



Trying to leave the War Behind 1980s-1990s

OLLI PPT 6

Photos from May 2022 community outreach clinics for Covid shots, Shadow Wood, Champaign (ISCU Facebook)



The Long Road to the 1996 Peace Accords in Guatemala

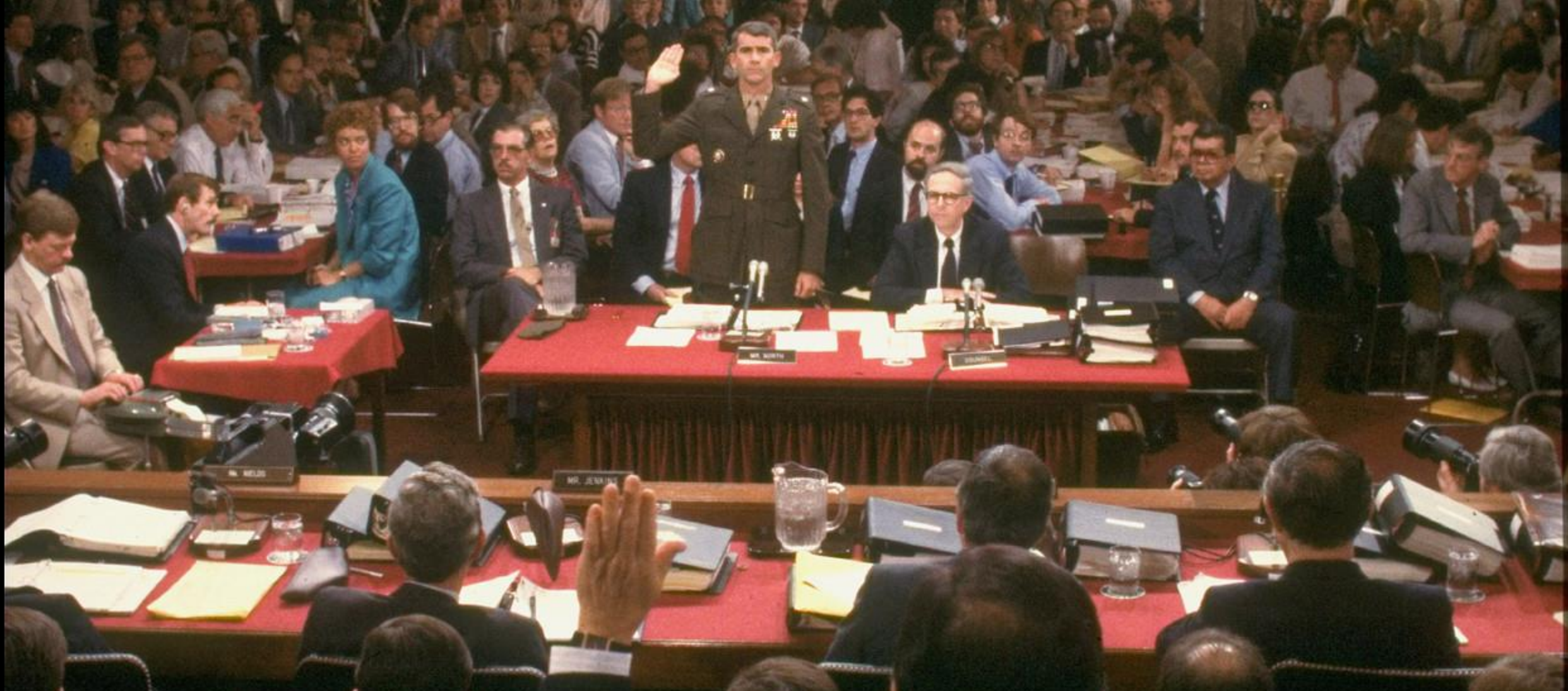
- 1983 Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia (The Contadora Group) begins pushing for a Latin American process to end the Central American Wars.
- Succeeded in getting foreign ministers of Central American countries to meet, issue statements of demilitarization...Supported by World Court, United Nations, EU countries...
- Contadora blocked by the US because of the inclusion of Nicaragua, but really because it would have explicitly forbidden outside military aid (like the US to the Contras), possibly have introduced peacekeepers, and brought in OAS attention.
- The Contadora Plan formally retired in 1986, but Costa Rican President Oscar Arias begins new meetings, leading to the Esquipulas Agreement, 1986-87. In Esquipulas the five Central American Presidents pledged a program of demilitarization, 1987.

1986 – the Tipping Point for US in Central America

- June 1986 International Court of Justice at the Hague decided against the US in Nicaragua vs. US.
- Mining Harbors, Arming Contras, including human rights violations in training of militaries, etc., etc., etc., all against UN and OAS Charters.
- US ordered to pay reparations, but blocks UN enforcement of the judgement. Claims ICJ has no jurisdiction.



