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Funding social change since 1967

RESIST

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A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority

November 1998

Reflections on Human Rights Conflicts

When Individual and Social Rights Clash

HENRY ROSEMONT, JR.

The idea of human rights has become a conceptual cornerstone of virtually all progressive movements in the United States. Brave struggles to overcome specific forms of oppression are focused on demands for gay and lesbian rights, disability rights, prisoner's rights, tenant rights, and much more. Similarly, exemplary international groups—Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, etc.—also ground their attacks on authoritarian governments in terms of violations of the basic human rights of those they incarcerate, torture, and kill.

All of these efforts are commendable without reservation. Nevertheless, I believe it would be useful for all progressives to engage in a fundamental re-examination of the idea of human rights now, because it is increasingly being employed by those who are significantly responsible—directly and indirectly—for much of the oppression of an ever-growing majority of the world's peoples: currency traders, speculative stock investors, transnational corporations, and the political parties who do their bidding as the globalization of the world's economies proceeds space.

Human rights are usually broken into three categories: (1) civil and political, or "first generation" rights, such as the right to free speech; (2) economic, social, and cultural or "second generation" rights,



Graphic courtesy of Bonnie Acker

such as the right to health care; (3) group or solidarity rights—especially rights for indigenous people in a nation state—called "third generation" rights.

It could be assumed that somehow all of these rights are compatible with each other, and that most of the troubles of this world stem from their violation by the powerful. Unfortunately, such is not the case. Rather is it that the powerful, by construing first generation rights in a particular way, are able to successfully negate claims made under the category of economic, social, or cultural rights.

Civil Liberties and Social Contracts

In the United States, both liberals and conservatives champion the civil and political liberties codified in the Bill of Rights, and they ground their defense of these rights by claiming that human beings are fundamentally free autonomous individuals.

And if I am indeed such, then it does follow that no authority should abridge my freedom to speak my mind, associate with whomever I wish, use what I legally own as I see fit, and hold whichever religious doctrines I believe true; the only caveat

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being that I must not abridge the freedom of any other autonomous individual to do the same.

In the early days of the Republic, of course, only white males were believed to have these rights; long and difficult struggles were necessary to secure them for women and minorities. And certainly the expansion of those who had such rights could only be seen as liberatory.

But on what grounds can a free autonomous individual—male or female, minority or otherwise—demand a job, or health care, or an education, or adequate housing? There is a logical gap here: from the mere premise of being an autonomous individual, no conclusion can follow that I have a basic right to a livelihood.

Put another way, while human freedom may be a gift of God, jobs, health care, adequate housing, and so forth, are decidedly human creations, and no one has, as yet, shown how I can legitimately demand that other human beings create these goods for me, without thereby curtailing their freedom to pursue their own projects

[A] too facile acceptance of the primacy of first generation rights—specially in regard to what one “owns”—gives aid and comfort to a corporate capitalism that most progressives perceive as the enemy.

as they see fit in accordance with their status as autonomous individuals. Surely some of these individuals may freely choose to assist me; but that is charity, not an acknowledgement that I have any rights to such goods.

First generation rights are largely passive: 99% of the time I can fully respect your civil and political rights simply by ignoring you. (You have a right to speak, but no right to make me listen.) Economic, social and cultural (second generation) rights, on the other hand, are active, in the sense that each of us must act to assist others. And it seems to me that we can only see such actions as obligatory, not merely as

acts of charity, if we reject the view of human beings as basically free, autonomous individuals, and rather see, feel, and understand each other as co-members of a human community.

Community, Capitalism, and Rights

No one in their right mind, of course, would insist either that we are solely autonomous, or solely social beings. But if we are basically, first and foremost, free and autonomous, then we can be truly obligated only to those we have freely chosen to be responsible for: spouses, children, friends, etc. If we are basically co-members of a community, on the other hand,

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Capitalism, Inequities, and Global Consumption

First generation rights have long been a part of the ideological underpinnings of capitalism, justifying gross inequities in the ownership and consumption of goods. Herewith are just a few examples drawn from the United Nations Human Development Report for 1997. —Henry Rosemont, Jr.

