FOR REFUGEES FROM EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA:

A RESOURCE GUIDE FOR FRIENDS

FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE
of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)
1515 Cherry Street Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

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About this handbook....

The Friends Peace Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting has compiled this introduction to the Sanctuary movement to encourage Friends in their concern about the needs of Central American refugees. The Peace Committee welcomes questions about the United States policies in Central America that contribute to the violence from which refugees flee. We hope that this handbook will help Friends and their Meetings to become involved with the national and local networks working for peace and humanitarian assistance that are listed in the "Resource" section.
"When a church has to break the law in order to provide refuge for homeless people, the struggle for justice has reached a new stage. Now the pastoral has merged with the political, service is prophetic and love is a subversive activity."

Rev. Sid Mohn, officiating at the welcoming service for the "Vargas" family at Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ public sanctuary, August 9, 1982.

INTRODUCTION

In the Refugee Act of 1980, the U.S. government adopted as law the standards of the U.N. Convention and Protocol on Refugees. By its provisions, the U.S. should accord refugee or asylum status to persons who cannot return to their country of origin because of "a well-founded fear of persecution" for reasons of race, religion, political opinion, nationality or membership in a particular social group. These standards clearly apply to the hundreds of thousands who have fled to the United States from El Salvador and Guatemala over the past eight years.

Amnesty International, America's Watch and other organizations monitoring human rights have documented the extreme and continuing repression of the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala toward their civilian populations.

Over 30,000 peasants were murdered by the army in El Salvador in 1932, a horrifying act of savagery that Salvadorans call "La Matanza" (the butchery). But the terror has returned: well over 40,000 non-combatants have been killed since 1979, most of them by the military and by death squads with clear links to the military. Among those killed have been not only four American nuns and two American land reform officers, but also hundreds of political party leaders, labor and peasant organizers, church activists -- even the Archbishop of San Salvador (Oscar Arnulfo Romero). Nevertheless, through the end of 1984, not a single member of the Salvadoran armed forces had been criminally punished for human rights abuses against another Salvadoran. Recently, a new form of danger has arisen for non-combatants: indiscriminate bombing in guerrilla-held areas, with heavy civilian casualties.

Guatemala has been less in the news, but since a U.S.-sponsored coup in 1954, a succession of repressive military governments have ruled there, willing to use the most extreme means to stamp out any challenge to their rule. Dozens of villages have been burned to the ground by army patrols, their inhabitants massacred. Terror has become a normal means of governance. Particularly at risk are the 60% of the population that hold to their ancestral ways, continuing to speak Native American languages.
The national bishop's conference declared in 1984 that "violence had taken possession of Guatemala." America's Watch has called it "a nation of prisoners."

The United States has armed and trained, and still continues to arm and train, the militaries in both El Salvador and Guatemala. Hundreds of thousands of people have fled the repression, torture, and death threats in these two countries. Perhaps 750,000 people have fled El Salvador since 1979. Over a million may have been rendered homeless in Guatemala. A large number of these people are refugees in neighboring countries, but many have found their way to the United States. Even though Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees meet the requirements of the Refugee Act of 1980 and are recognized as refugees deserving protection by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, only a tiny percentage of those who have applied for political asylum have been granted refugee status. In consequence, most do not apply for fear of being deported when their application is denied. The Immigration and Naturalization Service continues to apprehend and deport Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees back to their homelands. There are a number of well-documented cases of refugees denied asylum, deported, then tortured or murdered.

Sanctuary offers a direct and concrete way to challenge the inhuman policy of the U.S. government in Central America, as well as to provide much needed assistance to those who have had to flee their homelands in part because of this policy.
Sanctuary is a symbol to us of our Christian belief that to “love our neighbors as ourselves” includes the provision of shelter, protection from violence and therefore the denial of state-imposed limits on compassion and caring.

Southampton (Pa.) Monthly Meeting, August 1982

When a congregation has to break the law in order to provide refuge for homeless people, the struggle for justice has reached a new stage. Now the pastoral has merged with the political, service is prophetic and love is a subversive activity.

Sid Mohn, pastor
Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ
Chicago, August 1982

These words, spoken as two communities of faith prepared to welcome refugee families from El Salvador whom the Immigration and Naturalization Service wants to deport, voice the convictions of a rapidly growing movement among North Americans willing to take a stand on both the call of their religious faith and the ideals on which their country was founded.

To none has that call sounded more clearly than to Friends, who hear in it the challenge to place conscience above law which has stirred us ever since George Fox proclaimed the Inner Light. Small wonder, then, that over the past 18 months close to a score of monthly meetings from Louisiana to Minnesota have declared their support of sanctuary. In doing so, they follow in the footsteps of Quaker ancestors who pioneered the Underground Railroad for runaway slaves, and of brothers and sisters who opened their meetinghouses to draft resisters during the Vietnam War.

Not that sanctuary as such is part of our Quaker heritage, for the term implies a building at once sacred to the presence of God and a refuge for those fleeing the law. For Friends, God is everywhere; we have never set store by “steeple houses.” Rather, the origins of sanctuary lie primarily with the Roman Catholic church, based on traditions drawn from the Old Testament and recognized in Roman law and English common law.

Today both the Roman Catholic communion and churches of some 11 denominations participate in the sanctuary movement for refugees from Central America; by September 1982 over 80 local congregations were involved in Chicago alone. In its contemporary meaning, sanctuary focuses not so much upon a supposedly inviolable building as upon a community of refuge for the fleeing and oppressed.

The 1983 challenge to which sanctuary churches are responding is our government’s refusal to recognize as refugees those who flee the terror and slaughter of Central America. Slaughter indeed it is, as governments of the few, backed by their security forces using U.S. weapons, confront a largely unarmed majority protesting centuries-old poverty and injustice. As a result of the Central American upheaval, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children have fled the countryside to the larger cities or to neighboring countries. Over 250,000 have found their way to the United States. However, because the United States supports the present regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala, it is unwilling to indict those same governments.

Betty R. Nute is an international development specialist and is former secretary for Latin America, Church World Service. A member of Morningside Heights (N.Y.) Meeting, she is on special assignment from the AFSC board to relate to meetings on Central America/Caribbean issues.
mments by granting fugitives protection under the Immigration and Refugee Act of 1980. Thus, despite well-documented claims (by Amnesty International and similar agencies) of widespread slaughter of civilians, our Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) treats them merely as undocumented aliens seeking work.

Nor will the United States follow the precedent it set in the case of Ethiopian and Lebanese refugees who are allowed to stay until conditions are safe for them to return home. And indeed Central American refugees long to do just that. As a result, the INS continues to deport a thousand Salvadorans and Guatemalans a month, sending them back to danger and possible death.

U.S. supporters have protested this inhumanity and betrayal of our national ideals in articles, demonstrations, and letters to Congress. But the call of conscience compels some to civil disobedience. As Jim Corbett of Pima (Ariz.) Monthly Meeting puts it:

When the government itself sponsors the torture of entire peoples, then it makes it a felony to shelter those seeking refuge, law-abiding protest merely trains us to live with atrocity.

Of all individual Friends identified with the sanctuary movement, Jim Corbett is surely the foremost, having personally smuggled 200 Salvadorans to safety in the United States. Some readers may know him from the CBS "60 Minutes" documentary on sanctuary in December 1982. Others may have read an article in People magazine in August 1982, reporting how he brought from Mexico City to Tucson the survivors of a family who had worked for the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador and was being sought by the security forces.

Jim's chief interest is the National Sanctuary Movement's so-called Evasion Services, which help refugees to reach their destinations in all parts of the United States through a network of safe-houses reminiscent of the Underground Railroad.

Refugees need many other kinds of help too, involving far less risk. Until they can reach family or friends, fugitives need food, shelter, and someone to turn to in a crisis, regardless of whether the refugee is bonded out of a detention center awaiting a hearing on a political asylum application or trying to reach relatives in New York City after slipping across the border without papers. (Appeals in asylum cases, while they have virtually no chance of success, may keep a refugee out of danger for many months.) The Chicago Task Force on Central America suggests six ways in which groups can help, from writing letters of complicity to offering food, clothing, furniture, money for bail bonds, medical or legal help, and companionship.

Typically, a group of local churches agrees to work together on sanctuary. While one makes a "public witness," offering shelter to a refugee family who well understands and agrees to the attendant publicity and risks, others, having signed a letter of endorsement, quietly shelter other families and provide information and medical and legal services.

Sanctuary means offering lifesaving help to brothers and sisters in trouble and danger. It also represents, of course, a powerful educational tool to call attention both to the U.S. role in Central America and to the need to look beyond the East-West rhetoric and respond to the root causes of the struggle.