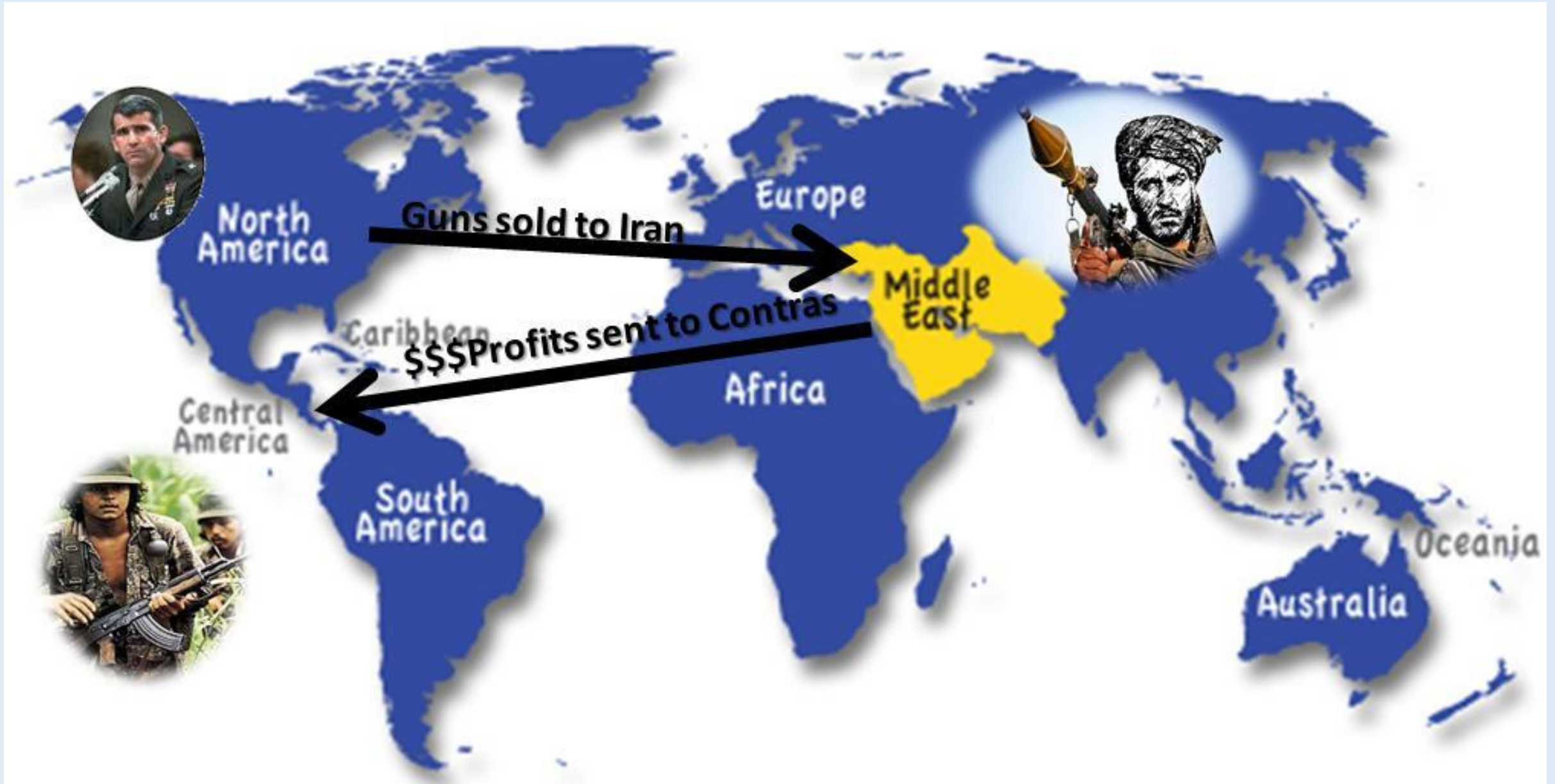
ICJ Nicaragua vs the US, Judgement June 27, 1986.



1986-1987 Washington in a world of trouble



Hmmm. How to explain Iran-Contra?

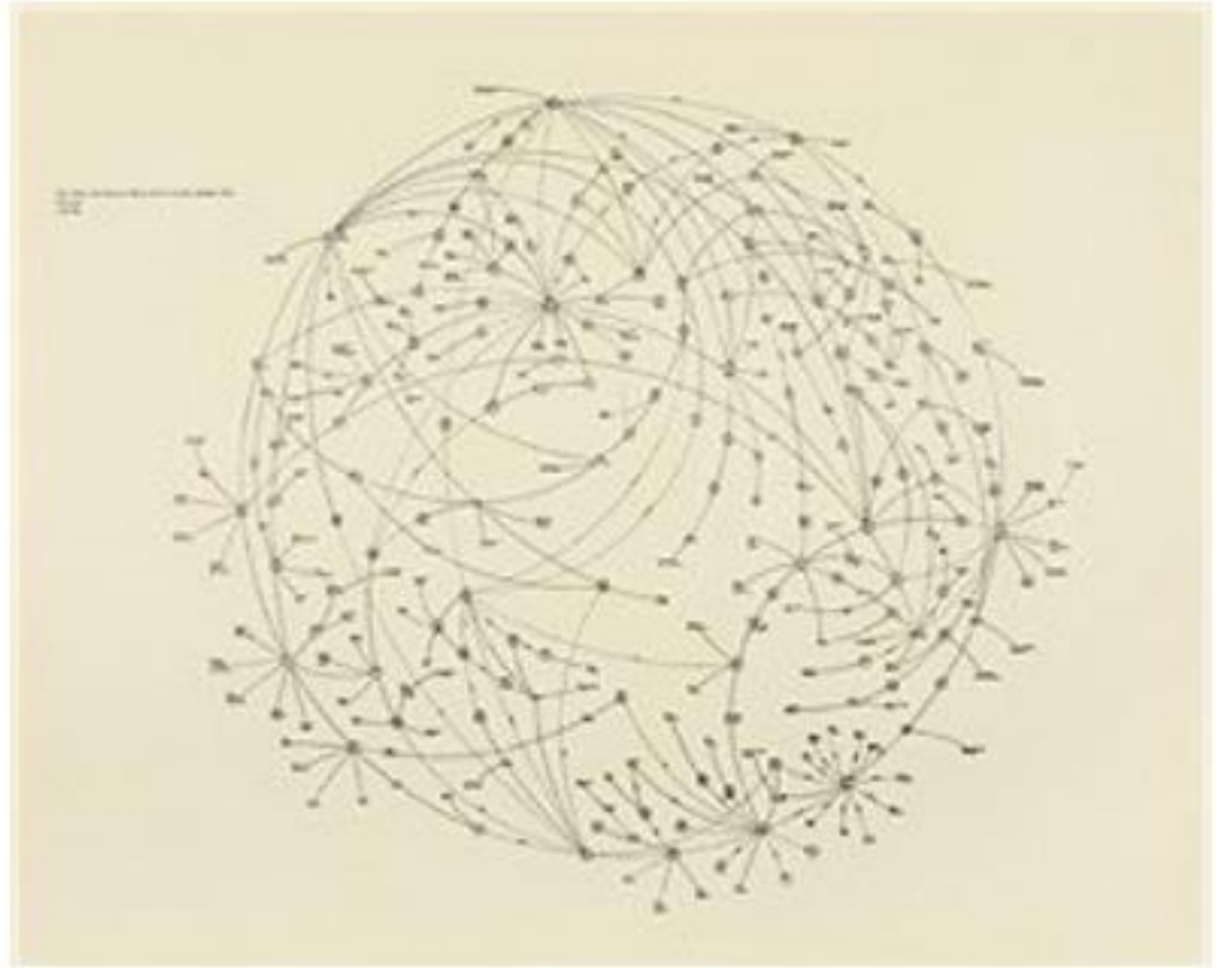


Another way to tell the Iran-Contra Story:

