Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992
date    July 7, 1988

to      Interested Parties

from    Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

subject MEETINGS WITH EPISCOPAL BISHOPS

At the request of Presiding Bishop of the U.S. Episcopal Church, the Rt. Rev. Edmond L. Browning (of Hawaii), I went to Detroit yesterday to attend two meetings that he arranged during the current Episcopal Church convention.

The first was with Bishop Samir Kafity, who presides over the Anglican Church of "Jerusalem and the Middle East." The second was with nine U.S. Episcopal bishops, including Bishop Kafity. Both were private, off-the-record meetings and we agreed that there would be no publicity.

Both meetings were viewed as preparations for the World Anglican Communion assembly that will begin July 17th in Lambeth. Resolutions on the Israel-Palestinian and Middle East situations are expected to be introduced at that time.

At the first meeting on Wednesday morning, Bishop Browning arranged for Kafity, himself, and myself to meet, in a private room. The discussion lasted one-and-a-half hours. Bishop Kafity appeared to be tense and anxious at the outset. He told us he had met the day before with Shi'ite Muslims in Dearborn, site of the largest Arab population in the U.S., and they warned him not to meet with "the rabbis."

I approached him with respect for his office and his person, and spoke with quiet moderation, and he began to relax. The conversation was long and detailed, and I therefore summarize the highlights:

1) He said several times that most of the Palestinians are tired of violence and wars, feel betrayed by their brother Arab countries, wish to find a just peace with Israel, and must take their fate in their own hands.

2) Palestinians, he said, have been positively affected by the Peace Now movement in Israel, and were deeply moved when some 400,000 Israelis spontaneously demonstrated following the Sabra and Shatilla massacres, carried out by Palestinians against other Palestinians. They know that some Palestinians have killed more Palestinians than have the Israelis.
The also are horrified by the massacres of nearly one million Arabs
and Muslims in the Iran-Iraq war. In the face of all that horror, he
knows, and many of his people also know, that there are many Israelis
who want to live in peace with the Palestinians.

3) He then set forth the issues that he would like to see adopted in
resolutions presented, first, to the U.S. Episcopal convention, and
then, to the Lambeth conference on July 17:

   (a) recognize the right of the State of Israel to exist with
       secure borders;
   (b) support of Palestinian self-determination, expressed in
       "statehood";
   (c) support of an international conference to promote the peace
       process, "which would include the PLO."

We then engaged in a lengthy "dialogue" which included my responses:

1) Jews both in Israel, the United States and elsewhere are deeply
troubled over the violence that has erupted as a result of the intifadeh.
Jews have been critical of some of the excesses and harsh measures of
the IDF, but we have not heard a single Palestinian or Arab leader re­
ject or criticize the excesses of the Palestinians.

2) There is no profit in trading atrocity stories; there are enough
to go around for everyone. There must be an end to the cycle of a
reciprocal paranoia (Eric Fromm's idea), which ends in a totentanz.
Many Israelis supported by Jewry are eager for moderation and peace­
ful negotiations. But where are the moderate Palestinian partners?
What is Bishop Kafity prepared to do to reject extremists and en­
courage moderate Palestinians to assert real leadership?

3) Israelis and other Jews support justice for Palestinians, but
how can anyone speak of "statehood" that would be dominated by the
PLO. Arafat's public statements about co-existence with Israel are
rife with contradictions and backtracking. His repudiation of the
Hussein-Arafat "agreements" was but one instance of his unreliability.
Besides, the PLO includes Habash, Hawatmeh, and other radicals. What
assurances can there be that they will not become the leaders of a
Palestinian state?

4) An international conference that would include the PLO as presently
constituted would only set back the cause of genuine peace. The ball
is really in the court of Palestinian moderates. If they allow the
extremists to continue to dominate the Palestinian world and do not
assert themselves in a meaningful way that would lead to peaceful
negotiations on a bilateral basis, there are genuine prospects, God
forbid, for further catastrophe.
Kafity seemed unprepared and shaken by the exchange, even though the discourse was moderate and civil. At that point Bishop Browning asked whether it might be helpful for him to take the initiative in September and call together a small group of key U.S. Jewish leaders, Arab Christians and Muslims to explore how they might help untangle the present complex difficulty. Both Kafity and I responded affirmatively.

I then asked Kafity if he was prepared to try to do the same thing in Jerusalem with moderate Palestinians and Jews at St. George's College. He cautiously said "yes." He said there are already such contacts on an individual basis, but acknowledged there must be more assertive efforts in that direction. He referred to the initiatives of "trialogue" taken by Prince Hassan of Jordan that led to meetings in Europe.

Following this morning meeting, we adjourned for a short while, and then reassembled with the nine U.S. Episcopal bishops (names attached.) Five of the bishops were involved in Jewish-Christian dialogues and were positive toward Israel; four were sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. All of them are going to Lambeth as U.S. delegates.

The luncheon meeting was essentially a dialogue between Kafity and myself with the nine bishops joining in the discussion. We covered much of the same ground of the morning talks. My impression, borne out by later comments, is that they were all affected by the civility and moderation of the discussion, and felt it was possible for a Palestinian and a Jew to engage in constructive discussion about this emotion-laden topic.

The keypoint came when I said that should one-sided, unfair, even hostile resolutions be introduced at Lambeth, it would set back the cause of moderation and peace in the Middle East, which none of us would want to happen.

At least six of the bishops spoke out and said they wanted the Anglican church to play a healing role between Palestinians/Arabs and Jews and not to contribute to further polarization. Christians are committed to reconciliation, not alienation. Several indicated they would oppose the "Christians in Palestine" statement in its present form and supported the statements proposed by several of the Episcopal Church's Jewish-Christian dialogue committees and groups, which are quite supportive of Israel.

In general, I believe, it was a positive and useful day. Tonight and tomorrow, there will be a debate on the Episcopal floor convention of Middle East resolutions. That will give us the temperature of the 3,000 Episcopalians who are attending the convention.
Also, the usefulness of these talks will be measured by what follow-up Bishop Browning promised to undertake when he returns in September, and whether Bishop Kafity will play a more constructive role at Lambeth and later in Jerusalem.

I would urge that Dr. Margaret Brearley's excellent paper on "Christian Response to the Middle East and the Palestinian Question" be distributed as widely as possible to the delegates attending the Lambeth Conference.

If there are further developments, I will keep you informed.
EPISCOPAL CHURCH CONVENTION
ATTENDEES AT LUNCHEON ON WEDNESDAY, JULY 6, 1988
Room 7003, Westin Hotel, Detroit, Michigan
12:15 -- 1:45 pm

Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning, Hawaii, (pro-Israel, balanced)
The Rt. Rev. Bob Jones, Wyoming, (pro-Palestinian, open to moderation)
The Rt. Rev. Peter Lee, Richmond, Virginia, (pro-Palestinian)
The Rt. Rev. William Folwell, Central Florida, (pro-Israel)
The Rt. Rev. George Hunt, Providence, Rhode Island, (very pro-Israel)
The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, New York, (pro-Israel, moderate on Palestinians)
The Rt. Rev. Coleman McGehee, Detroit, Michigan, (pro-Israel, balanced)
The Rt. Rev. William Swing, San Francisco, Calif., (friendly, but sympathetic to Palestinians)
The Rt. Rev. Charles Vache, Norfolk, Virginia, (pro-Israel)
The Rt. Rev. Samir Kafity, Jerusalem
Dr. George McGonigle (consultant to Bishop Browning, pro-Israel)
The Rev. Charles Cesaretti, Staff (friendly, moderate)

rpr
7/7/88
To: The Committees on National and International Affairs of the 1988 General Convention
The Rt. Paul Moore Jr. and the Hon. Hugh Jones, chairpersons

From: The Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations

Subject: BACKGROUND MATERIAL FOR CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS
DEALING WITH TURMOIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Because of the particular focus of our mandate, the Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations does not conceive itself as a sufficiently representative forum for the crafting of fully "balanced resolutions" respecting current turmoil in the Middle East. We do, however, know something about the place and experience of Jews in that region. We covet at the forthcoming General Convention, therefore, an opportunity to share our insights with those who do propose resolutions respecting the West Bank and Gaza uprisings. Our deep concern is that statements, drafted at Detroit out of an understandable empathy with the suffering of Palestinians, not overlook what is true and what is false about Judaism and the State of Israel.

We preface our observations which follow by suggesting that there are at least two contrasting "stories", each of them devoutly embraced by their partisans, and each essentially irreconcilable with the other, concerning the situation affecting Palestinians and Jews in the Middle East today. In brief, Jews see themselves as having returned to the land of their forefathers from which hosts of them had been exiled in a series of persecutions reaching back to Roman days. Palestinians, on the other hand, generally see the Jews as intruders in their own historic homeland, foisted upon them by Western powers as atonement for the Holocaust and other anti-semitic acts by non-Jews over the past 20 centuries.