But sanctuary is not to be undertaken lightly. First among the cautions is the danger of exploiting the refugees, especially when "public witness" is being considered. Then too, aiding refugees may represent a long-term commitment. A few families have been known to need help for a year or more before they became self-supporting, and all need the continuing friendship and support of a loving community until it is safe to return to their homeland.

Nor are the penalties negligible for harboring illegal aliens. For each refugee, an individual may incur a fine of $2,000 and imprisonment for five years, or both. While the INS has yet to enforce these penalties where churches are concerned, the time may come when it does.

Meetings considering either offering or endorsing sanctuary should write to the American Friends Service Committee, Human Rights Program, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102, for a new booklet, Seeking Safe Haven ($4 plus postage). Those who decide to take the plunge will inherit both the risks and rewards of that old Quaker activist Levi Coffin, who, when charged with hiding runaway slaves on his farm in Indiana, is said to have replied in the words of Martin Luther: "Here I stand; I can do no other."

NOW OUT OF PRINT—AFSC OFFERS OTHER INFORMATION. (3/85)
The Sanctuary Crackdown: What's at Stake?

by Phillip Berryman

One measure of a movement's strength may be how zealous the government becomes in its effort to destroy it. The Reagan administration's crackdown on the sanctuary movement signals its indictment not only of those seeking to harbor refugees from political strife, but also of the growing movement to challenge the U.S. government's intervention in Central America.

As if testing the waters, the government has moved first against those who have challenged the morality of existing laws by disregarding them. If successful, we can expect that the government will work with new-found bravado against the broader movement for peace and social justice.

The administration's strategy of sabotage can and must be aborted by deepening our resolve against a U.S. war in Central America and rallying to the defense of sanctuary workers and political refugees.

Below, Phillip Berryman, a consultant with the Americans Friends Service Committee, describes the sanctuary movement, its blossoming support in religious communities across the country, and the government's attempt to quash that support.

The recent U.S. government indictments of well-known members of the Sanctuary Movement, as well as the arrest of many of the refugees they have helped, signal the Reagan administration's stepped-up efforts to counter domestic opposition to its Central America policies.

The indictments and arrests were not a complete surprise to the Sanctuary Movement, however. From its inception, the Sanctuary Movement has sought to challenge the way the U.S. government interprets and applies its own immigration laws to those who flee the violence in Central America.

Based on the Hebrew and Christian scriptures enjoining people to take in the stranger and to shelter and protect the persecuted, the Sanctuary Movement is a nationwide network of religious congregations which publicly give shelter to Central American refugees. Sanctuary is declared by whole congregations, not by small groups within the churches, usually through a consensus that takes months of deliberation to achieve.

Today, more than 180 Protestant congregations, Roman Catholic parishes, Quaker meetings and Jewish synagogues across the country are sanctuaries. They are supported in this by the major national bodies of the Protestant churches, the major co-ordinating bodies of Catholic religious orders, and the National Council of Churches, as well as by religiously related service organizations such as the American Friends Service Committee.

Fleeing Persecution

As many as 500,000 Salvadorans and Guatemalans have come to the U.S. in recent years. The U.S. government claims that they are not fleeing political persecution, but seeking economic betterment; the refugees and the Sanctuary churches who support them challenge that view.

Human rights and church people point out that approximately 50,000 people, mainly civilians, have been killed in El Salvador—one in every 100—since 1980. At least ten percent of the population have been routed from their homes, many fleeing to other countries, including the U.S. In Guatemala, the army has pursued a deliberate policy of mass killing in areas where Indians are judged to be supporting guerrilla groups. The Guatemalan government has admitted that 100,000 Indian children have lost one parent since 1980, and relief and government agencies have documented that some 100,000 Guatemalan refugees have fled the country into Mexico.

The State Department's acceptance of the Sanctuary Movement's viewpoint—that Salvadorans and Guatemalans are fleeing for their lives—would undermine administration efforts to portray the Salvadoran government as making progress toward ending violence against its own civilians. Clearly, the govern-
ment position on refugees is part of U.S. policy on Central America. In its case against the Sanctuary Movement, the government charges that certain acts by the Movement have violated the letter of the law. Rennie Golden of the Chicago Religious Task Force says, "This administration has accused the Sanctuary Movement of criminal acts, but it is the administration that has violated the U.S. Refugee Act of 1980, based on the United Nations Protocol which the U.S. signed. [The Act states that asylum should be given to those fleeing persecution in their own lands or to those who have good reason to fear such persecution.] The government has accused our brothers and sisters of transporting refugees, yet it is this government that has transported over 30,000 Salvadorans back to their homeland where they face possible torture and death. Our government has accused the Sanctuary Movement of inducing refugees to cross the border, but it is this administration that has induced them with its howitzers, helicopters, and gunboats.

Biased U.S. Refugee Policy

Although both U.S. and international law imply an impartial refugee policy, the United States has been much quicker to grant refugee status to people fleeing "communist" regimes than those fleeing anti-communist governments. Cubans, Poles, or Afghans, for example, have little difficulty proving that they are fleeing persecution and are readily granted refugee status. But in the case of Central Americans the Immigration and Naturalization Service seeks a judgment from the State Department. Less than three percent of Central Americans requesting political asylum are accepted and, when they apply, deportation proceedings automatically begin.

What can be done? Quite simply, the government could determine that Central Americans are eligible for extended voluntary departure, a status which, in effect, suspends deportation while a state of unrest and war exists in a people's homeland. In the past, extended voluntary departure has been applied in the case of Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Poland and Uganda. Congress has passed a nonbinding resolution urging the administration to extend such status to Central Americans, and the DeConcini-Moakley bill introduced during the last session of Congress would have brought a moratorium to detention and deportation of Central Americans.

Sanctuary workers speculate that the Reagan administration seeks to halt the movement; refugees in sanctuary are a constant human reminder of the violence engulfing Central America which, they say, calls into question the "rightness" of United States policy in the region.

Sanctuary Movement Strengthens Resolve

Although there were several arrests of Sanctuary workers in 1984, the January indictments seem designed to hit much harder at the Sanctuary Movement as a whole. John Fife, pastor of the Southside Presbyterian Church, and Jim Corbett, an Arizona Quaker and rancher, who were both indicted, have been nationally recognized figures in the Movement.

Administration strategists may have assumed that the indictments of key leaders would deal the Movement a crippling blow. In fact, the Movement is quite decentralized and only loosely coordinated. As one minister remarked, "They thought they were stepping on the head of the Sanctuary Movement, but in fact they just stepped on its tail." Similar statements by other Sanctuary activists across the country indicate that the government's actions may have strengthened the resolve of those involved; and at least 15 religious congregations have become sanctuaries since the indictments.

Whether it inhibits some congregations from joining the Sanctuary Movement, or provokes more into joining it, the Sanctuary Movement hopes the legal case launched by the government will put the Reagan administration's Central America policies on trial.
1. What are the risks?

Even though Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees meet the requirements of the Refugee Act of 1980, The US State Department and the INS refuse to grant them refugee status. According to the State Department and the INS these Salvadorans and Guatemalans are merely seeking employment. They are considered "illegal aliens" and subject to deportation like any others.

Until the State Department and the INS can be brought to change their policy to conform to International Law and the US Code, those who provide help to Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees are subject to prosecution under the Immigration and Nationality Act. Under its provisions harboring undocumented aliens is punishable by a fine not to exceed $2000 and/or imprisonment not to exceed five years (for each refugee aided). Harboring is construed quite broadly: providing a place to stay, a meal, even a cup of tea. Conspiracy to harbor (assisting others in harboring) is subject (for each count) to a fine not to exceed $10,000 and/or imprisonment not to exceed five years. Finally, smuggling illegal aliens is subject to a $2000 fine and five years imprisonment.

Stacey Merkt and Jack Elder, both of the Casa Romero refugee aid project in San Benito, Texas, are the first two Sanctuary activists to be convicted of helping undocumented Salvadoran refugees. In January, 1985, the US government made a concerted strike against the Sanctuary movement by arresting 16 US citizens, including clergy and churchworkers, along with over 60 refugees around the US. This followed a 71-count indictment by a Phoenix, Arizona grand jury. Although public statements from the INS had previously downplayed any government interest in the Sanctuary movement, these indictments revealed several months of government undercover infiltration of Sanctuary work in the Southwest. Trials in these cases are scheduled to begin in early fall, 1985. Despite the January 1985 refugee detentions and others connected to the Arizona cases that have followed, no refugee had been arrested on the property of a Sanctuary religious community as of August, 1985.

