

The Standing Commission on Peace with Justice

A. MEMBERSHIP

The Very Rev. William Rankin, *Chair*, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1994)
The Rt. Rev. Donald P. Hart, Honolulu, Hawaii (1994)
The Rt. Rev. James H. Ottley, Panama City, Republic of Panama (1994)
The Rt. Rev. Edward L. Lee, Jr., *Vice-Chair*, Kalamazoo, Michigan (1997)
The Rev. Robert L. Sessum, Lexington, Kentucky (1997)
Dr. William H. Anderson, Charlottesville, Virginia (1994)
The Hon. Viron P. Vaky, Potomac, Maryland (1997), resigned, *replaced by* Ms.
Carolyn H. Carlburg, Altadena, California
Mr. Warren Preece, N. Orange, Massachusetts (1994)
Ms. Patricia A. Washburn, Estes Park, Colorado (1994)
Ms. Nell Gibson, New York, New York (1997)
Ms. Marcy S. Walsh, *Executive Council liaison*, Summerville, South Carolina (1994)
The Rev. Brian Grieves, *staff liaison to Episcopal Church Center*
Ms. Anne Shirk, staff

Representatives of the Commission at General Convention

In the House of Bishops, the Rt. Rev. James H. Ottley, the Rt. Rev. Donald P. Hart and the Rt. Rev. Edward L. Lee, Jr., are authorized by the Commission to receive non-substantive amendments to the report. In the House of Deputies, the Rev. Jane Garrett is authorized by the Commission to receive such amendments.

B. SUMMARY OF THE COMMISSION'S WORK

The Standing Commission on Peace with Justice met four times a year during the triennium. In addition, two subcommittees made fact-finding trips in the summer of 1993: to Hawaii and the Philippines (Hart, Rankin, Carlburg and Grieves) and to Panama, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Nicaragua (Ottley, Sessum, Anderson, Washburn, Gibson and Shirk). Two others visited the Middle East (Gibson and Sessum).

The Commission wishes to give special thanks to the Rt. Rev. Robert L. O. Longid, Bishop of Northern Philippines; the Rt. Rev. James H. Ottley, Bishop of Panama; the Rt. Rev. Julio C. Holquin, Bishop of the Dominican Republic; the Rt. Rev. Emilio J. Hernandez Albalate, Retired Bishop of Cuba; the Rt. Rev. Sturdie Downs, Bishop of Nicaragua; the Most Rev. Samir Kafity, Episcopal Bishop in Jerusalem; and their staffs for planning and hosting the visits of the two subcommittees.

Further gratitude is given the Rev. Gary L. Commins and the Rev. Nathaniel W. Pierce from the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, who drafted a working paper on international

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arms sales and transfers for the Commission, and Lee Davis Thames who consulted with the Commission on the issue.

C. FINANCIAL REPORT

<i>Income</i>	1992	1993	1994	<i>Total</i>
Appropriated by Convention	\$18,307	\$33,005	\$9,519	\$60,831
<i>Expenses</i>				
General Meetings	13,845	5,045	6,849	
Task Force Meetings		25,572		
Postage, Telephone, Xeroxing	245	385	238	
Printing		<u>2500</u>	<u>2,500</u>	
Total	<u>\$14,090</u>	<u>\$33,502</u>	<u>\$9,587</u>	<u>-\$57,179</u>
		Balance:		\$3,652

D. RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMISSION

Resolution #A096

1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1994 General Convention of the**
2 **Episcopal Church commend to dioceses and parishes for study and discussion *Danger***
3 ***and Hope in a Turbulent World: A Quest for Christian Understanding*, a useful, current**
4 **description of large-context global politics, produced by and available from the**
5 **Diocese of Washington, Episcopal Church House, Mount St. Alban, Washington, DC**
6 **20016.**

Resolution #A097

Peace and Justice in the Philippines

1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1994 General Convention of the**
2 **Episcopal Church urges the U.S. government to adopt a foreign policy for the**
3 **Philippines which promotes the protection of human rights, supports the reduction**
4 **and/or restructuring of debt owed by the Philippine government to the World Bank**
5 **and the International Monetary Fund, terminates direct and indirect military aid,**
6 **discourages the "total war" policy of the current Philippine government against the**
7 **insurgency, and supports land reform; and be it further**

8 *Resolved*, **That the Secretary of the 1994 General Convention be requested to send a**
9 **copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State and**
0 **to the Episcopalian and other appropriate Members of Congress.**

Resolution #A098

Panama

1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1994 General Convention of the**
2 **Episcopal Church urges the United States government to complete reparations**
3 **payments to the Panamanian people (appropriated in 1990 by Public Law 101-302)**
4 **for the damage and destruction caused by the December 1989 invasion; and be it**
5 **further**

6 *Resolved*, **That the Secretary of the 1994 General Convention be requested to send a**
7 **copy of this Resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State**
8 **and to the Episcopalian and other appropriate Members of Congress.**

Resolution #A099

Cuba

1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1994 General Convention of the**
2 **Episcopal Church urges the government of the United States to re-examine its foreign**
3 **policy with respect to Cuba, in light of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the**
4 **subsequent human deprivation incurred by the withdrawal of Soviet support, and the**
5 **continuing U.S. embargo; and be it further**

