

1 **APPROVED** as amended (subject to ratification by the UCC Board in October, 2015)

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3 **A CALL FOR THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST TO TAKE ACTIONS**
4 **TOWARD A JUST PEACE IN THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT**

5
6 **Submitted by Central Atlantic Conference, Central Pacific Conference, and the**
7 **New York Conference**
8 **A Resolution of Witness**
9

10 **SUMMARY**

11
12 This resolution proposes a fourfold strategy by the United Church of Christ to help end
13 the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The strategy seeks to combine: (1) educational
14 empowerment (study of *Kairos Palestine 2009 – ‘A Moment of Truth’: A Word of Faith,*
15 *Hope, and Love from the Heart of Palestinian Suffering*); (2) economic leverage
16 (divestment from companies that profit from the Israeli occupation of Palestinian
17 territories and boycott of products produced in such territories by Israeli companies); (3)
18 political pressure (petition to Congress to ensure that aid to Israel violates neither the U.S.
19 Foreign Assistance Act nor the U.S. Arms Export Control Act); and (4) interreligious
20 dialogue (conversation among the three Abrahamic faiths aimed at reaching religious
21 reconciliation and achieving political resolution).
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23 **BIBLICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND HISTORICAL GROUNDING**

24
25 This resolution is grounded in the Biblical prophetic call to do justice and the decisive
26 embodiment of that call in Jesus Christ. It springs from the Affirmation of the 15th
27 General Synod that the United Church of Christ is a Just Peace Church. That affirmation
28 commits the United Church of Christ to enacting “solidarity with the poor, seeking to be
29 present in places of oppression, poverty, and violence, and standing with the oppressed in
30 the struggle to resist and change . . . evil.” It thereby commits the United Church of
31 Christ to be both “a community of resistance, standing against social structures
32 comfortable with violence and injustice,” and “a community of political and social
33 engagement, in regular dialogue with the political order.”
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35 In addition, the United Church of Christ has historically stressed the importance of living
36 out a Covenantal theology, whereby diverse autonomous organizations covenant to
37 collaborate for the common good. Through such Covenantal relationships, the United
38 Church of Christ partners globally with those most impacted by the continuing conflict
39 between the Palestinians and Israel. The current list of thirteen Global Ministries Middle
40 Eastern partners includes regional groups as well as Israeli and Palestinian groups,
41 notably Kairos Palestine.
42

43 Informed by that Just Peace commitment and Covenantal theology, this resolution seeks
44 to respond to the theological declaration of our Christian partners in the Middle East that
45 we are at a Kairos moment – a special opportunity provided by the “Still Speaking God”
46 for us individually as Christians and collectively as a church both to listen to the

47 Palestinian people courageously voice faith, hope, and love in the midst of their suffering
48 and to respond with action.

49
50 Such listening and response is thoroughly in keeping with various historical (and
51 historic!) United Church of Christ resolutions and actions concerning the Israeli-
52 Palestinian conflict:

53
54 The United Church of Christ has affirmed the right of Israelis and Palestinians
55 to live peacefully within internationally recognized borders.

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57
58 The United Church of Christ has identified Israel's occupation of Palestinian
59 land and the human rights abuses it has committed there to be a major source
60 of conflict and has called for an end to settlement activity.

61
62 The United Church of Christ has a long history of effectively supporting
63 boycotts against products produced under unjust conditions (lettuce, grapes,
64 infant formula, etc.) and policies that produce such conditions (apartheid).

65
66 The United Church of Christ has had, since the passage of the 2005 resolution
67 on economic leverage, a strong history of corporate engagement with
68 companies that profit from the Occupation.

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70 **MUTUAL ACCOUNTABILITY**

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72 The desired outcome is a just peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The hope is that
73 individuals, churches, and church entities will learn of the present plight of the
74 Palestinians, will study the history of the conflict, will examine their own consciences,
75 and will engage in individual and institutional actions to pressure the government of
76 Israel to end the Occupation as a step toward a just peace. At the same time, the call is to
77 address members of our own government and ask them to ensure that U.S. aid to Israel
78 complies with applicable U.S. laws.