Our committee does not believe it would be particularly useful or wise for the General Convention to try to pass judgment on the legitimacy of either of these "stories" or to try to rewrite them. It is the church's calling, instead, to voice compassion for the victims, both Arab and Jew, who have suffered in the turmoil which the clash of these two stories has created. It is our further responsibility to urge the negotiations and compromises necessary between these two peoples if there is ever to be peace and a measure of equal justice in that region.

With this in mind, we offer herewith the following observations:

1. Christians and other people of goodwill are properly justified in calling for censure on the way the Israeli army has treated Palestinian Arabs during their recent uprisings in Gaza and the West Bank.
Many actions in the Administered Territories, including the killing of over 100 protesters and the live burial of four young Palestinians, lend credence to a need to protest such inhumanity wherever it occurs and in the strongest terms. Injustice and terrorism should be abhorred wherever and whenever they take place. In any attempts to "speak out", however, there is a great need for truthfulness and balance. All aspects of the incidents should be weighed. "Molotov cocktails", for example, even when thrown by boys, are deadly weapons. Moreover, Israel, for all its faults, has disciplined its own soldiers for many of their inexcusable actions. Arab governments, on the other hand, have never prosecuted a single Arab terrorist for attacks against Jewish civilians.

2. It should be noted that Jews, both in Israel and in America, are in the forefront of those calling for an end to the brutality.

Recently, over 600 leading Jewish faculty in Israeli universities declared (as quoted in the New York Times), that "we demand a reassessment of Israeli policy so that it may become possible to treat the fundamental causes of the recent violent unrest. It is impossible to ignore or deny the connection between the latest escalation in the expression of hostility between Arabs and Jews and the political stalemate that has existed for twenty years. There can be no solution to the problem in which Israel finds herself so long as rule by force is exercised by Israel over the Arab populations of the occupied territories. To present the problem as merely a matter of the necessary use of force to restore order is an evasion of the core of the issue. . . We cannot and must not tolerate situations in which our young soldiers find themselves forced to open fire upon demonstrations of civilians. . . The refusal of the government of Israel to face up to the root causes is both immoral and futile." Here in America, over 250 Jewish academics from our most prestigious universities have endorsed this Israeli statement.

3. We must remember that Israel did not initiate the occupation of either Gaza or the West Bank.

In 1967 the Arab nations lost the second of three wars intended to wipe out Israel, and the two territories fell into an occupation that Israel had not sought and did not desire. Immediately, the Israeli Government offered to exchange land for peace. Unhappily, no peace, no negotiations and no recognition was the famous reply from the Arab conference at Khartoum. Twenty years earlier, an Arab occupation had been initiated in those territories -- by Egypt in the case of Gaza and by Jordan in the case of the West Bank as these two nations plus Syria refused to permit the creation of the Palestinian state as dated by United Nations resolutions. Today, even as we deplore the instances of brutality currently being committed by the occupying the Israeli army, we must also appreciate that the government of Israel bears responsibility under the terms of the Geneva Convention to maintain public order there until a
permanent peace can be negotiated with the bordering states. Israel cannot simply walk out on this responsibility even though it can and should administer with sensitivity and justice.

4. Israel must not be accused of sole responsibility for the Middle East refugee problem in either Gaza or the West Bank.

It is popular to blame Israel for the refugee problem in the Middle East. The truth is that the refugee problem is a tragic legacy of the British Mandate and the United Nations partition. Moreover, Jews along with Palestinians have been refugees. In the aftermath of that 1947 partition, a majority of the multitudes of Jews who sought new life in Israel came as refugees, not from Europe, but from Arab lands where persecution was their constant lot. All were re-settled in their new land. By contrast and during these same years, when Egypt was occupying Gaza, the Palestinian inhabitants there could not go to Egypt, nor would any other Arab country admit them. Apparently, it served the political purposes of the Arab nations to leave the Palestinians in the pitiful condition of refugees living in squalid camps with their children and grandchildren.

Today, Israel, as the occupying power in the West Bank and Gaza, is restricted in its authority under the terms of the Geneva Convention from resettling Arab refugees. It should be noted, however, that for the past 20 years Israeli administration has seen to it, under their policy of "open borders", that Palestinians in both occupied territories can move freely between the two and even into Jordan or into any of the other nations who will permit them. The considerable political liberties, including freedom of speech, that Gazans and West Bankers have had under Israel (even while burdened by the indignities of occupation), their standard of living, their level of education, and the social and public health services available are incomparably higher than ever before. These privileges are, in fact, more extensive than those experienced in most other Arab lands.

5. Israel itself has acknowledged the ultimate right of Palestinians to a homeland in the occupied territories and has, in fact, sought quite consistently to end the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

Many people forget that in the Camp David Accords, to which Israel is a signatory, there is a commitment to autonomy for the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza and to the determination of a permanent political status for them. Specific borders, of course, must still be negotiated and provisions for Israel's military security must be safeguarded. At the same time, the right of Jews to live outside of Israel in any part of the world (including the West Bank and Gaza) must be affirmed. Such an affirmation explains why the present Jewish settlements in Gaza and the West Bank were first initiated. In noting this, we do not suggest that supporters of Israel
should be deterred from criticizing certain policies by which these Jews have been re-settled and many Arabs who lived there displaced. There is an obvious injustice in awarding 7,000 Jewish settlers in Gaza 30 percent of the land while 650,000 Palestinians are confined to the remaining 70 percent. Most unfortunate, also, has been the confiscation of Arab-owned land in the West Bank for the permanent settlement of 60,000 Jews often in places unrelated to military security. Moreover, the military justice system which presently obtains in the occupied lands does not approach the fairness of the judicial system in Israel proper. It has resulted in the imprisonment of many without trial and due process. In addition, the Israeli policy of bull-dozing Palestinian homes where terrorists are alleged to live and the deporting of Palestinian leaders in education, business and politics have resulted in extensive injustice. The one hope inherent in such a troubling picture is that hosts of people in Israel, democracy that it is, are even now using their political freedom to call their government to account for these excesses and will ultimately exercise their voting franchise to insist on justice -- a franchise denied most Arabs in their own lands.

It is further a fact that for forty years every single leader of Israel has sought direct peace talks with neighboring Arab nations. Except for Egypt, all have refused. For their part, no Arab leader except the President of Egypt has ever sought peace negotiations with Israel. In recent years the current Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, has engaged in lengthy secret negotiations with Jordan, thus far to no effect. A major reason for his failure is the continued unwillingness of Syria, Saudi Arabia and PLO leader Yasir Arafat to support Jordan’s King Hussein in efforts to begin negotiations. With Palestinians comprising a majority in the population of Jordan, the King risks real danger both from other Arab leaders as well as his own people if he should “go it alone” with Israel.

6. Israel has understandable reasons for hesitating to negotiate directly with the Palestinian Liberation Organization until the P.L.O. openly declares Israel’s right to exist with “secure borders.”

The current Schultz peace initiative would apparently allow the PLO to participate, not only as a member of the Jordan-Palestine delegation, but as a “party” to the dispute in its own right. Yet the PLO, over the years and even today, has engaged in heinous acts of terrorism against Jews and the Jewish state. Moreover, the Palestinian National Covenant, under which the PLO operates, calls for “the complete liberation of Palestine and liquidation of the Zionist entity, politically, economically, militarily, culturally and ideologically.” It denounces the very establishment of Israel as illegal and cries for the violent destruction of the state. The recent ambiguous comments by Yasir Arafat in support of the somewhat opaque U.N.
resolutions, however encouraging, are not good enough to counter this reality in the mind of most Jews and other informed observers. The Schultz plan also essentially demands preparation for Palestinian self-rule on a speeded up time-table, without giving any assurance to Israel that its other Arab adversaries (i.e. Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq) would sign permanent treaties as Egypt has done.

7. Prime Minister Shamir's refusal to risk an "international peace conference", while viewed as regrettable by the United States government and even by many Israelis, is still understandable.

Many Jews fear that the delicate, day-by-day process between adversaries required for lasting peace might well be swallowed in the political circus of a big conference dominated by big powers hostile to Israel where the Soviet Union (which doesn't show enough respect for Israel to send an ambassador) could take the opportunity to reward its friends and punish its enemies. In addition, Palestinian leadership in both the West Bank and Gaza tout the PLO as their sole negotiator. Israeli leadership, therefore, envisions Arafat-led governments bordering her both East and West as nothing more than an invitation to heightened terrorism and new war.

8. Calling for peace negotiations based on United Nations Resolution 242 presents problems for both Arabs and the Israelis.