6 *Resolved*, **That the Secretary of the 1994 General Convention be requested to send a**
7 **copy of this Resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State,**
8 **and to the Episcopalian and other appropriate Members of Congress.**

Resolution #A100

Nicaragua

1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1994 General Convention of the**
2 **Episcopal Church urges the United States government to honor its commitment to the**
3 **Nicaraguan people by releasing the monies appropriated in 1990 under Public Law**
4 **101-302 to assist in the peaceful rebuilding of Nicaraguan society; and be it further**

5 *Resolved*, **That the Secretary of the 1994 General Convention be requested to send a**
6 **copy of this Resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State**
7 **and to the Episcopalian and other appropriate Members of Congress.**

Resolution #A101

Refugee Policy

1 *Resolved*, the House of _____ concurring, **That the 1994 General Convention of the**
2 **Episcopal Church urges the United States government to reformulate its refugee**
3 **policies, abiding by the internationally accepted definition of "refugee," particularly**
4 **as these policies pertain to persons from Central America and the Caribbean Basin;**
5 **and be it further**

1 *Resolved, That the Secretary of the 1994 General Convention be requested to send a*
2 *copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the*
3 *Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Services, and to the Episcopalian and*
4 *other appropriate Members of Congress.*

Resolution #A102

Christian, Jewish, Muslim Conversation

1 *Resolved, the House of _____ concurring, That the 1994 General Convention of the*
2 *Episcopal Church urges congregations to enter into conversation with American Jews*
3 *and Muslims to develop mutual understanding and respect, to discuss their respective*
4 *concerns with regard to peace with justice in the Middle East, and the continuance of*
5 *the City of Jerusalem as an interreligious municipality with provision for the*
6 *co-existence of Christians, Jews, and Muslims.*

Resolution #A103

Affirmation of the Israeli-PLO Declaration of Principles of September 1993

1 *Resolved, the House of _____ concurring, That the 1994 General Convention of the*
2 *Episcopal Church:*

3 1. Affirms and supports the Israeli-PLO Declaration of Principles signed in
4 September 1993.

5 2. Urges all parties concerned to do all in their power to implement the
6 Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, and the elected Council, authorized
7 by the above-mentioned Declaration, and all the other agreed upon principles and
8 undertakings.

9 3. Urges the United States government to continue to promote the peace process
10 and work with other nations to assure the necessary initial funding, as well as
11 long-term regional economic development; and be it further

12 *Resolved, That the secretary of the 1994 General Convention be requested to send a*
13 *copy of this resolution to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Chairman Yasser Arafat, the*
14 *President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Episcopalian and other*
15 *appropriate Member of Congress, and to the Most Reverend Samir Kafity.*

Resolution #A104

Arms Sales

1 Resolved, the House of _____ concurring, That the 1994 General Convention of the
2 Episcopal Church urges the President and the Congress of the United States to:

3 1. Strictly enforce the Arms Export Control Act and the Foreign Assistance Act
4 in order to curtail international arms sales;

5 2. Expand the 30-day period to bar a weapons transfer to at least
6 "30-days-in-session," to allow more time for Congress and the public to consider the
7 long-term consequences of each arms deal;

1 **3. To end taxpayer and other government subsidies for arms bazaars; and be it**
 2 **further**

3 *Resolved, That the Secretary of the 1994 General Convention be requested to send a*
 4 *copy of this resolution to the President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, and to*
 5 *the Episcopalian and other appropriate Members of Congress, and that the*
 6 *Washington Office of the Episcopal Church be directed to report to the Standing*
 7 *Commission on Peace with Justice on this and other pertinent legislation.*

E. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR THE COMING TRIENNIUM

We recommend that this commission take an interest in developments in South Africa, following the 1994 elections there. We also recommend that United States immigration policies be evaluated in the light of racial justice principles.

F. PROPOSED BUDGET FOR THE COMING TRIENNIUM

	<i>1995</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1997</i>	<i>Total</i>
General Meeting Expenses	\$19,140	\$10,525	\$9,000	
Task Force Travel		25,765		
Postage, Telephone, Xeroxing	<u>275</u>	<u>400</u>	<u>250</u>	
Total	\$19,415	\$36,685	\$9,250	\$65,075

G. PROPOSED RESOLUTION FOR BUDGET APPROPRIATION

Resolution #A105

Funding for the Standing Commission on Peace with Justice

1 *Resolved, the House of _____ concurring, That the sum of \$65,075 be appropriated for the*
 2 *triennium 1995-1997 from the Assessment Budget of the General Convention for the*
 3 *expenses of the Standing Commission on Peace with Justice.*

H. APPENDIX

Introduction

The Gospel challenges us to fashion a just and peaceable world. This is not at the periphery, but the center, of the Christian life. Jesus of Nazareth, our clearest perception of the Divine, based his entire ministry upon preaching good news to the poor, proclaiming release to the captives, and setting at liberty those who were oppressed (Lk. 4:18). In fulfilling this mission, he allied himself expressly with the hungry, thirsty, naked, sick, imprisoned, and the strangers—in short, with the real and potential victims of violence and injustice (Mt. 25:31-46).