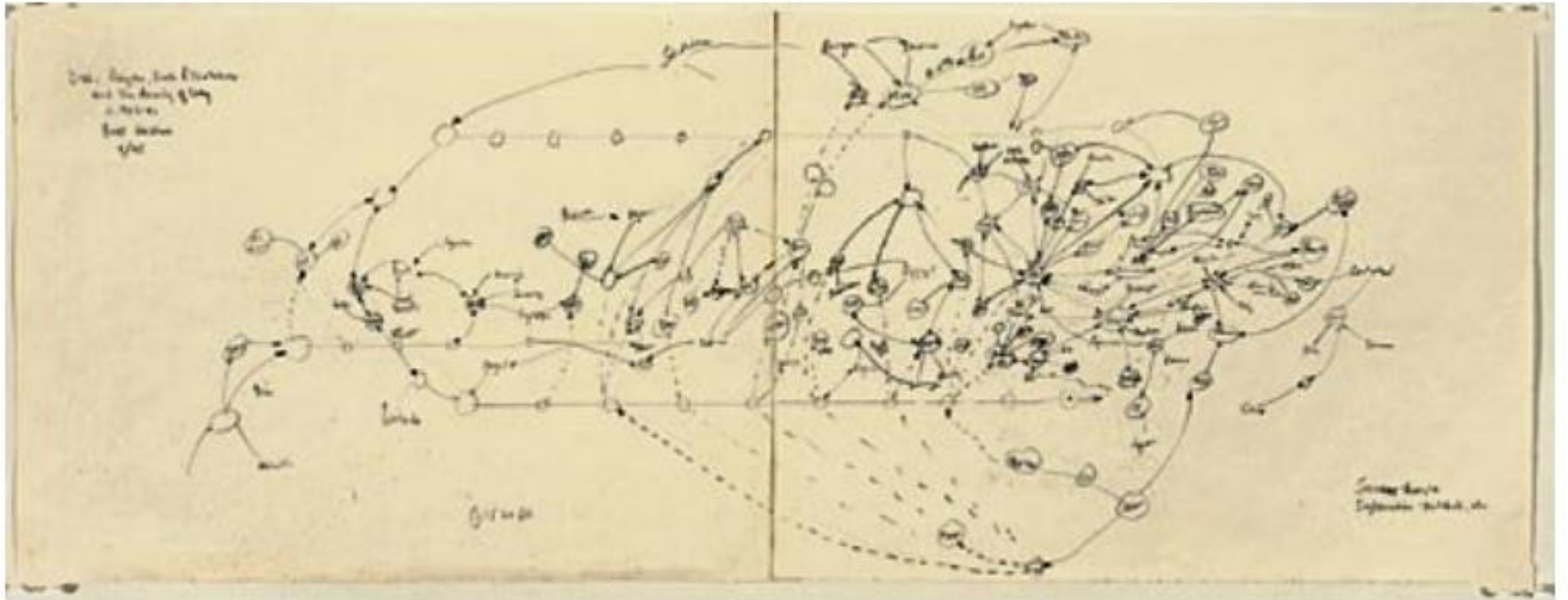
Mark Lombardi:

