

### Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns

# NewsNotes

A bi-monthly newsletter of information on international justice and peace issues

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### **Title 42: Controversy Over Border Health Policy**

Immigrant and faith-based advocates continue to call for the end of Title 42 rapid expulsions of migrants at the border despite pushback from some members of Congress.

On April 1, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and the Biden administration announced that, effective May 23, they would end a Trump-era expulsion policy, known as Title 42. A health order issued by the CDC in March 2020, Title 42 has allowed border agents to bypass typical procedures and expel migrants immediately, which has prevented people seeking refuge from danger or persecution from exercising their legal right to seek asylum at a U.S. border.

After two years of advocacy against this policy, faith communities and public health experts rejoiced at the news. However, the CDC announcement was immediately met with pushback from some lawmakers and governors claiming that revoking the policy would lead to unprecedented chaos at the border. Several moderate Democrats in Congress joined Republicans in expressing concern about lack of preparedness to handle the number of migrant arrivals after Title 42 rapid expulsions are ended.

In response, the Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns joined immigrant advocates and border shelters in unequivocally stating that the time to end Title 42 is now. In late April, MOGC joined a coalition of over 300 faith-based leaders and organizations in sending a letter to Congress urging them to reject legislative efforts to maintain Title 42. In addition, Maryknoll Sisters joined in a letter from Catholic sisters to Pres. Biden calling on him to follow through with his plan to wind down Title 42.

The policy has led to approximately 1.7 million rapid expulsions of migrants without due process for asylum claims. Since the start of the Biden administration alone, human rights groups have documented nearly 10,000 incidents of kidnapping, torture, rape, and other violent attacks against vulnerable migrants expelled under Title 42. Expulsions under Title 42 carry the potential of returning asylum seekers back to the risk of persecution from which they fled, a move illegal under international law.

While several state leaders and members of Congress claim that Title 42 is necessary to maintain control at the border, immigration policy experts and leaders in the Biden administration reiterate that Title 42 was a temporary health policy – not an immigration policy – that is now outdated. Low COVID case rates have led the federal government and states to relax pandemic restrictions to the extent that such rapid expulsions are especially unwarranted. Even at the height of the pan-

demic, public health experts and international observers at the UN spoke out against the Title 42 policy, stating that it was possible to receive migrants safely while honoring the legal right to seek asylum.

Although proponents of Title 42 expulsions claim that the health order has prevented chaos at the border, the data indicate that the rapid expulsions have in some ways increased the strain on border management systems. Title 42 expulsions do not carry the same penalties as regular removals or deportations, so migrants who are expelled under Title 42 have a higher incentive to keep trying to cross; repeat border crossings have increased as a result, according to a Government Accountability Office report. Repeat crossings place migrants at further risk of danger and put strain on border agencies processing migrant crossings. Repeat crossings also inflate the recorded number of border crossings, causing a misleading picture of the number of migrants actually arriving at the border.

In addition, Title 42 has been inconsistently applied. Due to logistical challenges of carrying out expulsions, migrants of some nationalities have been expelled at far greater rates than others. Black immigrant organizations have stated that Black migrants have been disproportionately targeted for expulsion under Title 42. Ukrainian asylum seekers have been exempt from Title 42 expulsions. Their well-warranted reception into the United States indicates that the U.S. government is capable of a robust, coordinated humanitarian response to an influx of migrants when the need and political will are present.

Catholic border reception centers have stated their commitment to work with the federal government to create a humane, well-managed system of reception for migrants arriving at the border seeking asylum. The federal government has proposed a detailed plan to engage with local actors to wind down Title 42, which immigrant advocates at the border say is a good first step.

"Our faith calls us to seek justice and welcome the newcomer even when it is difficult," the Catholic sisters expressed in their letter to Biden. "In light of the values that lie at the heart of our shared Catholic faith... we urge you to end Title 42 on May 23 and to restore the asylum system as soon as possible." §

**Faith in action:** Tell Pres. Biden to end Title 42 https://bit.ly/3vXAYGW

### **Ukraine: Faith Leaders Seek Nonviolent Responses**

As war continues to terrorize the people of Ukraine, people of faith are advocating and developing nonvio-lent responses to the ongoing aggression.

Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant church leaders are seeking to shape effective ways of interrupting, resisting, and transforming the violence that has raged across Ukraine since the Russian invasion began on February 24, and in the eastern provinces since 2014, with an eye toward healing and reconciliation.

Since February, Patriarch Kirill, the head of the Moscow Patriarchate and the Russian Orthodox Church, has found himself increasingly isolated as he has stood by Russian President Vladimir Putin and repeatedly justified the Russian-led war in Ukraine. In a sermon in March, Kirill called the war a "special peacekeeping operation" of "metaphysical significance" in what he sees to be the spiritual differences between a more culturally progressive West and the Orthodox world.

Even Russian Orthodox clergy in Russia and bishops in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate have defied Kirill by making public statements against the war. "If I remain silent, I'm not a priest," the Rev. Ioann Burdin told Religion News Service, after speaking out against what he defiantly called the "Russian invasion." Some bishops in Ukraine told their priests to stop mentioning Patriarch Kirill in liturgical prayers. Nearly 300 Orthodox priests in Russia signed a Lenten public letter lamenting the "trial that our brothers and sisters in Ukraine were undeservedly subjected to" and calling for an immediate ceasefire, dialogue, and reconciliation

The World Council of Churches has repeatedly called on Kirill to denounce the war, and prominent voices within the council have called for the expulsion of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Peace Fellowship is supporting a number of efforts for peace by Orthodox Christians. In addition, hundreds of Orthodox thinkers from around the world have signed a statement condemning the "Russian World" teaching often cited by Kirill and Putin to justify the war.

Pope Francis has led a robust effort to end the war, including both powerful pastoral statements and complex ecumenical and diplomatic efforts. He has been increasingly clear and unequivocal in his condemnation of violence, pushing back on Patriarch Kirill's attempts to justify war in religious terms, but also criticiz-ing threats of violence and armed deterrence by NATO and other powers.

"All wars are unjust, as it is the people of God who pay," Pope Francis said, and, "There is no such thing as a just war: they do not exist!" Francis called the war "sacrilegious because it goes against the sacredness of human life, especially against defenseless human life,

which must be respected and protected, not elim-inated, and this comes before any strategy! Let us not forget it is inhuman and sacrilegious cruelty."