79
80 Those stakeholders most directly affected are the Palestinians. The originators of the
81 resolution, the United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network, have consulted with
82 United Church of Christ's Global Ministries partner, Kairos Palestine, and with the
83 movement that represents a wide coalition of the largest Palestinian organizations, trade
84 unions, networks, and NGOs. Both enthusiastically support the resolution, as do
85 Palestinian groups within the United States. Many groups in other Christian
86 denominations and in the Jewish community also support this resolution.

87
88 The originators have also approached the two major United Church of Christ financial
89 entities addressed by the divestment call – United Church Funds and the Pension Boards
90 – United Church of Christ, Inc.

91

92 The United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network has consulted with staff from
93 United Church Funds and has been in dialogue with them over the past six months. In
94 addition, a member of the United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network Steering
95 Committee has been welcomed to the meetings of the Ecumenical Action Group, which
96 has been working on corporate engagement with some of the companies named in the
97 resolution for the past nine years. None of the American companies named has
98 responded to shareholder pressure to disengage from its support of the Occupation. Two
99 of the international companies have taken steps to or made announcements that they
100 would remove their operations from the occupied territories, but they have not yet fully
101 done so. United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network is committed to continued
102 dialogue about the best way to make investment/divestment decisions and welcomes a
103 mechanism for establishing standards by which to make such decisions in the future.
104

105 United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network has also attempted to dialogue with the
106 Pension Boards – United Church of Christ, Inc. on the divestment issue. Thus far, its staff
107 has not been willing to engage in dialogue on the topic. Its executive has stated on the
108 basis of legal opinion that its fiduciary responsibilities do not allow it to make
109 investment/divestment decisions in response to Synod votes. Nevertheless, it has
110 responded to the 2005 Synod “Economic Leverage” resolution by investing in the Siraj
111 Fund, which supports nineteen Palestinian companies. Although this is indeed a positive
112 step in support of the Palestinian economy, it does not acknowledge Israel’s complete
113 control over that economy and all its resources as documented by the World Bank.
114 Therefore, it cannot be viewed as an effective step toward ending the Occupation.
115

116 Finally, this resolution recognizes that members of the Jewish community with whom we
117 have had long standing interfaith relationships are also stakeholders. It commends those
118 relationships and calls for them to continue and expand.
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120 **ACTION STEPS**

- 121
- 122 Studying the *Kairos Palestine* document individually and in church groups
- 123
- 124 Encouraging travel to the region with Global Ministries and other alternative
- 125 travel groups
- 126
- 127 Sponsoring local educational conferences
- 128
- 129 Self-examining investment portfolios by individuals, churches, conferences,
- 130 and national United Church of Christ entities to discern whether and how
- 131 divestment may be effectuated
- 132
- 133 Working side by side with allied organizations in local communities to initiate
- 134 and support boycott actions
- 135
- 136 Writing letters and petitions, as well as making visits, to members of Congress
- 137 in cooperation with Justice and Witness Ministries or other peace groups

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Initiating or continuing interfaith dialogues at all levels

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142 **Evaluation Plan**

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The resolution asks the General Minister and President to provide the whole church an annual assessment on the implementation of the resolution. United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network will offer a report on actions in the wider church that may be of assistance in developing that assessment.

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150 **INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY**

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The Officers of the Church, in consultation with appropriate ministries or other entities within the United Church of Christ, will determine the implementing body for each of the four components addressed in the resolution (elucidated above in the section entitled Summary), with the funding to be made in accordance with the overall mandates of the affected agencies (primarily the United Church Board, Global Ministries, and Justice and Witness Ministries) and the funds available to these agencies, keeping in mind that many of the actions will be taken by individuals and congregations of the United Church of Christ.

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In addition, Global Ministries, the joint witness of the United Church of Christ and Disciples of Christ for international peace, reconciliation, and justice, will be invaluable in implementing the resolution as it works to nurture existing partnerships in the region. Its efforts will be enhanced by the June 2015 launch of its eighteen-month Middle East Initiative.

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Moreover, the United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network, supported by its own budget, will continue to broaden its work of educating local churches and conferences.

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Taking all the aforementioned into account, it is clear that the United Church of Christ is currently well-equipped to implement easily this resolution.

