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Bad Development Policies Hurt Recovery Efforts

Haitian-led rebuilding plans offer an alternative model

By Nikhil Aziz

Even though the State Department and international funders may not be listening, make no mistake: Haitian civil society leaders and those in the diaspora have clear, powerful and specific plans for how to rebuild their country.

Camille Chalmers is the coordinator of the Haitian Platform to Advocate Alternative Policy (PAPDA, by its Creole acronym) and a partner of Grassroots International, a human rights and international development organization that funds global movements for social change and community-led sustainable development projects. Like many Haitian movement activists, he fears that the US and international funders will repeat the same terrible policies they've pushed in the past.

"One scandal is that the Haitian people's movements and their organizations have been excluded by the international community from decision-making in solutions to this crisis," said Chalmers. "We have, for instance, the IMF loan which is not a grant that matches the dimensions of this human tragedy, but an extortionist and cynical loan with conditions that will facilitate a more favorable environment for transnational investment in Haiti. There is going to be a grab for the reconstruction, like in Iraq, with American multinational corporations profiting off the reconstruction."

Camille and others have offered numerous people-centered proposals for rebuilding Haiti after the devastating

earthquake of January 12, 2010 rocked the nation. Unfortunately, thus far their advice has not been able to penetrate the din of self-interested neoliberal discussion between big development agencies, big governments and big multi-lateral financial institutions.

In fact, current proposals to rebuild after the earthquake sound hauntingly familiar, echoing the same bad development advice that Haiti has received for decades—even before the nation faced its current devastating situation. To avoid repeating the past failures, we would be wise to review how previous aid models led down the wrong path.

Feeding Dependency

Twelve years ago, Grassroots International released a research study entitled "Feeding Dependency, Starving Democracy: USAID Policies in Haiti." Offering an in-depth examination of USAID development policies in Haiti, the study concluded that, as the title suggests, official aid actually damaged the very aspects of Haitian society it was allegedly trying to fix—namely it created a lack of democracy and too much dependency.



"Haiti" by Ricardo Leóms Morales, www.rhmaris.com

Sadly, much of that 12-year-old study could have been written today.

Haiti's food dependence may be due to several factors, but the dumping of subsi-

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dized US agricultural products is one of the biggest. In 1987, Haiti met most of its rice needs through domestic production, particularly in the Artibonite region. But Artibonite rice was replaced with “Miami Rice” (the name given to imported rice by local Haitians) that was sold at less than half the price of the local grain. Cheap (in other words, subsidized) imported rice destroyed the local economy and devastated Haitian farming communities. In the 1990s, the IMF forced Haiti to reduce tariffs on rice from 35% to just 3%, further gutting the rural sector and forcing farmers to migrate to the cities in search of jobs.

As recently as 2007, a USAID official told Grassroots International that there simply was no future for Haiti’s small farm sector—a callous prognosis for the nation’s three million-plus small farmers (of a population of 9 million). In a nutshell, USAID’s plan for Haiti and many other poor countries is to push farmers out of subsistence agriculture as quickly as possible.

Farmers that might otherwise be supported to grow food are frequently engaged as laborers in work-for-food programs. Rather than pursue innovative programs to keep rural food markets

local and support food sovereignty, misguided aid programs encourage farmers to grow higher value export crops such as cashews, coffee and more recently, jatropha for agrofuels.

Export policies benefit big business, not people

USAID policies seek to make optimum use of Haiti’s “comparative advantage”—that is, its abundant cheap labor—by funneling displaced farmers into low-wage assembly plants in cities or near the Dominican border. The result is staggering levels of rural-to-urban migration, leading to dangerous overcrowding of Port-au-Prince. Rural-to-urban migration had risen annually by nearly 4.5%. Although this trend showed immediate reversal after the earthquake, sprawling cities like Port-au-Prince had expanded rapidly with shoddily constructed and vulnerable slums. These neighborhoods were buried by mud in 2008’s hurricanes and are now crushed under rubble.

Passed by the US Congress in 2006, programs such as the Haitian Hemispheric Opportunity through Partnership Encouragement (HOPE) Act have lured transnational companies to Haiti with offers of no-tariff exports on textiles assembled in Haitian factories to capitalize on this pool of laborers. Promises of a

robust assembly plant/maquila sector that could absorb unemployed farmers—spurred by the HOPE initiatives—have fallen short of expectations, creating far fewer jobs than imagined and at even lower wages than hoped.

