Pastors for Peace and The Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center: A Case Study of Cooperation Between Two Nonprofit Organizations from Two Countries Without Diplomatic Relations, and With an Economic Embargo Enforced by One Country Against the Other

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A THESIS SUBMITTED

by

Alicia Beatriz Jrapko

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Nonprofit Administration

The University of San Francisco

October 4, 1998
Pastors for Peace and The Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center:
A Case Study of Cooperation Between
Two Nonprofit Organizations from Two Countries
Without Diplomatic Relations, and With an Economic
Embargo Enforced by One Country Against the Other

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a case study about an American nonprofit organization, Pastors for Peace, working with a Cuban counterpart, the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center. This study is about cooperation between nonprofit organizations in two countries without diplomatic relations. In addition, there is an economic embargo imposed by the United States against Cuba.

The research demonstrates that when an American nonprofit organization working abroad aims to change U.S. policy, the work will be controversial and difficult, and there will be some legal implications for the organization as an entity as well as for staff members and volunteers individually.
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This case study describes the cooperation between two nongovernmental organizations, one American, the other Cuban. These cooperating nongovernmental organizations are from two countries that do not have diplomatic relations with each other and whose relations are complicated by an embargo imposed by one country against the other. This case study examines the link between these two organizations which have developed systems for mutual benefit in times of economic hardship due to the embargo: Pastors for Peace, an American nonprofit organization located in New York, and Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center, a Cuban nongovernmental organization located in Marianao, a working-class neighborhood in Havana, Cuba.

Historical Background

The following historical background, summarizing the circumstances that motivated the United States' economic sanctions against Cuba, and the consequences of this American policy toward a Latin American country, presents the factors that inspired American nonprofit organizations to work with their Cuban counterparts.

Since 1898, during the Cuban War of Independence, until 1959 when American backed strongman Fulgencio Batista fled the country, the United States and Cuba maintained close economic and political ties.

From the 1910s until 1959 Cuban administrations supported by the United States government dominated the Cuban political scene. During those years, American
corporations such as the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT), Texaco, United Fruit Corporation, and many others, established subsidiaries in Cuba.

In 1959, immediately after the Cuban revolution led by Fidel Castro, the Cuban government took over control and management of the Cuban Telephone Company, an affiliate of the American ITT, and seized gambling and other American-dominated industries. Although Cuba and the United States still maintained diplomatic relations for two years after 1959, when Cuba became a socialist country major conflicts emerged between the United States and Cuba. Many of the reforms carried out by the new Cuban government including lands expropriation directly affected the interest of American owned corporations.

On April 17, 1961, during the Kennedy administration, the invasion of the Bay of Pigs took place, and Cuban exile invaders were defeated. Since that date, diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States have been almost nonexistent.

The United States' answer to the Cuban government's revolutionary changes and expropriations has been to declare an economic embargo.

The Embargo

Nine U.S. administrations have supported the embargo against Cuba, including that of President Bill Clinton. During the Clinton administration, Congress passed the Helms-Burton Act, intensifying the embargo.

From 1960 to the present time, the United States has been implementing increasingly severe economic sanctions against Cuba. The first U.S. legislative
restrictions were enacted in July 1960 when certain nonsubsidized foods, medicines, and medical supplies, were placed under strict controls.

In September 1961, Congress passed legislation authorizing the president to establish an embargo on all trade with Cuba, including imports of goods from third countries that were manufactured wholly or in part from Cuban materials. In 1962, legislation was passed aimed at preventing trade between Cuba and U.S. allies. In 1963, legislation was passed that formed the basis for the formal sanctions in place today, including prohibitions on trade by U.S. subsidiaries and restrictions on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens.

By the end of 1991, coinciding with the cessation of economic support from the Soviet Union, the United States tightened its embargo, increasing pressure on its allies not to trade with Cuba. In 1992, The Cuban Democracy Act, also known as the Torricelli Law, was enacted by the United States. This new law prohibited U.S. subsidiaries in other countries from trading with Cuba. The law also forbids ships that have landed in Cuba from docking in the U.S. for six months afterward. The Torricelli Law prohibited the trading of food, medicines, and medical supplies, which at that time comprised over 90 percent of Cuban trade with U.S. subsidiaries.

Furthermore, in August 1994, President Clinton signed an executive order prohibiting Cuban-Americans from traveling to Cuba and from sending dollars to their families. On October 2, 1995, President Clinton signed another executive order. Although this latest executive order includes measures for the opening of more communication,
Clinton emphasized that he will tighten the economic embargo and travel restrictions for the general United States population.

In 1996 President Clinton signed the Helms-Burton Bill, also known as the “Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1995.” This bill further tightens the U.S. embargo of Cuba and seeks to internationalize the embargo against Cuba.

Effects of the Embargo in Cuba

During 1989 the Cuban economy gradually deteriorated. In 1990, Cuba entered into the special economic period known as el periodo especial. Since then, the standard of living in Cuba has fallen dramatically. Almost everything, from paper to shampoo, is in short supply. The food supply has diminished and the Cuban diet has been reduced in both quality and quantity. Domestic production of meat, milk, and eggs is restricted by the lack of animal feed. There is a shortage of chlorine to purify water. Some infectious diseases, such as venereal diseases, diarrhea and hepatitis A, are on the rise. Medicines and medical supplies are scarce. The lack of eyeglasses has already begun to affect school children's ability to learn. The reduction in the availability of gasoline has emptied the streets of cars, caused periodic power shortages, disrupted factory production, and increased unemployment and underemployment. The Cuban people have been forced to use bicycles as the daily means of transportation.
To survive this period, the Cuban government implemented an emergency plan that included reducing the use of energy and other imports, encouraging food production, and increasing hard currency earnings.

During the special period, many nongovernmental organizations around the world, including Pastors for Peace, have brought humanitarian aid to Cuba to help compensate for shortages of food and medicine due to the embargo. Pastors for Peace started its program in Cuba in 1992. Rev. Lucius Walker, the executive director of Pastors for Peace, led the organization's first caravan of humanitarian aid to Cuba in 1992, bringing medicine, food, clothing, bicycles, Bibles, and books. The main purpose of Pastors for Peace work in Cuba is to make the moral statement that a group of Americans opposes the U.S. embargo against Cuba.

**American Citizens' Responses to the Embargo**

For the last few years, the U.S. media has portrayed diverse opinions by American citizens toward the U.S. Embargo against Cuba. American citizens' responses are divided on the issue of the U.S. embargo against Cuba. Citizens from different sectors have joined their efforts either to support the current policy or to oppose it. These sets of responses roughly comprise three groups of citizens: those who are in favor of the embargo; those who oppose the embargo; and those who remain indifferent to U.S. policy toward Cuba. This latter group includes the vast majority of Americans.
The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations

The term "nongovernmental organization" (NGO) comprises all organizations that are neither governmental nor for-profit. Nongovernmental organizations can be large or small, secular or religious, and either donors or recipients of grants. Some NGOs are concerned only with local issues, but others work at the regional, national, or international levels. Nongovernmental organizations in general provide services that neither businesses nor governments provide.

Many NGOs are relatively independent of businesses and governments and thus they can be a truly independent vehicle to carry out a particular mission, like alleviating hunger, promoting sustainable development, building houses for the poor and empowering women's organizations, etc.

Nongovernmental organizations are important in developing countries. They can move some pieces of the development puzzle by taking a nonbusiness and nongovernmental approach. They can listen carefully to what people want, encouraging participation and providing direct support. According to Robert Livernash (1992), "NGOs can place strong pressures on governments to create and implement new policies" (p. 13.) When working abroad, nongovernmental organizations' missions can also represent the interests of a group, business, or government.

And finally, nongovernmental organizations working abroad can function as a people-to-people collaboration, particularly when governments are not directly
involved. As President Eisenhower said in 1959, "I like to believe that people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days government had better get out of their way and let them have it" (Korten, 1989, p. 188).

Despite the strong opposition to open communication with Cuba from some American corporations and the powerful Cuban-American lobby, humanitarian aid and cultural exchange between nongovernmental organizations from these two countries continue to grow. A staff member of a Cuban nongovernmental organization, The Martin Luther King Center in Havana, expressed how he visualized cooperation between nongovernmental organizations from his country and the United States. Benito Martinez, editor of the Cuban Magazine *Caminos* and media representative of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center, said that:

The NGOs from the United States and Cuba have started to establish an alternative, a people-to-people diplomacy, where people exchange their experiences and support each other's programs. This type of relationship between NGOs is the kind of relationship that will bring the people of the United States and Cuba together and will open diplomatic relations between these two people, before their governments do so. (B. Martinez, personal communication, July 28, 1996)
Cuban Nongovernmental Organizations

In the past five years, Cuban and American nongovernmental organizations have been increasing their efforts to open communications between Cuba and the United States.

There are currently around 2,000 associations in Cuba officially registered under Cuban law as nongovernmental organizations. In February 1988, the Cuban Department of Justice published a law of associations and their rules. This law states:

The Socialist State guarantees the right of association recognized in the article number 53 of the Republican Constitution as a means for citizens to get involved in multiple activities that will help the development of science, culture, sports and recreation activities, as well as friendship manifestation and human solidarity and other forms of organizations for social benefit. (Law # 54, Cuban Department of Justice, 1998)

Among Cuban nongovernmental organizations that have established communication and exchanges with international NGOs are Protestant churches, the Cuban Red Cross, the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center, The Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples (Instituto Cubano de Amistad con los Pueblos) known as ICAP, and the Cuban Movement for the Peace and the Sovereignty of the People (Movimiento Cubano por la Paz y la Soberania de los Pueblos). Many of these Cuban organizations host groups from abroad and play the role of intermediaries between these organizations and the Cuban population. These Cuban NGOs help distribute
the humanitarian aid carried by those groups from abroad, and are also involved in other humanitarian activities.