Western leaders purport to be seeking a diplomatic resolution. But NATO members' emphasis on arming Ukraine and imposing broad, long-term sanctions on Russians, all with the express goal of weakening Russia, suggests that they are more interested in seeing Russia economically and militarily defeated than in seeking a compromise agreement that would more quickly end the violence and save lives in Ukraine, and more readily lend itself to post-war reconciliation.

In contrast, Pope Francis condemns the "perverse and diabolical logic of weapons." He says, "It is now clear that good politics cannot come from the culture of power understood as domination and oppression, but only from a culture of care, care for the person and their dignity and care for our common home."

"The real answer," the pope said, "is not other weapons, other sanctions, other political-military alliances, but another approach, a different way of governing the now globalized world – not showing teeth, as now – one way different than set international relations." He has called increases in defense spending by Western countries in response to the Ukraine war "madness."

Meanwhile, faith leaders around the world have been working to support nonviolent responses to the war. Caritas and other aid organizations in the region and worldwide have mobilized to serve and receive refugees. Pax Christi Italy has joined a peace caravan to Ukraine. Leaders of Pax Christi International's Catholic Nonviolence Initiative have been working with Ukrainian and Polish church leaders to organize an interfaith delegation to Kyiv that would include public prayers for peace.

While the media focuses on the military aspects of the conflict, examples of nonviolence abound. The Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame hosted a webinar, available to view on YouTube, entitled "Civil Resistance in Ukraine and the Region," in which peace scholars from Ukraine and around the world highlighted several examples of nonviolent civil resistance, noncooperation, and sabotage against the advancing Russian troops. Through courageous community organizing and solidarity "nonviolence has the capacity to transform society" even in the face of war, the peace researchers teach us.§

### **Fair Shares in Addressing Climate Change**

Climate analysts say U.S. and other wealthy countries must pay their "fair share" toward climate mitigation and adaptation given their status as the highest greenhouse gas emitters.

The latest report by the UN International Panel on Climate Change states that to limit global temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius, global greenhouse gas emissions must be halved by 2030 and reach a net of zero emissions by 2050, an enormous challenge that will require significant change in societies around the world. Limiting global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius is the ambitious target of the Paris Climate Agreement to avert catastrophic effects of climate change.

Within the global climate movement, there is wide-spread recognition of the need for the world's wealthiest, most-developed countries to contribute more funding and effort to climate adaptation and mitigation than others, given their larger share of greenhouse gas emissions. In 1992, UN negotiators in Rio de Janeiro coined the term "common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities" to reflect the idea that those responsible for releasing more climate-warming greenhouse gases should correspondingly be responsible for greater reductions in emissions and aid to nations struggling to adapt to climate change.

Given this idea of differentiated responsibilities and capacity, the questions remain of how to calculate each nation's "fair share" of contribution to climate change mitigation and adaptation efforts and how they will achieve it.

Scientists debate over how to tally each nation's "fair share." One question is when to start tallying historical greenhouse gas emissions – at the start of the industrial revolution around 1850, or later in the 20th century, when better data is available? How much should history matter? In the end, in calculating fair share estimates analysts tend to focus more on current data – a nation's level of income and wealth and its current greenhouse gas consumption – rather than historical greenhouse gas contributions.

Another factor to consider is inequality. Analysts must be careful to measure how inequality within and between countries affects their ability to contribute to adaptation and mitigation today. For example, in calculating fair share estimates, the Climate Equity Reference Project does not count emissions for populations that are below a certain development threshold, as they count these emissions as "basic or survival consumption."

One organization that measures the United States' fair share is U.S. Climate Action Network (USCAN). Based on a complicated analysis, the USCAN published a policy brief putting forth an estimate of the U.S. fair

share and recommendations for achieving it.

"Virtually everyone in the U.S. climate movement knows that the U.S. has a particularly large responsibility for causing, and thus for solving, climate change," the USCAN campaign explains. "Yet few have any way of quantifying this feeling...This effort is our first step towards empowering the [climate] movement with a coherent analysis that justifies our demands for massively ambitious domestic action and massively ambitious international support."

Using data starting from 1950, USCAN's US Climate Fair Share project estimates that the U.S. fair share of the global mitigation effort in 2030 is equivalent to a reduction of 195% below its 2005 emissions levels. These figures "reflect the true scale of the U.S. climate effort necessary to hold the global temperature rise to 1.5° Celsius, without placing an undue and unjust burden on people around the world living in poverty." By their estimates, reaching this goal will require, at minimum, that domestic greenhouse gas emissions be cut by at least 70% below 2005 levels by 2030.

In addition, the USCAN estimates the United States will be responsible for helping developing countries cut their emissions by 125% through financial and technological support. This funding should not be viewed as "aid," the policy brief states, but rather as the U.S. paying its fair share for addressing climate change. A low estimate of the obligation in monetary terms would be \$80 billion per year.

The funding could be drawn from fossil fuel subsidies or the military, for which the United States currently spends, respectively, more than \$600 billion and \$705 billion annually.

Finally, at COP26, the UN's latest global climate gathering, Barbados Prime Minister Mia Mottley proposed using the International Monetary Fund's Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), or emergency rainy day funds, to create a sustainable and adequately scaled stream of public finance for climate mitigation and adaptation.

Mottley then called for "an annual increase in the SDRs of \$500 billion a year for 20 years, put in a trust to finance the [climate] transition," adding that \$500 billion is "just 2 percent of the \$25 trillion" that the central banks have conjured to manage other crises in the last 13 years. Her message was clear: there is enough money to maintain global warming below 1.5 degrees; the question is if there is enough will.§

### **UN Report: Wind Energy in Africa**

A new report outlines how wind energy can be a major boon for sustainable development on the African continent, amid a global energy crisis, a growing population, and economic downturn following the pandemic.

The Africa-EU Energy Partnership published a policy brief in March that lays out a framework for supporting the growth of wind energy in Africa, which they call "critical" for Africa's sustainable development over the next several decades. The AEEP is working toward the goals named in the African Union's Agenda 2063, the continent's central vision of development for a sustainable future, which aims for, at a minimum, half of the continent's energy to be from renewable sources by 2063.