THE HAVES — The richest fifth of the world's people consume 86 percent of all goods and services while the poorest fifth consumes just 1.3 percent. Indeed, the richest fifth consumes 45 percent of all meat and fish, 58 percent of all energy used and 84 percent of all paper, has 74 percent of all telephone lines and owns 87 percent of all vehicles.

THE SUPER RICH — The world's 225 richest individuals, of whom 60 are Americans with total assets of \$311 billion, have a combined wealth of over \$1 trillion—equal to the annual income of the poorest 47 percent of the entire world's population.

COSMETICS AND EDUCATION — Americans spend \$8 billion a year on cosmetics - \$2 billion more than the estimated annual total needed to provide basic education for everyone in the world.

\$40 BILLION A YEAR — It is estimated that the additional cost of achieving and maintaining universal access to basic education for all basic health care for all, reproductive health care for all women, adequate food for all and clean water and safe sewers for all is roughly \$40 billion a year — or less than 4 percent of the combined wealth of the 225 richest people in the world.



ILLEGITIMATE AUTHORITY
Funding social change since 1967

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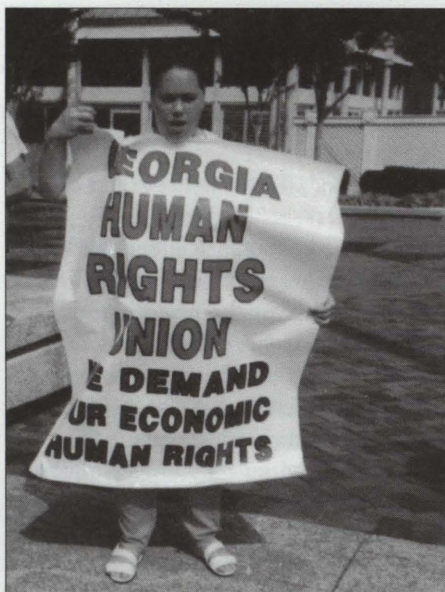
then, while each of us is unique, we will all have many and varied obligations to assist all unique others, full stop.

Free marketeers do not speak much of the obligations of co-members of community, because if rich individuals and corporations were not construed as truly free and autonomous, they would not be able to do many of the things they do that have profoundly adverse impacts on other people's lives. The underlying reasoning is very clearly stated by University of Maryland economist Mancur Olson:

A thriving market economy requires, among other things, institutions that provide secure individual rights. The incentives to save, to invest, to produce and to engage in mutually advantageous trade depends particularly upon individual rights to marketable assets—on property rights.

One recent example of how this reasoning plays out in practice involves the transnational oil company British Petroleum, which recently closed a plant in Lima, Ohio, not because it was losing money, but because it wasn't profitable *enough*. Being the town's major employer, BP's decision has been devastating for the entire local community. Corporate Vice-President David Aaron acknowledged the suffering and dislocation, but defended the decision by saying that BP's "first responsibility was to our stockholders."

Never mind that at the time this was said, the largest shareholder in BP was the government of Kuwait, which shortly thereafter sold a number of its shares at a great profit. If no one can abridge my freedom to do whatever I wish with what is mine, then BP is only claiming its legitimate rights in closing the plant; first generation rights with a vengeance. But if the workers in Lima had a right to security in their jobs so long as they competently performed them, then BP's action was patently immoral, and would, in a just society, be illegal. The BP example could be multiplied a hundredfold in the United States, and the legal reasoning behind allowing its decision to stand is the same that underlies NAFTA, IMF "structural adjustment" policies and the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment: no government shall interfere with capital going where it will, and doing whatever its possessors wish to do in the search for increasing it.