At its 1987 meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers, U. N. Resolution 242 was rejected as a basis for Middle East peace negotiations. The reluctance of the State of Israel to embrace an absolutist interpretation of 242 is explained in part by Article 1(i) which calls for "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict" (i.e. the 1967 occupation of the West Bank and the Sinai). This language was originally agreed upon by all parties only after weeks of negotiation. Every word was weighed carefully, and only after consultations with their governments at home did the delegates of all states concerned reach an intentionally ambiguous compromise. The Soviet and Arab representatives had insisted the word "all" should proceed the word "territories", whereas Britain suggested "the" instead. Finally, both "all" and "the" were omitted leaving Resolution 242 susceptible to conflicting interpretations. For Israel simply to return to pre-1967 borders would re-create a divided city of Jerusalem (perhaps with barbed wire as in 1948 to 1967 running through the center) and banishing Jews once again from the Temple Wall -- for Jews the holiest of places on earth. It could also leave that nation once again vulnerable to Syrian bombardment of the Galilee from the Golan Heights and give the PLO easy access for acts of terrorism across the all-but-defenseless borders with Gaza and the West Bank. No nation can be expected to risk committing suicide.

9. "Land for peace" may be an appealing slogan but of itself it is no formula for an end to wars and hatred in the Middle East.
In the 20th century, "land for peace" has been tried four times by Israel -- each time cutting the Jewish domain in size without bringing the Jews the peace they so badly desire. In 1922, Britain severed 76 percent of the area that had been allocated by the League of Nations for the future Jewish National Home -- turning it into the Kingdom of Jordan. This arrangement, however, did not produce Arab acquiescence to the Jewish state or even to the very presence of Jews in the Middle East. Jews were barred from Jordan and harassed in Syria, which twice then joined in wars aimed at the destruction of Israel. When in its 1947 partition plan, the United Nations allocated the major share of the remaining land west of the Jordan River to Arab sovereignty, and the remaining portion to the Jewish state, this "land for peace" plan only brought war -- the invasion of the newborn State of Israel by the combined armies of the surrounding Arab countries.

10. Christians should disassociate themselves from the "Zionism is racism" accusation and other facile comparisons against the Jews.

"Zionism" has become a term of opprobrium and derogation by many who are enemies of Israel. It is typically described as a 19th century imperialist movement and characterized as colonialist, expansionist, martial, exploitative, oppressive and hypocritical. The General Assembly of the United Nations has even denounced it as "racism." In actuality, however, Zionism has roots as far back as the Bible, being not simply a manifestation of nationalism but the liberation movement of the Jewish people. Its twin impulses were the return to Zion and the Jewish need for self-protection -- a need which became critical with the Holocaust. Contrary to the impression held by many, Jews have in fact lived in the land of Palestine and in the city of Jerusalem since Biblical days. In the history of few other religious peoples has land been so intimately interwoven with their dreams, their faith and their hope as in Judaism. The vision of land, the dream of return, of the in-gathering of the exiles, helped the Jewish people survive for 1900 years without a land of their own. This longing for the land was and is expressed each year in the closing prayer of the Passover Seder: "Next year in Jerusalem." Jewish hope has found its strength in the quest for life again in Eretz Israel, a quest inspired by the faith outlook of Psalm 147: "The Lord rebuilds Jerusalem, the dispersed of Israel he gathers. He heals the broken-hearted, he binds up the wounds."

The Rt. Rev. John H. Burt

for the Committee consisting also of

The Rev. Dr. James Carpenter
The Rev. Vesta Kowalski
The Rev. Robert P. Patterson
The Rt. Rev. John S. Spong
The Rev. Dr. Paul van Buren
Ms. Nancy Lown Young
The Rev. Canon Harold G. Hultgren
Supplemental Report
The Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations

MEMBERSHIP
The Rt. Rev. John H. Burt, Chair, Bishop of Ohio (retired)
The Rev. Dr. James A. Carpenter, General Theological Seminary, New York City
The Rev. Vesta Kowalski, St. John's in the Village, New York City
The Rev. Robert P. Patterson, Church of the Redeemer, Baltimore, Maryland
The Rt. Rev. John S. Spong, Bishop of Newark
The Rev. Dr. Paul van Buren, Religion Department, Temple University (retired)
Ms. Nancy Lown Young, National Conference of Christians and Jews, New Brunswick, New Jersey
The Rev. Canon Harold G. Hultgren, Los Angeles, representing the Episcopal Diocesan Ecumenical Officers

SUMMARY OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK
The Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations (formerly called the Presiding Bishop's Advisory Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations) was established originally by Presiding Bishop John E. Hines early in the 1970s. Mrs. Theodore O. (Cynthia) Wedel was named the initial chairperson, serving with great distinction until her death in 1985.

In the fall of 1986, Presiding Bishop Browning, following the tradition of his two predecessors in that office, reconstituted the committee. To succeed the late Cynthia Wedel as chairperson, Bishop Browning named the Retired Bishop of Ohio, John H. Burt. The Rev. Elizabeth Zarelli Turner, Assistant Ecumenical Officer for the Episcopal Church, serves as staff aide to the committee. The Rev. William L. Weller, Director of the Washington Office of the Episcopal Church, has been a special consultant.

The committee has met five times during the past triennium.

Statement of Purpose
The principal purpose of the committee since its founding has been "to maintain an overview of the wide field of relationships between Anglicans and Jews in the United States and around the world. The committee will not develop programs, but will report activities that have been effective and are worth attempting in other places." To that statement, the committee this current triennium has added its intent to provide "a liaison between the Presiding Bishop and the five national Jewish organizations with offices or departments of religious affairs." Early in this triennium the committee defined its "primary tasks" in pursuit of this purpose to be nine in number:

1. To offer advice and counsel to the Presiding Bishop (and through him to the Church at large) on issues affecting Christian-Jewish relationships.
The Need for a "Balanced View" of the Middle East

The close links between the Jewish community in the United States and the people of Israel plus the fact that most Arab Christians throughout the Middle East are deeply distressed with the policies of that nation have served to draw our committee into extensive reflections on peace and justice issues in that whole region.

We know of no easy answers to the crisis which grips that part of the world. We have deep empathy for those Palestinians in the West Bank and in Gaza, many of whom are fellow Anglicans, who for twenty years have experienced the indignities and suffering of living in an occupied land. We believe they need to hear our voice of concern.

At the same time, there is a need to remember, when we speak out on this matter, that the plight of the Palestinian people is not simply a creation of Israel, the occupying power. It involves also the forty-year behavior of the surrounding Arab states and, with the exception of Egypt, their continuing unwillingness to negotiate peace with Israel. Indeed, even now, none of those states has conceded officially the right of Israel to exist within secure borders.

Thus, we strongly urge Episcopalians and other folk of good will, whenever they write resolutions on the Middle East, to consider all historical facets that lie behind and have helped create the present injustice as well as the multiple actions by numerous parties in the region that will be required if the present inequities are ever to be rectified.

We suggest that because our fellow Christians in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, the occupied lands, and even Israel itself are largely Arab, it is quite understandable that they would usually identify with the Palestinian cause. Christians outside the Middle East, on the other hand, have a laudable desire to stand with them in their agony, are, thus, often tempted to articulate an other-than-balanced view when they make judgments about the Middle East.

An illustration of this distortion was, we feel, a pre-Lambeth Working Paper, issued by the Anglican Peace and Justice Network, in which there appeared an article "Christians in Palestine" written by the Rev. Na'em Ateek, a Palestinian priest in Jerusalem. His article was reprinted in the December 1986 Episcopal. Our committee reviewed that piece and registered to the Anglican Executive Officer in London our feeling that it was a "one-sided assessment of human rights and responsibilities in the region." We went on to say that in that paper, "Israel is unfairly and inaccurately portrayed as the sole perpetrator of the condition of the Palestinian people, with no consideration of the part played by the Arab nations in perpetuating the plight of the refugees." We pointed out further the paper's misleading definition of Zionism, its omission "of the fact that from 1948 to 1967, when the Arabs controlled the West Bank and Gaza, no effort was made by the Arab states to advocate the establishment of a Palestinian State."

We noted additionally that the paper neglected to mention that "Egypt alone among Israel's neighbors has been willing to accept the State of Israel, and to live together peacefully with the Jewish state." We recalled that a serious obstacle to creating peace in the occupied lands is the fact that, sadly, "Israel still lives in a state of war with all the other Arab nations," even today.

In addition to protesting the working paper, our committee went further and urged, though with only limited success, the Anglican Consultative Council meeting in Singapore in April of 1987 to take a "more balanced view."

Several dioceses, EDEO, a number of parishes and numerous individuals have asked us to prepare material for bishops and deputies attending this General Convention in order to assist that body in adopting the "more balanced view" for which we plead. We intend to do that. But we propose editing the requested material much closer to Convention's opening day than the January deadline for this Blue Book Report. The promised material should be in the hands of delegates by mid-June.