In the trials of Merkt and Elder, the court refused to hear any testimony concerning the civil war in El Salvador or the U.S. support for the current regime. For those indicted in Phoenix, the government has filed pre-trial motions seeking to bar any testimony regarding the religious convictions of the accused. At the same time the government has sought to portray the Sanctuary activists as common smugglers and in other ways to smear and discredit the movement. Whatever the outcome of the Phoenix trial, further efforts to stop the Sanctuary movement, including arrests and prosecutions, can be expected.

"These are dangerous times" said Barb Ligoni of the Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ in Chicago, when her church declared Sanctuary on July 24, 1982. "When thousands of innocent people are still being victimized by U.S. supported violence in El Salvador and Guatemala, it is time to escalate the struggle for justice. Dangerous times call for risky responses. The consequences that may happen to Wellington are minimal in comparison to the pain that happens every day to the people of El Salvador and Guatemala."

The best security for public sanctuary, regardless of the political climate, is the most widespread publicity and public support.
2. Do refugees have to stay in the church building?

We recommend that the refugees stay in the church building for at least one or two weeks. This enables an assessment of how INS will react and gives the refugees an opportunity to feel more secure. During this initial period, 24-hour monitors need to be maintained on the church premises, preferably including a Spanish speaking person. Many of the refugees having recently fled extreme violence in El Salvador and Guatemala and this period in the church is an important one for adjusting. For example: one woman arriving for sanctuary expressed the fear that the police or national guard would machine-gun the church. It took her a week to overcome this fear.

Arrange a meeting early on with the family and a lawyer to explain refugee rights and how to proceed if they should be arrested. This should include role-playing and may need to be done more than once. As soon as you and the refugees feel it is safe, they can begin going out of the church building. They should be accompanied until it is reasonably clear they will be safe. In about two weeks the family should be able to move into their residence for resettlement, but the need for companionship and translation will continue for perhaps several months.

3. How long must we be responsible?

There have been families completely self-sufficient within one month. Some families need help for six months; some for a year or more. WE HOPE THAT A FRIENDSHIP WOULD DEVELOP BETWEEN THE SPONSOR AND THE REFUGEES THAT WOULD CONTINUE FOREVER. The friendship offers an ear to hear and a hand, heart, and brain to help whenever such is needed. It must be remembered that refugees are human beings with personalities and problems. We must not expect them all to be "saints" or to share all our North American norms. Over the past years of placing several hundred refugees in sanctuaries all across the US, there have only been a very few situations where problems could only be resolved by the refugees moving to another community. In most cases, it was no one's fault: it just didn't work out and the sites involved have since received other refugees into sanctuary. If such a situation does arise it is the responsibility of the sponsor to cover the costs of moving to another locale in the United States.

The sponsor has a moral commitment to assist in the resettlement of a refugee or family with the goal of helping that family become self-sufficient contributing members of the community as quickly as possible, and to provide legal assistance as long as U.S. policy denies them legal refugee status.

4. How do we know the size of the family we'll get? How long will it take them to get here after we agree to offer sanctuary?

When you agree to offer sanctuary to a refugee family a representative from your congregation contacts the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America (CRTFCA) or one of the other regional groups currently helping to match refugees with congregations. In the Northeast, contact Central America Refugee Action (CARA). (See "RESOURCES" section of this handbook for addresses and phone numbers of these groups.)
The Religious Task Force or other matching group will require the following information:

--What is the living space available for the refugees? (Please include description of inside the church and possibilities in the community.)

--Description of the congregation: denomination, size, previous work or knowledge of Central America, involvement with other justice issues, ethnic and class breakdown, resources for resettlement (jobs, education, medical, and legal resources).

--Description of the community: racial and income mix, size, economy, climate.

--Are there bilingual people in the congregation?

--Can the congregation help financially until the family can have a steady income and give assistance with needs beyond the basic ones, such as sending money for family members in El Salvador or Guatemala or for medical emergencies?

--Can the congregation pay the cost of the family's journey from Mexico, if needed? (Approximately $150 per person).

5. How much money and time does Sanctuary sponsorship require?

The amount of money and time required cannot be precisely determined. Some refugees have achieved financial self-sufficiency in as little as two weeks, while others have needed support for an extended period.

Some of the variables are:

--The congregation's effectiveness in securing contributions of household furnishings, food, clothing, medical and transportation services.

--How quickly jobs are found for the employable members of the family.

--The basic cost of living in the community.

--Possible changes in US policy towards Central America and refugees.

--Support that may become available from other neighboring congregations.

For planning purposes the congregation should think in terms of:

--Answering the immediate needs of the refugees for food, clothing, health care and housing.

--Providing total support until the refugees receive their first paychecks. Taking care of rental costs for housing (if not donated) for at least three months.

--Providing partial support for about six months as the refugees income base stabilizes.

--Being prepared to provide bail for each family member, should they be arrested by the INS. Providing legal counsel. Bail runs about $2-3000 per person. This could be in the form of pledges upon request. Legal counsel can often be found to donate services.

--Continuing the personal contact and emotional support after the financial and material needs of the sponsorship cease.

--Continuing support for efforts to stop the war and violence that creates more refugees in Central America.
General Requirements of Sponsorship

1. Public statement and service inaugurating your congregation as a public sanctuary for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees.

2. Providing food, shelter, clothing, and medical assistance until the refugee(s) can become self-sufficient.

3. Providing assistance in finding employment.


5. Arranging/providing for language learning opportunities for adults and children.

6. Providing cultural orientation.

7. Participating in changing U.S. policies which are making sanctuary necessary for Salvadorans and Guatemalans:
   b. Changing the legal status of Salvadorans and Guatemalans in the U.S. to extended voluntary departure status with employment rights.

8. **MOST IMPORTANT:** Providing a source of personal comfort, encouragement and support to the refugee(s) through the process of adaptation to life in the U.S.

**Sponsorship does not require:**

The sponsor is not liable for debts or bills the refugee may incur other than bail bond should they be arrested by the INS.
CENTRAL AMERICAN REFUGEE CENTER
1801 Columbia Road, N.W. Suite 103 Washington D.C. 20009 (202) 328-9799
CENTRO PARA REFUGIADOS CENTROAMERICANOS

CENTRAL AMERICAN REFUGEE FACT SHEET

WHO IS A REFUGEE?

Under the 1980 Refugee Act and the U.N. Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is any person who is unwilling or unable to return to their country because of a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. For Central Americans, this has meant persecution of students, labor union members, religious workers, peasants and youth.

HOW MANY CENTRAL AMERICAN REFUGEES ARE THERE?

SALVADORAN REFUGEES: Since 1979 an estimated 1 million persons have been made refugees (1/5 of the population both inside and outside of the country). This amounts to one refugee produced every 20 minutes.

-422,000 displaced within El Salvador where they live a precarious existence in church-run refugee camps. Source: Church World Service, SHARE Foundation.

-500,000 seeking refuge throughout Central America, including Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Panama, Belize and Mexico. In Honduras, the refugees have been subjected to particular hardships including repeated forced relocations of their camps to the interior of Honduras, and incursions into the camps by both the Salvadoran and Honduran military. Source: United Nations High Commission on Refugees, SHARE Foundation.

-500,000 seeking safe haven in the United States with friends and family that have come before them. An estimated 250,000 of these entered since January, 1980. Source: Immigration and Naturalization Service.

-65,000 in the Washington Metropolitan Area, making Washington D.C. the second largest refugee concentration in the United States. Large numbers of Salvadoran refugees are also located in Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Boston and Chicago. An estimated 30,000 Salvadoran refugees fled to the D.C. area between June 1981 and June 1982 and more are arriving daily. Source: Comprehensive Technologies International Market Survey on Hispanics in the Washington Metropolitan Area.

GUATEMALAN REFUGEES: Over 1 million persons have been made refugees (1/7 of the population of Guatemala).

-1 million displaced within Guatemala, at least half of these are Mayan Indians who have been uprooted from their homes and forcibly moved to "strategic hamlets" reminiscent of Vietnam. The current government refers to them cynically as "refugee camps". Source: Roman Catholic Bishops Conference of Guatemala.
-200,000 seeking refuge throughout Central America. An estimated 50,000 Mayan Indians are located in camps in the Mexican border state of Chiapas where in the past they have suffered military incursions by Guatemalan troops, as well as forced repatriation by Mexican officials to unknown fates. Source: United Nations High Commission on Refugees.