Haiti’s ecology continues to deteriorate, demonstrated by the tremendous loss of life and soil in recent hurricanes. Forests cover barely 2% of Haitian territory. Between 1990 and 2000, the United Nations Development Program reports that natural forest cover declined by half.

In the name of rebuilding Haiti, will USAID and other large donor and aid agencies pursue these same failed formulas over the coming years? Or will it take a different tack that includes Haiti’s vibrant

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Nearly 50,000 Haitians were sleeping in this earthquake survivor camp in the Del Mas area in Port-au-Prince in late January. At least 230,000 people were killed in the January 12 7.0-magnitude earthquake, the worst one in the region in 200 years, and up to 1 million have been displaced.



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network of civil society organizations as central to rebuilding efforts?

While there is widespread hand-wringing in the media that rebuilding efforts are hampered by the desperate poverty and lack of infrastructure, there is very little introspection about whether aid strategies and development and monetary policies may have actually contributed to this impoverishment and how those ought to change.

Export-driven aid and development policies were a bad idea before the earthquake. They are a terrible idea now.

Rebuilding, from the grassroots up

What is a sound rehabilitation plan as we look to the future? Chalmers made some suggestions in the early days after the quake. Instead of traditional agency-to-agency aid that turns Haitians into “aid recipients” rather than protagonists of their recovery, this needs to be a people-to-people effort—what Chalmers describes as “structural solidarity.” Chalmers notes that this reconstruction must be holistic and can’t be relegated to simply physical infrastructure.

A compilation of recommendation documents from several Haitian civil society and diaspora conferences, “Haitian Led Reconstruction & Development,”

states, “The emergency aid effort we are involved in is alternative in character and we expect to advocate a method of work which will denounce the traditional

practices in the field of humanitarian aid which do not respect the dignity of the victims and which contribute to the reinforcement of dependency. We are advocating a humanitarian effort that is appropriate to our reality, respectful of our culture and our environment, and which does not undermine the forms of

In the name of rebuilding Haiti, will USAID and other large agencies pursue these same failed formulas over the coming years? Or will it take a different tack that includes Haiti’s vibrant network of civil society organizations as central to rebuilding efforts?



Photo by Nick Hobgood, www.flickr.com/photos/globalwinger

Terrace planting can help reduce erosion on steep slopes like these above Camp Coq, in northern Haiti. In 2007, a USAID official told Grassroots International that there was no future for Haiti’s small farm sector, roughly three million small farmers, one-third of the country’s population.

economic solidarity that have been put in place over the decades by the grassroots organizations with which we work.”

The document continues, “Massive humanitarian aid is indispensable today, given the scale of the disaster, but it should be deployed in terms of a different vision of the reconstruction process. It should connect with a break from the paradigms that dominate the traditional circuits of international aid. We would hope to see the emergence of international brigades working together with our or-

ganizations in the struggle to carry out agrarian reform and an integrated urban land reform program, the struggle against illiteracy and for reforestation, and for the construction

of new modern, decentralized and universal systems of education and public health.”

As our partners in Haiti tell us, a holistic rehabilitation and development plan of this nature requires much more than money. It would require a reversal of policies which are at their heart counter to healthy, sustainable development.

It would mean a stop to attempts to pry Haiti’s economy open to imports; it would mean an end to balancing Haiti’s budget by cutting health and education spending; it would mean implementing policies for environmentally-friendly food sovereignty so that Haitians can eat the food they grow in fields that hold the soil; it would mean a massive virtuous circle of support for both the governmental and non-governmental sectors so that they can grow strong together.

An essential part of Grassroots International’s work with the Haitian people over the coming years will be to try to keep the development industry honest and advocate for exactly this kind of long-term, holistic aid. At the same time, we’ll continue to build the kind of people-to-people solidarity that Chalmers suggests—helping grassroots organizations steer Haiti’s development agenda through the challenging decades ahead.

Nikhil Aziz is the Executive Director of Grassroots International. A former RESIST Board member, Nikhil serves on the steering committees of the International Human Rights Funders Group and the Funders Network on Trade and Globalization. A version of this article originally appeared on CommonDreams, www.commondreams.org.

Organizing Amidst the Wreckage

Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees uses radio in Haiti support work

On January 12, a catastrophic 7.0-magnitude earthquake struck Haiti, killing over 230,000 people. One of the worst natural disasters in the Western Hemisphere, the massive earthquake came on the heels of four deadly hurricanes in 2008 and decades of natural catastrophes and political upheaval.