According to the brief, Africa only currently uses .01% of its wind energy potential, but the World Bank's International Finance Corporation estimates that there is enough wind to power the continent's energy demand 250 times over. The brief explains that, while the per unit cost of modern wind power is low, much work is needed to enable countries to get wind power systems up and running. There is enormous potential for the continent from investing now in wind power as a primary source of renewable energy.

The Africa-EU Energy Partnership is led by several European countries with strong wind power sectors – namely Germany and Italy – as well as the African Union Commission, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, Egypt, and the European Commission. The authors of the brief say that the European wind power market is particularly well developed, making the EU well-equipped to partner with African leaders to advance the wind power economy.

The authors explain that while Europe has the technological know-how and capital, Africa is resourced with a young workforce, abundant land, favorable wind regimes and a deep demand for affordable energy. The technology for wind power has been significantly expanded and developed in the last decade or so, making it an opportune time to take the leap to invest in wind energy systems to unlock the potential of renewable energy.

Remarking on the potential of wind power, the authors note that if all of the wind power installations throughout the world in 2020 had been put in just Africa alone – and if the grid had been developed enough to distribute it – that capacity would have been sufficient to close the energy access gap in Africa within twelve months for the 600 million people needing it. This enormous potential demonstrates the need for immediate action on the steps necessary for enabling the transition to wind power, such as transmission and distribution systems.

Several African countries are paving the way in terms of wind energy, helping to create a roadmap for scaling up wind power. South Africa, Egypt, and Morocco all have sizable wind power economies, and strong regulatory systems to help manage them. The largest wind farm on the continent is in Kenya, at Lake Turkana. In addition, there are several key African projects working to support the development of renewable energy, including the African Renewable Energy Initiative, managed by the African Union, which aims for "a transformative, Africa-owned and Africa-led inclusive effort to accelerate and scale up the harnessing of the continent's huge renewable energy potential." In summary, the authors write, "the political aspirations in Africa are well aligned with the considerable wind potential needing to be unlocked."

The report names several key steps toward reaching the potential for wind energy production in Africa. One step is funding and constructing an enhanced energy grid to store and distribute the wind energy as necessary. They call this the "most challenging missing step in Africa's wind journey." They note that international funding will be necessary for this expansive project, including funding from the Green Climate Fund, established by the United Nations, to which wealthy countries donate in order to help less developed countries adapt to climate change.

Another step is creating regional roadmaps toward wind power production, as the challenges facing each region in Africa are unique. The last step they name is "ongoing capacity development," or the need for "buy in and alignment at the highest political level and technical understanding throughout the entire economy." Support for wind energy production from national political leaders is critical, as well as the necessary technical education for energy providers and local workers.

This policy brief echoes calls from other sectors for urgent investment in renewable energy on the African continent, and specifically in wind power. "Now is the time to urgently scale-up wind power in the region ... as a driver of local jobs and investment to power a green economic recovery from the pandemic," Emerson Clarke, Africa Task Force Coordinator at the Brusselsbased Global Wind Energy Council, told Reuters in 2021. §

### **U.S. Senators Must Act on Climate Change**

The following is an action alert from the Encounter for Our Common Home Campaign, a national Catholic climate campaign happening this Spring targeted at encouraging U.S. Senators to take bold action against climate change. MOGC is a leading member of the campaign.

The U.S. Senate plans to consider climate provisions within the budget reconciliation package once known as Build Back Better. This includes tax incentives supporting clean energy technology innovation, resilience investments to protect directly affected communities, and other incentives to decarbonize and strengthen the economy. Together, they represent the largest-ever federal investment in clean energy and would help the U.S. meet approximately half of the Biden administration's pledge to curb national greenhouse gas emissions by 50% from 2005 levels by 2030.

Our nation and world continue to experience the impacts of climate change; poor and vulnerable neighbors bear the brunt of these harms. The latest report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reaffirms that we must dramatically reduce greenhouse gas emissions to avoid the most catastrophic impacts of climate change. Russia's invasion of Ukraine further demonstrates the need to move away from fossil fuel sources, as much of its war machine is funded by profits in oil and gas exports. Investments in renewable energy steer us

away from dependence on fossil fuels, and the instability that comes with it.

As Catholics called to care for our neighbor, our common home, and our children today and who are yet to be born, we are faithfully asking our nation's leaders to address the climate crisis. This action is in concert with the Vatican's Laudato Sí Action Platform, launched last November. The platform asks Catholic individuals, families and organizations to embark on a seven-year sustainability journey to act and heal our relationships with God, our neighbors, and the Earth itself. Through a campaign of encounter with our Senators, we are heeding this call fueled by our faith in spirit, word, and deed - for the good of all humankind.

Please join Catholics across the country who are urging their senators to support \$555 billion in climate solutions that lower national greenhouse gas emissions and help communities build resilience against the impacts of climate change. §

**Faith in action:** Urge your Senators to take bold action against climate change. https://bit.ly/3y4FKVx

### **African Bishops Call for Emergency Funds**

The following is an excerpt of a statement from Jubilee USA on the African Catholic Bishops' call for international finance institutions to direct emergency funding to African nations still struggling to emerge from the CO-VID-19 pandemic. Read the statement: https://bit.ly/3MLR7pv

Wealthy countries should direct more of their emergency currency funds, or Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), to help African countries emerge from the crisis and resume development progress, said the body that represents Catholic Bishops from the region. In a statement "Financing Crisis Recovery with Hope for the most Vulnerable in Africa," the Justice, Peace and Development Commission of the Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar (SECAM) addressed leaders attending the World Bank and IMF Spring meetings. Bishop Sithembele Siphuka, First Vice President of SECAM and Commission Chair, signed the statement.

"We call on G20 Finance Ministers and other world leaders . . . to put in place viable plans for Africa to emerge from the crisis with resilience and resume progress towards [global development and climate goals]," said the bishops.

The statement highlights that Africa is home to twothirds of the world's extreme poor and the pandemic pushed 40 million more Africans into extreme poverty, lacking access to basic goods and services like health, education, food, water. The Ukraine war impacts on food and energy prices will add to their hardship.