Activists at a June 1998 rally in Atlanta frame economic justice as a human rights issue. Photo courtesy of the Center for Human Rights Education

If this be so, then we can not only see how the concept of rights can be reactionary, we can also appreciate the hollowness of the claim that free market capitalism engenders and supports democracy. One important element of representative government is to elect that government which will best regulate commerce to benefit the majority of the members of the polity. But what NAFTA, IMF, World Bank recommendations, and the MAI insist upon, is that governments not regulate the "free" flow of goods or capital, or anything else that may restrict the search for ever greater profits.

Perceptive servants of corporate power are already aware that the globalizing economy is very probably not compatible with the spread of the ideal of democracy; voting could be potentially dangerous, and must therefore be downplayed. Consider the following from Llewellyn Rockwell, Jr., President of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, a right-wing think tank in Alabama:

What is the right to vote compared with the right to start a business, draw wages... keep the fruits of our labor safe for the future. These are all components of capitalism, which the Chinese people are discovering is the only system compatible with the first and most important of human rights. The right to own and control what is yours.

These musings—given a full page in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*—are noteworthy in a number of ways. First, the 800 plus million Chinese whose economic cir-

cumstances have deteriorated significantly under the "economics reforms" have almost certainly not "discovered" Rockwell's truth. Second, he downplays the right to vote, i.e., the importance of democratic elections, on the grounds that other "rights" are even more fundamental.

Third, Rockwell's claims invite related questions which he did not (could not) address: What good is the right to start a business if you don't even have enough money for food and clothing? What good is the right to draw wages if there are no jobs? What good is the right to control what you own when you don't own anything?

If these reflections have merit, they suggest that a too facile acceptance of the primacy of first generation rights—specially in regard to what one "owns"—gives aid and comfort to a corporate capitalism that most progressives otherwise perceive, correctly, as the enemy.

The United States government—all three branches—obviously serves corporate capitalists, and much of foreign policy is designed to make other governments do the same thing. All of this is being done with much fanfare about human rights, freedom and democracy, but these policies are more nearly having the opposite effect. Consider the United Nations First International Covenant on Human Rights (Civil and Political). The United States ratified the Covenant only recently, and only as a treaty; its provisions are not codified in United States law, and hence are not enforceable here. The United Nations Second International Covenant—dealing with economic, social, and cultural rights—the United States has neither signed nor ratified; indeed the Senate won't even take up the matter, saying that second generation rights aren't really rights at all, but merely "aspirations", or "ambitions."

Surely championing second generation rights need not be a step backward from human freedom, for as Noam Chomsky has noted, "Freedom without opportunity is a devil's gift." Perhaps the number of opportunities available to each can be circumscribed to ensure that there will be some opportunities for all; if not, world inequality, injustice, and authoritarianism can only continue to grow.

Henry Rosemont, Jr. is a Resist Board Member who teaches philosophy at St. Mary's College of Maryland.

Human Rights in the Asian Pacific

Regional Crisis, Global Threats, and Struggle for Human Rights

ANDREW WELLS

Nowhere has the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights been as controversial as in the Asia Pacific. Certain Asian leaders, promoting "Asian values," have long argued that rights are relative, used as a tool by the imperial West to criticize Asian societies. Other scholars and activists, reflecting the complexity and diversity of the region, seek a new consensus on human rights. Even if Asian governments could agree on the creation of regional instruments to guarantee rights, however, their power has been vastly eroded by the pounding of economic globalization. At the same time as the first "Asian Human Rights Charter" is drafted, economic crisis threatens to unravel what progress Asian societies have made towards both "first-generation" and "second-generation" rights.

The "Asian values" debate that dominated the early 1990s has become an unexpected victim of economic collapse. Asian exceptionalism no longer appears such a credible idea as currencies and economic growth rates plummet. The architects of the so-called "miracle" have lost their clothes, revealed as the hapless autocrats they have been all along. Mass protests against Indonesia's Suharto, Malaysia's Mahathir and Burma's SLORC expose the lies of the rulers as the people clamor for human rights and democracy.