American Nonprofit Organizations Working in Cuba

As the U.S. economic policy of embargo against Cuba continues, more and more American NGOs are cooperating with Cuban NGOs. Many American NGOs are from the San Francisco Bay Area. Their common goal is to promote people-to-people relations to help lighten some of the problems confronted by the Cuban people due to the U.S. economic embargo.

American nonprofit organizations working in Cuba include Cuba Puente, INFOMED, Global Exchange, International Peace for Cuba Appeal and the Venceremos Brigade.

Cuba Puente, based in Santiago de Cuba and in Oakland, California, was founded in 1996 to promote academic and cultural exchange between nongovernmental institutions in Cuba and the United States.

Project INFOMED is a project based in Havana, Cuba and San Jose, California; its main goal is to donate computers to Cuban hospitals and universities and to get them online to help Cubans obtain important medical information.

Global Exchange is a nonprofit organization based in San Francisco that, among other projects, leads trips to Cuba to challenge a U.S. law prohibiting American travel to Cuba.
The International Peace for Cuba Appeal is a nonprofit organization located in San Francisco that sends medical journals to Cuban hospitals.

The Venceremos Brigade, also based in San Francisco, started working with Cuba 20 years ago organizing trips to Cuba to work in Cuban agriculture and to build homes in poor Cuban neighborhoods.

Most recently, in January 1997, the Oakland City Council sponsored a program launched by a group of Americans, which has recognized Santiago de Cuba and Oakland as "friend cities." (The designation "friend cities" is necessary because the U.S. embargo prevents establishment of the more familiar "sister city" form of crossnational relationship).

Pastors for Peace

Pastors for Peace, the organization on which this case study is based, started working with Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center in 1992. At that time, new U.S. policies were tightening the embargo. The main goal of Pastors for Peace is to mobilize public opinion in the United States for an alternative policy to the embargo. Pastors for Peace delivers caravans of humanitarian aid to soften the impact of the embargo. Material aid includes food, books, clothing, medical supplies, school supplies, ambulances, solar panels, computers, school buses, and bicycles.
Statement of the Issue

This study attempts to analyze the rationale behind the actions of Pastors for Peace and the effect of an American nonprofit organization's work with a nongovernmental Cuban organization. It shows the role played by a nongovernmental organization in its stand to change some of its host country's politically based policies. This thesis explores the purpose of mutual cooperation between two nonprofit organizations working abroad, and analyzes the factors that have inspired this type of work.

Research Questions

This case study examines the link between these two organizations which have developed systems for mutual benefit in times of economic hardship due to the embargo: Pastors for Peace, an American nonprofit organization located in New York, and Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center, a Cuban nongovernmental organization located in Marianao, a working-class neighborhood in Havana, Cuba. The main purpose of this thesis is to analyze the relations of two nongovernmental organizations, one domestic and one foreign-based, working for mutual benefit. To analyze such a phenomenon, this thesis addresses the following questions:

What is the purpose of the work that Pastors for Peace does in Cuba, and what is the relationship between Pastors for Peace and the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center?
Do the legal and political dimensions of this relationship jeopardize the nonprofit American organization's work and the civil rights of its volunteers?

**Importance of the Study**

In the past, American nonprofit organizations working in other countries have often represented U.S. policies abroad and have been supported by U.S. administrations. What makes this study important is that it illustrates the independent role played by an American nonprofit organization working in Cuba that does not have support from its government, and that in fact opposes its government's policy toward Cuba. As Michael O'Neill (1989) wrote,

> Religious and other nonprofit organizations that have been operating in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East for several decades have had the opportunity to develop extensive knowledge of local cultures and traditions and have generally made it clear by their actions that they are not instruments of American business and foreign policy interests. (p. 127)

This study is unique because, despite the current lack of access to information from Cuba due to the United States embargo, the author has been able to research the topic in Cuba, bringing back data not available in the United States. This study is also important because there have not been any other case studies done on an American nonprofit organization working in Cuba. The topic of this research is particularly controversial and innovative since the NGOs under study serve two countries that
lack diplomatic relations. In fact, in this situation, there is an economic embargo, enforced by one country against the other, that both NGOs choose to ignore. After an extensive computer database search and an exhaustive research of the literature, no similar studies have been found.

Limitations of the Study

This thesis is a case study of cooperation between one American nonprofit organization and a Cuban counterpart. Although there are other American nonprofit organizations working in Cuba, this thesis examines only the relations between a single American nonprofit organization and a Cuban nongovermental organization.

Another limitation of the study is the personal involvement of the researcher as a volunteer of one of the organizations under study. Although her personal participation can influence the outcomes of this research, she is fully aware of this limitation and has tried to minimize any possible bias.
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Despite the geographic proximity of Cuba and the United States, Americans are not allowed to travel to Cuba. This constitutes a further barrier to collecting direct information from Cuba. It is mitigated in part because the author has been working with Pastors for Peace as a volunteer since 1994 and has traveled to Cuba on three different occasions. Through direct participation in the Pastors for Peace caravans to Cuba, the author has developed personal contacts and collected important information related to the cooperation between Cuban and American nongovernmental organizations from the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center. Furthermore, her personal contacts have led to electronic mail and personal communications with Cubans.

The literature review for this case study covers international aspects of nonprofit work. The research emphasizes literature related to nonprofit organizations working in the last 20 years in countries with no diplomatic relations with the United States, and with an embargo established by the United States. Special interest is given to groups that build networks across borders, carrying out missions sometimes contrary to policies of their own governments, as is the case of Pastors for Peace.

Extensive research was done in online and other databases, in American and Cuban print resources, and in other sources related to nonprofit organizations. For
example, a search of cooperation between nongovernmental organizations in the U.S. and NGOs in Libya, Iraq, Iran, Vietnam, and Korea, yielded no positive results.

One possible explanation for the lack of information on this topic could be that the work of these organizations is not documented. Also, because of U.S. hostility toward certain countries and the lack of U.S. aid to the governments of these countries, American nonprofit organizations may be discouraged from working there.

United States Policy and International Cooperation

The United States government has a selective policy of providing international aid to some countries but not to others. In his book *More than Altruism: The Politics of Private Foreign Aid*, B. Smith (1990) wrote:

Cuba, post-revolutionary Nicaragua, and pre-1984 Grenada are Latin American nations where no U.S. government subsidies could be used by Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) due to the political nature of their regimes and the absence of U.S. bilateral assistance to such governments. For the same reasons, postwar Vietnam and North Korea are other countries off-limits to nonprofits using U.S. government aid. (p. 170)

Historical Roots of International Cooperation

Many of the early independent NGOs in Europe and North America had the goal of establishing missions or providing relief to victims of war or famine.
During World War I, great relief efforts were organized by private citizens in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and other countries to assist victims of the war. Nonprofit organizations such as the American Red Cross raised millions of dollars to help the allied countries lessen war-related suffering. European immigrants living in the United States created a range of nonprofit groups to help their former fellow citizens in European countries.

In 1917, after the Bolshevik Revolution in the Soviet Union, and in the absence of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, some organizations such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Young Mens' Christian Association (YMCA) joined efforts to alleviate famine in the Soviet Union. Bolling (1982) wrote "Twenty four and one-half million dollars worth of army surplus goods were channeled through the American Red Cross, and a total of $490.2 million worth of U.S. private assistance flowed into the Soviet Union during the early 1920s through U.S. relief agencies that worked in partnership both with the U.S. and Soviet governments despite the strained relations between the two regimes themselves" (p. 12).

Nonprofit organizations proliferated during and after World War II. Religious and secular organizations like Catholic Relief Services and CARE started providing clothing, food, and medical supplies to refugees and displaced persons in Europe. Many of these nonprofits were established by European and Near Eastern immigrants
whose families were victims of the war. The American Red Cross was in charge of channeling aid to countries fighting the Nazis. But the U.S. government revoked many licenses of organizations working overseas, because they were viewed by the U.S. government as organizations engaging in cooperation with governments that were not friends of the United States.

Many U.S. missionary societies in the 1950s expanded projects of technical assistance on infrastructure projects like schools, hospitals, and training programs. This new approach was started in the 1920s in China by some missionary societies. But in 1949, after the victory of Chinese Communist forces, many American Protestant and Catholic religious groups shifted their work to other countries. Smith (1990) writes, "U.S. government grants to PVOs were given according to U.S. foreign policy objectives, since they were made available primarily for projects in countries the United States had targeted as security priorities amidst its growing preoccupation with communism in the 1950s" (p. 50).

In the 1960s, many NGOs began to see their mission as a mix of relief and development work. Robert Livernash, a senior editor of the World Resource Report (1992) writes, "In 1958, the World Council of Churches proposed that the industrial countries transfer one percent of their national income to the developing countries for development assistance" (p. 14).

During the 1960s and 1970s, a new trend in humanitarian aid emerged as organizations began to focus on the root causes of poverty in underdeveloped
countries by providing help in self-development and food programs, and promoting land and tax reforms.

In 1969, the United States Congress created the Inter-American Foundation (IAF). During this period, the U.S. government viewed the role of nongovernmental organizations in Third World countries as an effective instrument to stop the spread of communism. In his book *American Philanthropy Abroad*, M. Curti (1963) wrote:

> During the Cold War period, when security concerns dominated U.S. government objectives in foreign aid, government policy makers considered PVOs to be effective organs in checking the spread of communism since they worked at the grass-roots level among poor sectors of developing countries and strengthened the network of private organizations in these nations. The PVOs also enhanced the image of American values among the recipients of their aid by softening suspicions that food and technical assistance were merely government-to-government instruments of power politics (p. 617).

