learned to question authority and to be suspicious of it.

Lesley Liddle, who is the director of the Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC) and a white member of the staff, gave us insights into the role of the Church in preparing her for her work. Her background, she told us, included three months of detention during which her first reaction had been one of anger and rage and frustration and fear about her two children outside the prison. She threw things, she said, and railed against her jailers until, "Eventually, I decided that I had to get myself together and work on some things in my own life. I began to read the Bible they had placed in my cell, [and] as I read it over and over I began to understand and experience things I had never understood before. Each Thursday and Sunday I received the sacrament from an Anglican priest who faithfully came to pray with me and who communicated news of home in the course of our praying."

Ms. Liddle said that she agrees with Boniswa Jack, another church worker, that relying on God's help helped them to endure the brutality and intimidations of the interrogations to which they had been subjected during incarceration. She admitted that she had been radicalized as the result of her prison experience and had become more of a "liberationist" in her theology. Having left South Africa to visit and to work for a while for a church organization in the United States, she said that it is her impression that the Church in the United States is lazy and unchallenged by hardship or persecution in comparison to that in South Africa, and that the Church in South Africa, although more liberationist, is also more sexist. "Whether it is sexism or racism or problems of education or development," she said, "people must be empowered to confront these issues which affect their lives. It is the role of the Church to help them to do this."

We met Florence DeVilliers, Gertrude Mafenuka, and Myrtle Witbooi in the office of the South Africa Domestic Worker's Union (SADWU). Mrs. DeVilliers told us that

before coming to work for SADWU, she had worked on the Anglican Church's Board of Social Responsibility and the Church Council, and said that her work with the Christian Institute had been particularly important to her. She said that it had once seemed to her that "the Church is like a make-believe world divorced from the real problems of the community," but that while at the institute she had worked in squatter camps, and having once been a domestic worker had begun to see the inconsistency of employers piously going to church on Sunday while not permitting their domestic workers to do so. To her, she said, it is scandalous that some domestics had to lie to get a day off to attend services. Fellow case worker Gertrude Mafenuka reinforced these comments in speaking of her own work in the Church before going to work full-time in SADWU. She had been very active in the Anglican Church as chair of the Mothers' Union, but when her sister illegally moved to Cape Town from Transkei in 1982, she had become involved in the problems her sister was having as a squatter and a domestic worker and decided that she herself would join the Domestic Worker's Union. Her involvement led to her being elected vice president of SADWU in 1986. These women spoke of their union's fight against employer exploitation and abuse of workers, practices which they told us are rife among both domestic and foreign employers.

The exploitation of domestic workers is particularly bad in the colonial town of Stellenbosch, where we were hosted by the Rev. Wilma Jakobsen (a white and one of the small number of women deacons in the Anglican Church in South Africa) and the Rev. Simon Adams, a colored minister in the Volkskerk. Stellenbosch has been called the "womb of apartheid." It was at the University of Stellenbosch that many Afrikaner intellectuals, politicians, and supporters of apartheid were educated. Despite the university's reputation for conservatism, many students, scholars, journalists, writers, and professional people associated with it have recently moved ahead of some of the more traditional English-speaking liberals in their readiness to consider a future for South Africa under black rule.

We visited three such scholars on the faculty of the university: Dr. Liesel Rossouw and Dr. Hans Muller, professors of theology, and Dr. Johann Kinghorn, professor of biblical studies. Professors Muller and Kinghorn were both signatories to *The Road to Damascus: Kairos and Conversion*, a third world Christian statement tracing present-day conflict to their roots in colonialism, western imperialism and low intensity wars, condemning those who oppress, exploit, persecute and kill the poor and calling for a conversion which will mark the end of oppression and exploitation. As members of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church and the Dutch Reformed Church, respectively, Professors Muller and Kinghorn were asked to recant their statements, but they refused and were vindicated with subsequent investigation of their work. In a work entitled "The Option for Inclusive Democracy," the authors, Professor Kinghorn among them, conclude that a theology of human rights is much more a heritage of the Dutch Reformed Church than most people think. They posit that in its period of "heretical theological expression" in the 1940s, the Church left its traditional roots, and they distinguish between the Dutch Reformed Church as being heretical and the Church as sponsoring heresy, and argue that the Dutch Reformed Church has erred in its application of theology, not in the theology itself. The university's Department of Biblical Studies has been able to sponsor progressive-controversial speakers on campus, among them Walter Sisulu and Archbishop Tutu, and there are plans to bring other black leaders to the campus to speak in the very near future. Ironically, the Department of Political Science at Stellenbosch cannot sponsor such speakers for fear that it will be accused of taking sides in the political

arena. Some believe that these developments in the Department of Biblical Studies and the Center for Contextual Hermeneutics at the University of Stellenbosch may represent the beginning of change toward a more racially just policy in the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa.