An estimated 800,000 Haitians live in the United States today, many driven from their homeland by sustained political oppression and economic hardship. Founded in 1992 to respond to the refugee crisis faced by Haitian immigrants, Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees, a RESIST grantee, has provided support to hundreds of families who sought asylum in the United States after being persecuted in Haiti. The organization has coordinated disaster relief and provides comprehensive programs that include community education, supportive services and community organizing.

RESIST interviewed Ninaj Raoul, the director of Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees, soon after she'd returned from visiting Haiti. She spoke of using radio, video and music in organizing efforts, and how the earthquake's aftermath is affecting the Haitian community here in the United States.

RESIST: You just returned from Haiti, your third trip since the massive earthquake struck on January 12. You've been doing work around Haiti for many years, and you are of Haitian descent. What has it been like to personally witness the aftermath of this devastating earthquake?

NINAJ RAOUL (NR): It's overwhelming. We've worked in several disasters before. I was there in 1998 and again in 2004 and 2008 where there were floods in Haiti, but nothing to this degree. The damage is so much larger. On this trip, we were mostly in a town called Leogane. [The epicenter of the earthquake, Leogane lies about 18 miles west of Port-au-Prince.]

RESIST: Has Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees been collaborating with other groups around your relief efforts and organizing work?



Photo courtesy of Ninaj Raoul

Ninaj Raoul has visited Haiti three times since the earthquake. Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees helped bring 10-year-old Rose, pictured above with Ninaj (left) and her mother, to the US to be fitted with prostheses for her legs. Both were amputated because of earthquake injuries.

NR: Yes. One of the groups is called MUDHA [Movement of Dominican-Haitian Women]. It's a movement of Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent located in the Dominican Republic. We've worked very closely with them for many years. We also work together here with a group called Lakou New York, which has a radio show, and with Kongo, which uses cultural music in healing workshops and as an organizing tool.

RESIST: How has your organization, Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees, provided direct earthquake relief?

NR: The day after the earthquake, Sonia Pierre, the director of MUDHA, called and asked if we wanted to collaborate with them. We said absolutely. MUDHA organized volunteers—groups of youth in particular—and some of their regular staff to go to Haiti. They set up in what used to be an orphanage in Leogane. The orphanage was totally destroyed, as was most of the town.

MUDHA brought food like rice and beans in large amounts. They also brought mattresses and tents. What we

bring from New York is over-the-counter medications, a lot of first aid supplies, personal hygiene goods and things like cereal and nutritional bars that are easy for people to eat if they don't have the ability to cook, if their homes have been destroyed.

RESIST: Haitians living in the United States have been organizing support for earthquake survivors and around immigration issues affecting the Haitian community here in this country. How do you work to reach the Haitian community in New York?

NR: One of the groups we collaborate with, Lakou New York, has a daily radio show, Monday through Friday from 1 to 2 PM. It's like having a daily community forum on the radio—people are not just listening to the radio but are participating in movements.

RESIST: Radio played a really critical role in providing information and helping people find loved ones after the earthquake struck. Does community radio have a long history of importance in the Haitian community?

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NR: In this community, radio is really key for organizing; in Haiti, that's how people are able to communicate. It's common that a lot of community forums are on the radio. So if you listen to the radio in Haiti, there are all these discussions and political forums. People call in; it's a regular thing. Part of it might be the literacy issue [the literacy rate in Haiti stands at 50 percent], but it's also a cultural thing. The radio is the place where everybody gets to meet. A lot of people don't have TVs or electricity but still have a radio with batteries. It's a way that people connect and can participate in movements.

It's the same thing here in New York; culturally people really do connect on the radio. Lakou New York is based in Brooklyn, and they try to keep the community connected with movements on the ground (not just in New York, because a lot of people listen through the internet). This allows all listeners the chance to get involved.

RESIST: How has Lakou New York's radio show affected your recent work in Haiti?

NR: I met people in Haiti that came to the orphanage in Leogane because they heard about it on the radio and wanted to see it themselves, firsthand.

When I was there on the first trip, the radio host from Lakou New York called. He caught me off guard, because I was carrying a 10-year-old girl who'd had both legs amputated; she was heavy! I gave a report, and I told the listeners about the young girl. She said hello and talked to the host. I said, "By the way, if anyone has a wheelchair, this girl needs one." Right away somebody called the station with one. Volunteers from Lakou took it to the girl on their trip down a week or two later. It made a huge difference. To this day she uses that wheelchair.