In the 1960s, President Kennedy created a Food for Peace Office to coordinate overseas food distribution. In the mid-1960s, a number of influential members of the United States Congress brought to the nation's attention the great need for programs abroad to help grassroots organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, and local community organizations.
In the 1970s, American NGOs provided assistance to North Vietnam, mainly for medical work. These organizations were actively working in South Vietnam during the war, such as CARE, World Vision, the American Red Cross, Vietnam Christian Services, and the Mennonite Central Committee.

In the past 35 years, nonprofit organizations from the United States, Canada, and Europe have gained the reputation of being more effective than their governments in helping countries affected by famines, floods, earthquakes, tornadoes, and other natural disasters. Smith (1990) writes:

There is increasing governmental interest in the international nonprofit sector because there are unique comparative advantages that PVOs and NGOs claim to have in reaching precisely those lower-income groups in developing countries that government or corporation aid often does not touch. (p. 5)

Many nonprofit organizations from the U.S. worked toward breaking the embargo against Vietnam. During the 1980s, a coalition of four American agencies — the American Friends Service Committee, the Mennonite Central Committee, Oxfam-America and Church World Service — decided to take a moral stand, based not on solidarity with the Vietnamese government, but on their own mission as humanitarian organizations, to respond to need where it existed. Other motivations were the principle of reconciliation and the desire to move beyond emergency relief toward development, to encourage self-sufficiency.
In the late 1970s, the work of American nonprofit organizations in Cambodia constitutes another example of international cooperation, despite the lack of diplomatic relations between the government of Cambodia and the United States. American NGOs working in Cambodia had to redefine their philosophies and approaches to relief and development work. The Oxfam Consortium offered the first shipment of aid to Cambodia in 1979, and developed good working relationships with their Cambodian counterparts. According to Mysliewiec (1988), "Projects which under more normal circumstances would have been assumed by bilateral donors, United Nations development agencies, and international firms and lenders, were denied to the Cambodians because its government remained unrecognized by most of the international community" (p. 1).

American organizations that work independently from the government and in some instances oppose U.S. policies may in fact be helpful to the U.S. image abroad. Such organizations work overseas with the intention of helping indigenous people to empower themselves and to assist them to be self-sufficient. Other groups carry out controversial education and lobbying activities in various countries. Michael O'Neill writes:

Before the United States was the world's dominant economic and military power, it was highly admired for its more idealist qualities. In a world increasingly cynical about the intentions of all superpowers, American nonprofit organizations working in other countries may well be plying an
important role in helping the United States maintain its moral and

Throughout the years, U.S. government resources have been provided to
nonprofit organizations working abroad based on the type of work that they intend to
do overseas. But if the ideology of these groups differs from U.S. policy toward the
countries where they work, these organizations face restrictions, and their funds can
be reduced or their tax-exempt status can be revoked by the U.S. government.

In their book Beyond the Magic Bullet, Michael Edulards and David Hulme
(1992) write: "Willingness of NGOs to speak out on issues that are unpopular with
governments will be diluted by their growing dependence on official aid" (p. 7).

Many international nonprofits do not receive government funds, but instead rely on
private donations, allowing them more flexibility to choose the type of work they do or where to do it. David C. Korten (1989) writes: "In growing numbers, private
citizens concluded that peace and the relations between peoples are too important to
be left to governments whose leaders are often far removed from the values and
aspirations of their citizens" (p. 27).

In the 1990s, there are many American and foreign nonprofits whose primary
goal is to educate people in their own countries about events in other countries.
Although for years international organizations were seen as agents of the ideological
or political agendas of their respective countries, it is clear that the type of
organizational goal mentioned above is different. In fact, many nonprofits choose to
work across borders with organizations that work in favor of the poor, or with groups that work to organize themselves to oppose exploitative economic or political structures, or even to oppose policies of their own national governments.

A review of literature on international cooperation between nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations reveals that, with some exceptions, most international NGOs seem to pursue missions that go beyond altruism. Sometimes the groups reflect the ideologies of the countries in which they originate; while at other times they reflect the ideologies of certain population sectors only.

Nonprofit Organizations in Latin American Countries

The goals of nongovernmental organizations working in Latin America in the past 30 years reflect the political changes that have taken place in that region. Between the 1960s and 1970s, nongovernmental organizations diversified their work in Latin America. Livernash (1992) writes: "Many organizations were created in reaction to the authoritarian military regimes that held power throughout Latin America during this period" (p. 17). Military coups in Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina attracted nongovernmental organizations to that area. Grassroots organizations and Catholic religious orders started working with poor people in rural areas to alleviate their problems. During the 1980s, with new democratic governments in the region, secular nongovernmental organizations also worked against poverty and helped organize neighborhood associations.
In 1979, following the victory of the Sandinistas over the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, the region became a "cold war" battleground for international nonprofit organizations that either supported or opposed the new Nicaraguan government.

Under newly-elected President Reagan, the U.S. government made the rollback of revolution in Central America one of the top priorities for U.S. foreign policy. Some European agencies were working in Nicaragua as a reaction to U.S. foreign policy in the region. New intermediary NGOs were established by sympathizers of the new Nicaraguan government, and they became the partners of European and progressive North American NGOs in counterbalancing the activities of U.S.-financed NGOs.

Nonprofits working in El Salvador in the 1980s redefined their ties with political parties and grassroots organizations during El Plan de Reconstruccion Nacional (or the National Reconstruction Plan), a period of peace conversations between the Salvadoran government and political parties opposed to the government.

The Maryknoll Fathers and Sisters, an American nonprofit organization based in New York, has been working in Latin America for a long time. This organization has suffered persecution in El Salvador, where three Maryknoll nuns were assassinated during the early 1980s.

Also in the 1980s, new economic trade between North America and Chile brought economic prosperity to the Chilean upper class while the poor experienced a deterioration of their standard of living. Maryknoll missionaries helped the Chilean people suffering the negative effects of economic transformations.
With foreign support, local or indigenous nonprofits can assist local opponents of government policies in carrying out a variety of socioeconomic programs benefiting the urban and rural poor, or in publicizing research findings critical of regime policies.

The work of American nonprofits working close to the people most affected by U.S. policies is highly controversial. As Livernash has stated, "When no other options exist to effect change, some NGOs have used the risky strategy of confronting the government to call attention to their concerns" (p. 20).
CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology used in this case study, including surveys and focus group instrumentation (see Appendix).

This thesis used the "case study" approach as a method of research, and included the three elements of a qualitative research method: describing, understanding, and explaining.

In his book Case Study Methods (1993) J. Hamel writes, "Case studies employ various methods. These can include interviews, participant observation and field studies" (p. 1). For the present study, the author observed facts and questioned volunteers from Pastors for Peace, an American nonprofit organization that works in Cuba. The author used her observations to interpret how this type of cooperation occurred, bearing in mind the following remarks by Skate (1995): "Ultimately, the interpretations of the researcher are likely to be emphasized more than the interpretations of those people studied, but the qualitative case researcher tries to preserve the multiple realities, the different and even contradictory views of what is happening" (p. 12).

This research used participatory observation. One of the most prominent figures in participatory research, Paulo Freire, the great Brazilian educator who during the 1960s introduced new methods of education in the American continent, has talked
extensively about this discipline. In his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1983) wrote:

Thematic investigation, which occurs in the realm of the human, cannot be reduced to a mechanical act. As a process of search, of knowledge, and thus of creation, it requires the investigators to discover the interpenetration of problems, in the linking of meaningful themes. The investigation will be the most educational when it is most critical, and most critical when it avoids the narrow outlines of partial or "focalized" views of reality, and sticks to the comprehension of total reality. Thus, the process of searching for the meaningful thematic should include a concern for the links between themes, a concern to pose these themes as problems, and a concern for their historical-cultural context (p. 99).

**Case Study Subjects and Respondents**

Pastors for Peace and Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center were the subjects of this research. The respondents were the executive director of Pastors for Peace, Rev. Lucius Walker; two Pastors for Peace staff members, Ellen Bernstein and Peggy Valdes; and seven volunteers from the San Francisco Bay Area chapter. Rev. Raul Soarez from the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center and one of his staff members, Benito Martinez who is the editor of the Cuban Magazine *Caminos* and media representative of the King Center were interviewed by the researcher in one of her trips to Cuba. The author also participated in this study with personal observations.
during one of Pastors for Peace trip to Cuba. The respondents were selected with the purpose of learning how direct participants involved in this cooperation interpret their own experiences.

**Research Design**

The purpose of this case study was to understand the reasons that inspired an American nonprofit organization to work abroad in a country whose government and the United States government currently have no diplomatic relations. This study was developed with the expectation that other nonprofit organizations can understand and learn the role of people-to-people collaboration in the absence of diplomatic and economic relations between governments.

**Instrumentation**

This study was conducted through three surveys carefully designed to collect information from Pastors for Peace staff members, and a focus group designed to collect information from volunteers with this American nonprofit organization and non-structured interviews with members of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center. In addition, written materials from Pastors for Peace and the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center in Cuba have been used for this case study.

Three questionnaires, described below, were designed to collect data.

**Pastors for Peace executive director questionnaire (Appendix A).**

This questionnaire includes an introduction concerning the author of the study and the reasons for conducting the interviews. It explains the approximate duration
of the interview and how the information will be utilized. The questionnaire contains a total of 30 questions, divided into three sets. The first set has two questions designed to describe the person interviewed and his or her role in the organization. The second set contains 19 questions designed to describe the purpose of the work that Pastors for Peace performs in Cuba and the organization's relationship with the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center of Havana, Cuba. The third question set is composed of nine questions about legal implications of the type of work that Pastors for Peace does in Cuba.