Through the risen Christ, God has created a new community in which "there is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, but all are one" in him (Gal. 3:28). In faith, therefore, we now live in a new social order, where injustice-making distinctions based

upon race, culture, and gender are overcome so that we may truly be sisters and brothers to each other. To live justly, at peace, is the consummate life of Christian faith.

But still the creation groans in travail. The least, the lonely, and the lost—Jesus' special friends—still live at the mercy of the powerful. This is evident upon examining earlier reports of our Commission to General Conventions; so little relief, so little progress. We emphasize that filing a report, describing a problem, in no way means that things are therefore resolved. The situation in the Middle East is changing politically, for instance, but the economic prospects for many Palestinians will remain grim for years to come. The same can be said concerning the impoverished people in the small countries we visited south of the United States.

Looking ahead, we have the same concern: describing the bleak circumstances of the Philippine poor must not engender complacency because "now *that* issue has been addressed." The poor of that archipelago will always be with us, because the structural oppression there is durable. The good will of sincere Christians will be needed in the Philippines for a long time to come.

In the present triennium we elected to visit countries deeply entangled with the U.S. during its era of "Manifest Destiny"—the Philippines, Panama, Cuba, Dominican Republic and Nicaragua. The U.S. Episcopal Church, for example, came into Northern Luzon as a result of U.S. military, political and economic control of Manila. Anglican and later Episcopal clergy also accompanied U.S. fruit companies and other business interests settling in the Caribbean and Central America. Episcopal Church congregations grew up around these enterprises and were part of the cultures and economies they created.

We have rightly been proud of our Church's historic missionary activity, but our very involvement in many countries evokes a disturbing awareness of the violence and injustice associated with "Manifest Destiny" itself.

Episcopal Church bishops in the countries we visited invited us there. We went to listen and learn, returning with a deep appreciation for the faith and courage of the people, and a corresponding skepticism concerning historical and recent decisions made in the U.S. This will be elaborated in our report.

Still festering from the previous triennium like a raw sore is the Middle East crisis. Bishop Samir Kafity continues to plead for attention to that dangerous region; thus our report of 1991 is updated.

Also included is a report on international arms sales mandated by the 1991 General Convention.

To our great sorrow, we repeatedly discovered racism to be cause and effect of violence and injustice. The connections between "Manifest Destiny" and "white man's burden" are close and clear. We believe that eradication of race prejudice would be the most important single step leading to a just and peaceable world.

The Philippines

Charles Henry Brent, appointed Missionary Bishop of the Philippines in 1901 by the U.S. Episcopal Church, traveled to the mountains of Northern Luzon, where he declined three subsequent episcopal elections in order to continue establishing congregations in the beautiful, rugged Cordillera. Perhaps it was there that Brent wrote the well-known collect that begins, "Lord Jesus Christ, you stretched out your arms on the hard wood of the cross

that everyone might come within the reach of your saving embrace..." Nearly a century later, four members of the Standing Commission on Peace with Justice went to the Cordillera with the hope of witnessing the continuing struggle for peace and justice in the Philippines, and attempting to understand the moral imperatives of the United States toward its former colony. There we discovered a vital ministry of service amid terrible poverty, armed struggle, ambush, intimidation, extrajudicial killing and kidnapping.

In April 1993 our group initially met in Honolulu with Filipino expatriate clergy and the Consul General of the Philippines. Most of the priests were originally from the Mountain Province, where the insurgency led by the National Democratic Front (NDF) and its military arm, the New People's Army (NPA), is presumably centered; this is where we were headed. The issues, we were told, included the recent closure of the two major U.S. bases in the Philippines, and the economic and political implications of this; the large number of Amerasian children fathered by U.S. military personnel; land reform; the vexing problem of electrical blackouts (for which President Fidel Ramos has recently received emergency powers); the tremendous diversity of the Filipino people (which makes national unity so difficult); the shocking disparities in income; and the "total war" policy of the government against the NDF and the NPA.

At the headquarters of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines in Manila we were told of the concern about the round-up of political prisoners, the anti-subversion law, the foreign debt, the fact that only a tiny minority control all the land, and the hope for a justice-based (rather than force-based) peace. The principal tactical objective of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines is to avoid a perhaps lethal alignment with either the government or the NPA, while ministering among people caught in a web of helplessness and intimidation, without hope of control over their political or economic future.

The Episcopal Church in the Philippines was first established in Sagada, the most northern section of the Cordillera region. There, by government decree, all lands on a slope greater than 18 degrees belong to powerful interests in Manila, who run the government.

In Aguid, a mountain village in the Cordillera, the local Episcopal church was desecrated when the army used it as a garrison. There is a heavy military and paramilitary presence in the village and NPA activity as well. The paramilitary are set up by the army to control the insurgents. This frees the army to move on, in accordance with the "special operations" counter-insurgency philosophy learned from U.S. military advisors. There are over 150,000 paramilitary personnel now operating in the country. In reaction to U.S. "low intensity conflict" training of the military, the NPA "sparrows," a hit squad, killed a U.S. army colonel in downtown Manila.

The people had once tried to establish Sagada as a violence-free zone. Then the army, according to Sagada officials, staged a mock battle, presumably against encroaching NPAs, and moved back into Sagada. Both sides now carry out attacks on dwellings and encampments, roadside ambushes, assassinations, arrests, detentions, sabotage and disappearances. The people seem tired, patient, nervous, hopeful, and fatalistic all at once.