In the meantime, we urge all Episcopalians, when visiting the Middle East, to seek conversations with Jews as well as with Christians in Israel as their time permits. We also counsel against simplistic judgments such as equating the admittedly tragic plight of Palestinians in the occupied territories with the apartheid condition of black people in South Africa, since the two situations are fundamentally different. In addition, we point to a new temptation, into which many in American society are already being lured, of using unhappiness over the State of Israel's political and military behavior as excuse for new expressions of anti-semitism here in the United States.
June 16, 1988

The Most Reverend Edmond L. Browning
Presiding Bishop
Episcopal Church of the United States
Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Ed,

It was a genuine pleasure to be with you and your associates yesterday at our meeting on refugees and migration.

As promised, I am enclosing some background material dealing with dialogue groups in Israel that seek to promote understanding and mutual acceptance between Arabs and Jews.

Also, I thought you might be interested in several of our position papers on the Middle East conflict.

I hope very much to be able to join you on July 6th in Detroit. I will discuss with Marnie the details of our meeting arrangements.

With warm personal good wishes and my prayers for God's richest blessings over you and your family, I am,

Respectfully yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations

MHT:RPR

Enclosures
I. Cooperative Efforts of the United States Religious Community Toward Helping alleviate The Palestine-Israeli Civil Strife.

At the February 4, 1988 meeting of the Committee, there was substantial discussion about the continuing tragedy of conflict in The Holy Land. It was affirmed that the Christian and Jewish religious leadership in the United States could, through cooperative humanitarian efforts, begin to effect some alleviation of human suffering and even help move polarized positions toward reconciliation. It was agreed a visible, if small "first step" should be taken. Possible initial humanitarian programs were discussed.

It was also agreed that the Palestinian question should be looked at from the refugee perspective, with the international community being encouraged to apply International refugee covenants to the Palestinians. The United Nations could be encouraged to give UNHCR some shared responsibility with UNRWA.

II. South Africa

1) Refugees in Southern Africa: The newest emergency
2) Hunger and Starvation in the Black Homelands

III. Afghanistan - Repatriation of 5 million refugees from Pakistan and Iran and Settlement of some 3 million internally displaced.

IV. Legalization - What next?

Post Amnesty, and considering legal provisions under employee sanctions, there will be new classes of dispossessed in U.S. society. What can we do for:

1) Those undocumented who didn't qualify for Amnesty and didn't apply
2) Those who are rejected or "denied"
3) Those who will be victimized by employer sanctions?

V. New Immigration Legislation – (Kennedy Bill S.2104).

Proposed changes in U.S. Immigration preferences decrease access for "extended" family members and increase opportunity for persons with skills to emigrate to the U.S. In light of the long history of concern for family reunification in the U.S. religious community, the importance of the extended family to ethnic groups from the developing world, and the triumphs by religious and immigrant advocacy groups in having family unit provisions instituted in the 1965 Amendments to the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act, should the Committee adopt strong advocacy initiatives to counter certain of the new proposals?

A major concern in the newly proposed legislation is the promotion of "brain drain" from the Third World.

Meeting with Senator Alan Simpson

Dick Day, Senior Staff to Senator Simpson and the Senate Immigration and Refugee Subcommittee, has said that Senator Simpson would be most pleased to meet with a delegation of seven or eight persons from this committee. A two week lead time would be necessary. Available dates are as follows:

- June 15-30
- July 6-17
- July 23 - August 14
- September 7 - October 8
EXPECTED ATTENDANCE

The Most Rev. Edmond L. Browning, Presiding Bishop, The Episcopal Church

Mrs. Marion M. Dawson, Executive for Refugee/Migration Affairs, (PBFWR), The Episcopal Church

Mr. Dale de Haan, Director, Church World Service Immigration and Refugee Program, National Council of Churches in Christ

The Rev. Monsignor Nicholas DiMarzio, Director, Migration and Refugee Services, United States Catholic Conference

The Rev. Dr. Donald A. Larsen, Director, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Director of International Relations, American Jewish Committee

Mr. Richard W. Wheeler, Chairman, Religious Committee

The Most Rev. Austin B. Vaughan, Auxiliary Bishop, Archdiocese of New York and Member, Committee on Migration and Tourism, National Conference of Catholic Bishops

REGRETS

The Rev. Dr. August Bernthal, Vice Chairman, Religious Committee and Chairman, Lutheran Immigration & Refugee Service Standing Committee.

The Rev. William Duval, The United Presbyterian Church in the USA

Mr. Matthew Giuffrida, Director of Immigration & Refugee Services, American Baptist Churches

Mrs. Norma Kerberg, Executive Director, United Methodist Committee on Relief

Dr. George M. McGonigle

The Rev. Lloyd Van Vactor, The United Church of Christ
June 24, 1988

The Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. Lord Donald Coggan
Kingshead House
Sissinghurst
Kent TN17 25E
England

Dear Lord Coggan:

I write you on the basis of our acquaintance through the ICCJ and because of your demonstrated commitment to Christian-Jewish understanding and amity.

I am sure you are aware of the widespread concern in the Jewish community about the possibility of unbalanced resolutions or declarations on the current strife in the Middle East emerging from the Anglican Communion at Lambeth, as well as from the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States, which will take place in Detroit just prior to the Lambeth meeting. Friends in the Episcopal Church here share that concern, and have been troubled over the prospect that individuals hostile to Israel who have put forward an extremely skewed view of the underlying problems, will attempt to use these meetings to call for unilateral concessions by Israel. The Lambeth conference is of particular concern because of the breadth of Anglican participation and the fact that it takes place only once in every ten years.

We believe that Resolution 26 and the working paper, "Christians in Palestine" -- both of which emerged from the Lambeth preparatory meeting in Singapore last year -- are strongly anti-Israel, and the working paper has been vigorously critiqued by the Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations, the association of ecumenical officers of Episcopal dioceses (EDEO) and members of the Episcopal Caucus attending the 10th National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations (November, 1987). I have enclosed copies of these critiques and the documents to which they apply. I hope these will be of interest to you and that you may wish to share them with others. I do not know if you will be actively participating at Lambeth, but I know your voice will always be heard with respect in your own community.

If I may add a personal word of conclusion, I would emphasize that no nation-state is above criticism and that abuse of power is a constant temptation of nations as well as of persons.
But justice requires that the same demands be made on both parties in this conflict, not by Israel alone. If people of good will hope to advance the possibility of permanent peace, they should strive to be part of the solution and not exacerbate the problems. I fear that some of the draft statements prepared for Lambeth will retard, rather than advance, the prospects for peace. Anything our Christian friends can do to restore balance to the Anglican examination of the historical background of this conflict will help to move us closer to the peace for which we all pray. Whatever you can do in this regard will be much appreciated.

I look forward to seeing you in Montreal in August. With sincere and respectful good wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Judith H. Banki
Associate National Director
Interreligious Affairs

JHB:FM

Enclosure

cc: Dr. Victor Goldbloom
Sir Sigmund Sternberg

bcc: Rabbi James Rudin
Ira Silverman
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
RESOLUTION 26: THE PALESTINE/ISRAEL PROBLEM
(Christianity and the Social Order Section)

This Council:

(a) affirms the importance of the Church in the exercise of its prophetic role by standing on the side of the oppressed in their struggle for justice, and by promoting justice, peace and reconciliation to all peoples in the region;

(b) affirms the existence of the State of Israel and its right to recognized and secure borders, as well as the civic and human rights of all those who live within its borders;

(c) rejects the interpretation of Holy Scripture which affirms the special place of the present State of Israel in the light of Biblical prophecy, finds it detrimental to peace and justice, and damaging to Jews, Christians and Muslims;

(d) calls attention to the injustice done to the Palestinians in consequence of the creation of the state of Israel, and therefore affirms the right of the Palestinians to determination including consideration of the possibility of establishment of their own state;

(e) supports the convening of an international conference over Palestine/Israel under the auspices of the UN and based on all the UN resolutions in relation to this conflict, to which all parties of the conflict be invited, including the PLO;

(f) commits itself to continued prayer for Israelis and Palestinians, for Muslim, Jew and Christian, for the achievement of justice, peace and reconciliation for all.
CHRISTIANS IN PALESTINE
Pre-Lambeth Working Paper

One of the most volatile areas of our world is the Middle East, which has been plagued with a number of apparently chronic problems which have resulted in violence, bloodshed and instability: the Lebanese war with its multi-faceted complexity, the Iran-Iraq war with its tragic and seemingly unnecessary prolongation, and the Arab-Israeli conflict which continues to baffle the minds and stifle the energies of justice-seekers and peacemakers. This latter conflict, together with its root problem of Palestine, has come to have global dimensions and carries with it the danger of superpower conflagration.