**Pastors for Peace staff member questionnaire (Appendix B).**

This questionnaire includes an introduction by the author of the study and the reasons for conducting the interviews. It explains the approximate duration of the interview and how the information will be utilized. The questionnaire contains a total of 30 questions, divided into three sets. The first set has three questions about the person interviewed and his or her role in the organization. The second set contains 18 questions designed to describe the purpose of Pastors for Peace work in Cuba and its relationship with the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center. The third set is composed of nine questions related to legal implications of the type of work that Pastors for Peace does in Cuba.

**Focus group questionnaire (Appendix C).**

The focus group questionnaire contains a total of 13 questions, divided into two sets. The first set contains nine questions to determine the purpose of Pastors for
Peace work in Cuba and the group’s relationship with the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center. The second set is composed of four questions related to legal implications arising from the type of work that Pastors for Peace volunteers do in Cuba.

Procedures

The researcher interviewed Rev. Lucius Walker, the executive director of Pastors for Peace, by telephone in February 1998. Rev. Walker has been the director of all program operations for the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) since 1967. He is a pastor of the Baptist Salvation Church in Brooklyn, New York. Rev. Walker is also the executive director of Pastors for Peace, one of IFCO’s many programs. He administers grants and provides technical assistance to all IFCO programs. He is responsible for coordinating Pastors for Peace public speaking engagements. He reports to the IFCO board of directors, provides guidelines to staff and volunteers, and is responsible for all personnel policies and policy implementation.

The author of this thesis interviewed two Pastors for Peace staff members (Ellen Bernstein and Peggy Valdes) in January 1998 by telephone. Ellen Bernstein has been working with Pastors for Peace for five years. Her responsibilities are administering grants, providing technical assistance to projects sponsored by IFCO, fundraising, and developing educational materials. In addition she does legislative advocacy and educates grassroots organizations about working with members of Congress for a
more just U.S. policy toward Third World countries. She does community outreach and works organizing caravans to Cuba and Central America.

Peggy Valdes has been an IFCO staff member for almost four years. She is the national coordinator of Pastors for Peace. Her responsibilities include coordinating the caravans to Cuba and organizing delegations to Cuba, and contacting grassroots organizations, including churches. In addition, she is responsible for international networking on the issue of the Cuba embargo.

The focus group took place in the San Francisco Bay Area in January 1998. There were four female and three male participants in the focus group. Three participants were of Hispanic origin. The participants were between 30 and 60 years of age. The focus group was conducted by the researcher. One person volunteered to take notes, and the researcher also tape-recorded the conversation as a complement to the notes. All of the persons invited to the focus group have participated in the past in at least one Pastors for Peace friendship caravan to Cuba. The focus group techniques used in this research included an introduction stating the reasons for conducting the focus group and an explanation of how the information would be used. The researcher explained that to preserve confidentiality, names of participants would not be included in the final results. Participants shared their views about the volunteer work they do and how they are personally affected by their participation in Pastors for Peace.
In July 1996, the author of this thesis traveled to Cuba in the 5th Pastors for Peace Caravan. She visited the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center in Havana and had informal conversations with two staff members about their relation with Pastors for Peace. She talked with Rev. Raul Soarez, the Director of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center, and with Benito Martinez, the King Center's media responsible. The conversations with the King Center staff members were limited, due to the amount of work the staff has during the caravans. Unfortunately, that was the only time the research could talk to them, because she could not travel to Cuba just to do this research for economic and legal reasons. Nevertheless, their responses are included in the results of this research.

In addition to information gathered from the interviews and focus group, the author has included her observations from one of her trips to Cuba in July 1996. Pastors for Peace materials that are currently provided to volunteers of this organization were also used to broaden this study.

Treatment of Data

The interview questionnaires utilized for this case study were structured with similar open-ended questions for Pastors for Peace staff members and volunteers. The interviews with the two staff members of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center were in a non-structured interview format. The results of these interviews furnish the researcher with qualitative data from five data sources: the executive director, two staff members, seven Pastors for Peace volunteers, the executive director of the Martin
Luther King Jr. Memorial Center and the media representative of the King Center.

Responses from each of the data sources were included in discussions of study results for each of the research questions.
CHAPTER FOUR

Results

This chapter shows the results of the research. All the data collected through interviews, a focus group, and personal observations by the researcher are divided by questions developed in the interview instruments.

Pastors for Peace Caravans to Cuba

In November 1992, at the request of Cuban clergy, Pastors for Peace began challenging the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba. Pastors for Peace caravans are known as friendshipment caravans. Rev. Walker explained that the idea of friendshipment was the result of his personal experience during 1985 with the Cree Indians who live by the Lubicon Lake in Alberta, Canada. This native people have lived on the site of their present-day reservation for generations with their own culture and language. The Cree Indians had never participated in any land ownership treaty with the Canadian government and they were somewhat isolated from the outside world. In fact, they did not have access to television, radio and or newspapers; they spoke their native language and had their own culture and customs. In 1970, the Canadian provincial government started the construction of a railroad through Cree Indians’ land and it was completed in 1979. At the beginning of the 1980s, oil was discovered in that region and 82 oil corporations invaded the Cree Indian lands. The native Canadians under attack asked for the support of the international community. In 1984 the World Council of Churches held it annual
meeting in Vancouver, Canada and addressed the Cree Indians situation. Lucius Walker contacted the World Council of Churches and offered his support to helping alleviate the suffering of the native Canadians and decided to organize an IFCO relief caravan of humanitarian aid to the Cree Indians. The caravan had two goals: delivering humanitarian aid and calling the attention of the international community about the situation of the Cree Indians. The caravan drove 22 vehicles with humanitarian aid such as food, medicine, books, and toys through the Pacific and Northwest regions of the United States and through Alberta in Canada. The IFCO caravan was very successful and offered a very important contribution toward educating American and Canadians citizens about the situation of the Cree Indians and to expose this native nation to the outside world. That analysis inspired the idea of caravans of humanitarian aid. Pastors for Peace has organized approximately 40 friendship caravans to Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico delivering aid such as food, medicine and medical supplies.

In 1992 the first friendship caravan to Cuba traveled throughout the United States, hosting educational events in many cities. The caravan brought Bibles to Cuba at the request of the Cuban Christian religious community. The second caravan converged at Laredo, Texas in 1993. In that caravan, Pastors for Peace brought medicines, medical supplies, and a yellow school bus. At the border, the bus was stopped by U.S. customs agents, and was not allowed to continue. Rev. Walker decided to call for a hunger strike. Supporters in Mexico, Cuba, and Amsterdam
joined the hunger strike in their countries. After 20 days of hunger strike, the authorities released the bus and the caravan proceeded on to Cuba.

Over the past five years, Pastors for Peace has successfully organized seven caravans to Cuba, delivering more than 1,500 tons of vital aid to Cuba — all without applying for a U.S. Treasury Department license. Pastors for Peace rejects the licensing procedures because they believe that applying for licensing indicates compliance with the U.S. government’s embargo. This rejection has resulted in a series of confrontations with U.S. authorities. For example, in February 1996, the U.S. Treasury Department confiscated 400 computers at the U.S.-Mexico border and arrested 12 Pastors for Peace volunteers and staff members, including Rev. Walker.

After a series of failed negotiations between Pastors for Peace and the U.S. Treasury Department, Rev. Walker and five other volunteers started a “Fast for Life” (hunger strike) that lasted 94 days and resulted in the release of the computers. Pastors for Peace has been subpoenaed by the grand jury of New York. The grand jury has demanded a list of names and addresses of people who have traveled to Cuba with Pastors for Peace in the fourth and fifth caravans to Cuba. Rev. Walker has refused to submit the list and is willing to go to prison instead.

Organizing the Caravans to Cuba (Friendshipment)

Although a caravan travels to Cuba only once a year, Pastors for Peace staff and volunteers work all year round to prepare for these caravans. Planning and organizing a caravan to Cuba is a six-to-eight month process that involves
coordinating nationwide support from local affiliate organizations, such as the San Francisco Bay Area U.S./Cuba Friendshipment.

Approximately five months before a caravan is scheduled to start its long journey, staff members send invitations to community groups, especially churches, asking for their participation in the caravan in many different activities. For each caravan to Cuba, Pastors for Peace makes new community contacts.

The tasks of local community groups include sending representatives to Cuba, collecting humanitarian aid, sponsoring scholarships for their members, and hosting events when the caravan is traveling around the country. Two months before the caravan is scheduled to start traveling, a Pastors for Peace staff member plans the routes the caravan will travel in the U.S., arranges transportation for participants, and contacts local groups that have agreed to host local caravan send-off events.

The goal of these events is to inform and educate local communities about the impact of the U.S. embargo against Cuba. When the caravan is about to start, Pastors for Peace staff members also launch a campaign to ask volunteers (whether participants or nonparticipants in the caravan) to take action with members of Congress by calling legislators, sending letters to them, and setting up meetings to inform them about the caravan action plans.

Pastors for Peace staff members send press releases announcing the caravan and organize emergency response plans throughout the network to support the caravan if it is stopped at the Mexican or Canadian border.
Pastors for Peace travels in Cuba for a week. Participants visit hospitals, childcare centers, churches, neighborhoods, and museums in provinces throughout Cuba. Hosting Cuban organizations plan cultural events often including well-known Cuban musicians. During the week participants sleep and eat in Cuban churches and get to know people from the local neighborhoods.

Responses of the Cuban People to Pastors for Peace Caravans

The Pastors for Peace caravans are very important to Cubans. This researcher’s personal observation is that almost every Cuban citizen knows about Pastors for Peace. The following are interpretations by staff members and volunteers of the reasons why the Cuban people welcomed Pastors for Peace.

One focus group participant said, “Cubans are thrilled that some people here are willing to put themselves on the front line for them.” National Coordinator Peggy Valdes said, “The respect and love that we feel is much more that what we deserve. They accept us as part of their families. To me it is very emotional when they show us their love.”