Towards an Asian Declaration of Rights

In the midst of this upheaval, more than 200 non-governmental organizations, lawyers and scholars collaborated in drafting a new Asian Human Rights Charter, "to present the people's views on human rights as against those of some Asian leaders who claim that rights are alien to Asia." Unlike other areas of the world, Asia possesses no regional human rights declaration or commission, and the wide diversity of the region makes their formation unlikely. The framers of the Charter took matters into the people's hands. "Increasingly," states the charter's Preamble, "the people recognize that peace and dignity are possible only when the equal and inalienable rights of all

persons and groups are recognized and protected."

The Asian Human Rights Charter reflects a synthesis of Asian positions on human rights over the past decade. Prof. Yash Ghai of Hong Kong, who wrote the final version of the charter, told the January 1998 conference of the Asia Pacific Center for Justice and Peace that a consensus emerged on "the universality and indivisibility of rights." All agreed that there are indeed international standards for human rights, despite the existence of cultural differences. "The universalism of rights has to be located in local circumstances," Prof. Ghai concluded, particularly "the rights of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups" such as indigenous peoples, refugees, women and children.

The Charter also emphasizes economic rights: "[T]he marketization and globalization of economies are changing the balance between the private and the public, the state and the international community, and worsening the situation of the poor and disadvantaged." This focus on "second-generation" social and economic rights remains a key feature of Asian views of human rights, an aspect that continues to be neglected in the West, especially in the United States.

Signs of Progress?

Malaysian lawyer Dr. Shad Saleem Faruqi argued recently that "the internationalization of human rights issues" has been a key development of the 1990s. An international or regional concept of rights implies the breaking down of barriers against international "interference" in a country's "internal affairs." The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has engaged in open debate about its non-interference principle, with foreign ministers of Thailand and the Philippines arguing for a new stance of "flexible engagement." Even the Chinese government, after years of using "national sovereignty" to deny the existence of human rights problems, recently agreed to sign the UN Convention on Civil and Political Rights. This has not prevented the government from cracking down on the newly-formed Chi-

nese Democratic Party, but even the possibility of registering an opposition party represents a break from the past.

Vietnam also shows signs of change, however gradual. The September release of leading dissidents Doan Viet Hoat and Nguyen Dan Que comes after years of patient negotiations by advocates in and outside Vietnam. As is the case with China, the government's desire for improved relations with Western countries has contributed to concessions on human rights, loosening slightly the limits on public expression.

Might this progress continue? The public rhetoric of rights, important as it is, cannot be reconciled with the alternate reality of globalization. During the years of socialism and authoritarian rule, governments from China and Vietnam to Indonesia and Malaysia controlled all aspects of their societies. Today that power is no longer available. Decentralization and deregulation have left economies and societies largely out of the reach of the state. International agreements like APEC and the WTO give corporations more rights than individual citizens. The Asian economic malaise has left governments either bankrupt or highly constrained in their spending options. In contrast to unenforceable human rights conventions, Yash Ghai recently pointed out, the harsh reality of globalization has fangs, with automatic sanctions for those who do not comply.

Erosion of Rights: The Case of Vietnam

Even if Asian governments sincerely wished to enact policies that ensured the rights of all their citizens, the global economy prevents them from doing so. Such may be the case with Vietnam, whose generally well-intentioned (though bumbling and inconsistent) bureaucrats have signed on to most pertinent international conventions. Compared to its continuing poverty in income terms, Vietnam made remarkable progress through the 1970s and 80s in providing for social and economic rights, with nearly universal literacy and an impressive health care system. Until recently, Vietnamese could justify the "Asian values" defense against

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human rights criticism: you may have more civil and political freedoms in the West, but we have a just society.

Economic "reforms" have left these achievements in tatters, with declining school attendance and health indicators in every area of the country. Privatization of social services leaves the poor unable to pay for their own care. The national budget is similarly constrained. Although Vietnam is one of the largest recipients of World Bank loans, spending on human services, especially in rural areas, is falling as a percentage of GDP. Economic inequality in all its forms has risen dramatically. A group in Hanoi with the mandate of implementing the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child recently concluded that national budgetary issues and priorities made their task impossible.