-80,000 seeking refuge in the United States. An estimated 10,000 have fled to the Washington Metropolitan area. There are also large concentrations of Guatemalans in Southern Florida and Los Angeles where they have become part of the migrant farmworker flow.

WHY HAVE THEY FLED?

EL SALVADOR: -40,000 Salvadoran civilians have been killed since 1980 according to Amnesty International and Salvadoran human rights organizations.

-0.02% of the population, known as the 'oligarchy' or '14 families' owns 40% of the arable land. Less than 2,000 families control 50% of the national income. Source: US AID, World Bank.

-40% of the population is illiterate. Only 3 medical doctors for every 10,000 inhabitants. 73% of the children under 5 show signs of malnutrition. Infant mortality rate: 120 of 1,000 in rural areas. Source: US AID and World Bank.

-El Salvador has been ruled by the world's longest succession of military dictators (over 50 years). Electoral frauds and military coup d'etat have placed in power a series of Civilian-Military juntas which have received the support of all subsequent U.S. administrations.

-U.S. Aid to El Salvador has increased from 79.33 million in FY 1980 to 269.4 million in FY1983. This has included the provision of U.S. military advisors, and the training of Salvadoran troops in the United States and Honduras. Source: Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.

GUATEMALA: -25,000 Guatemalans have been assassinated in 15 years, 11,000 last year alone.

-Top 10% of the population control more than 81% of the arable land, while the bottom 10% of the people work .5% of the land. Source: US AID, World Bank. Amnesty Int'l has called Guatemala the worst human rights violator.

-90% of the rural population is illiterate. There is only 1 doctor for every 8,334 inhabitants. 80% of the children suffer malnutrition. Infant mortality rate: 79 per 1,000 in rural areas. 35% of all children die before the age of 5. Source: World Bank, US AID.

-Since its conquest in the 1530's, Guatemala has enjoyed only 10 years of democratic rule from 1944 to 1954. Since then, the country has been ruled directly or indirectly by an Army trained and supported by all subsequent U.S. Administrations. This amounts to 29 years of military rule.

-Since 1976 the U.S. has been prohibited from providing military aid to Guatemala because of its human rights record. Nonetheless, 10 million in Economic Support Funds were provided from 1980-1982, and 28.9 million in 1983.
WHAT IS THE TREATMENT ACCORDED CENTRAL AMERICAN REFUGEES BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT?

The U.S. has traditionally accorded political asylum (or refugee status) to persons fleeing persecution. This status has been consistently denied to Central American refugees. To admit Central Americans as refugees or grant them Political Asylum would be a clear recognition that Central American governments, which receive millions of dollars of U.S. assistance, violate the human rights of their people.

The U.S. government views Central Americans as economic refugees seeking, as one INS official put it, "A Cadillac and a color TV", rather than as political refugees fleeing persecution and violence. This policy has resulted in discriminatory treatment of Central American refugees including unlawful arrests, higher bonds than those placed on other nationalities (between $2,000 and $5,000 cash, per refugee), coerced signing of so-called 'voluntary departure' agreements which waive the refugee's right to request political asylum. These policies have been described by one federal judge as a "massive campaign to summarily remove Salvadoran refugees from the United States without regard to the merits of their asylum requests" (See Orantes-Herandez vs. INS).

In 1981 and 1982 the INS returned over 24,000 Salvadoran refugees and unknown numbers of Guatemalan refugees back to their war-torn homelands. This amounts to over 1,000 refugees per month. Current levels are somewhat lower due to a Federal Court injunction; however, refugees are still being returned at the rate of over 400 per month. Source: INS statistics.

There is mounting evidence that refugees who have been returned from the U.S. have been found dead or disappeared shortly after their return. CARECEN represents two families in the Washington area who have lost young sons to deportation. One of these, Santana Chirino Amaya, was found decapitated and tortured and buried in a shallow grave at a known dumping ground for victims of political violence, just two short months after being deported by Washington INS officials. His sister and her 3 small children may soon be the next victims as their request for asylum has been denied and their deportation is growing closer.

Of the over 24,000 Salvadorans who have requested political asylum in the United States, only 210 have been granted, this in sharp contrast to treatment accorded other nationalities.

The U.S. has steadfastly refused to grant even a temporary suspension of deportation to Central American refugees despite a U.S. tradition of granting what is known as "Extended Voluntary Departure Status" to nationals fleeing civil strife. Currently Polish nationals in the United States enjoy such a status. This, despite the fact that Congress, the UNHCR and Canadian government repeatedly have urged the U.S. government to end deportations.
The story of the burning bush from the 3rd chapter of the book of Exodus is often depicted as representing God's holiness in isolation from the essence of the Exodus story: the liberation of the people of Israel from the bondage of their slavery in Egypt. To the contrary, the burning bush directly relates God's holiness to that liberating act. The covenant into which Yahweh called his people could not be fulfilled so long as they remained in bondage. For a people to believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob was to be involved with Him in a common search for freedom and justice. Indeed, it was God who initiated Israel's liberation when he said "Let my people go!" So, holiness and history, sacredness and society are elements of the single and indivisible fabric of God's one nature and mission.

But the burning flame which Moses encounters in the desert of Midian does not consume the bush. That flame is symbolic of the nature of divine judgement and of redeeming love; it sears the soul but does not burn the body. How different is this from the ego and hatred and fury we see emanating from the landed aristocracies, military leaders and security forces in Central America today: they burn the body while only sickening the soul. On the other hand, the burning fire of God's judgement also demanded of the Hebrew people, a whole re-examination of their faith and commitment. In the burning desert of Sinai, many of them yearned for the fleshpots of Egypt, for the leeks and the garlic and the cucumbers...for which they were willing to give up their freedom and go back to Egypt in order to satisfy the minimal pleasures of the body. But they were given only manna in the wilderness, bitter herbs and cold, clear water. And with those basic elements and that hard experience, Yahweh toughened their resolve and discipline, and so taught them what it meant to be chosen people. And so he teaches us here tonight.

The flight of the refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala is like the flight of the Hebrews into the Sinai peninsula: that is, into a tough new life and into a harsh new freedom. And the price the Salvadorans and Guatemalans will have to pay for their ultimate freedom will entail much more suffering. And we the faithful here in Washington, DC tonight must understand that this refuge is but a temporary sojourn for these refugees. This is their wilderness, not their promised land. To return one day to a new El Salvador without terror and fear and war, that is their Promised Land. And like the Hebrews, they cannot go back to the old bondage of slavery, but only forward to build a new Jerusalem.

So the burning bush is not merely a symbol for those who were fleeing Pharoah's injustice, but for the leaders and people of the Egyptian empire as well. And so for us, since the injustice that is Central America today has its roots right here. For the histories of Nicaragua and El Salvador and Guatemala have been scarred and torn asunder by American Businessmen exploiting those
people by US Marines and the CIA intervening those lands and taking away their freedoms and democracies; and by US military aid today which is the only prop that allows those despots to remain upon their thrones. So the flame of Yahweh’s judgement and burning wrath falls upon us as well, searing our consciences, pointing to our responsibility, condemning our sin. I speak, my friends, of the hard facts of history and of the harsher sufferings of those people because of what some of our fellow countrymen have done in the past and are still doing today. But this judgement of God’s is good: it sears our consciences so that we too might understand what it means to be a chosen people.

But most of all, when we recall the story of the burning bush, we remember what Yahweh said to Moses and what he says to us here tonight and what he says to the authorities of this land: take off your shoes; take off your self-satisfaction; take off your talk of superiority - “down peacocks feathers” - for this is holy ground. Not merely this temple made with hands and not merely this religious service, but our common commitment to each other: Americans and Salvadorans standing together, hand in hand in solidarity. In this we do a holy thing, a hard but healing thing. Yes, my friends, beyond the sanctity of this place is the holiness of this act. In the tradition of the Exodus, we say “NO” to Pharaoh “NO” to bondage and “NO” to the cruel injustice that is Central America today. And so, this place and this night are indeed sacred. For we are called to do a new thing with Yahweh; we are called by God to be a new people; to sit down together - the poor and affluent, the acceptable and the unacceptable - at the same table of the Lord. But it is not enough for us to do this just symbolically here tonight; we must do it out there in the world each day of the week. God has created this one earth for one human family. And he is calling us to live together as sisters and brothers of one, single, sacred, integrated and inviolate human family with respect and dignity for each and every person.