At the Theological Exchange Program (TEP) in Cape Town, we met Joe Lloyd, a colored who coordinates the program in its attempts to look at liberation theology and its implications for South Africa. The focus of studies at TEP, a service project intended to benefit the ecumenical Church, is "trans-third world"; material is gathered from the grassroots levels in countries such as Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Brazil, Peru, the Philippines, Lebanon, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Costa Rica. Last year TEP scholars worked on the problem of low intensity warfare. This year they have been working on the process of negotiations. Like other individuals with whom we spoke, Mr. Lloyd and his colleagues are investigating questions about the role of the Church in the new South Africa.

The Changing Role of the Church

People at TEP, the University of Stellenbosch, WPCC, SADWU and Cowley House all asked the same question: "Now that apartheid's days seem to be numbered, and now that the political organizations have been unbanned and the political prisoners are being released and the exiles begin to return, what will be the new role of the Church?"

When we asked the Rev. Winston Ndungane, executive officer for the CPSA, to share his thoughts about this question, he first helped us place it in context by explaining, "February 2, 1990, [the date on which President de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC and other political organizations] is a date that marks what seems like an extraordinary change in South Africa . . . [but] . . . we must never forget that De Klerk is an astute and shrewd politician. The pronouncement of February 2 was planned and engineered by the National Party in a very calculated fashion. Mr. de Klerk and his National Party have no intention of giving up power. They merely want to take away sanctions and get the eyes of the world off South Africa. We may see legalized apartheid outlawed even by the next season, but things will remain the same from there. Where they are going has been determined in the back rooms already."

Father Ndungane described his vision of the Church's role as being that of holding up the Kingdom vision and championing the cause of the poor and the oppressed. The role of the Church in South Africa during the 1980s was dramatic and clear, and those looking on from around the world could see and appreciate the part the Church was playing in the battle of good against evil. The jailings, persecutions and visible oppression made it obvious to onlookers. In Father Ndungane's view, even after there is majority rule in South Africa, problems will continue, and the Church will have a role in assuring basic human rights and in seeing to it that instruments are in place to insure that basic human needs are met. Moreover, he sees the Church as playing a major role in the process of reconciliation: "There is fear on the side of whites who wonder if revenge will be taken for past injustices. The anger of black people will also need the ministry of reconciliation."

When Winston Ndungane speaks of reconciliation and forgiveness, he offers more than pious platitudes. His personal history is one that incarnates reconciliation. As a young man he was involved in the protest politics of the 1960s and in 1963 was imprisoned on Robben Island for that involvement. "These were fruitful years," he says. "There is no education like that to be gotten on Robben Island. There I met the cream of the black leadership." It was there that he also met God. "While on the island I did a lot of

thinking, mulled over my doubts, and worked on questions about God. As I grappled with the question of God, I grappled with hatred. It was there that I learned to turn the other cheek and to live with my enemies day in and day out. Here whites were demystified in my mind. I began to see our jailers in a different light. There was one warden I had thought of as the devil incarnate, but he could not break us. One day someone overheard him saying, 'We have to leave these people alone. Maybe God is saying something to us.' I started to see the need for reconciliation and the role I could play in that process. There on Robben Island I experienced real conversion. I decided that I would go and serve the Lord.'

Father Ndungane's views about the role of reconciliation are consistent with the rationale Archbishop Tutu has given for his support of the Anglican Synod of Bishops' controversial decision to bar all licensed Anglican clergy from being card-carrying members of political parties. At many points along our journey, the ruling was the topic of intense discussion, and coverage of the decision extended to South Africa's secular realm as well.

Those opposing the decision argue that the black clergy have struggled hard for the enfranchisement of black people in South Africa, and now that the dream is about to become reality should not be deprived of their first chance to influence the political process legally through party politics. Others see the education and leadership of the clergy as vital resources that the political parties can ill afford to lose at this critical juncture, and still others point out that the Church has always displayed flags, erected monuments, and demonstrated a decided bias in favor of certain policies and parties, and ask, "Why is this practice suddenly being reversed on the eve of black enfranchisement?"

Those who argue in defense of the synod's decision assert that not being members of political parties will allow the clergy to serve as mediators and reconcilers among the contending political factions; while clergy may exercise their right to vote, as representatives of the Church they must not be seen to be endorsing particular parties. It is argued that partiality toward particular factions or parties would render clergy ineffective and incapable of ministering to those who oppose the party to which they belong.