Economic globalization, therefore, has

influenced a slight increase in individual rights of ownership and expression, at immense societal cost. The Asian economic crisis, itself a product of uncritical opening to the world economy, compounds the problems that countries like Vietnam face. What good are open markets if world prices are falling and no one will buy your products? The economic reform agenda of "development before rights" aimed to satisfy people's stomachs and pocketbooks in order to mute political complaints and struggles. With the boom cycle turned inevitably to bust, the Vietnamese and many of their neighbors find themselves with neither political rights nor economic prosperity.

The economic crisis is far from over. Before the end, all countries in Asia will experience its economic effects and political consequences, with deep implications for the future of all aspects of human rights. On the positive side, the crisis is uniting

non-governmental activists to call for alternatives through instruments such as the Asian Human Rights Charter. Even international organizations' calls for "transparency" and reduced corruption might have beneficial effects, if taken seriously. Will there result an "Asian New Deal" comparable to the expansion of state welfare that followed the Great Depression in the West? Or will repressive governments dig deeper into their own populations, denying basic rights in order to prolong their fragile hold on power? Unless the agenda of protecting human rights intersects with that of economic globalization, rights may become universally recognized and yet universally unenforceable.

Andrew Wells is program director of the Asia Pacific Center for Justice and Peace, a nonprofit advocacy organization in Washington, DC.

Bringing Human Rights Home

Center for Human Rights Education Equips Activists with History

LORETTA ROSS

While many social justice activists who "fight the right" understand the importance of opposing racial, sexual, gender and class oppression, they are often overwhelmed by the fact that proposals to end public education, demonize immigrants, outlaw abortion or abolish affirmative action have moved in 20 years from marginal far right causes into the political center.

Through time and repetition, the ideas of the far right are so widely integrated into our society that eventually many of the supporters of these ideas are neither white supremacists nor even particularly conservative. The combination of far right, religious right and ultraconservative forces creates a right-wing strategic alliance—the *anti-human rights movement*—that is joined by moderates, liberals and even, at times, progressives. For example, in some states wedge politics pit environmentalists against immigrant advocates.

The Center for Human Rights Education (CHRE) believes that the most effective way to counter the resurgence of the right, its collaboration with the neoliberals, and the cycle of inherited injustices in our society, is to learn about, and promote, the



Kensington Welfare Rights Union members rally in Atlanta. Photo courtesy of the Center for Human Rights Education

universal understanding of human rights, and their applicability here in the United States. An American public engaged in human rights education is inoculated against the fear campaigns of the extreme right.

CHRE is a national training and resource service center for social justice activists dedicated to understanding and promoting progressive social change in the U.S. based on shared learning specifically about human rights. Human rights education calls attention to the structural problems of our society, and creates the ideological framework essential for effective political education for social change.

Human Wrongs Versus Human Rights

Thanks to 50 years of global human rights activism, there is no need to reinvent the types of human rights Americans must learn and share. The rights spelled out in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights have been divided by U.S. convention as including: 1) political and civil, and 2) economic, social and cultural.

The treatment of the poor is a top human rights priority because this most vividly tests the inclusiveness of our democracy and our desire to protect human rights. Although the U.S. government has signed and ratified some human rights treaties, it has ignored these commitments when developing domestic policies, betraying the essence of the Declaration of Human Rights.

For example, the federal welfare reform legislation that punishes poor people for their poverty would be a violation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which the United States ratified in 1992, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Race Discrimination, which the U.S. ratified in 1994.

The U.S. has stubbornly refused to ratify the accompanying Covenant on Economic, Cultural and Social Rights. The in-

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ternational community has spoken loudly and clearly: every human being in every country has the human rights to live in dignity—free from fear, free from want, and free from poverty. We all have the human rights to live in neighborhoods that are safe, to have jobs that pay living wages, and to have decent schools for our children. We all have the right to a world of peace, free of the threat of nuclear weapons and environmental destruction. Governments—federal, state and local—are obligated to give priority to ensuring that these basic human rights are met. When they are not, we must not be silent.