"Religious leaders in Africa are calling for changes in the financial system that will benefit the most vulnerable," said Eric LeCompte, Executive Director of religious development group Jubilee USA Network. Jubilee USA Network partners with religious leaders on international economic and development policies. "The African bishops inspire decision makers to act in the face of rising poverty and debt in Africa."

To support global pandemic recovery, the IMF last year created \$650 billion SDRs.

"We welcome these resources which are fast, without conditions and add little or no debt, but are concerned that out of this amount, only \$33 billion went to African countries," the bishops shared.

The G20 committed to a target of \$100 billion in wealthy countries' SDR contributions to fund developing countries. The IMF Board last week approved a new fund that could use up to \$45 billion SDR contributions to provide developing country low-cost loans.

The statement recommendations also addressed the debt crisis in the continent. Debt as a proportion of the economy in Africa rose from 60 to 70% in the first year of the pandemic.

Read the full African Catholic Bishops' statement to World Bank/IMF Spring meetings: https://bit.ly/3w0NXrl.§

### **UN Report on Groundwater**

A new UN report highlights the threats to groundwater, a critical source of fresh water for most of the world.

In March, coinciding with World Water Day, UN Water and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published the 2022 edition of the World Water Development Report, titled "Groundwater: Making the Invisible Visible." The report explains that 99% of the world's running water, on which all life depends, is groundwater, found mainly in aquifers, but pollution and overuse are threatening this essential resource.

"Groundwater is a critical natural resource, invisible but indispensable for life on our planet," said Audrey Azoulay, chief of UNESCO, in the forward for the report. "Yet more and more aquifers are being polluted, overexploited, and dried up by humans, sometimes with irreversible consequences... When it comes to groundwater, many challenges and opportunities lie ahead."

This report is the ninth annual report issued by UN Water and will provide the basis for a summit which will take place in Paris in December 2022 in order to accelerate action for sustainable use and protection of

groundwater. The Groundwater Summit intends to bring together the outcomes of several water-related events into a unified "groundwater message" for the UN Water Conference in March 2023, which will be the midterm review of the international decade of action on water for sustainable development.

The report is clear on the centrality of ground-water for life on Earth. Groundwater accounts for approximately 99% of all liquid freshwater. It provides half of the volume withdrawn for domestic use around the world and about a quarter of water drawn for irrigation. It is critical for the fight against poverty, for food and water security, for development, and for resilience against climate change.

"The development, management and governance of groundwater offers many opportunities but also many challenges, and unlocking the full potential of groundwater will require strong and concerted efforts to manage and use it sustainably," the report states. Read the report here: https://bit.ly/3ko3tI8 §

### **Water and the Community of Life**

Excerpts of reflections from the Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns, first published in 2006.

WATER is its own reality, a dimension of planet Earth, ancient and life-giving. ... All the water now in circulation has been here since the planet was first formed, no more, no less. So water, having maintained its integrity over eons of time, has its own story to tell and plays its own role in the on-going cosmic venture.

WATER is the common heritage of all creation as it is an essential dimension of the journey of life. No single species nor any region of Earth, no economic class nor political party, can claim water as its own. ...

WATER is an "endangered species," its purity, nurturing power, free-flow and availability for all under attack. Due to human activity, water is being poisoned by massive dumpings, polluted by excessive runoff. On every continent, it is dammed and re-directed, robbed from the poor, wasted by the rich and ignored as an essential element that belongs to all creation. ...

WATER is both a sacred gift and a central symbol in all religious traditions. For Christians, water is essential to the initiation ritual that invites a new person into the beloved community of all life and into the Christian family. ... When water is neither pure nor clean its ability to carry such symbolic weight is threatened.

WATER concerns are front and center across

the globe as enlightened peoples awaken to this crisis. ... The task is monumental and urgent.

#### Our way forward

... As Maryknoll embraces this new vision of community and offers its gifts to help address the many problems that face our sister water on all continents, three principles have emerged to guide us.

#### Principle #1: For the common good

... In every instance where water is endangered and Maryknoll is engaged in addressing the matter, we should be guided by Catholic social teaching on the common good, namely, that the "goods of the earth are meant for all." ...

#### **Principle #2: Participation**

... "[I]n light of our broadened sense of the earth community, our call for participation must go beyond the demands of the human community to ensure that the rights of the natural world are also represented at the table. ...

#### Principle #3: Accountability

... To insist that leadership answer to the people and the full community of life is non-negotiable....Accountability to the local community can restore the trust and confidence of the people and guarantee an outcome for the good of all creation.§

### Mining for Renewable Energy

The U.S. government is considering how to respond to growing demand for critical minerals needed for renewable energy, especially given the environmental cost of mineral mining.

According to the International Energy Agency (IEA), the world is on track to double critical mineral mining by 2024. Critical minerals, such as lithium, copper, cobalt, and nickel, are essential components of computers and cell phones, in addition to batteries, solar panels and other materials necessary for the clean energy transition. The IEA says that to achieve the goals of the 2015 UN Paris Climate Agreement, mining of these materials would have to increase four to six times current amounts.

As mining is an environmentally destructive process, the need for these materials presents a real environmental quandary as the world shifts to the low carbon energy future necessary to limit temperature rise. U.S. lawmakers and the Biden administration are weighing how to address some of the equity and justice issues involved in the growing demand for critical mineral mining.

The Biden administration released a plan in February 2022 called "Securing a Made in America Supply Chain for Critical Minerals." A goal of this critical minerals plan is to facilitate more domestic critical minerals mining and processing. On March 31, the Biden administration took a further step by invoking the Defense Production Act to secure a more reliable supply chain for battery minerals, which includes domestic mining.

Currently, the majority of critical minerals and processing comes from China. South America, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Australia also have vast quantities of these minerals. Both Republicans and Democrats are advocating for more domestic mining for the energy transition as a matter of "national security," a comment mostly referring to China, but some analysts also highlight the business and security risks for U.S. mining companies abroad.

These same politicians also believe that the United States can mine in a more environmental and socially responsible manner than in other countries. Already, critical mineral mining is linked to conflict, trafficking and corruption in the DRC and water depletion and contamination in the Lithium triangle of Bolivia, Chile and Argentina.

Recent domestic mining projects suggest that their hope may be optimistic. U.S. copper mines in particular have been known for their severe toll on the environment, and mining on or near Native American land has been especially exploitative. In Arizona, the Apache Stronghold is fighting to protect their sacred site of Oak Flats from a copper mine.