The Role of the Church

At the diocesan office in Bontoc, we met with staff from the Task Force Detainees, a non-governmental organization established by the Roman Catholic Church in 1974, two years after the declaration of martial law. This group is charged with investigating and

documenting political arrests and detentions, extrajudicial killings (known as "salvagings"), and disappearances. Present also were staff of the Human Rights Desk of the Cordillera People's Alliance, the Mountain Province, and from the Development Association for Tribes in the Cordillera.

The Rev. Victor Ananayo, Social Concerns Officer of the Episcopal Diocese of the Northern Philippines, described the Church's ministry as service among the people without becoming aligned with any group, government or insurgent. This is difficult when the military holds the view that whoever is not totally for the military is against the military. For instance, when the diocese interceded to have soldiers captured by the NPA turned over to the bishop, Robert Longid, the Church was caught between the families of these men, who wanted them home, and the army, who wanted them first. When the army arrived at the diocesan office they were blocked by the women of the soldiers' families, who took their men home. This was not the first time that the women had been effective in opposing the army. When government bulldozers were poised to strip mine for copper, the women disrobed and lay down in front of the vehicles; the drivers ran away.

Later, Bishop Longid spoke of the year when former President Ferdinand Marcos was forced into exile: "We found out in 1986 that driving out a tyrant does not end tyranny." When asked about danger to him personally, this impressive bishop said, "I told a missionary conference in Sewanee that one of these days Bob Longid may be killed, and the bullet will have come from you," referring both to U.S. arms transfers to his nation, and to the 1983 military statement naming him a "confirmed communist terrorist."

"The church has been critical of much government activity," said Bishop Longid, "especially regarding human rights. We protested, with the people, an enormous dam project that would have placed this entire city under water, displacing all the people. This whole region has been drained of its natural resources to benefit the wealthy. The Mountain Province is the headwaters for ten big rivers that water the lowlands; they have taken our gold and copper deposits. All these resources have been extracted, and nothing is put back into this region. In this office we settle tribal differences....You see we have staff workers for social concerns and for economic development. The Church must help the people, but for this we are accused of being NPA."

What we learned is confirmed by a late 1992 Amnesty International publication: "Since 1988 at least 550 people, all of them unarmed, have been killed by government or government backed forces in the Philippines. It is likely that many more have died....The armed opposition has also been responsible for political killings. The victims have included residents of rural communities, trade unionists, government officials and opposition group members suspected of spying for the military."

An Agenda for Change

The Episcopal Church in the Philippines is in real danger of being crucified. As members of the SCPJ tried to come to terms with the horror of this prospect, we were captured by the Church's determination to be faithful in service to the Filipino people. We remind the General Convention that since Bishop Brent our identity as Episcopalians has been tied to theirs. The Standing Commission on Peace with Justice was asked to request that the U.S. government protest human rights abuses, provide debt reduction or restructuring, end the arms transfers, promote land reform, repudiate official corruption,

refuse to participate in the government's "total war" policy, and support environmental protection, the things that make for justice and peace.

The ministry of the Episcopal Church is simple in concept: Give hope to the people, practically, by helping them in agriculture and development, and by witnessing in courageous patience to a divine promise of faithfulness to those who walk in darkness and in the shadow of death. But embodying the concept is not easy in a context of intimidation and violence. It requires tenacity, singleness and purity of heart, and no little portion of God's gracious mercy and protection.

Panama, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Nicaragua

These four countries, two in Central America, two in the Caribbean, visited by six members of the Standing Commission in June 1993, have histories and current political concerns that are closely intertwined with the United States. In Episcopal Church polity, three of these countries—Panama, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic—are presently dioceses in Province IX of the Episcopal Church, USA. The Diocese of Haiti is part of Province II, and the Diocese of Cuba is extra provincial to the Metropolitan Council that consists of the Primate of Canada, the Archbishop of the West Indies and the President of the U.S. Church's Province IX. The legacy of Manifest Destiny in the Western Hemisphere, coupled with the end of the Cold War and rising ethnic tensions, has severely affected these nations to our south. Building and rebuilding democratic structures during this period of economic deprivation is causing much dislocation in all these societies.

Though U.S. citizens often stereotype these and other Central American countries on the basis of their Spanish language and Spanish cultural heritage, each of these nations has a unique history and culture. However, there are some common themes that run through their current struggles—not least of these being the long history of U.S. involvement and intervention in their internal affairs. The role of the Episcopal Church, originally chaplaincies of British and American business, is also unique in each. While small, the Church is growing. It provides a middle road between the Roman Catholic Church, whose hierarchy often sided with the oligarchy and continues to do so, and the rising evangelical sects which draw many with their message of personal salvation.

Central Americans, in particular, believe that North Americans view them as one people, without regard for the distinctions among them. While this report will look at the commonalities of issues, it also recognizes that each nation approaches them differently and is truly an individual unit.

The Commission identified several discrete concerns: land reform, racism in its several forms, the abrogation of human rights, drugs, national pride and self-esteem, and environmental issues. Each nation is seeking a representative form of government which will provide economic opportunity for the populace as a whole, but the role of the military remains problematic.