Violence in Natal Province has challenged the Church to fill the role of mediator and reconciler. The murder of Father Victor Africander in Pietermaritzburg underscored the price the Church may have to pay in the process. When we visited Durban and Pietermaritzburg and the countryside in Natal and KwaZulu, we were impressed with the difficult task the Church will have in reconciling the violence. And again we saw how Anglicans and other Christians are attempting to bring some light into that darkness. In Durban we spoke with the staff of Diakonia at the Ecumenical Center and learned of their attempts to support and educate young seminarians of many denominations about the poverty and violence endured by other blacks living in squatter communities near the townships. Father Lawrence Sibisi, a parish priest at Prince of Peace Anglican Church in Inanda, told us of the shocking death by stoning of the headmistress of the church's preschool, and introduced us to other young black men who had formed the Kwa Mashu E Section Peace Committee to deter further violence near the parish.

In Pietermaritzburg, Bishop Michael Nuttall told us of the difficult task of mediation in which he and other church leaders are engaged as they attempt to bring warring factions of Inkatha and the ANC to the negotiating table. Members of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA) took us through areas devastated by the violence and told of the work that was being done to bring food and support to the suffering. Students and professors at the Federal Theological Seminary spoke of their efforts to serve as instruments of peace and justice during the heat of violence in that region last March. In describing the causes and costs of the ongoing conflict, each

of the persons or groups with whom we spoke tried to be as fair as possible. In the end, however, all cited the preponderance of evidence that the Inkatha movement (since June 1990, the Inkatha Freedom Party), led by Chief Mangosuthu Gatscha Buthelezi, had instigated most of the violence. Given the long-term nature of this conflict, all sides now acknowledge that revenge killings and counterattacks have become commonplace.

During our final days in South Africa this violence spread from Natal into the Transvaal, and particularly into the single-sex hostels (usually substandard dormitories where black migrant workers are housed on a long-term basis) located in the townships around Johannesburg. The depth of pain and frustration over the violence became particularly poignant to us as we sat with a Methodist minister on the staff of the South African Council of Churches and heard him articulate his own frustration as he gave us news of the violence being spread from Natal into the Transvaal. With tears in his eyes, he told us about men traveling from Natal to the hostels and attacking men living there. As revenge and reprisals for these attacks were launched, the violence was spreading and the death toll was mounting. Speaking of the role of the Inkatha movement in instigating this violence, he told us that over the years Buthelezi has amassed power and the backing of the South African government, which recognizes him as spokesperson for the Zulu people, a point much disputed among the more than six million Zulus. Like others with whom we spoke, he voiced his doubts that Buthelezi will be able to stop the violence that is now beginning to take on a life of its own. He despaired that the South African police have not seriously intervened to stop the violence and shared reports that the KwaZulu police and the South African police are playing a role in further fomenting the violence. "There is no law but anarchy," he said. "No one respects the police, with their right-wing associations and such." He added, "And then there is the media. The media is powerful and in control of powerful forces. People pay attention to the media, but we were told that they misrepresent the facts, and they don't show Inkatha violence for what it is, even when Inkatha has been building up such a track record of violence. When one sees Buthelezi on Xhosa or Sotho television, he says racially violent things, but on white television he comes across as a very moderate and reasonable individual."

In meeting with other staff of the SACC at Khotso House and with Anglican Bishop Duncan Buchanan at his residence in Johannesburg, we were further dismayed by reports on the gravity of the situation and the spiral of violence which threatens to take the people further and further into the depths of alienation. Though both the bishop and the SACC staff reiterated that there is little cause for optimism, faith in Christ and determination not to relent give them reason to hope. The situation described to us was bleak, but the courage and persistence of those witnessing for peace in the name of Christ was luminous.

As we prepared to depart South Africa, we visited Bishop David Beetge in the newly formed Diocese of South Eastern Transvaal. We drove from Springs to Benoni to visit St. Dunstan's Memorial Diocesan School, where the headmaster, Greg McCloud, showed us a "non-racial" (integrated) kindergarten, in which the academic program aims for excellence, and the social milieu is designed to open the children and their parents to a new way of thinking and being with each other. "This is the new South Africa," he said. As we left the town we passed an abandoned gold mine. Bishop Beetge spoke of how South Africa has developed its mineral resources without developing its enormous human resources. "The hope of South Africa," he said, "is in this enormous and untapped God-given resource."