And so, we welcome these our Salvadoran sisters and brothers into our midst because in God’s holy plan, no one is expendable. Thus we take one small step toward the establishment on earth of the Kingdom of peace to which we have been called.
CONSPIRACY
OF COMPASSION

FOUR INDICTED LEADERS DISCUSS
THE SANCTUARY MOVEMENT

On January 23, while the Inter-American Symposium on Sanctuary was taking place in the same city, John Fife, Jim Corbett, and Phil Willis-Conger were arraigned in Tucson, Arizona. They and 13 other sanctuary workers had been charged with 71 counts, including conspiracy and harboring and transporting “illegal aliens.” Evidence against them included tapes surreptitiously recorded by informants planted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Their trial date is set for April 2.

Stacey Lynn Merkt was convicted of transporting refugees in May 1984 and given two years’ probation. She went to trial again in February on similar charges.

John Fife is pastor of Southside United Presbyterian Church in Tucson. Jim Corbett is a retired rancher. Phil Willis-Conger is project director for the Tucson Ecumenical Council Task Force for Central America. And Stacey Lynn Merkt works at Casa Romero, a hospitality house for Central American refugees in San Benito, Texas.

As participants in the sanctuary symposium, Jim Wallis and Joyce Holiday had the privilege of meeting and conducting the following interview with the four indicted church workers the day after the arraignment in Tucson.

—The Editors

Sojourners: Could you talk about how your faith relates to the work you’re doing, and particularly to your determination to continue doing the work in light of the threats you have received from the government?

Stacey Lynn Merkt: I think that I would start by saying that my faith is my work, and my work is my faith. I believe in the sanctity of life, and that has carried me through the last 10 years or so.

It started out when I lived at Koinonia [in Americus, Georgia]. That’s when I learned about living in community and about the social issues that we need to look at as Christians and as responsible persons today. More than that, I learned about the nitty gritty of seeing Jesus reflected in the face of my brother and sister. That is the essence of what faith is to me.

For me to start responding to the cry of the people in Central America meant that I had to start living and working and touching these people. When I went to work at Casa Romero, these people became more than names and numbers and faces and events. They became Maria, and José, and I put living flesh onto statistics.

Phil Willis-Conger: I grew up in a church that was real concerned about the social gospel and talked about social justice. My parents had been missionaries in Latin America. In growing up I gained some consciousness about some of the major social justice issues, such as racism and U.S. imperialism.

I have a definite sense of what is right and wrong, and I believe that comes out of the very core of me, which is God-centered. If there are people out there suffering, I can’t ignore them. My upbringing won’t allow me to just close my eyes to that.

I’m inspired by the words of people around me and the faith I see in the refugees, the hope that comes out of the incredible suffering and incredible hardship that these refugees are experiencing. They are Christ crucified, and yet the hope is still alive and still there. That keeps me going; that is an important part of my faith.
Well, my name is the same as the name of a former mayor of Tucson, now a judge, a person who is politically prominent here. So I found the name of the top people in the INS and called and said, "This is Jim Corbett here in Tucson. You picked up a Salvadoran at the Madera Canyon roadblock yesterday. I need to know his name and where you have him." The guy looked it up and told me.

He was in the Santa Cruz County Jail. Father Ricardo Alfred was suggested as someone to contact. I asked him if something could be done, and he got me a G-28 form, which establishes legal representation.

I took the G-28 and went down to the Santa Cruz County Jail and managed to talk my way in to see the refugee. I discovered there were more refugees there, and they in turn told me about other refugees who had been picked up at the same time or that they knew about—relatives, and women who were being held in another place. One woman they had heard about was being held more or less in isolation to try to break her, in the women's part of the Santa Cruz County Jail. About 50 in all had been caught in the previous few days.

The first step I took was to get that one G-28 signed and get out and get some more G-28s for these folks, these other refugees I'd run into. I went back to the Santa Cruz County Jail, and they had me wait and wait and wait, and it was getting close to the time I needed to rush to get back to file these things in Tucson. And so I said, "Look, when can I see those guys that I asked you about 30 minutes ago?"

"Oh, the border patrol came and got them 30 or 40 minutes ago," they told me. "There's no way of telling where they've gone."

So then I had to start searching. I found one in south Tucson and the other one up in El Centro [refugee detention center in California]. I was starting to get an education about the border patrol and INS.

There was a Salvadoran with me [on a visit to El Centro] who had a little recorder, which I took from him. The recording would have indicated that they [INS] had systematically denied these people their legal rights. So they locked me in El Centro and said they wouldn't let me out if I didn't give up the tape. Eventually they called their supervisor, who apparently said, "You've got an American citizen in there. You better let him out."

By early June my wife and I had set up an apartment in our house where refugees could stay while they were doing their I-589s, their asylum applications. I got a call from one of the refugees, who by that time was in Phoenix, who said that she had some relatives who had turned up on the other side of the border who were in trouble and didn't know what to do, and could I do something? I didn't know what I could do, but I went down on the other side at midnight and found them hiding under a house. I didn't know how to smuggle, but I got them through the fence.

I went over to visit the priest in Nogales, who is now indicted. He said, "There are refugees being held in the Nogales-Sonora Penitentiary. I give the Mass every Thursday, but they're held in a holding tank separately, and they have an urgent need regularly to contact relatives in the United States, relatives back in El Salvador, and so forth. If there was someone who could go in with me while I give the Mass and talk to these folks...."

So I was "Father Jaime" each Thursday. I'd go in and get letters to Central America and phone numbers of relatives in Los Angeles. We distributed a sheet with my name and number on it, names of organizations giving legal services, and what their legal rights were if they got across the border in the United States. This evolved into an ongoing program. Phil inherited that.

**Willis-Conger:** The difference perhaps between some of our actions and those of other Americans is maybe only that we've been more persistent about it. It's all about responding to your neighbor, Christ in each one of us.

**Corbett:** The personal contact makes the difference. The first week after I learned about the refugee problem, I learned that there...
was a Salvadoran woman with a bullet in her, who was hiding out
and who needed a doctor but was afraid to get help. She’d been shot
in El Salvador just a couple of weeks before, and the bullet was still
in her. I just started calling doctors to see who was willing to risk
license, prison, and so forth in order to let us know what to do about
this woman.

That’s how it was all along. We didn’t ever organize by running
around and asking, “Will you become an active member of this
secret organization?” When someone is in need, a lot of people
respond.

**Sojourners: How and why did you get involved in the sanctuary
movement, John?**

**John Fife:** I think that what Jim has suggested has been common
to all our experience. Our encounter with refugees has been the
point at which we had to make some decision about whether we
would turn our back on this overwhelming need or whether we were
going to meet that need. As soon as you begin that with one refugee,
you begin to hear about others. As we started off, we didn’t realize
we were standing on the edge of a whirlpool that just drew us in as
we began to see the life-and-death plight of the people of El
Salvador and Guatemala.

That started for me when a professional coyote [smuggler] aban-
doned 25 or 26 Salvadorans in the desert west of here in the middle
of the summer [of 1980]. Half of them died of dehydration in the
desert, and the other half were picked up by the border patrol and
brought to Tucson to be hospitalized. INS put a hold on them, so
that as soon as they were released from the hospital, INS would put
them in a detention center and start the deportation process.

Some immigration lawyers came to the churches and said,
“We’ve been talking to these people, and they’re terrified of being
sent back to El Salvador. The churches need to help us.”

At that point I couldn’t have put El Salvador on a map. That
encounter meant that I had to hear about death squads, and about
churches being machine-gunned, and about priests being mur-
dered. The real driver for me was the persecution of the church.

The only thing we could think to do was what I assume people of
faith have always thought of first, and that is, “Let’s pray.” We said
we’d start a prayer vigil for the people and the church of Central
America, and we’d do it every week, and we’d invite our congrega-
tions and others to come and join us. That’s been going on for four
years now; every week we meet to pray for the people of Central
America. That became a gathering place where people who had
bumped into refugees, or immigration lawyers who encountered
them in the detention centers, would come, and we’d talk about the
latest need and how the churches could start helping.

That went on until somewhere around April or May of 1981. Then
the government’s policy in terms of treatment of refugees changed.
As we encountered that hardening of policy, it became clear that we
couldn’t do the work as individual congregations any longer.

We pulled together a meeting of people who were at that prayer
vigil from different churches. We formed a task force under the
Tucson Ecumenical Council—65 Protestant and Roman Catholic
churches—and said we’re going to try to meet those needs. We
entered into an agreement with a paralegal organization. The
churches would raise money for bonds, try to meet the expenses of
the paralegals, and they would do the work in the detention centers,
filling out political asylum applications and filing 1-589s.