The enthusiasm of the Cuban response is not only because of the humanitarian aid that Pastors for Peace brings, but also because of the organization’s clear opposition to U.S. policy toward Cuba, says Rev. Walker. “The Cuban people see the work of Pastors for Peace as a strong message of solidarity from Americans who oppose the embargo against Cuba,” he said, adding that Pastors for Peace was the first American faith-based organization to make a strong moral stand against the embargo.
Walker believes that the U.S. is attempting to reduce Cuba to a nation of beggars. "As an American I am embarrassed by my own government. The Cubans see us as their friends and not as their enemies. They understand our particular focus, which is challenging the embargo against Cuba."

Members of the focus group agreed that a big reason Pastors for Peace is so welcomed in Cuba is because Cubans realize that Pastors for Peace provides a way for their voices to be heard in the United States.

American Nonprofit Organizations and "People-to-People" Work

American nongovernmental organizations that work overseas take different approaches in their international work. To understand how Pastors for Peace staff members interpret their role as an American nongovernmental organization working abroad, the following responses are helpful.

Benito Martinez said that NGOs that work in Cuba have established a diplomatic alternative between organizations without government interference. For instance he said that Pastors for Peace and the King Center have developed a people to people alternative, where they learn from each other, something that "will be impossible between our governments at this time."

Rev. Walker believes that NGOs are an expression of people-to-people work and that they constitute a policy parallel to official U.S. foreign policy toward Third World countries. Through Pastors for Peace, concerned American citizens can take action to help alleviate the suffering of people in other countries. Walker says, "Overall, I see
our work as a contribution to the building of a new society." For example, Walker noted that in Nicaragua during the 1980s the U.S. government sent arms to Contra rebels who opposed the Nicaraguan government while NGOs went to Nicaragua to protect Nicaraguans from the consequences of the U.S. policy.

The presence of NGOs, Walker argues, is important in saving lives. In Chiapas, the leadership of the Catholic Church has asked for the physical presence of American observers, to help protect indigenous peoples from abuse by the Mexican military. Walker says, "The fact that the Mexican government is so afraid of the international community's presence [shows] how important our presence and our humanitarian work is."

Walker also regards Cuba as an opportunity for NGOs to mount an alternative to U.S. foreign policy. "Our government denied resources to Cubans and our responsibility as Americans is to increase the flow of aid, and show our solidarity," he says.

Ellen Bernstein, grantwriter for Pastors for Peace, sees the role of NGOs as a very complex question that needs to be approached with sensitivity. She said that especially now, as the world's unrivaled superpower, the U.S. government is inclined to use NGOs "to push the American way," and that sometimes some NGOs do try to impose American values. The position of Pastors for Peace is different, she says. "We don't go to another country to impose. We want to hear first what they need from us."
She believes that many American NGOs do lots of good, and others create a lot of trouble.

In Bernstein’s view, the intent of Track II of the Torricelli Bill was to encourage American NGOs that share the U.S. government’s antipathy toward the Cuban government to go to Cuba and promote and assist Cuban dissidents. More importantly, Bernstein says that the U.S. government uses some American NGOs to further U.S. policy goals concerning Cuba. The U.S. Treasury Department gives licenses to some organizations but not to others, she says. “For example, the U.S. Treasury Department allows the Heritage Foundation [a right-wing, anti-Cuban policy institute] to bring computers to Cuban dissidents, but does not allow other groups to bring computers to Cuban hospitals.” Bernstein argues that people-to-people work helps turn U.S. foreign policy in a more humane direction, by educating and raising the awareness of the public, informing policy makers, and occasionally changing the behavior of people, but that to succeed, this work needs to be done in a respectful way. Bernstein believes people-to-people organizations can be effective in changing governmental foreign policy. She cites the international campaign to ban land mines as a worldwide grassroots effort that has succeeded in changing the policies of some governments.

National Coordinator Valdes says another very important role for NGOs working abroad is to bring information from other countries into the United States, and to educate Americans about how U.S. foreign policy is affecting people elsewhere.
With respect to Cuba, she believes that the responsibility of American NGOs is to go to Cuba and come back to tell Americans about the reality of the Cuban people and the impact of the U.S. embargo. She has had the opportunity to bring many Americans to Cuba, and says that they are very impressed by what they see there.

Pastors for Peace and the Media

Pastors for Peace has not been able to reach the American media as much as they would like to. Staff members have many responsibilities and the organization does not have the resources to have one person working full time to reach and work with the media. Pastors for Peace maintains contact with the media primarily through press releases.

Although Pastors for Peace caravans are intended to attract news media attention to the issue of U.S. policy toward Cuba, Walker says that overall the U.S. media have ignored Pastors for Peace caravans. Nevertheless, on a few occasions, Pastors for Peace events made it to the national media. For instance, Bernstein says that in 1996, after 94 days of the Fast for Life hunger strike that ended with the release of 300 computers confiscated by the U.S. Treasury Department, The Nation published an article titled “Stunning Moral Victory.” In 1997, as the seventh Pastors for Peace caravan was on its way to the Mexican border at Tijuana, it was attacked by members of the right-wing Cuban American group Alpha 66, who threw eggs at caravan vehicles and tried to stop the car Walker was driving. Caravan participants defended Walker, but at Walker’s direction, caravanners did not engage in physical fights with
the aggressors. The caravan proceeded to the border, followed by Alpha 66 members. An Alpha 66 vehicle rammed a caravan vehicle on the freeway, and at the border, U.S. police intervened to prevent further Alpha 66 violence. Local and national newspapers including the New York Times and television networks extensively covered the Tijuana incident.

Most recently, during the papal visit to Cuba in January 1998, Pastors for Peace received numerous phone calls from major radio and TV networks seeking expert commentary on Cuba.

In April 1997, the San Francisco Bay Area US/Cuba Friendshipment organized an educational conference about Cuban religion, environment, health, and education.

The conference keynote speakers were Rev. Walker and Felix Wilson, first secretary of the Cuban Interest Section in Washington D.C. (The Cuban Interest Section is the Cuban government’s diplomatic presence in the U.S., fulfilling many of the same functions as a national embassy, although of a lower diplomatic status. Because of the limited diplomatic relations between them, the U.S. and Cuba have “interest sections” rather than official embassies located in the capital city of the other nation). Radio station KPFA in Berkeley invited Walker to the station’s “Morning Show” to discuss the conference taking place in San Francisco; meanwhile, across the bay, Felix Wilson was the guest on “Forum,” the morning public affairs talk show of radio stations KQED in San Francisco.
Cuban media have provided very positive coverage of Pastors for Peace. Cuban television, radio stations, and newspapers have often interviewed Walker. Cuban media begin covering Pastors for Peace months before their caravans arrive in Cuba.

Pastors for Peace Volunteers

This section examines the motivation of U.S. citizens who choose to become involved as Pastors for Peace volunteers. Although there are approximately 400 volunteers nationwide, the discussion here refers only to a small sample of volunteers from the San Francisco Bay Area U.S./Cuba Friendshipment who participated in the focus group for this thesis. This section also discusses the work of volunteers from the perspective of Pastors for Peace staff members.

Volunteers have diverse reasons for participating in Pastors for Peace. Some began participating at the beginning of the Pastors for Peace caravans to Cuba, and others have recently joined the group. The volunteers who joined the organization at the beginning said that they felt that there was a growing hostility from the United States against Cuba. The boldness of Pastors for Peace in refusing to apply for a U.S. Treasury Department license was appealing to them, they say. Some other volunteers went to Cuba on their own before they knew about Pastors for Peace and were impressed by Cuban society. When they came back to the United States they looked for a domestic group working on Cuban relations, and joined Pastors for Peace. Some volunteers learned from friends about the group and decided to join them.
One volunteer said that she likes to work with Pastors for Peace because it is an open coalition willing to work with all kinds of people and groups and because there is consistency and continuity to the caravans that occur every year. Pastors for Peace invites other groups to participate in their actions, and participants get new ideas from Pastors for Peace work, such as the “Freedom to Travel Campaign,” which challenged the U.S. ban prohibiting travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens. Another volunteer said that Pastors for Peace is the only organization that mounts such direct challenges to U.S. policy and that taking part in such actions is more fulfilling than any other Cuban solidarity work.

From the perspective of a Cuban citizen, Benito Martinez said that Pastors for Peace volunteers have gained the love of the Cuban people, especially because they are coming from the United States, they taking a risk to help Cuba and they are fighting against the Embargo.

Volunteers reported many other reasons for their participation. One cited the sense of belonging to a community of friends with the same interest. Another focus group participant said, “There is a belief that we are part of history, that we are defending a country that takes care of its own people.” Another said it was gratifying to work with a group that is very successful in its work in Cuba. “It gives you a good feeling when you know you are doing something that impacts other people.” Another volunteer said that what he likes best about the caravan is going to small cities and towns around the United States and talking to other people who are doing work for
Cuba. "Once you go on a caravan your life changes and you are more conscious about what is really going on in the United States and in Cuba."

Valdes says volunteers include religious-faith people, people with socialist ideas, simple believers in a more just policy, and people who do this work for humanitarian reasons.

Bernstein says that volunteers are very diverse, ranging from 10 to 85 years old, and representing all races and lifestyles, and that all are very committed. She added that some volunteers have a political perspective, and others are just hopeful people. "There is lots of creativity and determination in Pastors for Peace volunteers," she said.

Rev. Walker said, "We would like to reach anybody who will listen to us. The requirement is not to have a correct political line; we want people who don't know about Cuba, we want children and youth. We challenge people to think. We try to reach every sector of our society such as trade unions, churches, schools, and politicians."

Walker believes that volunteers feel good about doing the right thing by helping to make the U.S. a more humane nation, and that if the embargo is lifted it will benefit both Cuba and the United States because people in the United States will then have the opportunity to learn from Cubans.
The Purpose of Pastors for Peace Work in Cuba

The following section includes responses by Pastors for Peace staff members and volunteers to one of the research questions addressed in Chapter One. The diversity of responses about the purpose of Pastors for Peace work in Cuba prompted the researcher to divide the responses into several subsections.