RESIST: Does Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees use other tools or forms of media in your organizing work?

NR: We started using video in 2005. Before that, we didn't like to work with video on our trips. We felt like it was an invasion, when you do solidarity work and you show up with these video cameras. MUDHA felt the same way, too,

In the Haitian community, radio is really key for organizing. The radio is the place where everybody gets to meet. It's a way that people connect and can participate in movements.

but in 2005 there was widespread violence against Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent in the Dominican Republic, and MUDHA said to us, "You've got to come down and document this. They just deported 11,000 people." I went down with my video camera and got testimony of folks who'd just been deported on Friday, and this was on Monday.

It was really important to document this because no one would believe how bad it was. And the folks were anxious to give their stories. They were just hoping that someone was going to see it and hear it. We bring the videos back and use them

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Online Solidarity for Rural Activists

In southwest Virginia earlier this year, a group of board and staff members met at the office of Southern Appalachian Mountain Stewards to stuff envelopes and share dinner. When the pizza was gone, the group booted up a computer, gathered around a speakerphone and dialed into an online training organized by RESIST.

"There was really a feeling of solidarity, even though we were on a conference call," said Hannah Morgan, a staffer at Southern Appalachian Mountain Stewards (SAMS).

In 2008 RESIST began offering free online technical assistance and fundraising seminars to grassroots organizations in an effort to make training resources available to more of our grantees around the country.

As these trainings progressed, it became clear that social justice activists in low population states and groups located beyond major urban areas were faced by unique issues. In response, Robin Carton, RESIST's Grant Director, and Buzz Harris, the Director of the Development Resource Center, worked together to create a new series of workshops to address some of the specific needs of rural organizers.

Hannah and the SAMS board members participated in the three-session series, which included ways to develop a diverse donor base, how to build board capacity and tools for successful grantwriting. Six other RESIST grant

recipients and allies from rural areas around the country were also part of this training.

Recognizing that rural organizers live and work in areas that are tightly knit but are more geographically spread out, RESIST's trainings focused on ways to capitalize on these and other strengths.

The Omni Center for Peace, Justice and Ecology in Fayetteville, Arkansas found the trainings helpful and timely.

"We are currently developing our first strategic plan," said David Orr, an Omni Center organizer. "The timing of these sessions could not have been any better in terms of equipping me with information that is relevant to the ongoing planning on our board."

Currently, RESIST is running a new series of online trainings, designed to expand upon the skills organizers gained in their first session. During 2010, RESIST hopes to offer three more rounds of these online training sessions.

"People walked out of the training feeling stronger," said Hannah Morgan. "They were armed with the skills they'd wanted."

For more information about the trainings, contact Robin Carton at robin@resistinc.org or 617-623-5110.

— Christy Pardew

Haiti Timeline

1804 After a successful slave rebellion, Haiti becomes the first independent nation in Latin America.

1915 US President Wilson orders troops to occupy Haiti. US troops operate a harsh military occupation until 1934, during which time 40% of Haiti's GDP is diverted to US banks.

1957-1971 With help from the CIA, "Papa Doc" Duvalier becomes dictator of Haiti. Almost 30,000 people are killed for political reasons under the regime.

1971 Duvalier's son "Baby Doc" takes over. Baby Doc steals between \$300 and \$800 million from the national treasury.

1986 Baby Doc is ousted from his leadership position by a popular uprising.

1987 Haitians vote to approve a new constitution; general elections are called off after massacres by soldiers and the Tonton Macoute, a paramilitary force that previously reported to the Duvalier family.

1991 Jean-Bertrand Aristide is the first democratically elected president of Haiti. A few months into his presidency, Aristide is overthrown by the Haitian military.

1994 The Clinton Administration successfully negotiates the resignation of Haiti's military leaders. US forces enter Haiti. Aristide returns to finish presidential term.

1996 Rene Preval, a former prime minister of Aristide, is elected President.

1998 Hurricane George hits Haiti, causing \$200 million in damages, several hundred deaths and farmland destruction.

2000 Jean-Bertrand Aristide is elected for a second term as president, and the years that follow see widespread violence among Aristide supporters and the opposition.

2004 A revolt begins in northern Haiti and reaches the capital, forcing Aristide to flee. UN soldiers and the MINUSTAH arrive in Haiti, beginning an occupation that continues today.