While our meetings were held primarily with other Anglicans and individuals from the ecumenical community, we also must mention the presence and contribution of other faith groups, both to the life and culture of South Africa as well as to the struggle for a democratic, non-racial nation, where freedom of religion will play an important role as well.

Approximately ten percent of the colored population of South Africa today is Muslim. Particularly in the Cape, they have made contributions out of proportion to their numbers. In addition to their early influence as artisans and intellectuals, they have added to the current witness and struggle for a new society.

The Jewish community, members of which came first from Russia and Eastern Europe and later from Germany, has contributed much to the more liberal tradition in its search to gain influence in South Africa. In addition to its contributions to the intellectual and financial sphere, this community and individual members of it have played a significant and sometimes costly role in working to change a racism with which they feel all too familiar.

Summary

Our spirits alternately soared and plummeted during our time in South Africa. In the nine months since one of our number had previously visited there, much had happened—the opposition movements and political parties had been unbanned, Nelson Mandela and other leaders had been released from prison, people had somewhat greater freedom of association—and yet very little had changed.

Whenever we asked about the effect of sanctions on South Africa, we were told they have had a direct, some would say dramatic, impact on the economy of South Africa and have influenced the psyche of the people, especially the whites. Many people hold that it was the effects of international sanctions which, with ongoing internal resistance, had brought about the release of Mandela and the others and the unbannings. No person or group with whom we spoke denied that sanctions have hurt South Africa. And during our visit there was substantial, though not universal, agreement that sanctions should be kept in place until the pace and tenor of the current negotiations were more evident.

The results of 40 years of apartheid as an official policy of the South African government and generations of quasi-apartheid as life was lived and the economy of South Africa developed, are all too evident in the country's society today. Despite statements about a new dispensation in South Africa—an altogether "new" South Africa—our visit would indicate that a long and difficult road still lies ahead. The impact of the particular states of emergency, the ongoing powers of the Public Security Act of 1953 and the Internal Security Act of 1982, and the abysmal state of black education, health care, housing and unemployment all point to a society in need of the most daring and capable leadership, coupled with a long and difficult process of national reconciliation.

The Rev. Leon Spencer has written in a study guide, *Toward Solidarity with the Struggle in South Africa*, "This is a dangerous time for people who care deeply about South Africa and the movement toward a just, united, non-racial democratic society in that polarized and unjust nation. It is dangerous because the drama of the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, the current 'reforming' and 'liberalizing' moves of the South African government, and the style of South Africa's state president, F.W. de Klerk, are enticing hints that fundamental change may be on the horizon. . . . But this is not a time to focus upon change that merely moderates the sharpness of South African oppression; rather it is a time to focus constantly upon the call to end the immorality and heresy of

apartheid and to participate in the transformation of South African society. There remain real questions as to whether or not the apartheid regime has been converted from the evil of its creation to a program for the dissolution of its own power, and there is indeed considerable reason to believe that the government's strategy is to remove much of the structure of apartheid as a means to retain white power in other forms. Mr. de Klerk's April 1990 rejection of majority rule as 'not suitable for a country like South Africa' is but one sign of that. This then is a time when commitment to the struggle needs to remain strong, pressure needs to continue, and the prophetic witness of the church needs to be heard with clarity.'

The Episcopal Church in the U.S. has spoken in strong terms about our relationship, as a church and as a nation, vis a vis South Africa. Specifically it has:

1. Called for the United States to impose comprehensive economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa;
2. Affirmed the witness of Archbishop Desmond Tutu;
3. Completed national church divestment from companies doing business in South Africa;
4. Endorsed participation in the international boycott of the Shell Oil Company and other oil companies in South Africa;
5. Called for the release of South African political prisoners;
6. Encouraged educational support for black South Africans; and
7. Endorsed the 1989 Harare Declaration, which identified the process for fundamental change sought by the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa.

Recommendation

The key role of the Episcopal Church remains in our commitment to continue supporting sanctions until such time as the CPSA and the SACC advise us to alter this strategy. Our Church must take its lead from the Church there.

Conclusion

We believe that what we saw and heard has domestic implications for our Church beyond its continuing concerns for the unfolding developments in South Africa: we must confront and correct the rising tide of racism in the United States and the other nations that make up the Episcopal Church. Our abhorrence of apartheid must, we believe, be coupled with a corresponding rejection of racial injustice in our own communities, churches and other institutions.

In visiting South Africa we were confronted with the ugly reality of racism. Our study of that unhappy society brought us face to face with racism in our own society. We discovered that the horror of South Africa is the same racism we find everywhere else but writ large. It is a demonic "principality and power," degrading black and white alike in that land and in our own. We look forward to the day when its dreadful effects will be overcome there and here. Then Alan Paton's hope will ring true for us all, "Ah, but your land is beautiful."