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175 **PROBABILITY OF INFLUENCING SOCIAL CHANGE**

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With the adoption of this resolution, the Thirtieth General Synod of the United Church of Christ will secure its rightful place alongside other denominations and peace-seeking groups in the United States and around the world that are taking a public stand against the occupation of Palestinian territories by the Israeli government while promoting the human rights of the Palestinians and opposing the use of violence by either party.

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183 The unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict is of world-wide concern and has the potential
184 to influence many other issues, including the safety of U.S. citizens here and abroad. The
185 United Church of Christ has not addressed this conflict via resolution since 2005; yet,
186 political realities have changed drastically in the interim. Israel's occupation of
187 Palestinian territories has become increasingly entrenched; settlements have grown
188 exponentially; four massive attacks have been carried out on Gaza; and several attempts
189 at the "peace process" have failed to resolve the conflict. Frustration with the lack of
190 progress has contributed to escalating violence from both sides.

191

192 Meanwhile, Palestinian Christians have issued their *Kairos Palestine 2009 – "A Moment*
193 *of Truth"* document, and Palestinian civil society has endorsed a movement calling for
194 boycott, divestment, and sanctions. That movement is now world-wide and has achieved
195 some notable successes, particularly in Europe but also in the U.S., including the loss of
196 \$26 million in contracts by Veolia, the divestment from Israeli banks by European banks
197 and pension funds, and the loss of revenue by SodaStream. Recently, Kuwait announced
198 the termination of contracts with companies complicit in the Occupation and Sweden
199 recognized the State of Palestine. In addition, most of the mainline Protestant
200 denominations in the U.S. have been considering resolutions that call for some form of
201 boycott and/or divestment. Indeed, local Presbyteries, Episcopal Dioceses, and Methodist
202 Conferences have voted to boycott or divest. Most notably, the Presbyterian General
203 Assembly voted in 2014 to divest from three companies.

204

205 By approving this resolution with its clear, unequivocal call for specific actions toward
206 ending the occupation of Palestinian territories, the United Church of Christ can offer a
207 sign of hope to the Palestinians and add its weight to a world-wide movement toward a
208 just peace in the region.

209

210 United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network has been presenting workshops and
211 study sessions on this issue in local churches, associations, and conferences since its
212 inception in January 2012 and will continue to do so. The consideration of this resolution
213 in five United Church of Christ conferences and its acceptance as a study document in
214 two more conferences have led to an enormous amount of discussion and education in
215 those conferences. Without a resolution with specific action components, such
216 engagement would not have occurred. The consideration of the resolution by the Synod
217 opens this conversation to the wider United Church of Christ.

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221 **TEXT OF THE MOTION**

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223 The psalmist celebrates, "How good it is when brothers and sisters dwell together in
224 unity." (Psalm 133) Yet today the Middle East is torn by disunity between Semitic
225 brothers and sisters separated by "dividing walls of hostility." (Ephesians 2:14) We hear
226 the call of the prophet Micah, "And what does the Lord require of you but to do justice,
227 and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" (Micah 6:8) - and we are

228 reminded that we must conduct ourselves with kindness and humility even as we seek to
229 counteract injustice anywhere and to stand in solidarity with its victims everywhere.

230
231 As disciples of Jesus, we hear and seek to heed his call to be peacemakers: responding to
232 violence with non-violence and extending love to all. In the words of the *Kairos*
233 *Palestine* document, “True Christian theology is a theology of love and solidarity with
234 the oppressed, a call to justice and equality among peoples.” (*Kairos Palestine 2009 – “A*
235 *Moment of Truth”*)ⁱ

236
237 **THEREFORE**, in the spirit of the witness of the psalmist and ancient prophets and of
238 the ministry of Jesus the Christ, we offer this resolution.