2006 Rene Preval is elected president.

2008 Food riots take place. Four successive hurricanes damage the nation, exacerbating already critical food shortages.

2010 An earthquake hits near Port-au-Prince, killing around 230,000 people. US troops join the MINUSTAH forces.

March 2010 Former US President Bill Clinton apologizes for harmful economic policies towards Haiti during his presidency. Under Clinton in the 1990s, and for decades before, Haiti was forced to drop tariffs on subsidized rice imported from the United States, causing a flood of cheap rice into Haitian markets, essentially putting domestic Haitian rice farmers out of business.

Timeline compiled by Kate O'Neill.

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to raise awareness in the United States. I think the people that see the videos, they believe the stories more when it's the people who are going through it that are talking.

We also work with Kongo, an organization that uses cultural music as an organizing tool. They do it with youth here in the public school system. Kongo was there for two months after the earthquake. Their workshops give people healing energy while they're cleaning up and working on recovery efforts (and it keeps the kids busy too).

RESIST: In March, former President Clinton apologized for his economic policies towards Haiti, specifically around encouraging subsidized US food products, mainly rice, to be shipped into Haiti and sold there, in the process pushing so many small farmers off the land and destroying much of the agricultural base.

NR: It's clear that President Clinton apologized in response to criticism and for no other reason. The one positive thing that has come out of this earthquake is a lot more awareness about such policies. I don't think [Clinton's apology] is going to stop the agenda in any way. In fact, this disaster puts the US government in a better position to go forward with their agenda.

Haitian people are clear that the US has always had plans for Haiti. And the US hasn't been able to impose them as easily as some thought they would have. I think that this earthquake will make it easier for them to do so, under the pretense of humanitarian aid. Haiti doesn't have the resources to recover from this huge disaster alone.

RESIST: It seemed like the immediate response of the US government to the earthquake was focused primarily on security.

NR: There was a large international military presence, and it was so unnecessary. You know there's no military in Haiti. I was staying at the orphanage in Leogane, and I would see the Canadian military come in with long guns, every single one of them. One day they came and distributed dolls to the kids, and they each had

a gun. That's just amazing to me. Why do you need guns to come into an orphanage?

RESIST: President Obama granted Temporary Protected Status to Haitians living in the US shortly after the earthquake hit.

NR: There were some immigrant advocates from different communities that had been pushing for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) a couple of years prior to this. We didn't really support it because it's temporary and uncertain, and we didn't know if TPS was going to be a way the government would be able to deport more people in the future, once they'd come forward. We were concerned about that, and I felt we should have been pushing for something stronger, like what we did for the Haitian Refugee Fairness Act that gave permanent residency back in 1998. But clearly TPS has helped a lot of people who were out of status before the earthquake.

Although it was granted because of the earthquake, ironically, earthquake victims are not eligible for it. You have to have been in the US before January 12, 2010. That's the main requirement.

RESIST: What are the best ways that progressive people can be helping right now?

NR: I think raising awareness about the reasons why Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. We need to take advantage of this situation and continue to raise awareness on the issues that perpetuate the poverty in Haiti. In particular we need to go back to the history, how Haiti was rich before and why it's become poor.

RESIST: What keeps you going these days, despite the horrific suffering you have been witness to?

NR: The best thing I got out of this experience, which is what you always do when you go down to Haiti, was just developing relationships with people. And that's what the solidarity is about: developing relationships.

Read more about Haitian Women for Haitian Refugees at haitianwomen.wordpress.com. This interview has been edited and condensed.

RESIST Grantee News in Brief

Dispatches from the front lines of social change

By Kate O'Neill

Members of the **Student Immigrant Movement**, based in Massachusetts, have pressured recently-elected Senator Scott Brown, known for having a tough stance on illegal immigration, to meet with them to hear about the struggles faced by undocumented students. The group is working for passage of the federal DREAM Act, which would allow some young immigrants to apply for legal residency and be eligible for student loans and in-state tuition.

• Army Specialist Marc Hall, jailed by the military in December for his lyrics in a rap song that challenged the Army's stop-loss policy, was released and discharged by the Army on April 17. **Courage to Resist**, one of the organizations supporting Hall, applauded his release but is still

working to get him military benefits for service-related injuries. While the Army asserts that Hall's lyrics contained threats of violence, his supporters believe he is being punished for his accusations of the Army's inadequate mental health services.