**“Death-defying Acts
of Art and Conspiracy”**

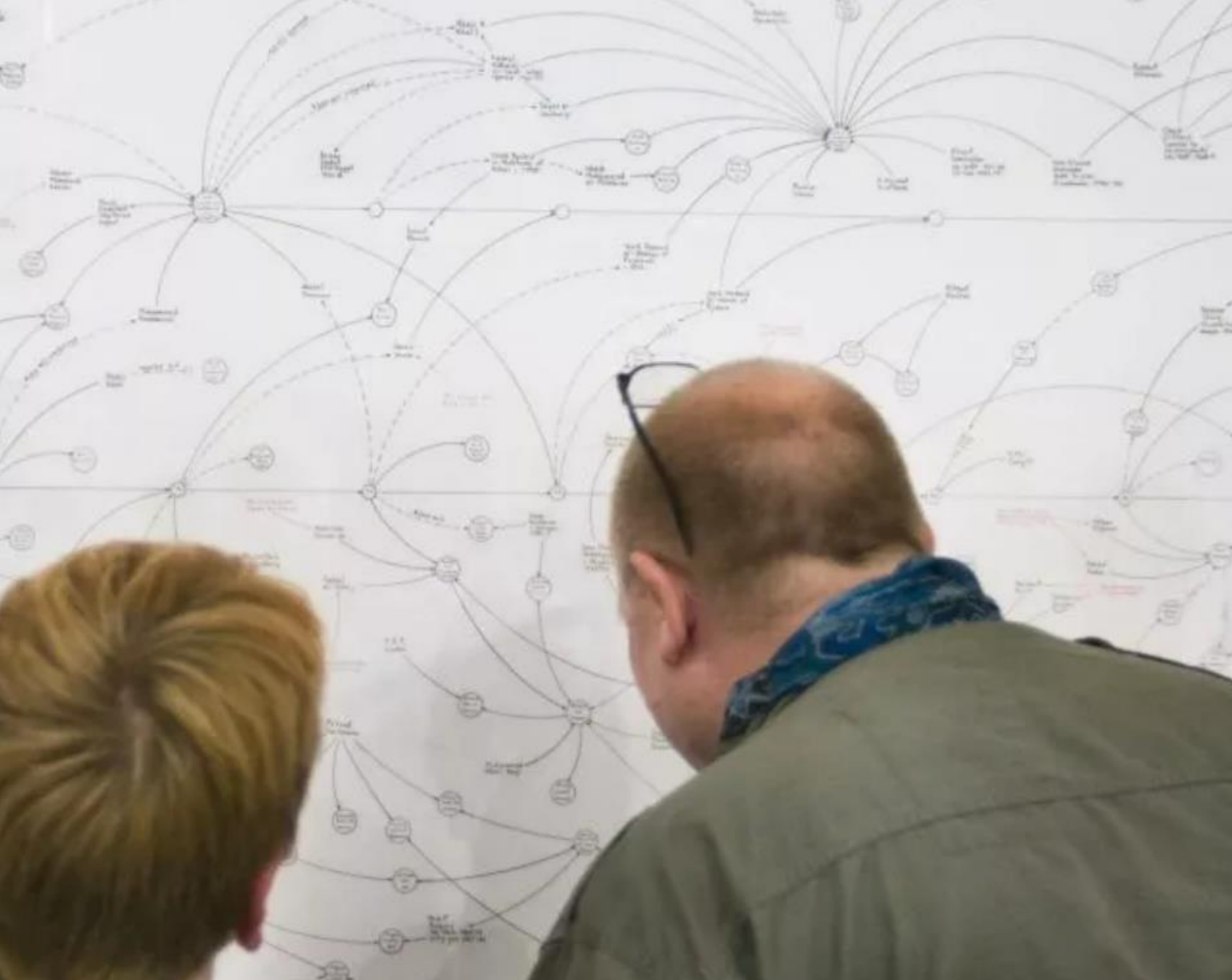
right:
Oliver North, Lake Resources of
Panama and the Iran-Contra Operation,
ca. 1984-86, (fourth version 1999)
Coloured pencil & graphite on paper.
Collection Daniel Silverstein,
© Estate of Mark Lombardi



Another Lombardi piece just because I like them.



BNL, Reagan, Bush, & Thatcher and the Arming of Iraq, ca. 1983-91 (1995) (rough draft)



Lombardi was found dead, an apparent suicide, in 2000 after completing a series on the Bush Family-Bin Laden financial intersections.

The FBI consulted his work after 9/11 to help trace financial networks of Al Qaeda.

The Boland Amendment didn't come out of nowhere.

New York Times examples of Growing Domestic opposition to US Central American Policy:

"Catholic Bishops Ask End of Arms Aid to El Salvador." *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 1980.

"Congress Mail Heavy on El Salvador Issue: Legislators Receiving Hundreds of Dollars a Week Opposing U.S. Dispatch of Military Help." *New York Times*, March 26, 1981.

"Capital Rally Assails Arms to Salvador." *New York Times*, May 4, 1981. [Approximately 20,000 demonstrators in Washington, DC.]

"80 Arrested in Protest at White House." *New York Times*, July 4, 1981.

"U.S. Catholic Bishops Opposing Administration's Salvador Policy." *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1982.

Asner, Edward. "We're on the Wrong Side in El Salvador" (opinion). *New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1982.

"Screen Actors Panel Stands By Asner." *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1982.

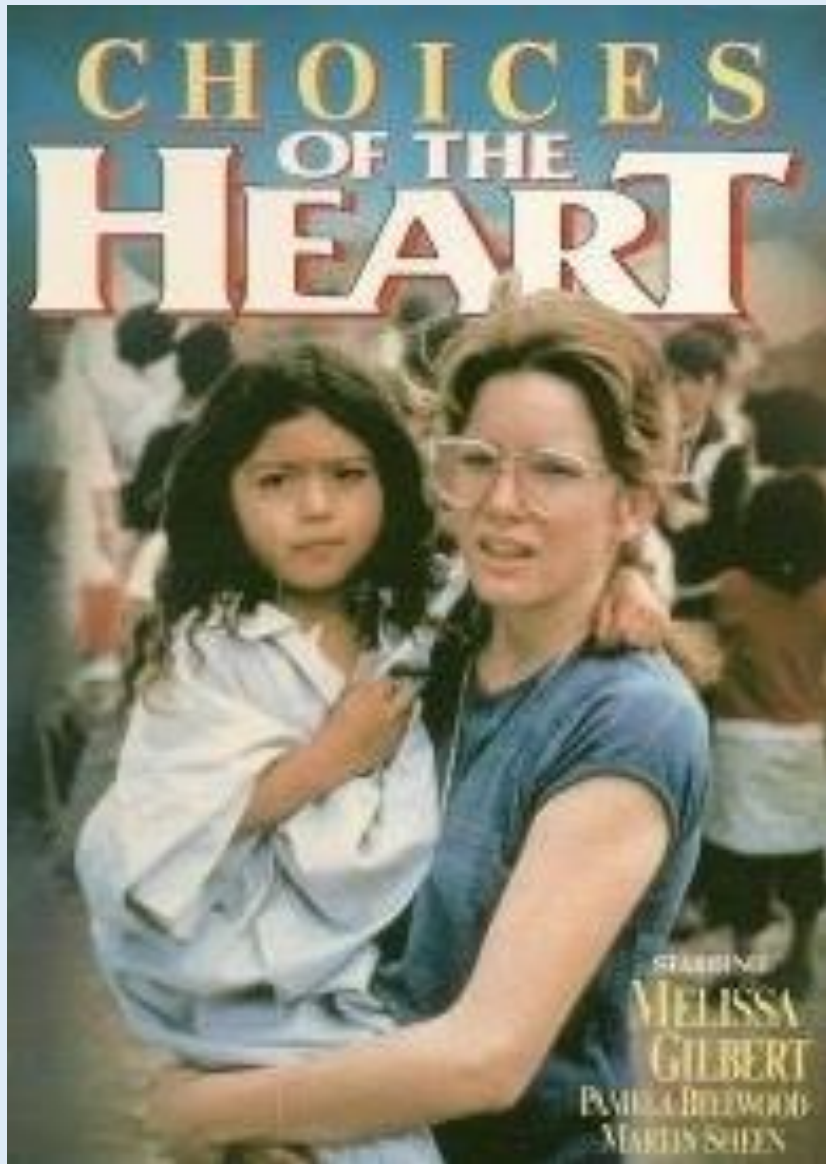
"300 Church Leaders Protest U.S. Policies in Central America." *New York Times*, Nov. 28, 1982.