Changing U.S. policy.

Walker says that Pastors for Peace can influence U.S. policy toward Cuba because the organization has a very extensive grassroots base. "As we inform and mobilize that base, we put pressure on Congress to support policies and laws to end the embargo."

According to Benito Martinez, Pastors for Peace is doing a magnificent job in fighting against an unjust policy. He said that his organization is ignoring legal restrictions from their country to help Cuba.

Rev. Raul Soarez, the Director of the King Center said that Pastors for Peace peacefully challenges the Embargo against Cuba. "They fight against legitimizing an unjust law and they build conscience not only among American Citizens but also in the international community. They bring noble sentiments of solidarity, spirituality, equality and fraternity," Rev. Soarez said.

Bernstein says, "Although we send more aid [to Cuba] than any other organization, the aid is not significant." What really matters, she says, is the need to
change U.S. policy toward Cuba. "As Americans, we are responsible. We have the power to make the changes."

A focus group participant said that although the group would prefer to see the entire embargo canceled, they would also support legislation to ease the embargo. Bernstein added that Pastors for Peace has been working closely with members of Congress on a bill to exempt food and medicine from the trade restrictions imposed by the Torricelli Law. This bill, HR1951, has the support of more than 80 members of Congress and is currently before the Senate.

Walker believes that Pastors for Peace has taken the issue of the embargo to the highest levels of United States power, asserting fundamental moral, political, and ideological rights, while refusing to cooperate with the U.S. government no matter what the cost. "Our work is not about 1,500 tons of aid," he said. "Our work and our struggle is to end the embargo."

One focus group participant said, "There is a basis of unity in opposition to the embargo, at the grassroots level."

Bernstein says that Pastors for Peace is the only organization that is consistently challenging the embargo, taking aid to Cuba without applying for licenses. "The group practices civil disobedience and attracts international support," she said.

Educating Americans about the embargo.

Describing the public education efforts of Pastors for Peace, Walker says "We try to inform teachers so they can inform children of all ages; we give very concrete
examples; we teach ways to put love into action. We provide an opportunity to the average citizen to actually participate in action that can change the course of history.”

Valdes says the primary purposes of the group are to inform the uninformed in this country and to help the people who suffer in Cuba because of U.S. policy.

One focus group participant said that the goal of Pastors for Peace is to educate people in the U.S. about Cuba and to inform them of the consequences of the embargo. Another participant said that a secondary goal is to provide Americans opportunity to “educate themselves by going to Cuba, and come back stronger to organize and keep working in the United States.” Adding to that thought, another participant said that on trips to Cuba, Americans learn about the Cuban education and health systems, housing development, transportation, electoral systems, neighborhood organizations, and women’s organizations, and that by comparing their own observations with what the American media and the American government say about Cuba, they can make their own informed judgments.

Making a moral and political statement to the Cuban people.

One focus group participant pointed out that Pastors for Peace caravans help people in Cuba realize that not everyone in the United States is their enemy, that they do have friends, and that there is a group of Americans who care about them. Benito Martinez said that Cubans feel that Pastors for Peace makes them feel that Cuba is not alone, and that “every time they come, they break the embargo. “They give us moral support and encouragement,” he added.
Relationship of Pastors for Peace and Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center.

The Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center is the Cuban partner of Pastors for Peace. The Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center was started in 1971 by the Ebenezer Baptist Church, in Marianao, a neighborhood in the city of Havana, under the leadership of the then newly-arrived pastor, Rev. Raul Soarez, who was ordained in 1960. Rev. Suarez's training included a bachelor's degree in theology from the Baptist Seminary in Havana, a degree in history from the University of Havana, and the experience of leading two other congregations in Cuba.

The Center was created to offer theological education and to promote activities related to peace and social justice. The construction of the Center was initiated in 1985 and was completed in 1987. The Center serves a predominantly Black Cuban community. Members of the church unanimously decided to dedicate the building to the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The Center currently has five areas of work, including community services, socio-theological and pastoral training, communication training, international relations, and formation of community educators. The International Relations Department at the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center works with organizations all over the world, including Pastors from Peace in the United States. The Center and Pastors for Peace collaborate to break the U.S. embargo against Cuba, and to build friendship between the people of the United States and Cuba.
Benito Martinez said that the relation between Pastors for Peace and Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center is of mutual benefit. "They come and meet our people, they learn from our system, they help us, and they bring back their experience and knowledge to the U.S.

Rev. Soarez said that the relationship between these two organizations is very positive. "Under a political project of solidarity, we became a new family. It is a family to family project and we need to eliminate barriers between these two people. Our relation benefits both organizations. Pastors for Peace volunteers visit our neighborhood and talk to our people. They also bring humanitarian aid and we help them to distribute the aid where is most needed. Pastors for Peace learns about our reality and how the Embargo has impacted our people and they are the mean of taking back their experiences to hundreds of Americans who are not allowed to come to Cuba."

Walker says that because Pastors for Peace works in a people-to-people approach and is a faith-based organization, it has been easier to relate to a similar, popular faith-based organization in Cuba. Pastors for Peace considers the Center its Cuban counterpart, Walker said.

Bernstein said that that Pastors for Peace decided to give humanitarian aid to the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center to distribute to Cubans in most need. "We let the Cubans decide the logistics," she says. Bernstein notes that because the aid distribution was too much work and responsibility for one church, Pastors for Peace
encouraged the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center to broaden its relations with other churches to develop a coalition. The King Center now has an ecumenical distribution committee with 21 churches involved, meeting to decide how aid is going to be distributed. The churches contact the Cuban minister of health and the minister of education to ask where the needs are greatest for such aid as cancer medicine or school supplies. After Hurricane Lilly in 1996, for example, most aid went to provinces most damaged by the hurricane.

Legal Implications

Pastors for Peace confronts legal difficulties due to its work in Cuba. Staff members and volunteers also face legal risks individually for their participation in Pastors for Peace. The following section discusses the research question addressed in Chapter One about the legal challenges to the work of the organization, its staff members, and volunteers.

Travel to Cuba.

Although U.S. law prohibits American citizens to travel to Cuba, thousands of Americans do so every year. Travelers go through third countries such as Mexico, Canada, Jamaica, and others. The immigration authorities in Cuba do not stamp American passports at the airport of entry. On their return to the United States, many Americans do not let U.S. immigration authorities know that they were in Cuba. However, many Pastors for Peace participants do inform U.S. authorities that they were in Cuba and they are often questioned by U.S. customs and immigration
authorities. Some volunteers have been detained at the airport of entry for several hours and interrogated. Other participants’ passports have been taken away and later returned to them. In some instances, their personal belonging were confiscated. But at present, no participant has been jailed for traveling to Cuba.

**Threatening letters.**

Some Pastors for Peace participants have received letters from the U.S. Treasury Department, and others have been visited by the FBI. Advised by Pastors for Peace lawyers, participants have refused to talk with U.S. authorities and have referred authorities to their lawyers. Although the letters represent a threat, so far no one has been prosecuted.

**Grand jury subpoena.**

Pastors for Peace has been subpoenaed by the grand jury of New York to respond to U.S. Treasury Department accusations alleging violation of the Helms-Burton Act. The grand jury has demanded a list of the names and addresses of people who have traveled to Cuba with Pastors for Peace, and to date the organization has refused to comply with this demand. Bernstein says the Pastors for Peace response has been to assert First Amendment freedom of expression and freedom of association, and the Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. Bernstein says they are confident they can win. The subpoena has been extended for another 18 months. Meanwhile, Director Walker has made it clear to U.S. authorities that he would rather go to jail than provide the list of participants.
Pastors for Peace taxation status.

In 1971, Pastors for Peace was audited by the IRS but the audit results showed no wrongdoing. Walker said the IFCO has also been critically examined by the government to see if the organization meets the requirements for its nonprofit status. Walker emphasizes that Pastors for Peace is not violating its (501)(c)(3) tax status. As a nonprofit, Pastors for Peace is allowed to do educational work and to send humanitarian aid. The organization does not favor any political groups or spend money on lobbying.

Pastors for Peace staff members say that although the U.S. government may try to jeopardize the organization's tax-exempt status, there has not been any wrongdoing, and it will be hard for the government to end the organization's work.

Coordination of law enforcement agencies against Pastors for Peace.

Valdes says that in addition to issuing various legal threats in advance of caravans, law enforcement agencies including the FBI, the U.S. Treasury Department, Customs, local police and fire departments, and state highway patrols have formed special groups to monitor and in some cases harass the caravans.

Compliance with American law.

Pastors for Peace staff members and volunteers don't believe their work violates any American laws. Rev. Walker has said that they obey a higher law, the law of love. “We refuse an unjust law,” he added. “Our constitution not only gives us rights but also responsibilities to resist unjust laws.” He accuses the U.S. administration of
breaking the fundamental law of justice, love, and humanity. "We believe in the teachings of Jesus, and we ultimately believe that we have to give a cup of cold water if people are thirsty, and we should give clothing to the naked, and food to the hunger, and visit prisoners," Walker said. "We consider ourselves very patriotic," Walker says, but "We don't obey some of the stupid and immoral practices of our own government." Walker says he frequently asks people in the U.S. to consider what was required to pass the most socially progressive laws on the U.S. books, such as women's right to vote, access to proper accommodations for people of color, better wages for farmworkers, and laws to prevent the abuse of children. He notes that those laws were achieved through strong leadership and organizing by people who refused to obey unjust laws. "These past fighters for better laws that are now in place were victims of physical attacks, they were thrown into jails, some were killed, but they did it, and their struggle resulted in positive laws," Walker says. "We still have a long way to go. Our previous generation passed all these laws that benefit us. The question is, what are we going to pass to the next generation?" Honorable citizens are not the ones who passed a policy of war, exploitation and discrimination, Walker said, but rather those like the farmworkers, who organized to improve their lives. Walker believes those are the real heroes of this country. "We operate in that tradition," he said. "History is on our side, not in the side of Helms, Burton, and Torricelli."