In a nutshell this is the story of the Palestinian people. Before 1948 they were Arabs -- Muslims, Christians, and Jews -- who had lived side by side for centuries in their Holy Land. Racially they were Semitic. Ethnically and culturally Arab, they all spoke Arabic and lived their different and separate religious lives in the same land. They did not initiate what became later the problem of Palestine: its roots lay in far-away Europe with western Jews who were suffering assimilation and anti-Semitism.

The Zionist movement came into being in Europe as a form of Jewish nationalism. Its goal was to relieve the plight of western Jews by building for them a national home. It was a vigorous movement which drew its inspiration from the spirit of its time, namely the spirit of colonialism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and Jewish immigrants started flowing into Palestine. Their numbers drastically increased as a result of Hitler's accession to power in Germany and in consequence of the tragedy of the Holocaust.

The local population resisted the influx of these foreigners and feared their potential domination of their country. The newcomers, however, were militarily capable of taking over a large part of Palestine and establishing there the state of Israel as a Jewish state. This state received recognition and legitimacy in 1948 from many of the countries of the world, including the great powers. The resultant consequence of the establishment of the state of Israel was the displacement of over 700,000 Palestinian Arabs, both Muslim and Christian. Some of these fled in fear of the hostilities. Others were driven out of their homes and towns by the Zionists. This is the beginning of the Palestinian Problem -- the refugee camps, the dispersion of thousands of people, the expropriation of their land, the denial of their human rights.

In the 1967 war Israel was able to overrun and occupy the remaining part of Palestine, namely the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip in the south. At present approximately 2 million Palestinian Arabs live in both the occupied territories and the state of Israel. Those on the West Bank and Gaza live a stateless existence under martial law. Violations of Palestinian human rights have been noted repeatedly. In 1978 the United Nations Special Committee considered this to be the outcome of military occupation. The report called particular attention to Israel's measures aimed at the annexation of these territories as the continuing establishment of settlements on Arab land -- "mass destruction of homes, torture, and ill-treatment of detainees, expropriation of properties, and imposition of economic and fiscal measures aimed at the dispossession and exploitation of the
population of the occupied territories."

Since 1948 no fewer than five wars have been fought which directly relate to the Palestinian problem. Each war left the Jews and the Palestinians farther away from one another, breeding greater hatred, engendering more bitterness, and frustrating the prospects of peace.

Palestinians believe they have a just cause. They have been pleading for justice as the true basis for peace. For them justice means the right today for self-determination, which includes their right to choose their leadership and to set up their own state.

It is important for Anglicans to stand with and for the weak and the oppressed and to raise their voices for justice and peace. This is God's call for the Church. Specifically this implies:

- Being informed of the facts and having the courage to speak the truth and expose the hypocrisy and self-deception of those who wield power and oppress and control people;
- Supporting initiatives which call for the self-determination of the Palestinians; and
- Promoting peace and reconciliation by continuously challenging the credibility of war and violence.

(Reprinted from The Episcopalian, November, 1986)

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PEACE AND JUSTICE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
CONSIDERATIONS FOR LAMBETH, 1988
OBSERVATIONS OF THE PRESIDING BISHOP'S COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS

The Committee voices its concern about the imbalance of the article offered as a working paper for Lambeth, 1988 in the November issue of The Episcopalian.

"Christians in Palestine" offers a one-sided assessment of human rights and responsibilities in the region. Israel is unfairly and inaccurately portrayed as the sole perpetrator of the condition of the Palestinian people, with no consideration of the part played by the Arab nations in perpetuating the plight of the refugees.

Zionism, labeled as a 19th century colonialist movement, has its roots as far back as the Bible. The movement is not simply a manifestation of nationalism, but is the liberation movement of the Jewish people. Although the article states that Muslims, Christians and Jews "have lived side by side for centuries in their holy land," the injustice suffered by the Palestinians is blamed entirely upon Israel.

No mention is made of the fact that Israel accepted the United Nations' partition of Palestine in 1948, and was forced into combat by the invading armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. From 1948 to 1967, when the Arabs controlled the West Bank and Gaza, no effort was made by the
Arab states to advocate the establishment of a Palestinian State. Israel's eastern neighbor, Jordan, by its demographic profile is a predominately Palestinian state. Nor does the article note that in the intervening period, Egypt alone among Israel's Arab neighbors has been willing to accept the State of Israel, and to live together peaceably with the Jewish state. Israel still lives in a state of war with all the other Arab nations.

The Episcopal Church has asserted the right to peace and justice for the Palestinians, and the right of Israel to exist as a state within secure borders. The article rightly state, "Palestinians believe they have a just cause." It should affirm just as heartily, "So do the Israelis."

The Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations is convinced that in any assessment of the complicated issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Church is not well served in portraying just one side of the issue. A balanced view must be put forward which affirms the rights of all the peoples of the region to justice and peace. Members of the Committee stand ready to assist the planners of Lambeth, 1988 to reach that goal.

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**EDEO Resolution on the Pre-Lambeth Statement on Peace and Justice**

WHEREAS in preparation for the Lambeth Conference 1988 the Anglican Peace and Justice Network has prepared a working paper to facilitate Communion-wide discussion of worldwide peace and justice issues to enable each bishop to "bring his diocese with him"; and

WHEREAS this document has received wide distribution in Forward Movement Publications and The Episcopalian; and

WHEREAS this document contains a section entitled "Christians in Palestine" which, while purportedly addressing the issue of minority rights in Israel, instead does a grave injustice to the State of Israel and to the Jewish people;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that EDEO register its concern with the damage this document may inflict on Jewish-Christian relations generally, and Jewish-Episcopal dialogue specifically; recommend strongly that the Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations explore avenues for promoting fair and balanced study documents in preparation for General Convention in 1988 and the Lambeth Conference 1988; and reaffirm its commitment to Jewish-Christian relations.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Secretary of EDEO be instructed to cause a copy of this resolution to be sent to the Most Reverend the Presiding Bishop and Primate, Edmond L. Browning; the Ecumenical Officer of the Episcopal Church, the Reverend William A. Norgren; the Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council, the Reverend Canon Samuel Van Culin; the Chairman of the Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations, the Right Reverend John H. Burt; the Chairman of the Standing Commission on Ecumenical relations, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Indianapolis, Edward W. Jones; the Diocesan Press Service; The Episcopalian; The Living Church; Forward Movement Publications; and all diocesan bishops.
ACC-7 (1987) RESOLUTION 25: PALESTINE/ISRAEL

THAT This Council:

(a) affirms the importance of the Church in the exercise of its prophetic role by standing on the side of the oppressed in their struggle for justice, and by promoting justice, peace and reconciliation for all peoples in the region;

(b) affirms the existence of the State of Israel and its right to recognised and secure borders, as well as the civic and human rights of all those who live within its borders;

(c) rejects the interpretation of Holy Scripture which affirms the special place of the present State of Israel in light of biblical prophecy, finds it detrimental to peace and justice, and damaging to Jews, Christians and Muslims;

(d) calls attention to the injustice done to the Palestinians in consequence of the State of Israel, and therefore affirms the right of the Palestinians to determination, including consideration of the possibility of establishment of their own state;

(e) supports the convening of an international conference over Palestine/Israel under the auspices of the UN and based on all the UN resolutions in relation to this conflict, to which all parties of the conflict be invited including the PLO;

(f) commits itself to continued prayer for Israelis and Palestinians, for Muslim, Jew and Christian, for the achievement of justice, peace and reconciliation for all.

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HOUSE OF BISHOPS' RESOLUTION B-12

October, 1987

Resolved, That the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church, meeting in St. Charles, Illinois,

a) Affirm the importance of the Church in the exercise of its prophetic role by standing on the side of the oppressed in their struggle for justice, and by promoting justice, peace, and reconciliation for all people in their region; and

b) Affirm the existence of the State of Israel and its right to live securely within its legal borders as defined by United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338, as well as the civil and human rights of all persons who live within those borders; and
c) Call attention to the injustice done to the Palestinians, and therefore affirm the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the possibility of establishment of their own State; and

d) Support the convening of an international conference on Palestine-Israel under the auspices of the United Nations and governed by its resolutions in relation to this conflict, to which all parties to the conflict be invited, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization and other representatives of the Palestinian people; and

e) Commit ourselves to continued prayer for Israelis and Palestinians, for Muslims, Jews, and Christians, for the achievement of justice, peace, and reconciliation for all; and

f) Reject the interpretation of Holy Scripture which affirms the special place of the present State of Israel in the light of biblical prophecy, find it detrimental to peace and justice, and damaging to Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS
Tenth National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations
November 10, 1987

We, the undersigned members of the Episcopal Caucus attending the 10th National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations, wish to express our concern over Resolution B-12, passed at the October, 1987 meeting of the House of Bishops at St. Charles, Illinois.