Panama

Panama has only recently recognized its role in the Central American region. Until the beginning of the twentieth century it was part of Colombia, and until 1968 the ruling oligarchy was supported by the U.S., whose concern was to keep the Panama Canal open. The most recent U.S., invasion was in 1989, and Panamanians believe the country remains

vulnerable to U.S. attack until the reversion of the Canal in the year 2000. Confidence appears low in both the judicial and legislative processes of government. The 1994 elections do not seem to hold great hope. The base of support for the president-elect is not likely to be broad, owing to the large number of political parties.

The next government of Panama will have to respond to the reversion of the Canal in 2000, drugs, the laundering connection between drug money and banking interests, and ecological problems. If a new Constitution can be written to modernize the governmental system and to make it more participatory, economic growth could result.

The 1989 invasion, coupled with the recession in the world economy, has left Panama with greater polarization of the rich and the poor than during the period of dictatorship. Continuing corruption, juvenile delinquency, homicides and other violent crimes, as well as rising drug trafficking and local drug consumption, plague the country.

Some Panamanians point with pride to the lack of race discrimination in the country, yet the existence of racism is apparent and must be acknowledged. Constitutionally, it is a non-racial society, yet indigenous ethnic groups have no rights and their land is being confiscated for mining and timber. Black Panamanians, descended from English-speaking and Anglican West Indians, were originally brought in 1853 to help build the railroad. Some became part of management during the building of the Panama Canal; this attracted a new group of West Indians. These Panamanians, living along the Atlantic side of the country, once made up the middle class in Colon. Now that the city is being rebuilt as a duty-free zone, the need for their professional skills is diminishing; affluent multi-national corporations will dominate the city. Black English-speaking Panamanians are being moved out, and Latin Panamanians are being brought in from the country to perform the service jobs.

The Episcopal Diocese of Panama has provided a voice of conscience for the Panamanian people. There is a recently formed Department of Human Rights, monitoring violations and providing advice to the bishop. In Colon, diocesan representatives work with the unemployed and advocate for indigenous people. Since there is little trust in political and judicial processes, people are increasingly turning to the Church for help.

The Dominican Republic

During a stop in the Dominican Republic necessitated by air connections to Cuba, the Commission studied the Haitian refugee situation. Since the first U.S. invasion of Haiti in 1917, Haitians have been fleeing over the mountains to work in the sugar cane, rice and coffee fields of the Dominican Republic. Some came for economic reasons, others to escape the political situation; many of these became virtual slaves. Since they displaced Dominican workers, the Haitians exacerbated tensions between the two countries.

In 1976 human rights organizations made accusations of slavery regarding children who were forced to cut cane. The Episcopal Church worked to expose the kidnapping of Haitian children and the conditions under which they worked. In 1991 the Episcopal Church's Committee on Ministry to Haitians challenged Dominican policy that Haitians born there could not be citizens.

Episcopal priests working in conjunction with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) go into work camps to assist refugees in establishing their right to

legal status in the Dominican Republic. Out of thousands of applicants, 160 have been accepted by UNHCR and fewer by the Dominicans.

During an interview with the exiled Haitian Ambassador to the Dominican Republic in Santo Domingo, we learned of Haiti's repressive and corrupt political system which was in place until the mid-1980s. Social welfare, health, education and the environment were not considered in the national budget, while the army consumed 40% of all funds. With the fall of the Duvalier regime, the people looked for reform but were not able to find a political agenda around which to unite. Jean-Bertrand Aristide seemed to be the leader who could best express the different voices.

Cuba

Flying over the island of Cuba, we saw miles of roads criss-crossing the island, yet with scarcely a car. The streets of Havana convey more bicycles than automobiles; the effects of the oil embargo are clear. There is widespread lack of medicines, milk products and food for children and families. A limited number of fine restaurants are available to tourists, as are hard currency stores in hotels carrying food, personal necessities and specialties of Cuba. These were open only to foreigners, since Cubans were not permitted U.S. dollars. The dollar restriction has been lifted, but in all likelihood this only creates difficulties for Cubans, separating those with families in the U.S. from others.

Cuba's difficulties are exacerbated by the U.S.-imposed blockade. The collapse of the Soviet Union also destroyed the client state economy, developed over three decades. Finally, the March 1993 storm ravaged the fragile agrarian economy. Internal mismanagement is a fourth factor to blame for the current economic disarray. Still a fifth factor is political oppression. Free speech is restricted, human rights abuses abound, and corruption is rising. There is also concern about life in a post-Castro Cuba.

The U.S. Episcopal Church has joined the World and National Councils of Churches and various denominational groups in sending tons of food and medicine into the country. This is distributed through the Ecumenical Council in Cuba, a coalition of 21 denominations which includes the Cuban Episcopal Church. The Council guarantees that humanitarian aid goes to hospitals, schools, jails and directly to those most in need.

The work of the Episcopal Church in Cuba is growing, particularly since the Constitution was amended to guarantee religious freedom. This has opened the door for people to come back into the churches. The Episcopal Church in Cuba has a major involvement in AIDS/HIV ministry.