"126 Arrested at State in Protest Of El Salvador Rights Finding." *Washington Post*, Jan 25, 1983.

"U.S. Catholic Conference Asks Shift on El Salvador." *New York Times*, March 8, 1983.

H.Res.101 - A resolution expressing the concern of the Congress about gross violations of human rights in Guatemala

- **Introduced in House (03/04/1981) Rep. Tom Harkin (D. IA)**
- Expresses the grave concern of the House of Representatives at the repression of the Guatemalan people by the Guatemalan Government. Calls upon the President to: (1) recall the U.S. representative; (2) order continued application to Guatemala of statutes limiting access to bilateral and multilateral aid to gross violators of human rights; (3) prohibit the granting of any Export-Import Bank credits or loan guarantees or the granting of export licenses; (4) instruct U.S. Executive Directors on specified international agencies to vote against grants and loans to Guatemala and to urge other governments to implement similar policies within these institutions; (5) actively work within the Organization of American States and the United Nations to pressure the Guatemalan government to cease its violence against the Guatemalan people; and (6) demand that the regime cease its repression and restore to the police and security forces their proper peacekeeping role.



In 1983, a made-for-TV film on the murder of four churchwomen in El Salvador brought the human rights issue to prime time.

Another way to Support Central Americans: The Sanctuary Movement.

1980 Congress amended the Refugee Act to “well founded fear of Persecution,” yet in practice Central Americans regarded as economic migrants.

1984 Asylum Visa approval ratings: Salvadorans, 3%;
Iranians 60%, Cubans 100%

“Between 1983 and 1986, when the first wave of close to 100,000 Guatemalans fled to the United States, only 14 petitions for political asylum were granted while 1,461 were denied (United States President's Advisory Committee for Refugees 1986:9).

Right: 1985 CSM article on “Kanjobal Indians” in Florida.

Is it safe for Guatemalan refugees to return home?: REFUGEES

By Robert M. Press Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
The Christian Science Monitor (1908-); May 30, 1985;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Christian Science Monitor
pg. 3



Drawing by 13-year-old Isolda, a Guatemalan refugee, depicting Army attack on her village

Is it safe for Guatemalan refugees to return home?

*Last of three articles
on Guatemalan refugees in Florida*

port also notes “an increase in the number
of kidnappings and disappearances in
.....”

Sanctuary movement in the news Spring 1982

March 24 1982, Southside Presbyterian in Tucson declares itself a Sanctuary.

They began sheltering and helping with legal paperwork 1980-82 (in response to deaths of 13 Salvadoran migrants in the desert, 1980), but frustrated with visa denials.

Eventually more than 500 congregations in the US declare "sanctuary."

City Sanctuaries. Berkely declared a refusal to work with Federal Immigration officials, 1982. City Sanctuary movement spread to over 400 cities by 1987.

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SALVADOREAN REFUGEES, from left: Ronald Sauza, Luis Rivas, Father Jesus Nieto and Jose Escobar. All but Nieto seek asylum.

Churches offer sanctuary to Salvadorean refugees

March 24, 1982 press conference at University Lutheran Chapel. Credit:

In January 1985, 11 members of the Sanctuary Movement were indicted on alien-smuggling charges following surveillance and infiltration by undercover agents.

Six Convicted Of Conspiracy In Sanctuary Trial

ARTHUR H. ROTSTEIN May 1, 1986



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RELATED TOPICS



TUCSON, Ariz. (AP) — Six sanctuary movement activists were convicted by a federal jury Thursday of conspiring to smuggle Salvadoran and Guatemalan aliens into the United States. Two others were convicted of other charges, and three were acquitted on all counts.

The jury deliberated more than 47 hours over nine days on a total of 30 felony and misdemeanor charges against the 11 defendants, who included a Presbyterian minister, two Roman Catholic priests, a nun, and seven church layworkers.BULLETIN.....

The Trial brought attention to the violence and the US role in supporting Central American Governments



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<https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/collections/sanctuary-trial-papers>

May 7, 1984 CU Sanctuary Movement Founded

- Original CU Sanctuary Team
 - Disciples Foundation, Jim Holiman
 - McKinley Foundation, Charlie Schweitzer
 - Urbana-Champaign Friends, Frankie Day
 - St. Mary Church, Rev. Tom Royer
 - Community United Church of Christ
 - (they later discontinued participation)
 - Unitarian Universalists (joined a bit later)



Champaign connections with Barillas and Santa Eulalia

1988 5 cousins arrive from Barillas, referred to Rev. Tom Royer by Rev. Bill Donnelly, MM, (friend of Royer stationed in Santa Cruz, Barillas). Antonio, only 16 on his arrival, is still in Champaign. The local Sanctuary network connected them with work and resources.

1989 Royer begins effort to get radio equipment to Donnelly in Barillas for the Maryknoll Mission.

Rev. James J. Madden, MM, after work in Peru, heads up new Maryknoll Affiliate Program 1991-98, approaches Royer to Tom encourage him to visit Guatemala and get to know the people, and to invite others from Illinois.

Rev. Greg Shaffer, Seminary classmate of Royer working in San Lucas Toliman, Guat., hosted Royer when he visited Guatemala.

c. 1990 Small community forming at Shadow Wood, Royer holding mass on site. Bill Donnelly, (home in the US for health reasons), came and said mass in Q'anjob'al at Shadow Wood.