In Nevada, ranchers and the Fort McDermitt Pai-

ute and Shoshone Tribes are strongly opposing mining in Thacker Pass, the largest lithium reserve in the United States. In response to this, the Biden administration will likely prioritize importing lithium from other countries, although the toll on Indigenous communities and the environment in other lithium-heavy zones, such as South America, is well-documented.

Another injustice related to domestic critical mineral mining is unequal financial benefits. Still under effect, the 1872 mining law in the United States was enacted to increase expansion of White settlers across the United States. It gave anyone who found minerals on public lands the right to mine them freely. Under the law, corporations can mine without paying local, state, or federal royalties for the profit they and their shareholders make from the mine.

The United States is an outlier in not collecting mining royalties, as many governments depend on extractive industries royalties to power their economies. While some countries become too reliant on revenue from mining, mining revenues can also provide important funding for local communities. On April 26, Representative Grijalva (AZ) and Senator Heinrich (NM) introduced companion bills in the U.S. House and Senate to require companies to pay hardrock mining royalties. It would also put more responsibility on industry to pay for mine pollution, rather than taxpayers.

A new critical minerals report from the Department of the Interior offers "Principles for Responsible Mining" that seek to address past problems, reduce mining, and incorporate environmental justice into the process. As some examples, the proposed policies would require consultations and agreements with Native Americans and tribal governments and a more thorough permitting process to prevent social conflict. They would prohibit mining in areas that are environmentally fragile, sacred, or culturally significant. Mining reclamation programs to clean up old mining sites would be fully funded. The department would prioritize recycling, reuse, and repurposing of mine waste, reducing the need for mining.

While there is no denying that more mining will be necessary, these new principles are a step in the right direction to reduce unnecessary mining and the number of communities and ecosystems harmed by business-as-usual approaches. In addition, we can each do our part by reducing our energy use and moving away from what Pope Francis calls the "throwaway culture." §

### Haiti: Campaign to Remove U.S. Political Influence

Haitian diaspora leaders launch advocacy campaign to end U.S. support for the current Haitian government and allow Haitians to lead their own democratic process.

A Way Forward in Haiti, a network of Haitian diaspora faith and community leaders, launched a new advocacy campaign called "U.S. Hands Off Haiti's Democracy." With a petition and organizational sign on letter, the campaign asks for one fundamental change in U.S. policy toward Haiti: allow Haitians to lead their own democratic process.

"We call on the United States to stop supporting Prime Minister Ariel Henry, and the PHTK party and its political affiliates, so that a Haitian solution to the crisis can emerge," the petition and letter read.

The diaspora leaders say that Haiti's crisis is the direct result of the decade-long rule of the Pati Ayisyen Tèt Kale (PHTK) party, beginning with President Michel Martelly in 2011.

"There hasn't been an election in years and gangs rule the land," said campaign leader Johnny Celestin.

The Haitian activist described the crisis during a meeting with faith groups to introduce the campaign: "There is no parliament, no elected officials, so looting is happening. The party in place has diverted funds to itself, and the depletion of funds has shrunken space for civil society to build community. Corruption and mismanagement have caused Haiti's currency to depreciate over 30%, inflation is over 20%, and the World Food Program says more than 45% of Haitians face hunger, even before the Ukraine crisis."

"Haitians need to talk to each other and find a solution to the crisis that has everyone at the table. This campaign is to ask the United States to step away and allow Haitians to control their own destiny," Celestin said.

"We in Haiti can do it," said Leslie Voltaire of the Montana group, a powerful Haitian opposition group that has demanded the United States withdraw its support for the government of Prime Minister Ariel Henry in Haiti, saying the administration has lost legitimacy by delaying elections.

Faith leaders at the meeting, many of whom signed a letter to the U.S. State Department calling for U.S. support of free and fair elections in Haiti, agreed. "We know Haiti can lead itself and European and U.S. partners need to leave them alone," said Rev. Aundreia Alexander, Associate General Secretary of the National Council of Churches.

Despite the ongoing deterioration of security, governance, basic services and respect for human rights, the United States has continued to support the current Hai-

tian government, which is dominated by the PHTK. The PHTK was founded by President Martelly after he came to power in 2011. The PHTK has controlled the majority of Haiti's government for ten of the past eleven years.

The campaign describes Haiti's crisis as the "direct result of that decade of PHTK rule" and U.S. support of the PHTK government as a barrier to democracy.

In recent years, Haitians have been fighting to reclaim their democracy with a broad-based nonviolent mobilization against the PHTK governments, the campaign says. But, they say, "U.S. government support has allowed the PHTK to refuse to negotiate in good faith with the popular democratic movement demanding change."

The role of the United States is simple, the campaign says: "The United States should not support any particular party or sector or demand that Haitians take a particular path towards democracy. A stable and just Haiti - which is in the interest of Haitians and the US government alike - requires that Haitians lead and own their democratic process."

Campaign leaders acknowledged that there is a bill in Congress that is in line with the campaign principles, but they are not hopeful it will lead to change. "The challenge is the White House and Ambassador Brian Nichols playing it both ways," the campaigners said, referring to public comments by the Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affair in which he named combating the gang problem and paving the way for elections as the top two U.S. priorities, though little has been done to advance either one.

The campaign organizers blame U.S. waffling for "keeping the current Haiti government comfortable," and they hope this campaign "will move the U.S. Administration forward with the Montana Accord."

"We need united advocacy to be affective," said Melinda Miles, an expert on human rights and the environment in Haiti. In addition to the petition and organizational sign on letter, Miles said the campaign plans to offer an advocacy tool kit building up to a Day of Action on Haitian Flag day on May 18. §

**Faith in action:** Sign the petition at https://bit.ly/3vtWaoY. Follow the latest updates from the Maryknoll Lay Missioners in Haiti: https://mklm.org/category/haiti/

### El Salvador: Human Rights and Democracy at Risk

CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, published English translations of comments by human rights experts in El Salvador on the rights abuses of thousands arrested under the state of emergency to curb gang violence.

On April 25, El Salvador's Legislative Assembly extended for another 30 days a state of emergency enacted the month prior in response to escalating gang violence. President Nayib Bukele requested a 30-day "State of Exception" immediately after 87 people were killed in gang-related violence during the weekend of March 24-26.