The next step was to go to the regional detention center. We
made an absolutely crazy decision at that point. I don’t understand
how rational people can sit down at a first meeting and say, “Okay,
we’re going to raise $35,000 in the next month, and $120,000 in
collateral, and we’re going to take a bunch of volunteers from
Tucson and go over to California and bond out all the Salvadorans
that need to be bonded out in one group a month from now.” And we
did it!

We raised that much money. Some people put up their homes as
collateral. On one day we brought 140 Salvadorans and Guatema-
lans out of that detention center, and then said, “Now what do we
do?”

We had this enormous social service responsibility to relocate
people and get them in touch with families if they had any, and
bring them to Tucson and Los Angeles and put them in the
churches. It took about a month before everybody was settled.

The paralegals went back to the detention center, and the
government had another 200 refugees. We obviously couldn’t sus-
tain that kind of effort or that kind of fund raising, so we put
together a long-range plan. We set a policy in place that we’d try to
raise enough money in collateral to bond out 10 people a week,
those who had been in the detention center the longest. What we
needed to do was give refugees who were under threat of deporta-


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Stacey Lynn Merkt

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Jim Corbett
If you really think that God is calling you to serve the needs of refugees,” he said, “then you must meet their most critical and apparent need, which is to avoid capture and inevitable deportation and death.” He was already doing it, helping people cross the border safely, bringing them to his home. When I first went to Corbett’s house, he had 21 people living in one room.

At any rate, Corbett says to me, “We’ve filled up our house. I’ve got other Quakers’ houses filled up in town. Can I bring people to your church? You’re already keeping Salvadorans that you’ve bonded out of detention centers in your church.” And I said, “Yeah, but that’s legal.” And he said, “Yeah, I know; can I bring Salvadorans who are undocumented to your church?” I said, “Gee, Jim, I don’t make the decisions around here, the elders of my church do. You’ll have to ask them.”

And we did. The elders and I sat down and spent about four hours discussing that question. I was real clear with them, “If the government catches us doing this, it’s five years in prison for every refugee we bring in this church.” They voted to do it.

Some of the refugees would come to worship on Sunday, and I’d introduce them to the congregation as we introduce all guests, and tell their story briefly, and say to the congregation, “Your government says that these people are illegal aliens. It is your civic duty when you know about their status to turn them in to INS. What do you think the faith requires of you?” We’d just leave that question hanging Sunday after Sunday.

The congregation would take people home after church for dinner, call me up later that afternoon and say, “People can’t live in a church; that’s not a decent place for this family to live. They’re going to stay with us for a while.”

By the time the next critical step came, I was driving some refugees from the border up, and so were other members of my congregation. Other church people were involved with that whole work that has since come to be called the “underground railroad.”

But we were all a bunch of amateurs. My training is in Bible and theology, not smuggling and covert activities. We did all the things we saw on television that we thought we were supposed to do. We had codes and code words, and it never worked out. We got a telegram in code from Corbett in Mexico one time, sat down with a whole group of us, and couldn’t figure out what he wanted us to do. It took us two hours.

We got a very clear and direct message from INS and the border patrol, delivered from an INS attorney to one of the paralegals who was working with us. It said, “Look, we know what Corbett and Fife are up to. You tell them to stop it, or we’ll have to arrest them.” We sat around my living room saying, “What do we do now?” I said, “I can see the headlines in the paper now—Presbyterian minister indicted for smuggling illegal aliens.”

We couldn’t stop. We’d already made the decision when we got involved in that whole effort that the life-and-death needs of the refugees overrode any other set of risks that we might encounter here in the United States. The conclusion we came to is the only other option we have is to give public witness to what we’re doing, what the plight of the refugees is, and the faith basis for our actions.

And then the question came, “Well, how do you do that?” Do you call a press conference and say, “Hey, we’d like to acknowledge that we’ve been smuggling people into this country for some time”? It didn’t seem to make any sense.

Out of that discussion emerged the idea that what we’re really doing is the ancient historic tradition of sanctuary in the church. We decided to publicly declare the church a sanctuary and publicly receive a refugee family into the sanctuary of the church. The only thing we could do was tell our story so that at least when they arrested us, they’d have to play on our turf. They would have to deal with the reasons why we did it. And the community and the church would have to deal with that too.

Then I left to make coffee, so they all decided that Southside Presbyterian Church ought to be the one to try it. But then we took about two months—December 1981 and January 1982—and we did Bible study, prayer, discussion, and agonizing over that two-month period. At a four-hour congregational meeting, we took a vote by secret ballot so nobody felt intimidated by anybody else. They voted to declare sanctuary. I think there were 59 affirmative votes, with two negative votes and four abstentions.

Somebody at the congregational meeting said, “Why don’t we ask other churches to do it, too?” And I said, “That’s a good idea! Great idea!” We wrote a bunch of letters to churches across the country and said, “We’re going to publicly receive a family into the sanctuary of the church at worship, and we’ve decided to do that on March 24, 1982. It’s the anniversary of [Archbishop Oscar] Romero’s assassination, and the attention of the church is going to be at least partially focused on Romero and Central America.”

Four other congregations wrote back and said, “Yes, we’ll do it on the same day.” They were First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles; University Lutheran Chapel in San Francisco; Luther Place Memorial Church in Washington, D.C.; and an independent Bible Church in Long Island, New York.

Because we were public, more refugees knew there was a place where they could get help. So we were swamped at the border, and at the same time we were getting requests for information on sanctuary from all over the country. One of the groups that called was the Chicago Religious Task Force, and that relationship developed, and the movement took off.

In 1982 I went to Central America for the first time and got converted. That’s the only way I can describe it. I discovered a new way of reading Scripture, of seeing the community of faith under enormous pressure and persecution respond with courage and hope.

The refugees began to tell us about the comunidades de base, about their experience in the church in El Salvador and Guatemala and the new spiritual vitality and strength that was being given to the people in Central America through their faith. My first sermon to the congregation when I came back was, “This may come as a shock to you, but I have been converted to the Christian faith since I last was with you.”
I think that part of what the sanctuary movement means in North America is that there are covenant communities, congregations who are being converted to the Christian faith, to that spiritual reformation that is now being brought to North America from Latin America and other parts of the world. I now am convinced that there is a genuine reformation, and it's going to change our world as much as the 16th-century Reformation changed our world.

Sojourners: You are all under indictment. What are your reflections now?

Merk: These days are showing us more clearly what it means to be a faithful person. I think we're all aware of what the cost is, but the reality of that becomes a little bit clearer as days go on. What I have learned from the people of Central America is that I believe in a God of love and of life and of faithfulness, and that means that I live each day, come what may.

I think so far as the sanctuary movement goes, everyone has been up front in saying that this [the indictments] can only strengthen and galvanize the response of everyone to meet the needs of the refugees both in El Salvador and here in the United States. I have also become aware that the "subversiveness" of the church that we have experienced through the eyes of the refugees from El Salvador has become more clearly what is happening here in the United States.

I also have been asked about the fears that one individually might have in this seat. We as people of faith need to examine our fears in light of the stories of why the refugees come to us. If we don't take that small step and act regardless of our fears and regardless of whether or not we have courage, we'll never know what courage is. It is step by step and inch by inch that we struggle in our process to live out our faith.

In contrast to that word "fear," I try to look at hope. We are a community of people that God has mandated to act in a certain way—for the best interest of others and also to proclaim that we are a faithful people. These are pretty powerful things.

Willis-Conger: For me it's been a deepening of faith and conviction. I know what's right, and I started in the right direction, and it's the faith that keeps me going down the road that I've already started on.

The way that the government is going about attacking the church and attacking the refugees, they're making it easier for people to understand—by the fact that they infiltrated a church and that they've deceived us as to how they would deal with us. I think that means that the church under persecution is going to respond, and it means a lot of organizing and educating. The religious community—including the Jewish faith and people of conscience who wouldn't even consider themselves religious—is going to respond, and is going to rise to the challenge. I see it happening already.

Corbett: We very quickly discovered in the process of declaring sanctuary that sanctuary is not a place, but that it's the protective community of a congregation of people with the persecuted. It has infinite dimensions.

What we're doing is called for in large measure by our place here on the border. There are all kinds of sanctuary congregations around the country who are discovering new dimensions of sanctuary outreach, of what is most appropriate for them in the way of entering into a protective community with the persecuted.

The sanctuary covenant group that formed in the [San Francisco] Bay area also on March 24 of 1982 instantly launched a program to maintain a protective presence in the refugee camps in Honduras. The Seattle covenant groups are trying to establish sister-congregation relationships with churches in El Salvador. The Madison [Wisconsin] covenant congregations have led in establishing a protective outreach to the border, especially to the Rio Grande Valley. I think we can be pretty confident that sanctuary will continue to be so dynamic that we'll be uncertain at any given moment what it's going to become.