Moving into Peace Negotiations in Guatemala, mid 1980s-90s

- End of the Cold War (end of US support for Guatemala govt. No longer a rationale for Anti Communist tolerance of HR violations.
- End of Sandinista Administration 1989, elections.
- Nobel Prize for Rigoberta Menchu (1992) brings new attention to Govt
- Tourism/investment sector emerging – wants to end the war as bad for business

Split emerging between Business and the Military late 1980s prompts internal Guatemalan dialogue.

- 1985 Attempted Coup ends with move for Civilian government and new constitution. Peace process begins
- “**National Reconciliation Commission**” begins informal talks with UNRG, 1986-88.
- “During 1990, the URNG leadership met with representatives of political parties (May), the business sector (September), the churches (September), the popular movement (October) and cooperatives, small businesses and academics (October).” <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a6b98.html>
- Military refusing to participate and begins to splinter – causing a spike in violence. Another attempted Coup in 1988 forces the govt to suspend negotiations.

URNG
proposed
agenda.

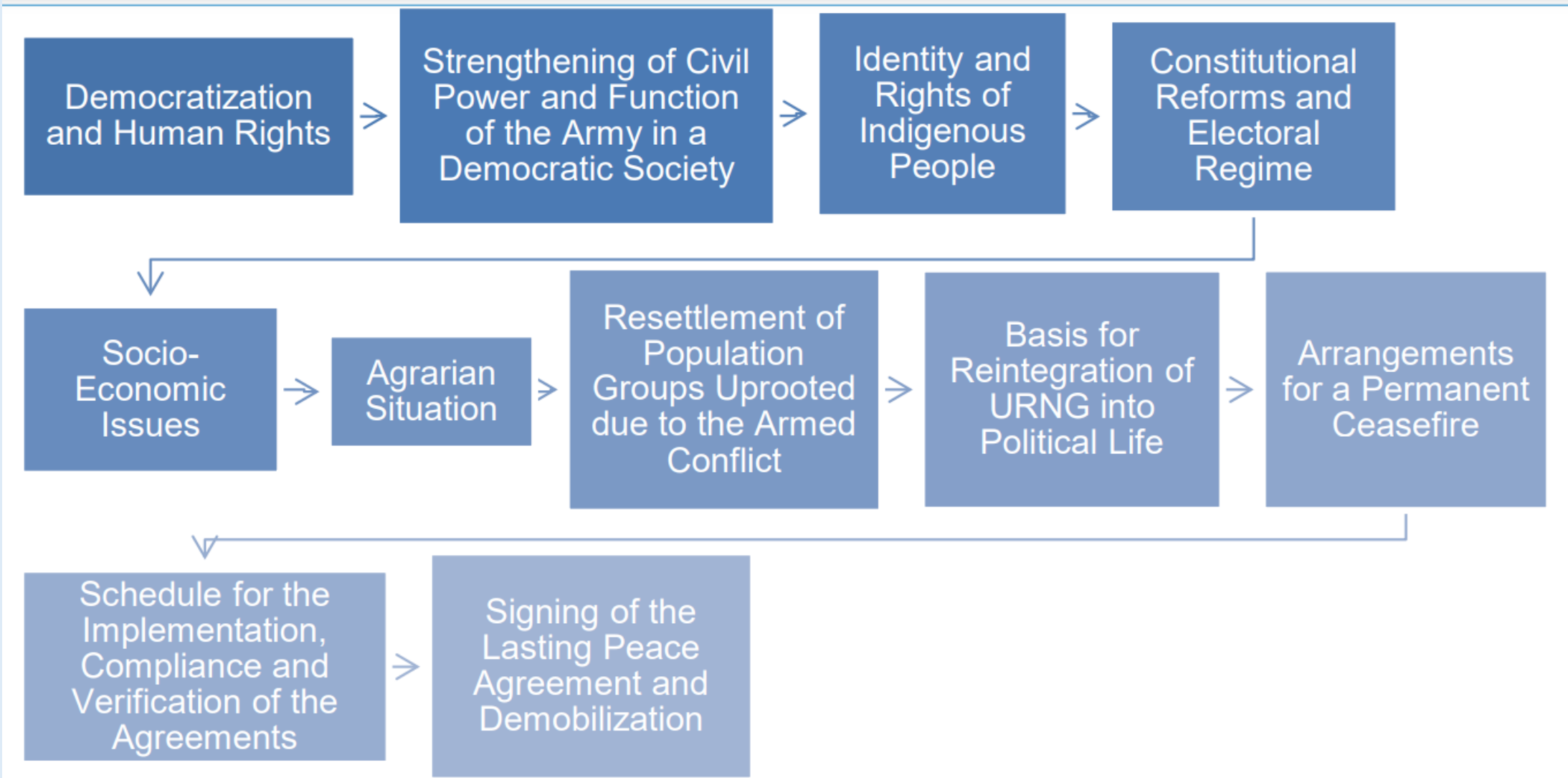


Figure 4: General Agenda Proposed by the URNG for Negotiations

Meanwhile, in DC, Guatemalan aid a hot topic. A Pattern of CIA paid informant involvement in murder and torture that reached American citizens

1989. Sister Dianna Ortiz, Kidnapped and Tortured by police.

1990 Innkeeper Michael Devine murdered by Guatemalan military.

1992 Everardo Bamaca's disappeared and murdered (spouse of US citizen Jennifer Harbury)



U.S. report: Guatemala covered up American's murder



Published Mar. 24, 1996 | Updated Sep. 15, 2005

Two Guatemalan presidents, two defense ministers and high-ranking military officers paid by the CIA helped cover up the facts of the killing of Michael DeVine, an American innkeeper in Guatemala in 1990, U.S. officials have concluded.

Assembly of Civil Society a unique aspect of the Guatemalan negotiations. Formalized 1994.