The courage of the Cuban church people deserves special mention: Despite the fact that church attendance and speaking out to visitors still puts Cuban people in jeopardy, many spoke freely with us. They affirmed the revolutionary accomplishments of improved education, health, and housing. The ecumenical groups urged lifting the embargo and working within the system, but we found wide variation in the political positions of church leaders. Their hope in the midst of despair moved and touched us deeply. The need for dialogue must be stressed since both the Cuban and the U.S. governments must work together to end the embargo and to bring Cuba successfully into the world of free nations.

Nicaragua

In the 1980s the U.S. was unyielding in its determination to undermine the economic and political stability of Nicaragua. Following decades of earlier interventions, our government committed millions of dollars to overt and covert efforts to unseat a duly elected government. Since the 1990 election of Dona Violetta Chamorro, we found that Nicaragua continues to be plagued by unemployment, rampant inflation and political instability.

Many told us that Dona Violetta remains a figurehead president, with her son-in-law, Antonio Lacallo, as de facto chief of state. The Sandinista presence is still strong, which is seriously questioned by both the right and the left. The U.S. has not released all the promised USAID money which might help "jump start" the failing economy. Nicaragua has become the second poorest country in the hemisphere.

Many in Nicaragua regard the current government as corrupt and inefficient. While the return of private property was promised, officials have not kept those promises. Property issues have not been resolved. Land was confiscated from the Somosa regime by the Sandinistas, who created cooperative farm ventures. As they left power, they were permitted to gain title to much of the socialized land. Now, land fraud has resulted in much property finding its way to the Chamorro family.

Nicaragua needs capital infusion to provide an adequate economic program. Export of natural resources—wood and shellfish in particular—is failing to create employment opportunities and is ruining the fragile ecology. Drug trafficking is increasing and social disintegration is apparent among the indigenous Miskito people of the Atlantic Coast.

The Constitution mandates health care, education and social security for all at government expense, but because the government cannot fund those services, the people are being charged for them. Lack of adequate medication and sanitation have made cholera and other diseases endemic. The highly successful literacy campaign of the Sandinista government has been abandoned, and many children are not in school because of the new costs.

Military courts have precedence over civil courts. Few justices have been replaced since the Sandinista days. The disarming of the contras and local militia has not been accomplished. Many human rights abuses are cited, and the National Security police remain in control in the countryside. Constitutional guarantees against search and seizure have been suspended, which gives the police inordinate power. The hope for change following the election has not materialized for the campesinos; costs have risen exponentially and land is not available. The country needs to be politically and socially stabilized.

The work of the Episcopal Church in Nicaragua is primarily in Managua and on the Pacific Coast. It facilitates social programs within the vulnerable social sectors and speaks out on human rights abuses in a new atmosphere of free speech.

Altogether, in these four countries, we found the mission and ministry of the Episcopal Church centered in concern for the campesinos, providing social services, and lifting up human rights abuses. Humanitarian support from the larger Episcopal Church is needed in the Caribbean and Central America. The U.S. Church should continue to be

concerned with these countries, to be sure help is directed to them, and to inform North Americans about our brothers and sisters to our south.

The Middle East

Because of our Commission's, and the Church's, deep and continuing concern with the Middle East, we have monitored the significant changes there and herewith update certain interests underlying previous General Convention resolutions:

Human and Civil Rights

Human rights violations involving Israelis and Palestinians have reached record levels. Since the Labor Party under Yitzhak Rabin assumed power in 1992, incidents of violence and house demolitions have escalated. Palestinians continue to cite extensive charges, while Israelis minimize and justify these offenses on the grounds of national security.

A. School and University Closings. During 1992-93 Israeli authorities permitted most of the secondary schools and universities for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories to reopen. While this marks a drastic change from the situation two years ago, the Israeli military continues to interfere and deny student access to these facilities. Thus the universities effectively remain closed to large segments of the Palestinian population. Although one can appreciate Israeli fear that the universities are staging areas for protest and street violence, it is essential that any future peace between them provide for the education of Palestinian youth.

B. Collective Detention and Punishments. In the wake of the September 1993 Declaration of Principles, large numbers of Palestinians in "administrative detention" have been released. However, many Palestinians suspected of crimes remain imprisoned without trial and reasonable access to legal representation. Collective punishment, involving the demolition and sealing of homes and curfews, continues.

C. Property, Water Rights, and Market Accessibility. Since 1992 Israeli construction of housing settlements on lands confiscated from Palestinians has increased dramatically, especially to the north of East Jerusalem. There is increasing Palestinian fear of being systematically dispossessed of their homeland. Water is the area's most critical natural resource, and Israeli water use far exceeds that of the Palestinians. Israeli administrative regulations still restrict access to water for Palestinian agriculture and sanitation.

For the past two years, Palestinians have been denied access to Israel for employment. This has had a devastating impact on Gazan and West Bank Palestinians.

D. Use of Firearms. The use of firearms by both Palestinians and Israelis has noticeably increased, and casualties among the Palestinians have continued to average one death per day. The potential for violence continues.

The September 1993 Declaration of Principles

The bold September 1993 Declaration of Principles commences the relationship between Israel and the Palestinians to share the land equitably. Despite early political optimism the peace process has just begun. For Palestinians the Declaration represents a

means to the creation of two autonomous states, while in Israel there is strong opposition in the government. The Most Reverend Samir Kafity, the Episcopal Bishop in Jerusalem, reminds us that much remains to be negotiated.