Sojourners: What will be your response in light of the infiltration and deception of the government?

Fife: The refugees have set the agenda; their needs have set our agenda continuously since 1981, and I suspect that they will continue to do that. Depending on what our government decides to do in Central America, depending on what the death squads decide to do in Central America, and depending on what immigration officials decide to do on the border and in Tucson—that will set our agenda, and we'll just have to walk into it one day at a time. We have to struggle in the midst of those things that are out of our control to discover what it means to be faithful from day to day. I now understand that spiritually and emotionally.

I think the other thing we've discovered over the last three years is that we serve refugees more effectively the more we "testify to our faith" publicly. Clearly the government would like through intimidation and harassment, indictments, arrests—now through placing spies and agents inside church worship services and Bible study groups with wire taps and bugs—to drive us more and more into ourselves and our own little "trusted," close-knit organizations. I think we've got to resist all that. I think we've got to be more and more welcoming and open in our invitation to people to join us as a covenant community, and we have to be more and more public in our testimony and in our witness to what our faith is and what we believe.

And I think—I've learned this from a couple of people at Sojourners whom I have just now met—we need to understand what resistance is these days. We have to be more and more creative in finding ways in which the church community can actively resist the evil that is so pervasive around us. Central America and Central American refugees are only one facet of the call to resistance at this point, and Sojourners has helped us to understand that calling.

Willis-Conger: My concept of sanctuary is not just resisting, but a forward-moving, positive kind of thing where we're going out and doing justice as a community. And the reason we've survived here in Tucson is because we've been able to take the initiative instead of just resisting what the government's doing.

Corbett: We're discovering that while as individuals every one of us can make that choice to resist, if we are going to make that choice to do justice, we have to come together in community—and sanctuary takes that step. It's not a step that allows us to avoid that decision between resistance and collaboration, but it's a further awareness—that as communities provide sanctuary, or enter into protective community with the persecuted, the poor, the marginalized of the world, it may result in our becoming "illegals" along with the refugees.

Fife: I think we've all grown in understanding that sanctuary is what God created this world to be. Reverend Marta Beavides [of El Salvador] first told me what we really need to do is work with them to make Central America a sanctuary for Central Americans. Nuclear freeze people have come to me and said what we really need to do is make this earth a sanctuary from nuclear armaments.

I think sanctuary is beginning to capture people's spirits and imaginations. It is the way the church community can really be a covenant community and a way we can understand ourselves and our faith and our role in this world. I'm looking for the whole community gathered to put our souls to work in discovering just what that symbol can mean and how it can explode in our consciousness and lead us into all kinds of creative pilgrimages.
Excerpt from Meeting for Business III

Minute 1985-15

Quakers have long been called to respond to the sufferings of others. We believe that we are called again today to provide aid to Central American refugees fleeing persecution and violence in their homelands.

We cannot plead ignorance of the plight of our neighbors, particularly those from Guatemala and El Salvador, where extreme levels of violence and oppression have been well documented. Under the 1949 Geneva Convention and the 1980 Refugee Act, Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees have the right to remain in safety in this country. Our government, however, does not apply these statutes fairly, and is returning these refugees at even greater risk to the violence they fear.

Of greater importance to Quakers than the legal considerations is our spiritual basis for action. With the fundamental belief in that of God in everyone, we cannot turn our backs on our brothers and sisters who seek safety from oppression and violence in their own country.

After two years of reflections on this issue, it is clear that action must be taken and Intermountain Yearly Meeting therefore makes these commitments and recommendations:

1) Monthly Meetings and Worship Groups are urged to learn the needs of and support refugees in sanctuary, in detention centers, and out on bond awaiting hearings.

Support can include raising bond money and providing legal representation for those in detention centers; providing housing, food, legal assistance, clothing, transportation, educational, emotional and medical aid for those in sanctuary, or out on bond awaiting hearings.
2) Intermountain Yearly Meeting urges our Government to pursue a plan for peace in Central America which would promote the resumption of bilateral and multilateral talks. We ask our Government to actively support the Contadora process.

Here in the United States we support the passage of legislation such as a strengthened Moakley-Deconcini Bill (HR811, SB377), which would end forced repatriation of Salvadoran refugees in accordance with the findings of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In addition we urge the bill be amended to include Guatemalan Refugees.

3) Because of Friends' increasing involvement in providing assistance to refugees, Intermountain Yearly Meeting affirms that Friends providing such aid are acting within the tradition of the Society of Friends and are carrying out the will of the Yearly Meeting with our loving support.

To carry out our responsibility, Intermountain Yearly Meeting approves the formation of a Committee for Sufferings for members and faithful attenders of our member Meetings who are or may be facing legal prosecution or other personal pressures because of their sanctuary ministry to refugees. With the assistance of Monthly Meetings, the Committee, appointed by the Clerk of Intermountain Yearly Meeting, will take the initiative to identify persons needing assistance, keep Monthly Meetings informed of the needs within the Yearly Meeting, request aid, and make available to Monthly Meetings information about resources for aid.
February 10, 1985

Chestnut Hill Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends makes Declaration of Sanctuary for Central American refugees.

We take this stand under the guidance of the 1984 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Minute on Central America as our response to the continuing violation of human rights in Central America and as an expression of our concern for our government's share in the responsibility for that violence.

Just as Friends believe that "there is that of God in everyone" so do we believe that God is everywhere—no more in our Meeting House than in our homes. We offer, then, a Community of Refuge rather than a sacred building. We offer our Meeting House and our Family Houses as asylum.

We shall continue to call upon our government to grant extended voluntary departure status to Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees and to abide by the just U.S. Refugee Act of 1980 thus rendering the Public Sanctuary Movement obsolete.

We make this declaration with the hope of support from the wider community.

Natalie Kempner
Clerk

Charles M. Philips
Clerk of Peace & Social Concerns Committee
RESOURCES

A. NEWSLETTERS, PAMPHLETS

Basic Resources for Declaring Sanctuary:

The Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America has produced three excellent booklets. All are based on first-hand experience in organizing public sanctuary.

Sanctuary: A Justice Ministry, gives historical and theological background, the most-asked questions about sanctuary, and interviews with members of a sanctuary congregation and a refugee family in sanctuary.

Public Sanctuary for Salvadoran and Guatemalan Refugees: Organizer's Nuts and Bolts is a manual on how to organize a sanctuary.

Sanctuary and the Law is a practical guide to the legal issues involved in sanctuary.

Each booklet sells for $3.00. Bulk orders of ten or more reduce the price to $1.50 each. Both prices include postage. Order from The Chicago Religious Task Force, 407 S. Dearborn, Room 370, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 663-4398. Also available from above address:

Basta!: National Newsletter of CRTFCA. To receive this informative newsletter regularly send $15.00 (or what you can afford).

Center for Constitutional Rights. Excellent pamphlets:

Havens of Refuge: The Sanctuary Movement and the Law

If An Agent Knocks: Federal Investigators and Your Rights

$1.00 each—bulk rates available. 853 Broadway, 14th Floor, New York, NY 10003, (212) 674-3303.

National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild:

Central American Refugee Defense Fund NEWSLETTER. Provides up-to-date information for those involved in legal, political and social advocacy for Central American refugees. CARDF, 14 Beacon St., Suite 506, Boston, MA 02108, (617) 227-9727.
B. BOOKS


C. SLIDESHOWS


Why Public Sanctuary?: 13 minute slide/tape introduction to the concept of public sanctuary. To rent ($10) or purchase ($35): CARA, 509 Brook Lane, Conshohocken, PA 19428, (215) 825-1799.

D. FILMS, VIDEOTAPES

A New Underground Railroad: 30 minute documentary aired on PBS in 1983. Story of Salvadoran family's flight to public sanctuary in Madison, Wisconsin. Includes church congregation's struggle with decision.

Sanctuary: 35 minute 1983 BBC production. Includes interviews with Jim Corbett and John Fife.

These two TV productions can be purchased on a single VHS tape from A.F.S.C., 745 E. 5th St., Tucson, AZ 85719. $10.00. In Philadelphia area this tape may be borrowed from CARA (215) 225-1799.

El Norte: Full-length feature film available at your local video store. This is the moving and realistic story of a Guatemalan brother and sister's flight from violence in their village to their confrontation with life in the U.S.
Guazapa: 37 minute color documentary on life in rebel-controlled area just 20 miles from San Salvador. Provides graphic testimony of army massacres of civilian populations. U.S. Dr. Charlie Clements is seen at work administering health care. Best film documentary, Philadelphia International Film Festival, 1984. To rent ($60) or purchase ($595), (English or Spanish): The Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, New York, NY 10019, (212) 246-5522.