Proposed Resolutions on South Africa

Resolution #A154

Ongoing Support for Sanctions

- 1 *Resolved*, The House of _____ concurring, **That the General Convention of**
- 2 **the Episcopal Church call upon our Church to maintain its support for comprehen-**
- 3 **sive sanctions against the government of South Africa until the Church of the Pro-**
- 4 **vince of Southern Africa and the South African Council of Churches call for their**
- 5 **lifting.**

Resolution #A155

United Nations to Monitor End of Apartheid

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
 2 **of the Episcopal Church call on the United Nations to monitor the process bringing**
 3 **about negotiations to end apartheid and to establish a non-racial, democratic South**
 4 **Africa.**

Resolution #A156

United States' Role in Ending Present Violence in South Africa

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
 2 **of the Episcopal Church urge the government of the United States to use its position**
 3 **and influence to press for a negotiated settlement that would bring an end to the pre-**
 4 **sent violence in South Africa caused by political and factional fighting.**

Resolution #A157

South Africa as Program Priority

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
 2 **of the Episcopal Church affirm the designation of this Church's South African witness**
 3 **as a program priority and urge the extension of that priority status through 1994.**

Resolution #A158

Support for the Church in South Africa

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
 2 **of the Episcopal Church urge the parishes and dioceses of our Church to express their**
 3 **love, concern, and support to the Most Rev. Desmond M. Tutu, Metropolitan, and**
 4 **the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, and to the South African Council**
 5 **of Churches, through: (a) study and discussion of the unfolding situation there;**
 6 **(b) the offering of monetary, material and human resources; and (c) reaching out in**
 7 **fellowship and intercessory prayer on their behalf.**

Resolution #A159

Distribution of South African Resolutions

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the Secretary of the 1991**
 2 **General Convention of the Episcopal Church be requested to send copies of all resolu-**
 3 **tions adopted by this Convention relating to South Africa to the President of the United**
 4 **States, the Secretary of State, Episcopalian and other appropriate Members of the Con-**
 5 **gress, the representative of the Anglican Consultative Council to the United Nations,**
 6 **the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of**
 7 **Southern Africa, and the Reverend Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South**
 8 **African Council of Churches.**

Continuing Issues in Central America

While the attention of the commission has not been focused on Central America during this triennium, the region remains a critical area for world peace and merits the continuing attention of the Episcopal Church. In the previous triennium Central America was the primary focus of our work and witness. It is also important to be reminded that when we speak of Central America we are not speaking of another province in the Anglican Communion but of Province IX of our own Church.

In its 1988 report to General Convention, the SCP proposed that \$1.5 million be raised over a six-year period to assist the Episcopal Church in Central America in its peacemaking and healing ministries. The Convention readily passed a resolution embodying this proposal. There has been much discussion about implementation, a study commissioned, and as of the writing of this report a plan for working with the Province IX bishops is in place, but none for raising the funds needed for its implementation.

Conditions in Central America have fluctuated considerably in the past three years. In some of these nations, governments have changed, but this alone has not begun to effect change in the lives of their citizens. Economic conditions remain precarious; unemployment is dangerously high. The educational, medical and legal systems in some of the countries are sorely in need of renewal; in others they simply do not exist.

Elections were held in Nicaragua in February 1990, and a peaceful transition of authority took place. Open warfare has ceased, but unemployment has been exacerbated by the return of the contras, refugees and the release of soldiers from military positions.

In Guatemala, conflict between the government and its military and an armed opposition continues, and human rights abuses go unabated. Members of the Episcopal Church, through ecumenical channels, continue to participate in the process of dialogue and reconciliation.

Armed conflict among the government, the military and the opposition continues in El Salvador, at times escalating to tragic proportions. The process of negotiation has been painfully slow and has met with limited results. During a critical period in late 1989, Episcopal Church workers, as well as those from other churches, were detained and foreign workers deported. Here too the Church continues to participate in the ongoing process of negotiation.

At this writing, little progress has been made in Panama on behalf of the thousands left homeless by the December 1989 United States invasion, and the U.S. government has been embarrassingly slow to provide specific funds approved by Congress for the reconstruction of homes destroyed and lives disrupted by the invasion.

There appears to be a guarded optimism about the future in the area, but it is based on the hope that the United States will provide significant economic and social service assistance. On the other hand, seasoned observers claim even this limited optimism is without foundation, in large part because Central America appears to be low on the priority list of the U.S. government.