Conversations

The Israeli-PLO Declaration represents a major improvement in communication. To support negotiations, we again recommend that the Episcopal Church encourage dialogue among members of our Church and American Jews and Palestinians.

While the Episcopal Church has been engaged in Jewish-Christian dialogue for some years, little if any attention has been given to Muslim-Christian dialogue. Although the Presiding Bishop has begun such dialogue on the national level, local congregations need to understand Islamic history and culture, and be in dialogue with their Muslim neighbors. We would reemphasize that the Church Center should play a role in this effort, as should the seminaries.

Anglican presence in the Middle East is under Bishop Kafity, President-Bishop of the Diocese of Jerusalem. His jurisdiction includes Israel, Gaza, Jericho, and the Occupied Territories, as well as Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The Diocese of Jerusalem, and indeed the entire Province, are most deserving of the prayers and support of our own Church and the Anglican Communion. In a region in such turmoil and need, we find the Anglican witness courageous and inspiring.

United States Aid to Israel and the Palestinians

U.S. funds are vital to enable Israel and the Palestinians to make peace.

Summary

The September 1993 Declaration has placed great demands upon the crucial Anglican ministry in Israel, Gaza, Jericho, and the Occupied Territories. Our Commission remains firmly committed to supporting the Diocese of Jerusalem, and concerned for the rights and treatment of large sectors of the Palestinian population in the West Bank—an area not yet affected or addressed by any Declaration of Principles.

We still believe that the issues and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem transcends the two-state solution. Jerusalem must remain an inter-religious municipality, allowing the coexistence of the three faith groups which claim it as holy ground.

Finally, every feasible effort should be made by the Episcopal Church in the United States to insure that the peace talks between Israel and the PLO continue.

Report on International Arms Sales by the United States

Introduction

There is nothing new in the Episcopal Church's concern over nations developing, procuring, deploying, selling and exporting military weapons of war. The 1979 General

Convention, for example, adopted the entire 1978 Lambeth resolution on "War and Violence," from which this passage comes:

There is a worldwide misdirection of scarce resources to armaments rather than human need....[We call Christian people everywhere] to protest in whatever way possible at the escalation of the sale of armaments of war by the producing nations to the developing and dependent nations, and to support with every effort all international proposals and conferences designed to place limitations on, or arrange reductions in, the armaments of war in the nations of the world.

The primary focus of this report is the danger of increased warfare now escalating around the world, fueled by the sale of conventional weapons by the United States to foreign countries. It is, furthermore, the conclusion of this report, and the conviction of the Standing Committee on Peace with Justice, that the United States should neither export nor sell conventional arms. This international trade has both increased and realized the risk of war's devastation in this post-Cold War, over-militarized world. It should go without saying that there must be no export, sale nor proliferation of nuclear weapons. This subject has been addressed in earlier reports of our Commission. Because of the peace implications of God's merciful love, preeminently the divine commandment to love even one's enemies, arms sales of any sort are morally unacceptable by the Gospel of Christ and, therefore, to the Christian conscience.

The present report, in response to 1991 General Convention Resolution D-187, cites evidence that U.S. trade in weapons is escalating. Indeed, the United States now sells more arms to regions of potential conflict than all other suppliers combined. This is a threat to world peace and, ironically, is used as a rationale for maintaining a large, strong U.S. military establishment. We find that the forces driving this ultimately destructive trade policy are strong and entrenched.

It is estimated that by the mid-1990s the United States will be supplying 70% of the world's arms. This role of primary-arms-supplier- to-the-world is an economic and moral cancer eating away at the fabric of American society.

The International Context

As of 1992-93, the five Permanent Members of the U.N. (the U.S., Russia, China, Britain, and France) were responsible for 85% of all arms exports. Other leading exporters were Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Poland, and the former Czechoslovakia. These nations have been the sole exporters of the most technologically sophisticated and expensive weaponry. Thirty non-Western countries now have developed their own arms industries, mostly capable of more modest, light, conventional weaponry, such as artillery, armored trucks, helicopters, machine guns, rifles, and ammunition. In 1988 non-Western suppliers accounted for 12% of all arms exports, and 10% in 1991.

Illegal, covert sales are made from the United States. American-made semi-automatic pistols, rifles, revolvers, shotguns, and ammunition worth millions of dollars are being used around the world. (This Commission found expended American-made tear gas canisters and bullets in the Ahli-Arab Hospital in Gaza, supported by the Episcopal Church.)

After years of trailing the Soviet Union in arms exports, the United States has become, in the 1990s, the leading arms vendor in the world. Between 1988 and 1991, the U.S. sold one half of the arms bought in the Middle East (\$36.5 of \$73 billion). United States arms sales to the developing world set a then-record of \$18.2 billion in 1990, and decreased to \$14.2 billion in 1991, before the post-Persian Gulf War selling spree in 1992, when American sales skyrocketed.

During this time, Russia sold \$2 billion in arms to Syria; France sold \$680 million to Saudi Arabia. In the same eighteen-month span, U.S. sales to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Israel, Turkey, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirate, Bahrain, Oman, and Morocco totalled \$26.8 billion. Many of the weapons sold were among the most sophisticated available—combat fighters, air-to-air missiles, air-to-ground missiles, cluster bombs, and laser-guided bombs.