For example, activists applying human rights education can create their own proposals for reforming welfare, based on meeting people's needs and eliminating the causes of poverty, while generating sustainable economic development. The Kensington Welfare Rights Union, with which CHRE has worked for more than two years, led a 125-mile march from the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia to the United Nations in New York City. KWRU, an organization of poor and homeless women, men, and children, organized the march to "express our outrage at the inhuman conditions in which we are forced to live in the United States, the richest country in the world. These conditions violate our most basic human rights, as outlined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." (KWRU Human Rights Report, June 1997)

The Organization for Black Struggle in St. Louis developed human rights report cards which evaluate city leaders on their treatment of low-income and minority residents. These report cards are announced at monthly press briefings and forums as a way to embarrass city leaders into addressing the city's human rights problems. They are also a mechanism to evaluate candidates running for public office.

A United Human Rights Movement

This period of global reorganization presents social justice activists at the end of the twentieth century with a special opportunity to promote an exciting vision for a new social justice movement, not a movement defined by our multiple oppressions, but one determined by our humanity. We can define what we are fighting *for* as well as what we are *against*. We can use the human rights framework to articulate moral

and spiritual values around which we must build a new society. We can engage diverse communities—even "angry white men"—in a learning process to develop and share a systemic analysis of ways human rights are relevant to their daily lives. Human rights education is the logical response to the fear and envy that perpetuate intolerance.

The building of a coordinated and effective human rights movement in the U.S. can only be accomplished through human rights education, because people cannot claim rights they don't know they have. Many religious, community and funding leaders simply do not understand the benefits offered by incorporating a human rights analysis.

Efforts to repel right-wing attacks are uncoordinated and less than maximally effective without a proactive social justice ideology and strategy—a *human rights framework*—with which to unite the social justice movements and advance our own vision for America. The human rights movement offers a well-thought out set of values which are, in fact, superior to the superficial "family values" touted by those who are actually opposed to human rights.

Human rights education is a *values* tool, a *political* tool, and a *legal* tool to motivate popular social movements centered on human rights agendas. Human rights education is a *values* tool because we can teach people to believe in a just society that guarantees freedom from hunger as well as freedom of speech. Human rights is also a *political* tool that can unite diverse communities in the social justice movement to implement these values in our public and private lives. And it can be a *legal* tool to enforce international treaties and standards in courts to challenge domestic and foreign policies that violate human rights.

The experiences of people struggling to define, assert, realize and safeguard their human rights will invigorate discourse on democracy and create greater public pressure on governments and corporations to

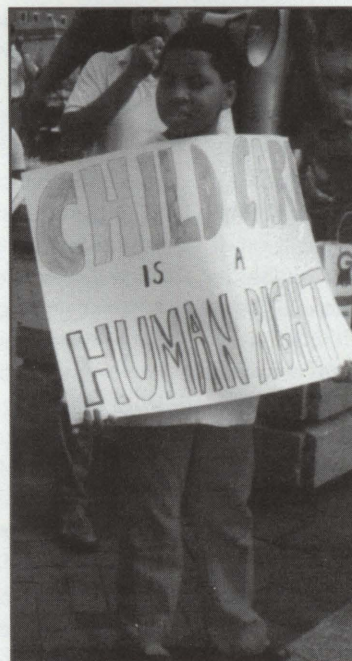


Photo courtesy of CHRE

be accountable for abuses and neglect. We can build a strong human rights culture within communities of faith, in the media, in progressive organizations, and in our conferences, meetings, and think tanks. The role of people of faith in acculturating human rights values in our society to counter the allied right is critical.

Each identity-based social justice organization is part of a larger movement for human rights—a human rights movement with many wings, so to speak, building on the legacy of the civil rights movement.

Thus, the women's movement is redefining itself as the women's wing of the global human rights movement. In a sense, this particular shift was reflected by the theme of the NGO Forum on Women in Beijing in 1995, which proclaimed: "Women's Rights Are Human Rights."