In the midst of this turmoil, the Episcopal Church seems to be alive and vital—Honduras, for example, is the fastest-growing diocese in the Episcopal Church—trying to offer reconciliation and hope for all of the people and the governments. The commission shares the view of many Central Americans in the Church that wars and violence must be renounced. For the countries of this region, this would prevent further bloodshed and destruction and would also release financial resources and material goods for the rebuilding of the social fabric of these societies. The commission regrets and condemns the invasion of Panama by the United States and calls for a U.S. policy for the region that is comprehensive, consistent, and free of threats and intimidation. There should be a mutually designed policy based on cooperative efforts that are free of military involvements.

If the Episcopal Church in Central America is to be able to rise to the opportunities before it, to accomplish its present and future ministry among the people, it too will need all the resources the whole Episcopal Church can provide.

The commission is clear that Central America must remain a priority concern for the Episcopal Church and for the United States in the next triennium and for the foreseeable future.

Proposed Resolution on Central America

Resolution #A160

Central America

1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
2 **of the Episcopal Church:**

3 1. **Greets and gives assurance of prayers and support to the Episcopal Church**
4 **and its Bishops in the Dioceses of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua,**
5 **Panama, and Costa Rica;**

6 2. **Calls on the President of the United States and the Congress to terminate all**
7 **military-related aid to El Salvador, and to facilitate a negotiated solution to the civil**
8 **war which has raged there for more than 10 years; and**

9 3. **Calls on the United States government to carry through on its promises to assist**
10 **in rebuilding the societies of Nicaragua and Panama, on which United States money**
11 **and military actions have inflicted such destruction; and, be it further**

12 *Resolved*, **That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States,**
13 **the Secretary of State, and to Episcopalian and other appropriate members of the**
14 **Congress.**

A Summing Up

In the Middle East, in South Africa, in Central America, and in the U.S. we have seen the dreadful specter of violence; we have seen it in ourselves. We have witnessed the striving for identity swirling around Gaza's refugee camps; we have seen racial hatred spilling over South Africa's wretched townships; we have listened to the anger over the bullying of Central America; we have experienced the impoverishment of our own country caused by the military industrial complex; and in all these we have felt the flames of vengeance licking at our own souls. We know the temptation and the folly of the righteous, the despair of the hopeless, the frustration of the helpless; we have felt all these in ourselves. In social groupings and in our souls we have found violence; we have found the devil. Only the Kingdom of God can prevail against all this.

But we have seen kindness, mercy, sacrifice, honesty, courage, beauty. These flowerings of God's Kingdom stand out in people we have met: Christian, Muslim, and Jew. Here we have discovered intimations of a future worthy of our deepest aspirations. We have concluded that the religious issue is not war, the seeds of war, or preparation for war, but rather faithfulness and loving kindness, in the realm of ethics and within the human spirit. Peace with justice is the moral and spiritual test of Christian discipleship, and humanity, in our time.

We have concluded that in the Middle East, South Africa, and Central America the complexity of problems and the elusiveness of solutions all devolve into one moral and spiritual question: do we *will* to establish peace with justice?

In the U.S., where elegant solutions to massive problems have long rested upon "can do" motivations, do we *will* to cut out of our body politic the cancerous growth of the unrestrained arms economy?

The hard, complex work of aligning ourselves, our families, the nation and the world with the promised peace of God is formidable, as we have indicated. We have suggested practical responses. We can add only that the decisive step is the first step, the spiritual step: to *will* the peace promised by God.

We conclude, in short, that the issue is *us*. In ourselves we see dimly the malaise so apparent in the world of *realpolitik*. We conclude that the degradation of violence is but the outward and visible sign of our soul's interior. Having looked closely at some regions of the world, having examined the depths of our own national enthrallment to money and weapons of death, we conclude indeed that only God's grace can save us.

Yet we have seen epiphanies of this grace. These are sufficient to impel us. We *will* the peace of God. Having seen, heard, and felt the terror and the wonder in the lives of people we have met, we conclude that innocence can no longer characterize our Church, but rather—by God's grace—holiness.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS

Resolution #A161

The Report of the Standing Commission on Peace:

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
- 2 **of the Episcopal Church receive the Report of the Standing Commission on Peace and**
- 3 **commend its reading and study to the Church.**

Resolution #A162

Name of the Standing Commission

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the name of the present "Stand-**
- 2 **ing Commission on Peace" be changed to the "Standing Commission on Peace with**
- 3 **Justice," and to that end that the first sentence of Canon I.1.2(n)(7) is hereby amended**
- 4 **to read as follows:**