Since enacting the state of emergency on March 27, the Legislative Assembly has gone on to approve a series of measures proposed by President Bukele that allow judges to imprison children as young as 12, restrict freedom of expression, and dangerously expand the use of pretrial detention and counterterrorism legislation.

More than 17,000 have been arrested under the degree, which restricts the right to gather, to be informed of rights upon detention, and access to a lawyer, as well as allows phone calls and emails to be intercepted without a court order.

Here we share excerpts of analysis of the situation by human rights experts in El Salvador (translations by CIS-PES):

## Celia Medrano, attorney and human rights expert, on Democracy Now!:

"This is a narrative typical of authoritarian governments, which try to deceive us and convince us that violating the human rights of others is the only thing that guarantees that some good Salvadorans can live in peace."

# Equipo Maíz, publisher and popular education organization:

"Despite the fact that the government says that these measures are only for 'terrorist' gang members and that no one should feel threatened, military personnel – who are authorized to act on suspicion alone – are combing through poor communities and neighborhoods, searching the pockets of students, and mass arresting real or suspected gang members."

## Zaira Navas, specialist in rights of children and adolescents, quoted in La Prensa Gráfica:

"[According to Zaira Navas] ... children and adolescents are living in 'a state of fear.' Armed police and military taking over neighborhoods and violently entering houses ... 'is really terrifying for children. It affects their physical, psychological, and emotional well-being, and it will have long-term impacts, because the image they will remember is the military and the police searching them, recording them, telling them to take off their shirts or pull down their pants.'

"[Furthermore,] the State's violation of rights is not occurring in high-income areas. 'We are not going to see police and military personnel searching girls and boys who attend [private international] schools. We have not seen barricades in Santa Elena. We have not seen barricades in gated communities."

# Comite de Familiares de Presos y Presas Políticas de El Salvador, COFAPPES (Committee of Family Members of Political Prisoners of El Salvador):

"We view with deep concern the State of Exception decreed by Nayib Bukele, which suspends important constitutional guarantees and leaves to his discretion - not to a judicial body - the arbitrary arrests of anyone who demonstrates opposition to the government. This will also be used to repress any public protests....

"[As for our family members who are political prisoners] ...being locked up without access to sunlight, air and adequate nutrition are forms of torture that clearly violate international human rights treaties to which El Salvador is a signatory.

"We make a call to the international community and to the diplomatic corps accredited in El Salvador to denounce within their countries the severe democratic rollbacks that are occurring in El Salvador."

#### Asociación de Radiodifusión Participativa de El Salvador, ARPAS (Participatory Radio Association of El Salvador), community radio and information network:

"Organizations like CRISTOSAL, the Foundation for the Study and Application of the Law (FESPAD), the Due Process of Law Foundation, the Human Rights Institute of the University of Central America (IDHUCA) and others have been slandered and attacked on social media. President Bukele himself has called the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IACHR) 'gang defenders.'

"According to this misleading rhetoric, [human rights organizations and those advocating for the rule of law] use the discourse of human rights to 'defend the gangs.' However, reality points in another direction: substantiated facts indicate that who is protecting gang members is the very government that claims to be fighting them. ... [Note: There has been extensive reporting on negotiations between the Bukele administration and gangs, which the administration denies]

"Instead of spreading false narratives and discrediting civil society organizations, Bukele and his government should call for dialogue on security, renounce mafia deals with criminal groups, implement real public policies, and address the structural causes of violence." §

**Faith in action:** Tell the U.S. Congress to suspend military and police aid to El Salvador in the FY2023 budget until human rights violations are addressed: https://bit.ly/3KxTJWy

### Myanmar: Persecution of Christians 'akin to Rohingya'

UCANews reported on April 26, 2022 that a new U.S. government report likens the situation of Christians in Myanmar to what the Rohingya have faced there since 2017.

The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) has drawn parallels between the situation of minority Christians in Myanmar with the persecution faced by Rohingya Muslims since 2017.

In its annual report released on April 25, the commission said: "Faith communities, including ethnoreligious Christian minorities, now face persecution that some have likened to what the Rohingya have faced since 2017."

The military known as the Tatmadaw under its chief Min Aung Hlaing has closely associated itself with Buddhist nationalism to promote its legitimacy, the report said, while detailing how this led to rise in persecution of Christian communities during 2021.

"In February, the Tatmadaw raided Hakha Baptist Church in the capital of Chin state, arresting the pastor. The same month, the Tatmadaw raided a Kachin Baptist church in Shan state. In March in Kalay township in Sagaing Region, the military shot and killed 25-year-old pastor Chung Lian Ceu and three other civilians," the report said.

"In May, the military attacked a Catholic church in Kayah state. In June, airstrikes damaged another Catholic church in Kayah state. In September, the Tatmadaw gunned down Baptist pastor Cung Biak Hum in Chin state as he went to help put out a fire caused by military shelling. Soldiers have torched homes and churches.

"The Tatmadaw targeted houses of worship, faith leaders and religious communities in its crackdown on the opposition ... it arrested religious leaders, including those from the Buddhist majority, for opposing the military junta." USCIRF has called on the U.S. government to redesignate Myanmar as a "country of particular concern" for engaging in systematic, ongoing and egregious violations of religious freedom as defined by the International Religious Freedom Act.

It further recommended actively supporting international efforts to hold the Tatmadaw, state agencies and officials accountable through the international legal system for atrocities against religious communities, including by intervening in the case filed by the Gambia at the International Court of Justice.

It also suggested increased engagement with multilateral and regional partners, in particular, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and domestic actors including the exiled National Unity Government (NUG) to stem religious freedom violations

Myanmar continues to be on the list of countries blacklisted by the U.S. State Department along with China, Eritrea, Iran, North Korea, Pakistan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan.

The US had slapped a series of sanctions on the coup leaders, their families and military-linked companies over atrocities against civilians including ethnic tribes following the military coup.

The 2017 mass killings, rapes and other atrocities perpetrated against Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine state, forcing over 745,000 to flee to Bangladesh, were recently designated as a genocide by the US...