239
240 WHEREAS, in 1985 the 15th General Synod of the United Church of Christ committed
241 itself to be a Just Peace Church;ⁱⁱ

242
243 WHEREAS, historically the United Church of Christ has affirmed Israel’s right to exist
244 within secure and internationally recognized boundaries (GS 16[1987]ⁱⁱⁱ and GS
245 18[1991]^{iv}) and asserted the rights of Palestinians to enjoy sovereignty in an independent,
246 contiguous, and viable state of their own, within secure and recognized boundaries (GS
247 16 [1987], GS 17[1989],^v and GS 18[1991];

248
249 WHEREAS, past General Synods have identified the Israeli occupation of Palestinian
250 land and its human rights abuses committed therein to be a major source of conflict and
251 have called for the end of the construction and expansion of settlements (GS 18 [1991]
252 and GS 21[1997]^{vi});

253
254 WHEREAS, the various expressions of the United Church of Christ have a long history
255 of effectively using boycotts against products and policies (lettuce, grapes, infant
256 formula, apartheid, etc.) to address injustices;

257
258 WHEREAS, the United Church of Christ is deeply committed to interfaith relationships
259 and General Synods have confessed to the sin of anti-Semitism and proclaimed its
260 renunciation (GS 23 [2001])^{vii} and have denounced actions against Islam or Muslims
261 based on ignorance or fear (GS 28 [2011]);^{viii}

262
263 WHEREAS, the United Church of Christ has historically stressed the importance of
264 living out a Covenantal theology, whereby diverse autonomous organizations covenant to
265 collaborate for the common good, and that through such Covenantal relationships the
266 United Church of Christ has partnered globally with those most impacted by the
267 continuing conflict between Palestinians and Israel;

268
269 WHEREAS, the United Church of Christ recognizes the complexity of the conflict and
270 that it has caused suffering for both Palestinians and Israelis;

271
272 WHEREAS, as demonstrated through ongoing dialogue and partnerships, the United
273 Church of Christ values and nurtures its relationships with Jewish groups in the U.S. and

274 Israel who seek justice, equality, and freedom for both peoples, including groups with
275 differing perspectives on the conflict;

276

277 WHEREAS, Palestinians in the West Bank have lived since 1967 under Israeli military
278 occupation that subjects them to many human rights abuses, including: loss of their land
279 for the purpose of building Israeli settlements; limited access to their land and to each
280 other on account of the route of the Separation Wall on occupied Palestinian territories;
281 systematic displacement into small, non-contiguous geographic enclaves separated by
282 barriers and checkpoints; gross inequality in the amount of water allocated to them;
283 severe and arbitrary travel restrictions; limited access to holy sites; segregated roads;
284 demolition of their homes; destruction of their crops by settlers and the Israeli army; and
285 arbitrary arrest, even of children;^{ix}

286

287 WHEREAS, the Israeli government has once again subjected Palestinians in Gaza to
288 military attacks using deadly force beyond that necessary for Israel's acknowledged need
289 for self-defense and thereby beyond that measure of proportionate response permitted by
290 historically Christian just war theory,^x has destroyed Gaza's infrastructure and economy,
291 and has imposed: severe limits on personal entry and on the entry of products essential to
292 Gazans' well-being; fishing limits in violation of international law and the Oslo accords;
293 and strict control of electronic communications, as well as of air and sea space;^{xi}

294

295 WHEREAS, Israel has annexed Palestinian East Jerusalem and separated it from the
296 West Bank and Gaza and continues to appropriate Palestinian properties there for Jewish
297 settlements and to deny building permits to Palestinians, as well as to revoke the
298 residency rights of many of its Palestinian citizens there;^{xii}

299

300 WHEREAS, Israel refuses to end, but rather has sought to solidify, its occupation of
301 territory conquered in the 1967 War, leading to numerous illegal actions and human
302 rights abuses by the Israeli government and military in defiance of United Nations
303 resolutions,^{xiii} and refuses to respect the 4th Geneva Convention as called for by the
304 International Court of Justice in its opinion concerning the Separation Wall in the
305 occupied Palestinian territories;^{xiv}

306

307 WHEREAS, our Palestinian Christian partners, seeking an alternative to violence born of
308 hopelessness and despair, have authored *Kairos Palestine 2009 - 'A Moment of Truth': A*
309 *Word of Faith, Hope, and Love from the Heart of Palestinian Suffering* as a call and
310 summons to their global partners to engage in non-violent measures that will pressure
311 Israel to end the Occupation;^{xv}