We applaud your commitment to justice, peace, and reconciliation in the Middle East and to exercising the prophetic role of the Church in international affairs.

However, we wish to identify several items in the Resolution whose wording may promote greater alienation and misunderstanding among the parties to the conflict, and among those in our Church who seek to witness with consistency and integrity.

(1) The Resolution fails to nuance the overwhelming complexity of the issues surrounding the conflict in the Middle East. This results in a naive usage of terms "oppressor" and "oppressed", which fails to reflect accurately the history and experience of the Jewish and Palestinian peoples. While it is vital that the Church exercise a prophetic role, it must endeavor as honestly and as passionately as possible to have its facts straight.

(2) We question the propriety of citing UN Resolutions 242 and 338 as vehicles to promote peace, justice and reconciliation. At the April 20th through 25th meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers, United Nations Resolution 242 was rejected as a basis for Mideast peace negotiations. We do not understand how the same Bishops' resolution can call for Palestinian self-determination, yet cite a condition which has been rejected by the Palestine National Council. Given the long-standing anti-Israel bias of the United Nations, especially the heinous equation of Zionism with racism, we doubt seriously the capacity of the United Nations to act as an
We understand that the intention of the House of Bishops' resolution is to press for a negotiated settlement of secure borders as well as the rightful redress of Palestinian grievances. This issue has already been addressed in a 1979 General Convention Resolution, which acknowledges the existence of the State of Israel and its right to live within "secure borders". The House of Bishops' resolution clearly contradicts this General Convention resolution on Peace in the Middle East by specifying the terms of those negotiations in a manner which General Convention refrained from doing.

We recognize the justice of this call, at the same time that we question what appears to be an implied double standard. The wording of the resolution applies pressure upon the Israelis for dangerous compromise without applying comparable pressure upon the Palestinians and other parties to the conflict. Under such conditions, self-determination is effectively denied Israel.

The House of Bishops' resolution calls attention to the injustice done to Palestinians. It fails, however, to acknowledge the reality that the problems of the Palestinian people stem from a complex history of being pawns in a much larger international struggle for power and control of this region, including persecutions by Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. In their struggle, Israelis have often experienced themselves as equally manipulated. Any suggestion that the establishment of the Jewish State is the sole cause of Palestinian suffering is simplistic and counterproductive to any search for justice, reconciliation, and peace.

Until such time as the PLO renounces its avowed intention of eradicating the Jewish State, and its use of terrorism to achieve its political goals, we challenge the morality of mandating the PLO's role in the resolution of the conflict in the Middle East.

The Anglican tradition affirms Holy Scripture as a continuing source of insight into God's creative and redemptive work in history. Therefore, we are deeply disturbed by the Resolution's rejection of the use of Scripture in speaking to events connected with the conflict in the Middle East. We know of no other area in which the House of Bishops has excluded Scripture as a source of understanding and inspiration. The Church must remain open to the movement of the Holy Spirit in all events in history and must remain cautious not to allow ideology to co-opt its theology. While it may be appropriate to reject any explicit theological ideology in speaking of Israel's place on the stage of history, the wisdom of the Anglican tradition is undermined at the hands of those who would divorce the realm of the political from the realm of the theological.

As Episcopalians committed to resolution of the Middle East conflict, we plead that future considerations of this and related issues before the House of Bishops and the General Convention reflect a deeper awareness of the complexities and ambiguities of the factual situation, in order that we may be more effective agents of justice, peace and reconciliation.
HE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date       June 15, 1988

to         Select List of Interested Parties

from       Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

subject    MIDDLE EAST ISSUES AT FORTHCOMING WORLD ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN LAMBETH

As you know, there is considerable concern over the possibility of one-sided and hostile declarations against Israel being introduced at the World Anglican Communion at Lambeth beginning on July 17th in London. The initiatives are being pushed mainly by Anglican bishops of Jerusalem, who are Palestinians, as well as by other Anglican Arabs.

In response to calls from colleagues in London, Geneva, and Jerusalem, I undertook several interventions with the Presiding Bishop of the U.S. Episcopal Church, The Most Reverend Edmond L. Browning of Hawaii. I need to mention that I have been serving for several years on a "Religious Committee on Refugee/Migration Affairs" whose secretariat is the Episcopal Church in the U.S.

This morning I had a two-hour meeting with Bishop Browning and his colleagues at this committee session. We had a very open discussion about the Israeli/Palestinian crisis, and I then raised the concern of many Jews about the proposed Middle East text that is to be introduced at the Lambeth Conference. Bishop Browning responded knowingly, and said that Anglican specialists in Jewish-Christian relations in the U.S. and elsewhere have expressed similar concerns, and are providing balancing statements.

I then said that "one has a right to expect that physicians do not spread disease," and that "religious leaders should not be agents of polarization and hostility." He agreed strongly with that, and we then discussed how Anglicans (Christians generally) and Jews could become a source of healing and reconciliation. I then suggested that the hostile anti-Israel resolution, if adopted at Lambeth, would be a disservice to the cause of peace and would set back Jewish-Christian relations. He asked me for some material on how we see the present situation and I am sending him some statements and backgrounders.

Importantly, Bishop Browning told me that the U.S. Episcopal Church is meeting in Detroit on July 6th and that Archbishop Samir Kafity of the Anglican Church of Jerusalem and the Middle East will be attending before going to Lambeth. He invited me to come to Detroit to meet with him and Kafity alone, and then to meet with a small group of Episcopal bishops. I have agreed to do so, and will report to you if anything interesting results.

MHT:RPR
88-550
17 May 1988

The Rt Revd Samir Kafity
President-Bishop of Jerusalem and the Middle East
St George's Close
PO Box 1248
Jerusalem 91019

My dear Samir,

I am pleased to send you a copy of the Statement passed at the meeting of the Anglican Refugee and Migrants' Ministry Network, in relation to the Palestinian refugees.

This comes with my prayers for you and for all the Christians in Jerusalem.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

The Most Revd W P K Makhulu
Convenor
Anglican Refugee and Migrants' Ministry Network
PALESTINIAN REFUGEES

We, the members of the Anglican Refugee Ministry Network meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, coming from 18 Provinces of the Anglican Communion, express our compassion and solidarity with the Palestinian people who have now suffered as refugees for four generations. We identify with them in their struggle for justice and human dignity and call on our Churches to support those within Israel/The Occupied Territories working for peace and reconciliation and promoting Israeli-Palestinian and Jewish-Islamic-Christian dialogue.

The people of Israel have themselves been victims of exile, displacement and persecution. We call on all parties involved to act in the spirit of God's promise through Isaiah:

"I, the Lord, have called you and given you power
to see that justice is done on earth.
Through you I will make a covenant
with all peoples;
through you I will bring light to the nations.
You will open the eyes of the blind
and set free those who sit in dark prisons."

Isaiah 42, v. 6-7
30 June 1988

TO: MARK TANNENBAUM _ AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
FROM: MORDECHAI YEDID _ DEPUTY CONSUL GENERAL
CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL

SUBJECT: FOR YOUR INFORMATION THE FOLLOWING LIST OF PARTICIPANTS FROM THE USA ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE FROM JULY 17 TO AUGUST 7, IN LONDON.
The Rt Revd Craig E Anderson, South Dakota
The Rt Revd Robert P Atkinson, West Virginia
The Rt Revd Allen L Bartlett, Pennsylvania
The Rt Revd G Hallick Belshaw, New Jersey
The Rt Revd David C Bowman, Western New York
The Rt Revd William F Carr, Suffragan of West Virginia
The Rt Revd Edward C Chalfant, Maine
The Rt Revd Robert H Cochrane, Olympia
The Rt Revd Clarence Coleridge, Connecticut
The Rt Revd Walter D Dennis, Suffragan of New York
The Rt Revd Charles F Duvall, Central Gulf Coast
The Rt Revd Leonold Feade, Honduras
The Rt Revd Duncan M Gray, Mississippi
The Rt Revd Roger S Harris, Suffragan of South Carolina
The Rt Revd Joseph T Haistand, Arizona
The Rt Revd David E Johnson, Massachusetts
The Rt Revd William Jones, Missouri
The Rt Revd Peter F Las, Virginia
The Rt Revd Robert Lee Long, Northern Philippines
The Rt Revd H Coleman McGhee, Michigan
The Rt Revd Howard S Meeks, Western Michigan
The Rt Revd James R Moody, Ohio
The Rt Revd Paul Moore, New York
The Rt Revd D Sidney Sanders, East Carolina
The Rt Revd Calvin O Schofield, Southeast Florida
The Rt Revd William L Stevens, Fond Du Lac
The Rt Revd E Don Taylor, Virgin Islands
The Rt Revd Douglas E Thuneur, New Hampshire
The Rt Revd John L Thompson, Northern California
The Rt Revd Frank H Vest, Suffragan of North Carolina
The Rt Revd John T Walker, Washington
The Bishop of Rio Grande
ECUMENICAL RELATIONS of the Episcopal Church