Christians make up some 6 percent of Myanmar's population of 54 million, while Buddhism is the state religion with nearly 89 percent of the population adhering to it. §

### **Cambodia: Human Trafficking Cases Nearly Double**

UCANews reported on April 8, 2022 that trafficking of surrogate mothers rose sharply despite travel restrictions imposed to curb spread of COVID-19.

The number of human trafficking cases in Cambodia almost doubled to 359 in 2021 and included surrogate mothers, babies, organ transplants, laborers and sex workers, the National Committee for Counter Trafficking said in its annual report.

Interior Minister Sar Kheng said the dramatic rise in reported cases occurred despite travel restrictions imposed to curb the spread of Covid-19.

"Criminals are choosing human trafficking as a career. They won't let it go. They are taking advantage of us when we are facing a crisis," he said.

The report was released one month after a group

of 35 civil society groups told the Cambodian government to address the crisis of "forced labor, slavery and torture" after at least five Asian embassies warned its citizens against "such situations" in the country.

Their findings indicated that thousands of people, mostly foreign nationals, had been kidnapped, sold, trafficked or tricked into accepting jobs in Cambodia only to find themselves detained in large compounds and forced to work, often in online scams.

Read the full article at https://bit.ly/3LAlGOM.§

### **Human Rights Focus at Ecumenical Advocacy Days**

At this year's annual conference of Christian peace and justice advocates, three speakers highlighted ongoing human rights concerns in the Philippines, Colombia, and Israel-Palestine.

The focus of the international program of this year's Ecumenical Advocacy Days (EAD) conference was protecting human rights, a key concern given the global rise of authoritarianism and serious human rights violations in many countries. EAD is an annual gathering of Christians to advocate for justice and peace on domestic and international concerns, typically held in Washington, DC, but held virtually again this year due to lingering COVID-19 concerns.

At the main event for the international program the speakers were Bishop Reuel Marigza, General Secretary at the National Council of Churches in the Philippines; Zeina Ashrawi Hutchinson, advocacy officer with Defense for Children International, Palestine; and Martin Nates, Executive Director at Justapaz, a Mennonite peacebuilding organization in Columbia.

Bishop Marigza began by describing the situation facing human rights defenders in the Philippines, which he called "alarming." He explained how the military doctrine of an "all-out war" against dissidents has made defenders of human rights victims of human rights violations, including members of his own church community.

The Bishop described the Duterte government's method of targeting dissidents by adding their names to "orders of battles", or lists of so-called enemies of the state. Without substantial proof of any unlawful conduct, the dissidents are labeled as communists or terrorists and then harassed or hunted down by the military. Even well-known advocates such as leaders of labor unions and journalists have become victims of this targeting, known as "red-tagging," and have experienced extrajudicial detention, heightened surveillance, and even assassination by the military.

Zeina Hutchinson Ashwari, a Palestinian-American born in Jerusalem, said that it was hard to know where to begin to describe the human rights situation in Israel-Palestine, given how rampant and longstanding are the violations against Palestinians. She enumerated the extrajudicial killings of Palestinians just this year – 47, including 8 children – and noted that more than 500 Palestinian children are held each year in Israeli military detention, where they are subject to cruel and unsafe conditions. She emphasized that the international media fails to highlight the fact that military occupation is a war crime under international law.

Martin Nates, director of Justapaz, a Mennonite peacebuilding program in Columbia, emphasized the ongoing violence against civilians, despite the landmark peace agreement signed five years ago which sought to end the country's civil war. He noted the failures of the government to implement the peace accords, and explained that youth movements protesting the ongoing violence have been met with armed resistance by the military.

When asked what actions the U.S. government and U.S. citizens can take to support human rights in their countries of origin, the panelists agreed that international solidarity is key. Bishop Marigza called for a global solidarity coalition to push for human rights protections in the Philippines. He named several concrete actions taken by the U.S. government to help the situation, including enforcement of the Global Magnitsky Act, which allows the U.S. to impose sanctions and penalties on human rights violators. He also urged the United States to support the presence of international observers for the upcoming presidential election in the Philippines, which will be held May 9.

Ms. Hutchinson urged U.S. citizens to be bold in their advocacy for Palestinian rights, calling it a truly "just cause." She urged the U.S. government to "allow international law to function" by permitting international bodies such as the International Criminal Court to investigate Israeli war crimes against Palestinians. She urged the United States to refrain from using its veto power at the UN Security Council to silence those who would push for Palestinian rights.

Mr. Nates asked the United States to review the implementation of its USAID funding to Columbia, urging the Biden administration to ensure that U.S. development aid to Columbia truly seeks to foster peace and a democratic environment.

The panelists were united in their call for international solidarity with local human rights defenders and local human rights movements. They agreed that even when the advocacy of individual citizens in the U.S. or elsewhere seems futile, acts of solidarity are noticed by the people undergoing oppression, making them feel less alone and inspired to continue their activism. "Long live international solidarity!" wrote Bishop Marigza in the chat with conference participants.

Following the plenary, conference participants engaged in advocacy through lobby visits with their Congressional representatives. This year's international ask to members of Congress was to support a bill that would help prevent U.S. arms sales to human rights abusers and violators of international law, called the Safeguarding Human Rights Arms Exports Act of 2021. §

**Faith in action:** Ask your Members of Congress to support this bill: https://bit.ly/3KqpGA0

### Call for Palestinian Children's Rights

In April, Susan Gunn, Director of the Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns, joined a group of Christian leaders in sending the following letter to the House of Representatives urging them to support a bill in support of Palestinian children's rights.

Dear Members of Congress,

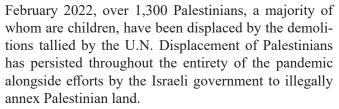
As faith leaders with a deep concern for the Holy Land, we believe Congress must play a proactive role in helping to ensure justice and peace in Israel and Palestine. We welcome the "Defending the Human Rights of Palestinian Children and Families Living Under Israeli Military Occupation Act" (H.R. 2590), that seeks to promote justice, equality and human rights for Palestinian children and families by prohibiting Israeli authorities from using U.S. taxpayer funds to detain and torture Palestinian children, demolish and seize Palestinian homes, and further appear Palestinan

and further annex Palestinian land in the occupied West Bank.