- 5 **A Standing Commission on Peace with Justice, consisting of 12 members (3**
- 6 **Bishops, 3 Presbyters or Deacons, and 6 Lay Persons).**

EXPLANATION

The commission members are convinced that this commission should properly be entitled "Standing Commission on Peace *with* Justice." As a matter of principle, peace is not simply the absence of conflict, and there can be no peace without justice. The two concepts are inextricably intertwined. Use of the prepositional "with" rather than the conjunctive "and" should obviate inferences that the concern of the commission is with questions of justice unrelated to those of peace and serve to continue the focus on peace. This change would also conform the title of the commission to the description of its duty set forth in Canon I.1.2(n)(7).

Resolution #A163

Supporting the Episcopal Peace and Justice Network

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the Standing Commission on**
- 2 **Peace commends the establishment and growth of the Episcopal Peace and Justice**
- 3 **Network, and urges each diocese of the Episcopal Church to support and to participate**
- 4 **in the important work of this network.**

Resolution #A164

Commending the Presiding Bishop's Response to the Gulf Crisis

- 1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1991 General Convention**
- 2 **of the Episcopal Church commend:**
- 3 **1. The Presiding Bishop for his statements and actions in the period October to**
- 4 **December 1990, urging consideration of moral values in the resolution of the crisis**
- 5 **in the Persian Gulf, and his faithfulness in carrying these concerns to President Bush**
- 6 **on several occasions; and**

7 **2. The Church leaders, drawn together by him, who made the peace pilgrimage**
8 **to the Middle East, December 14-21, 1990, and their message to the American people,**
9 **“War is Not the Answer”:**

We are marching toward war. The stakes are horribly high. Military experts predict casualties in the tens and hundreds of thousands. And it won't end there. War would unleash a chain of human tragedies that will be with us for generations to come.

Our Christmas pilgrimage to the Middle East has utterly convinced us that war is not the answer. We believe the resort to massive violence to resolve the Gulf crisis would be politically and morally indefensible.

One clear message emerged from our many conversations in these holy lands: “War would be a disaster for us all.” We were told again and again, “Please go home and tell the American people that a way to peace can and must be found.” We have concluded that in the Middle East today it is no longer only a question of right and wrong; it is also a matter of life and death.

The unspeakable loss of lives, especially innocent civilians, would be unacceptable on moral grounds. Nations hold in their hands weapons of mass destruction. It is entirely possible that war in the Middle East will destroy everything. No cause will be served, no justice secured.

War will not liberate Kuwait, it will destroy it. War will not save us from weapons of mass destruction, it will unleash them. War will not establish regional stability, it will inflame the entire Middle East. War will not resolve longstanding conflicts, it will explode them wider and deeper.

War will not unite the Arabs with the West, it will rekindle painful historical memories of past efforts by the “Christian” West to dominate the “Muslim” East and divide us as never before, with potentially disastrous results for the local Christian communities. War will not stop aggression, it will instead rapidly accelerate the cycle of violence and revenge, which will not be limited to the Middle East.

We will also be ravaged here at home by a war in the Middle East. Given the make-up of U.S. volunteer armed forces, we know that those who will do most of the suffering and dying in the Gulf war will be disproportionately low-income people and people of color. Similarly, if “Desert Shield” continues to swallow up limited national resources in a time of economic contraction, the prospects of justice at home will disappear like a mirage in the sand.

Again and again during our pilgrimage, we heard the sentiment that peace in the Middle East is indivisible. While we do not accept the proposition that the resolution of all other conflicts must precede the solution of the Gulf crisis, we do believe that there will be no lasting peace in the region until interrelated issues are dealt with in a comprehensive framework. What is required is not “linkage,” but consistency in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy. Our government should support the convening of an international Middle East peace conference by the United Nations.

We have prayed in Jerusalem for the peace of Jerusalem. Jerusalem's vocation as the city of peace will not be realized until both Israelis and Palestinians are free and fully protected in the exercise of their human rights within secure and recognized boundaries.

We have seen both the hopes and the frustrations of Lebanon as it emerges from its 15-year nightmare of civil war. A durable peace in Lebanon requires the withdrawal of all foreign forces—Syrian, Israeli, and Iranian—and international support as Lebanon seeks to rebuild its shattered society.

We have felt the anguish of a divided Cyprus, which seems to have been forgotten by the world community. Cyprus can be united and free only when occupation forces are withdrawn from the island and a unified and pluralist Republic of Cyprus is acknowledged as the only legitimate government of the entire island and its population.