USA

The Rt Revd Richard Abellón, Northern Luzon
The Rt Revd Robert M Anderson, Minnesota
The Rt Revd James B Brown, Louisiana
The Rt Revd William G Burril, Rochester
The Rt Revd Herbert A Donovan, Arkansas
The Rt Revd Sturdiv T W Downs, Nicaragua
The Rt Revd A Theodore Eastman, Maryland
The Rt Revd Martiniano Garcia-Hontiel, Suffragan of Central South Mex
The Rt Revd Francis C Gray, Northern Indiana
The Rt Revd Richard F Grein, Kansas
The Rt Revd E Paul Haynes, Southwest Florida
The Rt Revd Willis R Henton, Western Louisiana
The Rt Revd Edward W Jones, Indianapolis
The Rt Revd John MacNaughton, West Texas
The Rt Revd Charles F McIntyre, Central Pennsylvania
The Rt Revd C Brinkley Morton, San Diego
The Rt Revd Donis D Patterson, Dallas
The Rt Revd Clarence C Popa, Fort Worth
The Rt Revd David A Reed, Kentucky
The Rt Revd Walter C Righter, Iowa
The Rt Revd Harry W Ehipps, Georgia
The Rt Revd Caball C Tennis, Delaware
The Rt Revd William C Wantland, Eau Claire
The Rt Revd William C Wainhauer, Western North Carolina
The Rt Revd Roger J White, Milwaukee
The Rt Revd Arthur B Williams, Suffragan of Ohio
The Rt Revd Don A Wimberley, Lexington
The Rt Revd Andrew F Wissemann, Western Massachusetts
The Rt Revd FitzSimons Allison, South Carolina
The Rt Revd David S Ball, Albany
The Rt Revd George Bates, Utah
The Rt Revd William G Black, Southern Ohio
The Rt Revd Frederick Borsch, Los Angeles
The Rt Revd Mark Dyer, Bethlehem
The Rt Revd William Folwell, Central Florida
The Rt Revd William C Frey, Colorado
The Rt Revd Frank T Griswold, Chicago
The Rt Revd Armando Guerra-Soria, Guatemala
The Rt Revd Donald F Hart, Hawaii
The Rt Revd Harold A Hopkins, North Dakota
The Rt Revd Sam Hulstrand, Springfield
The Rt Revd Rustin R Kimsey, Eastern Oregon
The Rt Revd Robert Ladahoff, Oregon
The Rt Revd Edward MacBurney, Quincy
The Rt Revd German Martinez-Marquez, Northern Mexico
The Rt Revd Bernardo Merino-Botero, Colombia
The Rt Revd Thomas Ray, N Michigan
The Rt Revd George L Reynolds, Tennessee
The Rt Revd Victor H Rivera, San Joaquin
The Rt Revd Jose Saucedo, Central & South Mexico
The Rt Revd Onell Boto, Venezuela
The Rt Revd John S Spong, Newark
The Rt Revd Barry Valentine, Assistant of Maryland
The Rt Revd Arthur A Vogel, West Missouri
The Rt Revd Leigh A Wallace, Spokane
The Rt Revd Arthur Walmley, Connecticut
The Rt Revd James D Warner, Nebraska
The Rt Revd O'Kelley Whitaker, Central New York
The Rt Revd Robert C Wither, Long Island
The Rt Revd William H Wolfrum, Suffragan of Colorado
The Rt Revd S C Zabriskie, Nevada
The Rt Revd Bishop of El Salvador
The Rt Revd John F Ashby, Western Kansas
The Rt Revd William A Beckham, Upper South Carolina
The Rt Revd Maurice Benitez, Texas
The Rt Revd David B Birney, Idaho
The Most Revd Edmond L Browning, Presiding Bishop
The Rt Revd Adrian Caceres, Ecuador
The Rt Revd Frank S Cerveny, Florida
The Rt Revd John Chien, Taiwan
The Rt Revd Charles J Child, Atlanta
The Rt Revd Donald J Davis, Northwestern Pennsylvania
The Rt Revd Alex D Dickson, West Tennessee
The Rt Revd Samuel Espinoza-Venegas, Western Mexico
The Rt Revd Robert Estill, North Carolina
The Rt Revd Wesley Frensdorf, Assistant of Arizona
The Rt Revd Luc A J Garnier, Haiti
The Rt Revd George C Harris, Alaska
The Rt Revd Alden H Hathaway, Pittsburgh
The Rt Revd Sam B Hulsey, Northwest Texas
The Rt Revd George N Hunt, Rhode Island
The Rt Revd Telesforo A Isaac, Dominican Republic
The Rt Revd Bob C Jones, Wyoming
The Rt Revd Charles I Jones, Montana
The Rt Revd A Heath Light, Southwestern Virginia
The Most Revd Manuel Lumapas, Central Philippines
The Rt Revd C Shannon Mallory, El Camino Real
The Rt Revd Gerald N McAllister, Oklahoma
The Rt Revd James Ottley, Panama
The Rt Revd Vincent K Pettit, Suffragan of New Jersey
The Rt Revd William E Sanders, East Tennessee
The Rt Revd Elliott L Sorge, Easton
The Rt Revd Furman C Stough, Alabama
The Rt Revd Daniel L Swenson, Vermont
The Rt Revd William E Swing, California
The Rt Revd Narciso V Ticobay, Southern Philippines
The Rt Revd C Charles Vaché, Southern Virginia
HE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date       June 15, 1988

to         Select List of Interested Parties

from       Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

subject    MIDDLE EAST ISSUES AT FORTHCOMING WORLD ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN LAMBETH

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MHT: RPR
88-550
STATEMENT OF THE ANGLICAN REFUGEE MINISTRY NETWORK MEETING

HARARE, 11 – 18 MAY, 1988

PALESTINIAN REFUGEES

We, the members of the Anglican Refugee Ministry Network meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, coming from 18 Provinces of the Anglican Communion, express our compassion and solidarity with the Palestinian people who have now suffered as refugees for four generations. We identify with them in their struggle for justice and human dignity and call on our Churches to support those within Israel/The Occupied Territories working for peace and reconciliation and promoting Israeli-Palestinian and Jewish-Islamic-Christian dialogue.

The people of Israel have themselves been victims of exile, displacement and persecution. We call on all parties involved to act in the spirit of God's promise through Isaiah:

"I, the Lord, have called you and given you power to see that justice is done on earth. Through you I will make a covenant with all peoples; through you I will bring light to the nations. You will open the eyes of the blind and set free those who sit in dark prisons."

Isaiah 42, v. 6-7
17 May 1988

The Rt Revd Sazir Kafity
President-Bishop of
Jerusalem and the Middle East
St George's Close
PO Box 1248
Jerusalem 91019

My dear Samir,

I am pleased to send you a copy of the Statement passed at the meeting of the Anglican Refugee and Migrants' Ministry Network, in relation to the Palestinian refugees.

This comes with my prayers for you and for all the Christians in Jerusalem.

Yours sincerely,

The Most Revd W P K Makhulu
Convenor
Anglican Refugee and Migrants' Ministry Network
TO: Interested Parties
FROM: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
DATE: July 7, 1988
RE: MEETINGS WITH EPISCOPAL BISHOPS

At the request of the Presiding Bishop of the U.S. Episcopal Church, the Rt. Rev. Edmund L. Browning (of Hawaii), I went to Detroit to attend two meetings that he arranged during the current Episcopal Church convention.

The first was with Bishop Samir Kafity, who presides over the Anglican Church of "Jerusalem and the Middle East." The second was with nine U.S. Episcopal bishops, including Bishop Kafity. Both were private, off-the-record meetings and we agreed that there would be no publicity.

Both meetings were viewed as preparations for the World Anglican Communion assembly that will begin July 17th in Lambeth. Resolutions on the Israeli-Palestinian and Middle East situations are expected to be introduced at that time.

At the first meeting on Wednesday morning, Bishop Browning arranged for Kafity, himself, and myself to meet. The discussion lasted one-and-a-half hours. Bishop Kafity appeared to be tense and anxious at the outset. He told us he had met the day before with Shi'ite Muslims in Dearborn, the largest Arab population in the U.S., and they warned him not to meet with "the rabbis."

I approached him with respect for his office and his person, and spoke with quiet moderation, and he began to relax. The conversation was long and detailed, and I therefore summarize the highlights:

1) He said several times that most of the Palestinians are tired of violence and wars, feel betrayed by their brother Arab countries, wish to find a just peace with Israel, and must take their fate in their own hands.