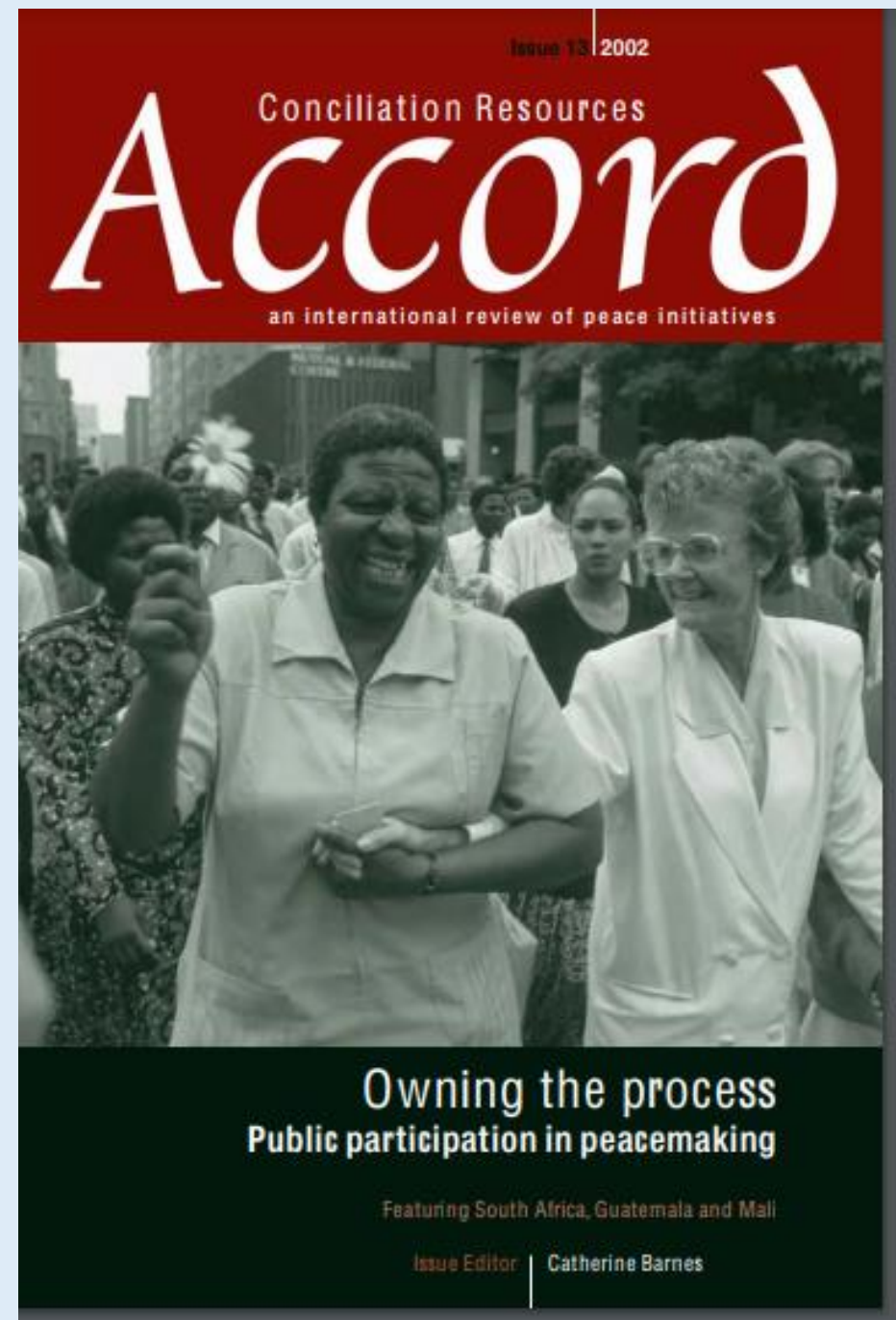
Figure 5: Composition of the ASC

Behind the Scenes Actor: Lutheran World Federation

“In 1988 the LWF Executive Committee set up a special peacemaking fund; most of its \$80,000 came from church-related aid societies in Scandinavia. A Vatican visit secured its willingness to be part of a pastoral delegation to Guatemala and encouraged its bishops to host it.”

1990 Secret Summit in Oslo between URNG and Government Officials produced a “cease fire” agreement.

<https://www.c-r.org/accord/public-participation/grand-national-dialogue-and-oslo-consultations-creating-peace-agenda>



1991-93 Negotiations Resume in Guatemala

- Long list of issues on the table: (civilian control of military and police, civil rights protections, **Truth Commission**, international observers...military still blocking progress.
- May 1993 in frustration President Serrano attempts autocoup. Massive protests force Serrano and military allies to resign. (US threatens to cut IMF loans, etc).
- June, 1993 the Guatemalan Congress confirm Ramiro de León Carpio, the human rights ombudsman, as President, resolving the constitutional crisis. But de Leon has no party, still caught between military and business interests.
- 1994 UN takes charge of the negotiations.

1996 Peace Accords finally signed.

- The Agreement on Resettlement of the Population Groups Uprooted by the Armed Conflict
- The Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous People
- The Agreement on Socio-Economic Aspects and the Agrarian Situation