There is no such thing as a benign occupation. Occupation of the lands of others is wrong. It breeds frustration, and frustration leads to conflict. Even as we oppose the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait on moral grounds, so also we believe that the West Bank and Gaza, Lebanon and Cyprus must be free. These occupations must end before even more precious human blood is shed.

We have looked into the faces of children in Iraq. In Jordan we witnessed in dusty refugee camps the compassionate response of a democratic government and the churches to the thousands of evacuees who descended upon a country already impoverished by the Gulf crisis. We have seen fear in the eyes of people who could lose their homes or their lives in the event of war.

Having seen the faces of victims and potential victims, we believe that there must be an alternative to war. That alternative is negotiations—serious and substantive negotiations.

If the United Nations can be mobilized to impose sanctions and to set deadlines, it can also be mobilized to provide a forum to resolve disputes between nations. The U.N. can be the place where the deadly escalation of armaments of mass destruction in the Middle East can be reversed. The U.N. should be given the opportunity to provide a framework for an Arab contribution to the resolution of the Gulf crisis.

Our nation must not submit to the inevitability of war. By acting now on a very broad scale, we as people of faith will mobilize on behalf of a peaceful alternative. Citizen action and the strength of public opinion could literally make possible a solution to this crisis without war.

We call upon the churches and upon the nation to fast and pray for peace, to pursue every means available of public dialogue and popular expression to find a way out of certain catastrophe, to resist the war option and help point the way to peace with justice.

At this moment, the resolution of the Gulf crisis will take a miracle. But in this season we are reminded that the Middle East is the cradle of miracles. That miracle must be acted and prayed into being.

**ACTIONS TAKEN ON 1988 CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS REFERRED
TO THE STANDING COMMISSION ON PEACE**

- A143 **Change Name of Standing Commission on Peace**—Reintroducing
- A144 **Anglican Peace and Justice Network**—Received reports; being funded through Peace and Justice Office
- A145 **Soviet-Bloc Citizens Exchanges**—Reports from Peace and Justice Office prepared and distributed
- A146 **Ministry of Reconciliation in Central America**—No funds for implementation were forthcoming; further staff work in process with Province IX bishops
- A013s **Peace and Justice Fund**—No action taken except as related to economic conversion
- B024 **Nicaragua and Treaties**—Monitored staff efforts
- B025 **Anti-Missile Treaties**—Approached through study of economic conversion

- B026 **Israel**—Studied, visited, interviewed (see report)
- B030 **Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East**—Studied, visited, interviewed (see report)
- B039 **Relations with Viet Nam**—Received Pacific Area reports
- B051 **Namibian Independence**—Monitored successful independence of Namibia
- C017 **Central American Peace Accord**—Monitored situation (see report)
- D005 **National Day of Peace**—No action necessary
- D017s **Conscientious Objection**—Statement supported
- D028 **Terrorism and Hostages**—No action by commission appropriate
- D045 **Central America**—See A146 above
- D046 **Lambeth Statement on War and Violence**—Statement affirmed through all commission work
- D047 **Peace in Central America**—See B024 above
- D049a **Korea Policy Statement**—Received Pacific Area reports from member and staff
- D056s **Nuclear Deterrence**—Staff distributed United Methodist Bishops' statement, "In Defense of Creation" to bishops and Peace Commissions
- D074 **El Salvador**—Monitored and supported intensive staff work
- D125a **Acts of Terrorism**—See D028 above
- D136s **Nuclear-free Pacific**—Received Pacific Area reports from member and staff
- D137a **President Reagan, Peace Efforts**—No action necessary

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

We recommend that this commission study the formulation of U.S. foreign policy and the proper use of foreign aid and try to identify the ways in which the Episcopal Church and its individual members can bring to that process the Gospel imperative of peace with justice.

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR THE COMING TRIENNIUM

	<i>1992</i>	<i>1993</i>	<i>1994</i>
General meeting expenses	\$18,920	\$22,466	\$ 9,570
Task Force meetings	-0-	12,012	-0-
Postage, telephone, FAXing, Xeroxing	150	500	200
Miscellaneous (books, etc.)	<u>200</u>	<u>300</u>	
Total	\$19,270	\$35,278	\$ 9,770

PROPOSED RESOLUTION FOR BUDGET APPROPRIATION

Resolution #A165

Funding for the Standing Commission on Peace

Resolved, the House of _____ concurring, **That the sum of \$64,318 be appropriated for the triennium 1992-1994 from the Assessment Budget of the General Convention for the expenses of the Standing Commission on Peace.**