• Austin, Texas may soon become the second US city to require crisis pregnancy centers (CPCs) to post signs informing the public of their services, including whether or not they provide abortions and birth control. Many CPCs nationwide prevent women from receiving neutral medical information and are run by anti-abortion volunteers. Sara Cleveland of **NARAL Pro-Choice Texas** said, "lines are crossed when a CPC is not up front about its services."

• On February 24, the Vermont State Senate voted not to extend the operating license of the Yankee Nuclear Power Plant past March 2012, its current deadline. Leaks of the radioactive isotope tritium, a cooling tower collapse and a strong campaign by groups like the **Citizens Awareness Network** have helped secure public and political opposition to the plant.

• The Florida-based **Student/Farmer-worker Alliance** and Coalition of Immokalee Workers won another success in

Full stories and updated grantee news:
www.resistinc.org/news

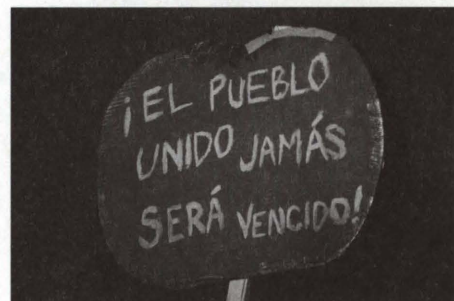


Photo by Fritz Myer, flickr.com/photos/fritzmyer

their Campaign for Fair Food. Aramark, one of the US's biggest private companies, has agreed to pay workers more for tomatoes. The extra earnings could raise annual incomes from \$10,000 to up to \$17,000 for the nearly 30,000 migrant workers in the Florida tomato industry.

• In February, the **Interfaith Alliance of Iowa** went public with their campaign organizing support for same-sex marriage from 167 leaders of diverse faiths. Faith representatives showed their opposition to the argument that the Bible prohibits same-sex marriage. The Interfaith Alliance of Iowa represents members of a variety of faiths who believe in respecting religious freedoms and individual rights.

Kate O'Neill is a RESIST intern and a recent graduate of Northeastern University.

Keep up with grantee news
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Inside this issue:
Development policy and
resilience in Haiti



Meet RESIST

GRANT RECIPIENTS

RESIST awards grants six times a year to groups throughout the United States engaged in organizing for social, economic and racial justice. In this issue of the Newsletter we list a few grant recipients from our most recent allocation cycle in April of 2010. For more information, visit the RESIST website at www.resistinc.org or contact the groups directly.

Food Chain Workers Alliance

634 South Spring Street #925,
Los Angeles, California 90014.
foodchainworkers.wordpress.com

The Food Chain Workers Alliance is a coalition of worker-based organizations whose members work at all points of the food chain, from harvesting food to packing it to selling and serving it. Founded in 2009, the Food Chain Workers Alliance is working to create a more sustainable food system in which everyone has access to healthy, affordable food.

A RESIST grant of \$3,000 will help support alliance members in their efforts to advance all food workers' rights, including improving wages and working conditions along the food chain.

North Dakota Disability Advocacy Consortium

400 East Broadway #402, Bismarck,
North Dakota 58501. www.nddac.org

The only organization of its kind in the state, the North Dakota Disability Advocacy Consortium organizes for full inclusion of persons with disabilities in their own homes and communities. A guiding principle of the Consortium is the belief that all people have the right to act on their own behalf and to direct their own interests.

RESIST's grant of \$2,000 will allow North Dakota Disability Advocacy Consortium to continue to engage in state-wide community organizing.

Women's Network of the Red River Valley

116 12th Street S, Moorhead, Minne-
sota 56560. www.wnrrv.org

The Women's Network of the Red River Valley provides grassroots organizing, research and education on issues affecting women and girls. The Network organizes around issues of equality and reproduc-

tive rights, using the collective power of women to promote social justice.

RESIST's grant of \$3000 will help Women's Network of the Red River Valley continue to create a diverse community of feminists that honors women and girls and promotes equality and reproductive rights.

Fuerza Unida

710 New Laredo Highway, San Antonio,
Texas 78211. www.lafuerzaunida.org

Formed in 1990 when one of the Levi Strauss factories in San Antonio closed, leaving over 1,150 workers without jobs and with unjust severance pay, Fuerza Unida works today to support women workers and their families in the fight for social, economic and environmental justice. The organization helps workers become active participants in their communities while still retaining their cultural traditions and values.

RESIST awarded Fuerza Unida a Multi-Year Grant of \$3,000 to continue to offer programs that provide alternative economic development projects, education and organizing opportunities.