Valdes said she does not know what law Pastors for Peace is violating. "There is a Constitution that gives us the right to travel, to know, to learn, to acquire
information. My beliefs are faith-based. I believe in the right to visit and to help my brother. I have the duty; no law can take away that right and duty from me.”

Bernstein agrees with her coworkers that their organization is not violating any law. On the contrary, she said, the travel ban violates the U.S. Constitution. “It is our duty to stop an unjust law, in a tradition of civil disobedience,” she said. “If we do violate the law, it is in the interest of upholding our moral values, freedom of religion, and freedom of travel. We are very patriotic Americans. We want to call on the nation’s higher-level authorities and ask for their accountability.”

Resisting the U.S. government.

Valdes says Pastors for Peace resists U.S. government attempts to block their work by “using the higher power, and the power of the people, using public opinion, and 400 to 500 people helping us. Their help comes behind each pencil, each can of soup, or each aspirin, and it gives us strength.”

“Eventually government has to give up,” Bernstein said, citing the second Cuban caravan for example. “We did a 23-day fast, some people went to jail, and then Mexicans did a fast, so did the Cubans; even as far as Amsterdam, people there did a fast. The campaigns to release our aid to Cuba not only pushed the U.S. administration, but also members of Congress. We fight back, we get and push forward our gains.”
License procedures.

Due to the embargo against Cuba, humanitarian aid organizations must apply for a U.S. Treasury Department license to send material aid to Cuba. But not all groups that apply get a license. The U.S. Treasury Department decides who will be granted a license to go to Cuba. On several occasions the U.S. Treasury Department has sent license applications to Pastors for Peace but each time Pastors for Peace has refused to fulfill this government requirement. Valdes says Pastors for Peace does not apply for a license because to do so would appear to legitimize the embargo. “We don’t need to ask for a license to visit our Cuban brothers and sisters. The embargo is unjust and immoral,” she said. Bernstein noted that the licensing requirement gives the U.S. government control of who sends, what to send, and where to send it. “We are not going to play the games established in Track II of the Torricelli law,” Bernstein says. She believes that freedom of religion in the United States should allow churches of all denominations to send aid without asking permission.

Risks for staff members and volunteers.

Pastors for Peace staff members, the executive director, and volunteers have suffered persecution for the work they do. For instance, during the fifth caravan that brought 400 computers to Cuba, U.S. authorities fought with Pastors for Peace staff and volunteers when members of the caravan moved the aid by foot across the Mexican border at Ota Mesa. Some people, including a 12 year-old boy, were thrown to the ground and kicked by U.S. authorities. Pastors for Peace participants did not
physically fight back. Several people were taken to local hospitals and 12 members went to jail.

Focus group participants agreed they are taking risks. One focus group participant described being arrested while he was carrying a computer across the Mexican border. He was afraid because he is not an American citizen and knew that U.S. authorities could take away his green card. He said he is taking the risk of being denied American citizenship for having visited Cuba, a Communist country. Another participant said that under the Cuban Democracy Act caravan participants are at risk of a $250,000 fine and 10 years in jail. One focus group participant was arrested during the second caravan in 1993 for demonstrating in front of the U.S. Treasury Department offices in Houston. She was also jailed for demonstrating in front of the U.S. Treasury Department offices in San Francisco protesting U.S. seizure of computers bound for Cubans. Another activist said she was detained in Vermont on her return from a conference she attended in Cuba in 1994.

Another participant, currently a student, said he used to get scholarships before his involvement with Pastors for Peace, but "all of the sudden" he cannot get scholarships anymore. In addition to legal threats posed by the U.S. government, Pastors for Peace also faces extralegal harassment and intimidation.

One of the most shocking incidents occurred during the sixth caravan when members of a right-wing Cuban-American group, Alpha 66, surrounded caravan members in a church in San Diego and provoked a fistfight with one inexperienced
caravan participant who responded to their taunts. Walker directed the caravan to proceed to the freeway, but one of the pursuing attackers rammed his car against one of the caravan vehicles. That incident is the subject of a pending court case.

Walker said that Pastors for Peace employs division of labor because the organization cannot afford to have all staff members arrested at the same time. "We need emergency response outreach to defend us once we are thrown into jail," Walker says. "Knowing that we have a strong team of people who are going to help us makes us feel better." Walker himself has been arrested four times.

**Unanticipated Findings**

There were a few unanticipated findings in relation to the research questions. For instance, it seems that Pastors for Peace has its own organizational purpose but that staff members and volunteers may have other individual purposes in addition to those of the organization as a whole. The same is true regarding legal implications. There are legal risks for the organization as a whole and for individual staff members and volunteers individually.

Perhaps the most fascinating finding was to learn about the friendshipment approach. Pastors for Peace sent the first Friendshipment in 1985 to the Cree Indians in Canada, who were isolated from the rest of the world and needed humanitarian aid, just as the Cuban people today are isolated and in need of aid. Pastors for Peace has been using the friendshipment approach successfully for six years. Other groups are starting to follow the Pastors for Peace example. A group called Iraq Sanctions
Challenge, including more than 100 Americans from around the U.S. traveled to Iraq in May, 1998 with medicine for the Iraqi people, in direct violation of U.S.-enforced sanctions. This challenge is very similar to the challenges that Pastors for Peace has mounted in Cuba. This action will challenge U.S. policy toward a country (Iraq) that does not have diplomatic relations with the U.S. and that is the object of an U.S.-imposed embargo.
CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusions

Review of the Problem

This research is a case study of an American nonprofit organization, Pastors for Peace, established to bring about changes in American foreign policy and the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center. The study includes discussion of the origin and history of the organization, the motives of Pastors for Peace staff and volunteers, and an assessment of results achieved by the organization’s efforts.

Discussion of the Findings

The work of Pastors for Peace helps Americans as well as Cubans. Cubans receive humanitarian aid and strong moral and political support against the embargo from an American group. In return, American citizens learn about Cuba first-hand and are rewarded by the feeling that they are defending a country under unjust attack by the U.S. government.

Although Pastors for Peace has not yet accomplished its main goal of breaking the embargo, the group has contributed greatly to informing the American public about Cuba and the impact the embargo has on the Cuban people.

The main goal of Pastors for Peace is difficult to achieve. Short of ending the embargo, the organization has helped alleviate the suffering of the Cuban people, most notably by promoting a bill to exempt medicine and food from the terms of the embargo.
The organization has also become an expert on Cuban and Latin American issues. During the Pope’s visit to Cuba in January 1998, the organization received many telephone calls from major television and radio networks. Legislators also regularly call Pastors for Peace to ask for information about situations in Chiapas and other regions in Central America.

Pastors for Peace work in Cuba has coincided with efforts by Cuban churches to create more political space for themselves. The Cuban religious community is demanding a more active role in civil society. The involvement of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center with Pastors for Peace and other churches has increased the visibility and liberty of churches in Cuba, enabling them to gain more cooperation from the Cuban government.

Although Pastors for Peace is regarded as too controversial by some U.S. religious groups, Pastors for Peace has made contact with thousand of churches in the United States. These churches may not all participate in the friendshipment caravans, but Pastors for Peace has worked with many churches at local, regional, and national levels. For instance, Pastors for Peace brought leaders of the Progressive National Baptist Convention and the National Council of Churches to visit Cuba. As a result, these groups now have direct relations with churches in Cuba.

Through Pastors for Peace, churches throughout the United States have hosted events, collected humanitarian aid, and helped Pastors for Peace during the hunger strike to obtain release of computers seized by the U.S. Treasury Department. Pastors
for Peace has encouraged religious groups to be more active and has inspired these groups to support the fight against the U.S. embargo. For instance, in December 1997, a group of diverse religious organizations held a press conference in Washington D.C. supporting the HR 1951 bill to exempt food and medicine from the ban on trade with Cuba.

Although the main goal of Pastors for Peace is to break the embargo against Cuba, staff members and volunteers also have their own ideas about the purposes of the organization. Similarly, this study has showed that there are legal implications for the organization as a whole, and for staff members and volunteers individually.

The friendshipment model used by Pastors for Peace has inspired other groups to challenge U.S. laws banning relations with other countries. For instance, Iraq is a country with no diplomatic relations with the United States and an embargo imposed by the United States. A group of concerned Americans are challenging the embargo against Iraq, using the friendshipment model.

Conclusions

There are thousands of American nonprofit organizations working abroad. Their main goal is to deliver humanitarian aid and to bring about positive social change by developing self-empowerment and self-sufficiency in local communities of underdeveloped nations abroad. Over the years, the U.S. government has granted millions of dollars to many American NGOs under the condition that these organizations facilitate U.S. foreign policy objectives. In contrast, Pastors for Peace
was established to bring about changes in U.S. foreign policy. This constitutes a real challenge to the traditional way of thinking about the role of American NGOs.

As in many other nonprofit organizations, volunteers in Pastors for Peace have fulfilled their own personal need to do good. What is distinct about Pastors for Peace and its work in Cuba is the fact that the organization does not promote U.S. foreign policy; on the contrary, it is opposing a policy that is harming the Cuban people. Volunteers and staff members for Pastors for Peace understand that they are taking risks that could result in personal legal consequences. Perhaps the following statement by Rev. Lucius Walker best represents the intention of Pastors for Peace work in Cuba:

What I would like to accomplish in Cuba is to make the most profound, strong, and prophetic contribution to ending the embargo, and in our way to accomplish our purpose delivering needed humanitarian aid. We reveal to those who have eyes to see the total immorality and evil character of the embargo.