Through CHRE trainings, welfare rights activists have defined themselves as part of the global movement against poverty and maldistribution of resources by also proclaiming that "Welfare Rights are Human Rights." And the list could, and must, go on with every movement for social justice perceiving itself as part of the larger, transnational human rights movement.

CHRE believes that the greatest threat to corporate greed and political impotence is from an educated populace that actively participates in defining its own democracy based on human rights values. People are already in resistance to their oppression without the language of human rights to describe their pain. We must offer people hope through human rights education. The intransigence of racism and xenophobia, the inequities between people and nations can be addressed through a human rights framework because human rights education moves our problems from the unsolvable to the possible.

Loretta Ross directs the Center for Human Rights Education. For more information, contact CHRE, PO Box 311020, Atlanta, GA 31131; 404/344-9629.

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name

address

city, state, zip

phone number

GRANTS

Resist awards grants eight times a year to groups throughout the United States engaged in activism for social and economic justice. In each issue of the *Newsletter* we list a few recent grant recipients. In this issue, we include grantees from our September allocation cycle. For more information, contact the groups at the addresses below.

Maine Rural Network

51 Shore Road
Standish, ME 04084

In February 1998, voters in Maine repealed that state's civil rights law, which included protections for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered people. In response, the Maine Rural Network (MRN) formed to promote visibility and security for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people living in rural areas and to counter stereotypes that the gay community is solely urban and privileged. MRN also works in coalition with other communities around social justice issues in order to build stronger alliances. MRN seeks to empower individuals living in rural Maine to organize autonomous local groups and to create a statewide communications network.

A \$2,000 grant from Resist will provide general support for Maine Rural Network.

RI Women's Institute for Leadership Development

c/o Institute for Labor Studies
99 Bald Hill Road
Cranston, RI 02920

After attending the Women's Institute for Leadership Development in Massachusetts in June of 1996, seven Rhode Island women began to meet the local challenge of recruiting more women activists and leaders, and to develop a network of women helping women. Since then Rhode Island WILD has brought together labor union women with women activists from grassroots community organizations to develop leadership skills. RI WILD seeks to create educated, effective and progressive leaders who recognize the importance of building a movement more representative of the experience, needs and vision of women and people of color.

A \$1,500 grant from Resist will fund printing and copying costs related to the 2nd Annual Rhode Island Women's Institute for Leadership Development.

Student Environmental Action Coalition

P.O. Box 31909
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) is a student-run and student-led national network of progressive organizations and individuals whose aim is to uproot environmental injustices through action and education. SEAC defines the environment to include physical, economic, political and cultural conditions. There are five methods SEAC uses to carry out its mission: 1) education which assists students and youth in recognizing the links between environmental problems, power and wealth; 2) skills training in techniques for enacting change; 3) networking and collaborations between students across campuses and geographical boundaries; 4) leadership development; and 5) empowerment through action on local and national campaigns.

A \$2,000 grant from Resist will provide general support for developing youth leadership and activism around environmental and social justice issues.

Emergency Grants

Resist gave out two Emergency Grants in October to groups responding to an immediate political crisis. In Alberton, Montana, the Alberton Community Coalition for Environmental Health organizes on behalf of victims of a mixed chemical and chlorine spill which has forced the evacuation of residents from their homes and caused a series of health problems. A \$300 Emergency Grant was given to help stabilize this organization after the lead organizer's husband was badly beaten under suspicious circumstances.

In Fort Collins, Colorado, the Lambda Community Center was one of several groups to receive violent and threatening e-mail messages after a gay man, Mathew Shepard, was beaten to death in Wyoming. A \$300 Emergency Grant was given to defray the expenses involved in organizing the local community to stand in solidarity with his family at the funeral, and to oppose the presence of homophobic protesters who planned to use Shepherd's funeral as an opportunity to fight legislation aimed at creating gay and lesbian equality.

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I'll send you my pledge of \$ _____
every month/two months/
quarter/six months (circle one).

☐ Enclosed is an initial pledge contribution of \$ _____.

☐ I can't join the pledge program now, but here's a contribution of \$ _____ to support your work.

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