312

313 WHEREAS, the resolution "Concerning the Use of Economic Leverage in Promoting
314 Peace in the Middle East," passed by the General Synod in 2005, calls upon "the
315 Covenanted Ministries, Pension Boards, United Church Foundation, local churches and
316 members to use economic leverage, including, but not limited to: advocating the
317 reallocation of US foreign aid so that the militarization of the Middle East is constrained;
318 making positive contributions to groups and partners committed to the non-violent
319 resolution of the conflict; challenging the practices of corporations that gain from the

320 continuation of the conflict; and divesting from those companies that refuse to change
321 their practice of gain from the perpetuation of violence, including the Occupation”;^{xvi}
322

323 WHEREAS, despite years of corporate engagement and the submission of shareholder
324 resolutions from United Church Funds^{xvii} and other religious and secular groups, few
325 companies have withdrawn any of their operations that support the Occupation;
326

327 WHEREAS, many agencies, institutions, universities, and Christian denominations
328 around the world are severing financial ties to companies or institutions that help sustain
329 the Israeli occupation and now, notably, have been joined by various Jewish groups in the
330 U.S., such as Jewish Voice for Peace^{xviii} and American Jews for a Just Peace-Boston,^{xix} as
331 well as Israeli groups, such as the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions^{xx} and
332 Coalition of Women for Peace,^{xxi} that support using boycott and divestment strategies;
333 and
334

335 WHEREAS, the United Church of Christ’s efforts to end the Occupation through
336 economic leverage and advocacy for the protection of human rights of all Palestinians
337 and Israelis are not aimed at isolating Israel or any other party but reflect the belief that
338 engagement and communication among all affected by the current tragic situation in the
339 Middle East are in the deepest interests of both Palestinians and Israelis;
340

341 **THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED**, that the Thirtieth General Synod of the United
342 Church of Christ:

343
344 CALLS upon United Church of Christ churches and church members to study
345 thoughtfully the *Kairos Palestine* document, as well as other perspectives on the
346 occupied Palestinian territories, to reflect upon the theological truths within the *Kairos*
347 *Palestine* document, and to take heed of its call for non-violent measures pressuring
348 Israel to end the occupation in solidarity with the Palestinian people suffering under
349 occupation;
350

351 CALLS upon the United Church of Christ Board, the Pension Boards – United Church of
352 Christ, Inc., United Church Funds, conferences, local churches, members, and other
353 related United Church of Christ entities to divest any direct or substantive indirect
354 holdings in companies profiting from or complicit in human rights violations arising from
355 the occupation of the Palestinian Territories by the state of Israel, including, but not
356 limited to, Caterpillar, Inc., Motorola Solutions, Hewlett-Packard Company, G4S, and
357 Veolia Environmental and its subsidiaries until such time as these companies no longer
358 profit from or are complicit in said human rights violations;
359

360 URGES the United Church of Christ Board, soliciting input from stakeholders in this
361 issue, to develop and publish standards by which faith-driven investment, divestment, and
362 re-investment decisions will be made in the future;
363

364 CALLS upon all entities of the United Church of Christ to boycott goods identified as
365 produced in or using the facilities of illegal settlements located in the occupied

366 Palestinian territories, including, but not limited to, Ahava skin care products,
367 SodaStream products, and Hadiklaim dates, and upon church members to join boycotts of
368 such goods in their local communities; and for such boycotts to end when these
369 companies cease operations in the illegal settlements;

370
371 CALLS upon the United Church of Christ Officers and church members to persist in the
372 request to Congress, previously made by a number of religious leaders, to ensure that the
373 U.S. aid to Israel violates neither the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act, which prohibits
374 assistance to any country that engages in a consistent pattern of human rights violations
375 nor the U.S. Arms Export Control Act, which limits the use of U.S. weapons to “internal
376 security” or “legitimate self-defense”,

377
378 COMMENDS United Church of Christ leadership for continuing to dialogue with major
379 Jewish organizations and call for United Church of Christ-wide participation in a rigorous
380 dialogue among the three Abrahamic faiths at all levels – in particular between local
381 congregations – that will be resourced with materials from the Wider Church Global
382 Ministries Middle East and Europe office in order to identify ways in which groups of
383 congregations of different faiths can work in concert to promote sacred reconciliation
384 among all people who are affected by the conflict in the Middle East and to influence
385 public policies in ways that will promote peace and social justice for Palestinians and
386 Israelis and end violence in all its forms;