The U.S. now subsidizes exhibitions of U.S.-made weapons at trade shows around the world. High-ranking personnel from the Defense Department and Pentagon attend these bazaars to encourage the purchase of American-made weapons.

Attempts to limit arms sales meet a constant refrain: "If we don't sell arms, someone else will." Such expediency-based profiteering is impossible to square with the life and teachings of Jesus the Christ.

The Domestic Context

American defense industries seek to maintain high profits. Long dependent on the production of weapons, they rely on the international arms trade in a fluctuating economy. The U.S. is one of many nations using the weapons trade to cope with its unfavorable trade balance.

American companies export 15% of all conventional weapons they build. This is likely to grow to 20%-25%. At the current rate, exports' share will have risen at General Dynamics from 17% of its business in the mid-1980s to 50% in the mid-1990s, and at Martin Marietta from 8% in 1991 to 20% in 1994. Raytheon projects its expansion to foreign buyers from 20% to 40% between 1992 and 1997. Indeed, an Aerospace Industries Association speaker recently noted, "Exports are no longer just the icing on the cake. They are the cake."

Corporations sell blueprints, data, components, machine tools, and sometimes complete factories to buyers in other countries. In 1989 the U.S. exported \$11.7 billion in military technology to culminate a decade averaging \$8.3 billion in sales per year. Our government licenses each of these transactions.

Ironically, these developments make it ever more difficult for international agencies to monitor or control the weapons trade. In purely commercial terms, this creates long-term competitors for American industries, a reality that belies the notion that arms sales will save jobs for more than the short term.

Of particular concern to our Commission is the fact that American contractors provide arms to countries with histories of human rights abuses. In the 1980s, according to State Department and CIA analyses, over one half of U.S. weapons sold abroad went to authoritarian governments. During the Cold War, this was justified with my-enemy's-enemy-is-my-friend logic. More recently, relations with Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and other oil-exporting nations were justified on the basis of retaining access to crucial resources

such as oil. Other trading partners are retained because they offer favorable military access agreements in exchange for weapons.

Efforts to reduce military forces in order to invest more resources in our domestic needs are doomed if we continue to supply the world with arms. The proliferation of conventional weapons will insure an increase in international violence and, therefore, justify the need for a larger American military establishment.

Proponents of the weapons trade portray the conflict between limitation and promotion of arms sales as "arms control vs. jobs." With defense budgets shrinking, exports are making up the shortfall for contractors who complain they would have to shut down production lines and lay off workers. A "Jobs Now" coalition of seven aerospace corporations and six labor unions actively promotes foreign sales. The huge sales in the fall of 1992 were a direct result of arms industry lay-offs, recession and lobbying by the defense industry.

Summary of Findings

Current trends in the international arms trade create two interlocking cycles: (1) a continual escalation of foreign trade in arms increases international destabilization and violence, and (2) a self-perpetuating need to increase arms sales is needed to sustain the habitually high profits of the defense industry.

Foreign arms sales will probably provide job protection for no more than the short term. Effects on international stability, however, are long term and unforeseeable. Government subsidies for arms exports reinforce the dependence of the U.S. economy on foreign weapons exports.

According to current laws, when the Executive Branch approves a transaction, Congress has thirty days to override it with a veto-proof resolution in the Senate and the House. No such Congressional override has ever occurred. The time constraint is one factor. Another is that the Congressional vote approving an arms sale is often not recorded, so Members of Congress can say what they like without having to take responsibility for their position.

The Executive and Legislative branches of government should (1) enforce current laws—the Arms Export Control Act and the Foreign Assistance Act—which are now routinely ignored; (2) expand Congress's 30-day period to bar a weapons transfer, to at least 30-days "in session," allowing more time to consider the long-term consequences of each arms deal; and (3) end taxpayer and other government subsidies for arms bazaars.

Conclusion

Everywhere we traveled we witnessed the displacement of indigenous people, the feminization of poverty, wholesale environmental degradation and, again, racism. These terrible human costs result directly from ignorance, carelessness, indifference, opportunism, and greed—the familiar vices toward which the Church's ministry is mobilized for healing. A renewed Christian commitment to human solidarity is desperately needed today.

We believe that Christians are called to care deeply and sincerely about the suffering of others. Christians are summoned to a compassionate intelligence, diligently analyzing injustice and violence in order effectively to be sisters and brothers to our neighbors (Lk.

THE BLUE BOOK

10:29-37). We hope that what has been presented here will be discussed and taken to heart in local congregations that have become energized communities of moral discourse.

We have edited out much that clarifies and fortifies our presentation, in order to fit the space requirements of the Blue Book. Our larger work will be published, with related research, by Crossroad Books, tentatively under the title *Cracking the Monolith*. The book will appear as an adult education discussion document, which we commend to the Episcopal Church for study.

Our main finding withal is that our peculiar Christian duty in the present historical context is to listen carefully to the impoverished, the violated, the politically and racially oppressed. We have much to learn from them about the things pertaining to our salvation. There is no other first step on the long and rocky road to divinely promised and divinely given peace with justice.