Pastors for Peace refuses to seek a license from the U.S. Treasury Department to provide humanitarian aid to Cuba. Rev. Walker cites Matthew 25:35: “To send a cup of cold water to our brothers and sisters, we should not have to ask permission of their enemy.” Although the aid is helpful, he said, “What Cuba needs is a strong message of opposition to the embargo.”
The relationship between Pastors for Peace and its Cuban partner, the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center, has opened a channel of communication between two countries with no diplomatic relations. This relationship is not between the governments of the United States and Cuba, but between the American and Cuban people.

Another essential component of the Pastors for Peace program is its effort to present a different perspective on Cuban life to the American people, who have been fed misinformation about Cuba by the U.S. media. The collaboration between Pastors for Peace and the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center has contributed to changing the way that a growing sector of the U.S. population views Cuba, and has provided a model for other NGOs to alter their approach to Cuba.

As a group that practices nonviolent civil disobedience, Pastors for Peace has made an important contribution by showing Americans and people in other countries that its approach is an honorable and persuasive method for changing governmental foreign policies. Pastors for Peace staff members and volunteers are conscious that lifting an embargo takes much more than one single American nonprofit organization, but they also know that with their actions they are making positive steps and setting an example for others leading to the eventual achievement of that goal.

Recommendations for Action and Future Research

The work done by Pastors for Peace in Cuba has had a great impact on Cuban society. This impact is not because Pastors for Peace has solved the difficulties Cuban
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

Executive Director Questionnaire

My name is Alicia Jrapko and I am a volunteer of the Bay Area US-Cuba
Friendship/Pastors for Peace since 1994. I attended the University of San
Francisco from September 1993 to December 1995 completing the requirements
for the Masters in Nonprofit Administration program. To further complete my
Masters, I am writing my thesis using a case study approach. Pastors for Peace is
the organization that I have chosen to work for this case study. The theme of my
thesis is the cooperation between nonprofit organizations from Cuba and the
United States. This case study will be taken with the expectation that other
nonprofit organizations can understand and learn about the role of non­
governmental organizations beyond government relations.

This questionnaire was designed to learn from you, as the Executive Director of
Pastors for Peace, about your experience working with a non-governmental
organization in Cuba. There will be three sets of questions. The first set includes
some questions about your own role and responsibilities in the organization.
The second set is aimed to learn about the purpose Pastors for Peace’s work in
Cuba and the relationship between Pastors for Peace and Martin Luther King Jr.
Memorial Center, and the third set of questions is designed to learn about the
legal and extra-legal implications of this type of cooperation.

The questionnaire will take approximately 1 hour of your time. Thank you very
much for your help.

Some questions about you

1. How long have you been working with Pastors for Peace?
2. What are your responsibilities as the Executive Director of Pastors for Peace?

Purpose of Pastors for Peace’s work in Cuba and the relations between Pastors
for Peace and the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center

3. How do you see the role of American non-governmental organizations
working abroad?
4. How do you see the role of American non-governmental organizations working in Cuba?

5. How do you see the role of people to people working abroad?

6. Can you describe the goal of Pastors for Peace in general?

7. Can you describe Pastors for Peace' goals working in Cuba?

8. Can you tell me when Pastors for Peace started working with Cuba and what were the circumstances that moved you to start working in Cuba?

9. What are the characteristics of the American supporters and volunteers of Pastors for Peace?

10. Why do American volunteers get involved in Pastors for Peace caravans to Cuba?

11. Can you describe the different levels of work that Pastors for Peace does in the United States and Cuba?
   - Friendshipment caravans
   - Members of Congress?
   - Media
   - Church
   - Other

12. What are the benefits for the Americans who are involved in this type of cooperation?

13. What are the responses from the Cuban people concerning Pastors for Peace?

14. How different are the responses from those they evince toward other American organizations working in Cuba?

15. Why do you think Pastors for Peace is so welcome in Cuba?

16. What is the purpose of the relationship between Pastors for Peace and Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center in Havana, Cuba?

17. What would you like to accomplish with your work in Cuba?
18. To what extent has Pastors for Peace accomplished its goals in its work in Cuba?
19. How do you see the future role of Pastors for Peace working in Cuba?
20. Can you tell me how the type of work Pastors for Peace does in Cuba influence US policies toward Cuba?
21. How do you see the role of Pastors for Peace in breaking the embargo against Cuba?

**Legal and extra-legal implications for Pastors for Peace work in Cuba**

22. Can you tell me what is Pastors for Peace’ legal status?
23. How has the American media portrayed the work of Pastors for Peace in Cuba?
24. Has Pastors for Peace encountered any legal or extra-legal problems with the American government for the work that it is doing in Cuba?
25. Do you think the American government can jeopardize your legal status? How?
26. Do you consider that Pastors for Peace is in violation of any American law? Can you explain?
27. How do you fight back when your humanitarian aid is not allowed to go to Cuba?
28. Why does Pastors for Peace not apply for a license to go to Cuba?
29. What consequences do you currently face or have faced in the past due to the type of work you do in Cuba?
30. Have you or any of your staff or volunteers been jailed or persecuted for the work that Pastors for Peace does in Cuba? Please explain.
APPENDIX B

Staff Member Questionnaire

My name is Alicia Jrapko and I am a volunteer of the Bay Area-Cuba Friendship/Pastors for Peace since 1994. I attended the University of San Francisco from September 1993 to December 1995, completing the requirements for the Masters in Nonprofit Administration program. To further complete my Masters, I am writing my thesis using a case study approach. Pastors for Peace is the organization that I have chosen to work for this case study. The theme of my thesis is the cooperation between nonprofit organizations from Cuba and the United States. This case study will be taken with the expectation that other nonprofit organizations will understand and learn about the role of non-governmental organizations beyond government relations.

This questionnaire was designed to learn from you, as a staff member of Pastors for Peace, about your experience working with a non-governmental organization in Cuba. There will be three sets of questions. The first set includes some questions about your own role and responsibilities in the organization. The second set is aimed to learn about the purpose of Pastors for Peace’s work in Cuba and the relationship between Pastors for Peace and Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center. The third set of questions is designed to learn about the legal and extra-legal implications of this type of cooperation.

The questionnaire will take approximately 1 hour of your time. Thank you very much for your help.

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<th>Some questions about you</th>
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1. Can you tell me how long have you been working with Pastors for Peace?
2. What are your title and your responsibilities?
3. What are the reasons that prompted you to work with Pastors for Peace?
4. How do you see the role of American nongovernmental organizations working abroad?

5. How do you see the role of American nongovernmental organizations working in Cuba?

6. How do you see the role of people-to-people work abroad?

7. Can you describe the goal of Pastors for Peace in general?

8. Can you describe the goal of Pastors for Peace working in Cuba?

9. Can you tell me when Pastors for Peace started working with Cuba. What were the circumstances that guided the organization to start working in Cuba?

10. What are the characteristics of American supporters and volunteers of Pastors for Peace?

11. Why do American volunteers get involved in Pastors for Peace caravans to Cuba?

12. Can you describe the different levels of work that Pastors for Peace does in the United States and Cuba?
   - Frienshipment caravans
   - Members of Congress?
   - Media
   - Church
   - Other

13. What are the responses from the Cuban people about Pastors for Peace?

14. How different are those responses toward other American organizations working in Cuba?
15. Why do you think Pastors for Peace are so welcome in Cuba?
16. What is the purpose of the relationship between Pastors for Peace and Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center in Havana, Cuba?
17. What would you like Pastors for Peace to accomplish with its work in Cuba?
18. To what extent has Pastors for Peace accomplished its goals in its work in Cuba?
19. How do you see the future role of Pastors for Peace working in Cuba?
20. Can you tell me how Pastors for Peace's work in Cuba influences US policies toward Cuba?
21. How do you see the role of Pastors for Peace in breaking the embargo against Cuba?

Legal and extra-legal implications for Pastors for Peace work in Cuba

22. Can you tell me what is Pastors for Peace's legal status?
23. How has the American media portrayed the work of Pastors for Peace in Cuba?
24. Has Pastors for Peace encountered any legal or extra-legal problems with the American government for the work that it is doing in Cuba?
25. Do you think the American government can jeopardize your legal status? How?
26. Do you consider that Pastors for Peace is in violation of any American law? Can you explain?
27. How do you fight back when humanitarian aid is not allowed to go into Cuba?
28. Why does Pastors for Peace not apply for a license to go to Cuba?
29. What consequences do you currently face or have faced in the past due to the type of work you do in Cuba?
30. Have you or any of your co-workers been jailed or persecuted for the work that Pastors for Peace does in Cuba? Please explain.
APPENDIX C

Focus Group Questionnaire

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1. When did you start working with Pastors for Peace and why?

2. What do you think is the purpose of the relationship between Pastors for Peace and Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center in Havana?

3. In your own words, how do you understand the goals of Pastors for Peace in relation to Cuba? Why is Pastors for Peace working in Cuba?

4. Can you describe the type of work that you do in the United States and in Cuba?

5. Why do you choose to be a volunteer with Pastors for Peace?

6. What do you get out of your work with Pastors for Peace?

7. What do you think Cubans get from Pastors for Peace caravans?

8. What is your opinion about American policy toward Cuba?

9. Do you think that the type of work you do with Pastors for Peace can change this policy? How?

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<th>Legal and extra-legal implications for Pastors for Peace work in Cuba</th>
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10. Have you ever faced any risk from the American government in your work with Pastors for Peace? What type of risks?

11. Do you think that you are violating any American law when you go to Cuba?

12. Why does Pastors for Peace not apply for a license to go to Cuba?
13. Do you think the American government can stop Pastors for Peace work in Cuba? If so, how?