387
388 CALLS upon the United Church of Christ Board to monitor the implementation of this
389 resolution by all United Church of Christ national entities and to urge that those who
390 manage the United Church of Christ Board’s own invested funds and who provide United
391 Church of Christ Board employee health and pension benefits be in compliance with this
392 resolution; and

393
394 ASKS the General Minister and President to provide an annual report to the whole church
395 on the implementation of this resolution, including a summary of interfaith dialogue at
396 various levels, along with examples of interfaith, congregation-to-congregation peace
397 efforts.

398

399 **FUNDING**

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401 The funding for the implementation of the Resolution will be made in accordance with
402 the overall mandates of the affected agencies and the funds available.

403

404 **IMPLEMENTATION**

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406 The Officers of the Church, in consultation with appropriate ministries or other entities
407 within the United Church of Christ, will determine the implementing body.

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ⁱ <http://www.kairopalestine.ps/sites/default/Documents/English.pdf>.

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- ii “General Synod pronouncement and proposal for action on the United Church of Christ as a ‘Just Peace Church,’” [//www.ucc.org/beliefs/theology/general-synod-pronouncement.html](http://www.ucc.org/beliefs/theology/general-synod-pronouncement.html).
- iii “The Israeli Palestinian Conflict,” <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/1987-ip-resolution.html>.
- iv “Consequences of the Persian Gulf War for a Just Peace Church,” <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/1991-gulf-war-resolution.html>.
- v “The Middle East,” <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/1989-mid-east-resolution.html>.
- vi “Palestine/Israel,” <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/1997-palestine-israel-resol.html>.
- vii Minutes of the Twenty-third General Synod, “*Resolution: Anti-Semitism*,” pp. 11-12, <http://www.ucc.org/assets/pdfs/synod/g23.pdf>.
- viii <http://uccfiles.com/synod/resolutions/Resolution-On-Actions-of-Hostility-Against-Islam.pdf> (2011).
- ix Annual Report, B’Tselem, “*Human Rights in the Occupied Territories 2011*,” http://www.btselem.org/annual_report_2011 and UN Human Rights Council Session 12, “Human Rights in Palestine and Other Occupied Arab Territories,” <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/12session/A-HRC-12-48.pdf>.
- x As John Hickox has observed, “The most recent episode of Israel’s bi-annual atrocities in Gaza has faded from the news. How can that be? An estimated 2106 citizens of Gaza were killed! Israel admits that ‘as many as 72% were civilians.’ That means that 1516 non-Hamas men, women, children and babies were killed by rockets and bombs launched from American-made Apache helicopters and F-16 jets.” <http://cpcjusticeandwitness.com/2014/09/23/where-did-it-all-begin/> Given that Israel is reported to have lost just sixty-seven of its soldiers and only six of its civilians in the recent conflict, there can be little doubt that its response did not meet the just war principle of proportionate use of force. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29503439>.
- xi <http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/>.
- xii “Background on East Jerusalem,” B’Tselem, www.btselem.org/jerusalem.
- xiii <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/study-israel-leads-in-ignoring-security-council-resolutions-1.31971> and <http://www.ifamericansknew.org/stat/un.html>.
- xiv Advisory Opinion, International Court of Justice, 9 July 2004, “*Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory*,” <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?pr=71&code=mwp&p1=3&p2=4&p3=6>.
- xv <http://www.kairopalestine.ps/sites/default/Documents/English.pdf>.
- xvi <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/2005-economic-leverage.html>.
- xvii United Church Funds, “*UCF Mideast Engagements*,” <http://ucfunds.org/social-responsibility/corporate-engagement/economic-leverage/promoting-peace/united-church-funds-engagements/>.

xviii www.jvp.org.

xix www.ajpboston.org.

xx <http://icahdusa.org/an-open-letter-from-jeff-halper/>.

xxi <http://www.coalitionofwomen.org/>.