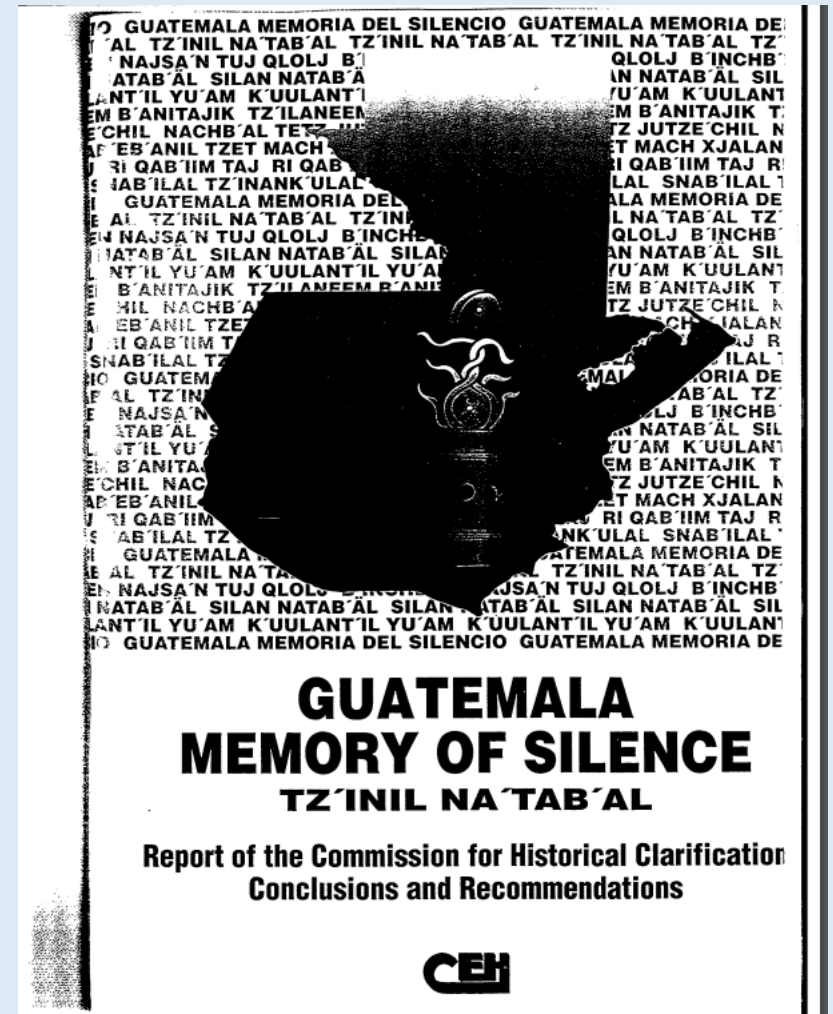
- The Agreement on the Strengthening of Civil Power and the Function of the Army in a Democratic Society
- The Agreement on the Basis for Legal integration of the URNG

- The Agreement on the Establishment of the **Commission to Clarify Past Human Rights Violations and Acts of Violence**

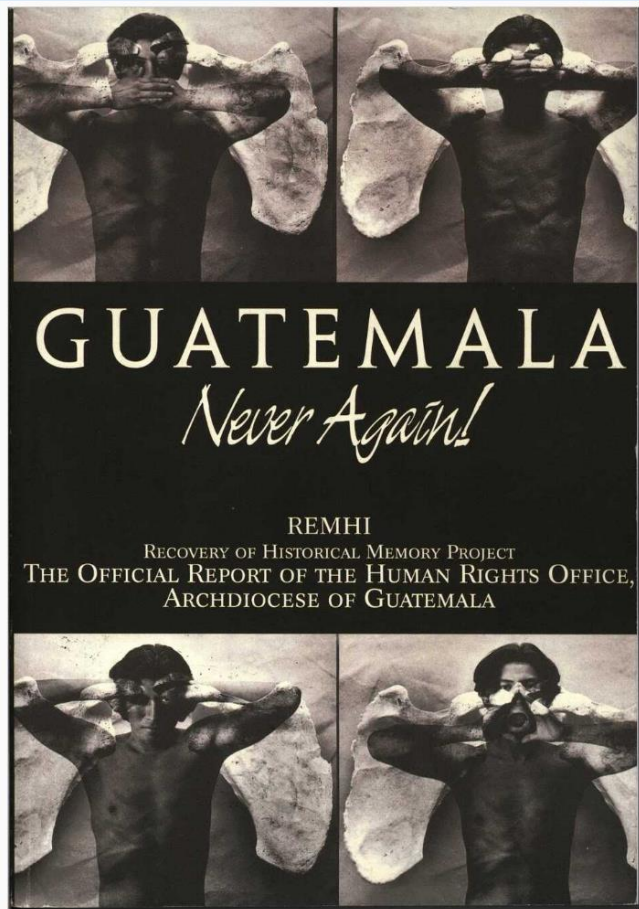
- Agreements on defining Human Rights, Definitive Ceasefire, Constitutional Reforms, Electoral Regime, and Verification Timetable for the Peace Accords.

In “Guatemala: Memory of Silence,” (1999) members of a United Nations sponsored Truth Commission wrote:

“The inclusion of all opponents under one banner, democratic or otherwise, pacifist or guerrilla, legal or illegal, communist or non-communist, served to justify numerous and serious crimes.”



- <https://hrdag.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/CEHreport-english.pdf>



Recovery of Historical Memory Project (REMHI) of the Catholic Church based on more than 5000 testimonies.

200,000 deaths during war years, 90% by military or state forces, 4% by guerilla forces. More than 60 % of deaths occurred during massacres. Victims overwhelmingly indigenous.

REMHI concluded: “During the early eighties, a climate of terror spread across the country, characterized by extreme violence against communities and organized movements against which the people were completely defenseless. An atmosphere of constant danger totally disrupted the daily life of many families. Whether in the form of mass killings or the appearance of corpses bearing signs of torture, the horror was so massive and so flagrant that it defied the imagination.”



Archbishop Gerardi assassinated 2 days after the release of the report in 1998.



ISC-U Immigrant Services Champaign-Urbana

April 19, 2022 · 🌐



The Refugee Center

April 19, 2022 · 🌐

With COVID-19 relief funds, The Refugee Center alongside local organizations work to increase access to mental health services and interpretation in indigenous languages. Read more about it in this article from Illinois Public Media.

[New American Welcome Center at the University YMCA, ISC-U Immigrant Services Champaign-Urbana, The Immigration Project](#)



ILLINOISNEWSROOM.ORG

Champaign County nonprofits train indigenous interpreters and expand mental health services with COVID-19 relief money - Illinois Newsroom



WE should end with something positive. ISCU and other Immigration groups in Champaign have worked to address community needs, one of which is access to Mental Health (Left)

Below: Food distributions at Shadow Wood during Covid, 2020, took place at the same community center where masses in Q'anjob'al were held in the early 1990s before moving to St. Mary Church.



Books of interest