The violations of rights raised in HR 2590 are of grave concern. As documented by numerous human rights organizations, since the year 2000 an estimated 13,000 Palestinian children between the ages of 12 and 17 have been detained, prosecuted, and incarcerated by the Israeli military in the occupied West Bank. Often dragged from their homes in the middle of the night by armed soldiers, they suffer physical and emotional violence and frequently face verbal abuse, humiliation, and intimidation.

Throughout the Covid-19 pandemic, we have witnessed the ways in which already vul-

nerable communities have experienced greater challenges with remote working opportunities not present and access to vaccinations and other healthcare options significantly limited. As Covid-19 began and the West Bank underwent various restrictions to keep the virus contained, Israel continued to demolish Palestinian structures, displacing Palestinian families during a global pandemic. Since the election of U.S. President Joe Biden and Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett, the rate of displacement of Palestinians due to the destruction of Palestinian structures is accelerating. According to data collected by United Nations's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, at the end of



Our faith commitments call us to advocate for the safety and the wellbeing of the most vulnerable. In our churches and communities across the country, our members are increasingly concerned about the deteriorating conditions for Palestinians who continue to live under

a brutal military occupation. We are committed to speaking out until the conditions on the ground contribute to the flourishing of all Palestinian and Israeli lives.

For the United States to play a positive role in fostering justice and peace in Israel/Palestine, Congress cannot ignore the ongoing violations of Palestinian human rights. Therefore, we call on members of the House of Representatives to support HR 2590. We also ask for a Senator to introduce companion legislation in the Senate.

Congress has a responsibility to ensure that U.S. policy and foreign assistance reflects values that prioritize concern for the rights of the most marginalized, and conform with U.S. law. It is incumbent upon Congress to

ensure no U.S. taxpayer funds are used by any foreign government, including Israel, in a manner that violates the dignity and wellbeing of any group. We thank you for your service and commitment as we work together for justice and peace. Please know we are lifting you up in our prayers.

Click here to read the letter and see the list of signatories: https://bit.ly/3MJ3Lps

**Faith in action:** Urge your members of Congress to support Palestinian children's rights by passing H.R. 2590. https://bit.ly/3P2mHS2



### Resources

- 1. Raise your voice for civil and **human rights in El Salvador**. Contact your members of Congress to ask them to withhold support for military and police forces in El Salvador until the Salvadoran government addresses mounting human rights violations: https://bit.ly/3KxTJWy
- 2. On Wednesday, May 4, join the International Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines (ICHRP) for a virtual vigil to pray for just and lasting peace in the Filipino elections and beyond. As people of faith we believe in protecting the human dignity of each person, which includes fair and just election: https://tinyurl.com/justpeacevigil
- 3. Take action to prevent arms sales to human rights abusers. Ask your members of Congress to support a bill that would prevent U.S. arms transfers to those who are known to violate human rights: https://bit.ly/3KqpGA0
- 4. Join the Catholic Peacebuilding Network June 20-23 for a virtual international conference, "Catholic Peacebuilding in Times of Crisis: Hope for a Wounded World." Dan Moriarty, Sustainable Pathways to Peace Project Coordinator at MOGC, will present. https://cpn.nd.edu/2022-conference/
- 5. Explore this list of Catholic responses to the **war in Ukraine**, compiled by the Catholic Peacebuilding Network: https://cpn.nd.edu/topics/ukraine/
- 6. Read Maryknoll Lay Missioner **Gabe Hurrish's account of a trauma healing workshop** conducted in Kuron Peace Village in South Sudan: https://bit.ly/3LwqGnI
- 7. Read a letter signed by MOGC and a coalition of organizations calling for the U.S. to end its military participation in the Saudi-led **war in Yemen**: https://bit.ly/3vzCMH1
- 8. In honor of the late **Fr. Drew Christiansen**, **SJ**, a foreign policy expert and tireless advocate for peace in Israel-Palestine, **Churches for Middle East Peace is starting a Father Drew Christiansen Holy Land Lecture Series** to bring Christian leaders and scholars from the Holy land to share insights and updates on the Christian situation in the land of Jesus' birth. Learn more here: https://bit.ly/3LILzfm
- 9. Join a study circle about Archbishop John Wester's pastoral letter on nuclear disarmament organized by

Pax Christi USA. **May 17, 24, 31** on Zoom. Register at https://bit.ly/3Lx84Ut. Read the pastoral letter at https://bit.ly/3KtknzX.

- 10. Watch the recording of a lecture by **Dr. Maria J. Stephan**, a leading expert on nonviolent civil resistance, on civil resistance in Ukraine, hosted by Pax Christi International: https://bit.ly/37ZL69V.
- 11. Pope Francis has invited all members of the Church to participate in the **Synod on Synodality**. One way you can participate is by filling out this **5-10 minute anonymous survey**, the answers of which will be shared with the Vatican and Church leaders in the United States: https://bit.ly/3Kv1dJX
- 12. Read this new report from Refugees International: "Pushed into the Shadows: Mexico's Reception of Haitian Migrants." https://bit.ly/3y2SyM4
- 13. Join the Interfaith Immigration Coalition on May 12 at 7pm ET for an event, "Holy Voices from the Border: Restore Asylum Now." The event will feature faith leaders and directly impacted immigrants from the U.S.-Mexico border. https://bit.ly/3vC2Wcp
- 14. Read **Pope Francis'** Easter message (for Orthodox Easter) to Russian Patriarch Kirill calling for **peace in Ukraine**: https://bit.ly/3snujVB
- 15. Read this essay from the Center for Migration Studies, "The Crisis in Refugee Protection and Everyday Catholics." In this article, CMS Executive Director Donald Kerwin reflects on how everyday Catholics can answer the Church's call "to see migrants not as 'others,' but as human beings, our brothers and sisters, created in God's image." https://bit.ly/3LpZsyW
- 16. Join Catholic Relief Services for a virtual event, Migration in the Americas: Promoting Rootedness, May 12, 2022, at 2 pm Eastern. https://bit.ly/3y1Z45L
- 17. Read an article by Dr. Eli McCarthy, "5 Ways to Support Courageous Nonviolent Resistance in Ukraine:" https://bit.ly/3KsTtrU
- 18. Join a **worldwide photo competition** organized by CIDSE, a coalition of Catholic social justice organizations of which MOGC is a member. The competition, "We sow the future," focused on climate change, runs until **June 22**. https://bit.ly/3vSY41g