E. ORGANIZATIONS

1. National Groups

Contact: Angela Berryman

Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Room 370, Chicago IL 60605, (312) 663-4398.

Church World Service, Immigration and Refugee Program, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 665, New York, NY 10115, (212) 532-6350.

National Center for Immigrants' Rights, 1550 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, CA 90017, (213) 487-2531.

2. Local Groups (Philadelphia area)

Central America Refugee Action (CARA), P.O. Box 13365, Philadelphia, PA 19101.
Contact: Natalie Kempner, (215) 825-1793.

Office of Information and Solidarity with Salvadoran Refugees, P.O. Box 46202, Philadelphia, PA 19191-2602, (215) 662-5366.
SALVADORAN DEPORTATIONS MUST STOP

URGE PASSAGE OF MOAKLEY/DECONCINI BILL (H.R. 822/S. 377)

Since the outbreak of civil war in El Salvador in 1979, over 50,000 unarmed civilians have been murdered and the killings continue. Although death squad activity has decreased somewhat, the war has recently escalated. This has led to growing displacement of villagers, many of whom tell of indiscriminate aerial bombing of civilians by the military. Altogether, at least 20% of the Salvadoran population has been forced to leave their homes since 1979.

Many of those displaced are still in El Salvador, but hundreds of thousands have fled the country. The U.N. High Commission for Refugees estimates that there are over 200,000 Salvadoran refugees in the neighboring countries of Central America, only a small percentage of them assisted by the U.N. or other relief organizations.

Another 500,000 have fled to the United States. A recent M.I.T. study found that "fear of political violence is an important and probably dominant motivation of Salvadorans who have migrated to the United States since 1979." Nevertheless, the U.S. government continues to deny legal status to these Salvadorans, deporting them at a rate of approximately 100 per week.

The Moakley/DeConcini Bill

The Moakley/DeConcini bill (H.R. 822/S. 377) will provide a temporary suspension of deportation to these Salvadorans now within our borders. The President would be mandated to prepare a report for Congress on the situation of Salvadoran refugees. Congress would hold hearings on the report before deciding whether or not to resume deportations. Introduced by Rep. Joe Moakley (D-MA) and Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), the bill has gathered 152 co-sponsors in the House and 23 in the Senate.

What You Can Do

1) If they are not already, urge your Representative and Senators to become co-sponsors of the bill;

2) If they are co-sponsors, urge them to call for prompt action by the Congress.

For further information on this legislation, write or call: American Civil Liberties Union, 600 Pennsylvania Ave. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202-544-1681), or, Church World Service Refugee Program, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10015 (212-870-2164).

KEEP UP TO DATE ON ALL CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS ON CENTRAL AMERICA—CALL THE CENTRAL AMERICA HOTLINE OF THE COALITION FOR A NEW FOREIGN & MILITARY POLICY FOR A RECORDED SUMMARY OF ISSUES AND ACTIONS: 202-483-3391.
SUPPORT SURVEY

NAME: ____________________________
ADDRESS: ____________________________
PHONE (DAYS): __________ { EVENINGS }

CO-PANIONSHIP: A companion must be with the refugee(s) at all times while they are living in the Meeting House. Refugees must also be accompanied to appointments, speaking engagements, etc.

____ I can provide companionship morning afternoon evening evening
____ I can accompany to ______ evening speaking engagements. Other

LIVING NEEDS WHILE IN MEETING HOUSE:
____ Food: ______ donate groceries ______ provide some meals ______ donate $ for food.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES:
____ Orientation to community—shopping, resources, education, etc.
____ Recreation—festivals, trips, parks, sports, etc.

EMPLOYMENT:
____ Help locate job(s) ______ Help in job training Other: __________
____ Provide paid work ______ full-time ______ part-time ______ occasional ______ yard ______ housewk.

SERVICES:
____ Legal/paralegal aid ______ assist in finding pro bono legal aid.
____ Medical/dental aid ______ assist in finding pro bono medical/dental aid.
____ Spanish/English interpreter
____ Provide English language lessons.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT
____ I will commit $ ______ every week/month for support of refugee(s) for a period of ______ months.
____ I will make an emergency cash pledge of $ ______ to be called on with 24 hours notice if needed—for emergency needs—bail bond costs, legal fees, medical crises.

I would like to serve on the Chestnut Hill Sanctuary Committee
Areas of Interest:

PLEASE MAIL TO: CHESTNUT HILL SANCTUARY
For information: Chestnut Hill Friends Meeting
100 E. Mermaid Lane, Philadelphia, PA 19118
Call Betsy Naghski: 233-1576
Natalie Kempner 825-1799

Please write suggestions, comments on reverse side.
Sanctuary Monthly Meeting List June 1985

Adelphi Friends Meeting
2303 Metzerott
Adelphi, MD 20783

Albany Friends Meeting
727 Madison Ave.
Albany, NY 12208

Ann Arbor Friends Meeting
4215 Shetland Dr.
Ann Arbor, MI 48104

Austin Friends Meeting
3014 Washington Sq.
Austin, TX 78755

Baltimore Monthly Meeting
5160 N. Charles
Stony Run, MD 21210

Baton Rouge Friends Meeting
780 Jenifer Jean Rd.
Baton Rouge, LA 70808

Berkeley Monthly Meeting
1600 Sacramento
Berkeley, CA 94702

Boulder Meeting of Friends
P.O. Box 4363
Boulder, CO 80306

Champaign/Urbana Friends Meeting House
714 W. Green
Urbana, IL 61801

Charlottesville Friends Meeting
523 Eastbrook Dr.
Charlottesville, VA 22901

Chestnut Hill Friends Meeting
100 E. Mermaid Lane
Philadelphia, PA 19118

Claremont Friends Meeting
727 W. Harrison
Claremont, CA 91711

Coastal Bend Friends
P.O. Box 1703
Corpus Cristi, TX 78403

Community Friends Meeting
3960 Winding Way
Cincinnati, OH 45229

Dallas Friends Meeting
122 Beckleywood
Dallas, TX 75224

Davis Friends Meeting
607 E. 11th St.
Davis, CA 95616

Duluth Superior Friends Meeting
1316 E. 6th St.
Duluth, MN 55805

Eugene Friends Meeting
2400 Floral Hill Dr.
Eugene, OR 97403

Friends Meeting
2590 Great Highway 3107
San Francisco, CA 94116

Ithaca Monthly Meeting
1006 Spring Street Extn.
Groton, NY 13073

Kalamazoo Friends Meeting
500 Demer St.
Kalamazoo, MI 49007

LaJolla Friends Meeting
7380 Eads Ave.
LaJolla, CA 92037

Langley Hills Friends Meeting
Langley Hills, VA 22061

Morningside Friends Meeting
15 Hansen Ave.
New York, NY 10956

Mt. Toby Friends Meeting
3 Langworthy Rd.
Northampton, MA 01060

Oklahoma Friends Meeting
312 S.E. 25th
Oklahoma City, OK 73103

Orange Grove Friends Meeting
526 E. Orange Grove Blvd.
Pasadena, CA 91104
Palo Alto Friends Meeting
957 Colorado Ave.
Palo Alto, CA 94303

Penn Valley Meeting
4405 Gillham Rd.
Kansas City, MO 64110

Pima Friends Meeting
8123 E. McLaren St.
Tuscon, AZ 85715

Religious Society of Friends
1384 Fairview Rd.
Atlanta, GA 30307

Religious Society of Friends
1185 E. Jefferson St.
Iowa City, IA 52240

Rochester Friends Meeting
41 Westminster Rd.
Rochester, NY 14607

Santa Cruz Monthly Meeting
P.O. Box 813
Santa Cruz, CA 95601

Southampton Friends Meeting
Gravelhill Rd. & St.
Southampton, PA 18966

Strawberry Creek Friends Meeting
P.O. Box 5065
Berkeley, CA 94705

Twin Cities
Friends Sanctuary Committee
2700 Park Ave. #1406
Minneapolis, MN 55407

University Friends
4001 9th Ave.
Seattle, WA 98112

Wooster Friends Meeting
404 E. Larwill St.
Wooster, OH 44691

NOTE: This list is based on the Chicago Religious Task Force list of declared public Sanctuaries. Many Friends Meetings are also helping refugees in other ways, including the support of sanctuary congregations. Please let us know if there are changes or additions that we should make in this list.

AUGUST, 1985