2) Palestinians, he said, have been positively affected by the Peace Now movement in Israel, and were deeply moved when some 400,000 Israelis spontaneously demonstrated following the Sabra and Shatilla massacres, carried out by Palestinians against other Palestinians. They know that some Palestinians have killed more Palestinians than the Israelis. They also are horrified by the massacres of nearly one million Arabs and Muslims in the Iran-Iraq war. In the face of all that horror, he knows, and many of his people also know, that there are many Israelis who want to live in peace with the Palestinians.

3) He then set forth the issues that he would like to see adopted in resolutions presented, first, to the U.S. Episcopal convention, and then, to the Lambeth conference on July 17:
   
   (a) recognize the right of the State of Israel to exist with secure borders;
   (b) support of Palestinian self-determination, expressed in "statehood";
   (c) support of an international conference to promote the peace process, which would include the PLO.
We then engaged in a lengthy "dialogue" which included my responses:

1) Jews both in Israel, the United States and elsewhere are deeply troubled over the violence that has erupted in as a result of the intifadah. Jews have been critical of some of the excesses and harsh measures of the IDF, but we have not heard a single Palestinian or Arab leader reject or criticize the excesses of the Palestinians.

2) There is no profit in trading atrocity stories; there are enough to go around for everyone. There must be an end to the cycle of reciprocal paranoia (Eric Fromm's idea), which ends in a totentanz. Many Israelis supported by Jews are eager for moderation and peaceful negotiations. But where are the moderate Palestinian partners? What is Bishop Kafity prepared to do to reject extremists and encourage moderate Palestinians to assert real leadership?

3) Israelis and other Jews support justice for Palestinians, but how can anyone speak of "statehood" that would be dominated by the PLO. Are there any public statements about co-existence with Israel are rife with contradictions and backtracking. His repudiation of the Hussein-Arafat "agreements" was but one instance of his unreachability. Besides, the PLO includes Habash, Hameen, Abu Musa. What assurances can there be that they will not become the leaders of a Palestinian state?

4) An international conference that would include the PLO as presently constituted would only set back the cause of genuine peace. The ball is really in the court of Palestinian moderates. If they allow the extremists to continue to dominate the Palestinian world and do not assert themselves in a meaningful way that would lead to peaceful negotiations on a bilateral basis, there are genuine prospects, God forbid, for further catastrophe.

Kafity seemed unprepared and even shaken by the exchange, even though the discourse was moderate and civil. At that point Bishop Browning asked whether it might be helpful for him to take the initiative in September and call together a small group of key U.S. Jewish leaders, Arab Christians and Muslims to explore how they might help untangle the present complex difficulty. Both Kafity and I responded affirmatively.

I then asked Kafity if he was prepared to try to do the same thing in Jerusalem with moderate Palestinians and Jews at St. George's College. He cautiously said "yes." He said there is already such contacts on an individual basis, but acknowledged there must be more assertive efforts in that direction. He referred to the initiatives of triadoue taken by Prince Hassan of Jordan that led to meetings in Europe.

Following this morning meeting, we adjourned for a short while, and then reassembled with the nine U.S. Episcopal bishops (names attached.) Five of the bishops were involved in Jewish-Christian dialogues and were positive toward Israel; four were sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. All of them are going to Lambeth as U.S. delegates.

The luncheon meeting was essentially a dialogue between Kafity and myself with the nine bishops joining in the discussion. We covered much of the same ground of the morning talks. My impression, born out by later comments, is that they were all affected by the civility and moderation of the discussion, and felt it was possible for a Palestinian and a Jew to engage in constructive discussion about this emotion.
The keypoint came when I said that should one-sided, unfair, even hostile resolutions be introduced at Lambeth, it would set back the cause of moderation and peace in the Middle East, which none of us would want to happen.

At least six of the bishops spoke out and said they wanted the Anglican church play a healing role between Palestinians/Arabs and Jews and not contribute to further polarization. Christians are committed to reconciliation, not alienation. Several indicated they would oppose the "Christians in Palestine" statement in its present form and supported the statements proposed by several of the Episcopal Church's Jewish-Christian dialogue committees and groups, which are quite supportive of Israel.

In general, I believe it was a positive and useful day. Tonight and tomorrow, there will be a debate on the Episcopal floor convention of Middle East resolutions. That will give us the temperature of the 3,000 Episcopalians who are attending the convention.

Also, the usefulness of these talks will be measured by what follow-up Bishop Browning promised to undertake when he returns in September, and whether Bishop Kafity will play a more constructive role at Lambeth and later in Jerusalem.

I would urge that Mr. Margaret Breamley's excellent paper on "Christian Response to the Middle East and the Palestinian Question" be distributed as widely as possible at the Lambeth Conference.

If there are further developments, I will keep you informed.
date  July 21, 1988

to  Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

from  Judith H. Banki

subject  Initiatives re: Lambeth Conference of the Anglican Church

You may be interested in the attached letter which I received from Lord Coggan, retired Archbishop of Canterbury, in reply to a letter I sent him noting our concerns about anti-Israel resolutions at the Lambeth Conference.

Since his handwriting is indecipherable, a typed transcription is attached. In case you may not have seen it, I am also attaching a copy of my original letter to him.

JHB:ls
Attachments
June 24, 1988

The Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. Lord Donald Coggan
Kingshead House
Sissinghurst
Kent TN17 25E
England

Dear Lord Coggan:

I write you on the basis of our acquaintance through the ICCJ and because of your demonstrated commitment to Christian-Jewish understanding and amity.

I am sure you are aware of the widespread concern in the Jewish community about the possibility of unbalanced resolutions or declarations on the current strife in the Middle East emerging from the Anglican Communion at Lambeth, as well as from the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States, which will take place in Detroit just prior to the Lambeth meeting. Friends in the Episcopal Church here share that concern, and have been troubled over the prospect that individuals hostile to Israel who have put forward an extremely skewed view of the underlying problems, will attempt to use these meetings to call for unilateral concessions by Israel. The Lambeth conference is of particular concern because of the breadth of Anglican participation and the fact that it takes place only once in every ten years.

We believe that Resolution 26 and the working paper, "Christians in Palestine" -- both of which emerged from the Lambeth preparatory meeting in Singapore last year -- are strongly anti-Israel, and the working paper has been vigorously critiqued by the Presiding Bishop's Committee on Christian-Jewish Relations, the association of ecumenical officers of Episcopal dioceses (EDEO) and members of the Episcopal Caucus attending the 10th National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations (November, 1987). I have enclosed copies of these critiques and the documents to which they apply. I hope these will be of interest to you and that you may wish to share them with others. I do not know if you will be actively participating at Lambeth, but I know your voice will always be heard with respect in your own community.

If I may add a personal word of conclusion, I would emphasize that no nation-state is above criticism and that abuse of power is a constant temptation of nations as well as of persons.
But justice requires that the same demands be made on both parties in this conflict, not by Israel alone. If people of good will hope to advance the possibility of permanent peace, they should strive to be part of the solution and not exacerbate the problems. I fear that some of the draft statements prepared for Lambeth will retard, rather than advance, the prospects for peace. Anything our Christian friends can do to restore balance to the Anglican examination of the historical background of this conflict will help to move us closer to the peace for which we all pray. Whatever you can do in this regard will be much appreciated.

I look forward to seeing you in Montreal in August. With sincere and respectful good wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

Judith H. Banki
Associate National Director
Interreligious Affairs

Enclosure

cc: Dr. Victor Goldbloom
Sir Sigmund Sternberg

bcc: Rabbi James Rudin
Ira Silverman
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
7/88

Dear Mrs. Banki,

Thank you for your letter. It was good to have this renewed contact with you.

As a retired Archbishop, I take no part in the Lambeth Conference. However, I know that matters which concern Jewish-Christian relations, etc, will be carefully watched by such people as the Bishop of Oxford, Richard Harries and others. I am, therefore, taking the liberty of sending on to him your letter and enclosures. I am sure he will bear in mind this matter of fair reporting and resolution-making.

I am sorry that I shall not be coming to Montreal next month. I hope you will have an excellent conference.

With all best wishes-

Yours sincerely

Donald Coggan
Dear Mr. Bantu,

Thank you for your letter. It was good to have the

recent contact with you.

As a retired Archbishop, I take an interest in the London

Conference. However, I honor our matters. And concern refers

Christian relations, etc., will be carefully weighed by such people as

the Bishop of Oxford, Robert Harris, others. I am therefore,

taking the liberty of sending on this your letter to Archbishop

J. who will bear in mind the matter of fair reporting

resolution-making.

I am sorry that I shall not be coming to London

next month. I hope you will have an excellent conference.

With all best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Donald Coggan.