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Food sovereignty is a vision for democratic control over food and agricultural systems.

An oppositional concept in action, food sovereignty fundamentally entails resistance to corporate domination, neoliberal ideology, industrial agriculture and structural inequity. However, precise meanings of food sovereignty vary according to historical and territorial context.

Food sovereignty is being pursued on farms, plantations, and pastures, within forests and fisheries, in processing centers, markets, and restaurants along entire agri-food supply chains. It involves diverse social struggles around the world which reveal our common purpose as food sovereignty activists and organizers: to achieve a just transition from the oppressive, profit-driven economy of extraction toward a regenerative economy of life, cooperation, and caring.

Food sovereignty remains at the margins of public awareness and debate. First, the term is somewhat awkward to say, especially for people not engaged in food movement politics. Second, the power of agribusiness in setting the agenda in marketing and media as well as the prominence of a singular focus on “food security” in government and nonprofit sectors pose a range of challenges in the battle of ideas.

Food sovereignty leaders are however challenging these top-down narratives by advancing stories rooted in grassroots organizing, internationalist solidarity, historical memory, and collective action.

As a social movement that rejects all forms of inequity and oppression, those organizing for food sovereignty in the so-called USA must grapple with the crimes against humanity and Mother Earth committed through colonization, the development of capitalism and the ongoing expansion of the empire on our food systems.

How can we work on repairing the harms caused by attempted genocide, enslavement, war, and state-sanctioned white terrorism? How can feminism, decolonization, anti-racism, and anti-imperialism guide our fight for food sovereignty?

The Importance of Weaving Stories

Insightful storytelling is integral to enhancing social connections, sharing perspectives, contesting dominant narratives and nurturing grassroots political power. How we interpret reality and tell our stories directly connects to our understanding of history and to our ability to imagine and construct alternatives to the cruelties of patriarchy, settler colonialism, racism, capitalism, and imperialism.

Storytelling can attract and sustain participation in social movements, allowing for establishment of the emotional and intellectual bonds of trust, empathy, and curiosity needed for solidarity and cooperation. Narratives can spotlight the institutions and social relations that we fight as well as the alternatives that we envision and practice.

With footage mostly recorded in October 2018 during the IV National Assembly of the US Food Sovereignty Alliance (USFSA), the Narrative Strategy Collective in the USFSA produced the Food Sovereignty Stories film series. This series is the basis of this publication and offers a selection of grassroots stories articulated by member and ally organizations of the USFSA. Each of the chapters in this multi-media publication provides a short summary text and a link to the video. Together, the videos and text are intended to raise awareness and inspire conversations within and beyond the food sovereignty movement.
Introducing the Stories as a Flavor of the Work in the USFSA

These stories are drawn from the USFSA, which is a coalition to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among working-class people, peasants, and Indigenous communities fighting to democratize society, scale agroecology, and relocalize food systems.

In each of the chapters, you will get a taste of the kinds of initiatives working for food sovereignty in the USFSA. These include the activism and organizing work of:

- Small- and medium-scale farmers
- Farmworkers
- Food chain workers
- Fishers
- Hunter-gatherers
- Urban gardeners
- Grassroots and grassroots-support organizations
- Supporters from academic and progressive policy institutions
- Anti-hunger, faith-based, and environmental non-profit organizations

The videos showcase how we are working toward structural transformation of agri-food systems by means of grassroots organizing, coalition-building, political advocacy, narrative building, and political education. While USFSA members and allies address different issues rooted in their local contexts, food sovereignty unites our projects to popularize agroecology, assert democratic control over food systems, defend the rights of food producers and food chain workers, massify knowledge about the politics of agriculture, and increase access to healthy, culturally appropriate food. To conclude, we offer a few discussion questions pertaining to the film series as a whole. These we suggest could be adapted in community screenings and dialogues around these films and this publication.

1) How do you feel about these stories?
2) Which messages are most inspiring and challenging to understand, and why?
3) Are there particular storytellers and/or stories you feel most connected to, and why?
4) Can you think of examples of members of your organization or community responding to the social and ecological problems identified in the series?
5) How could this series or other narrative-based projects (documentary film, radio, writing, etc.) raise awareness and inspire collective action to solve the problems that you face?
For Brenda Bentley, an organizer with Community to Community Development (C2C), a grassroots organization fighting for food justice and migrant justice in Bellingham, Washington, food sovereignty is inseparable from immigrant rights.

“Food sovereignty in Bellingham for me has been trying to get a sanctuary ordinance for our undocumented community,” Brenda said outside Bellingham City Hall after a demonstration calling on lawmakers to act. “People don’t feel safe here.”

When Brenda shared her thoughts in October 2018, C2C had been organizing weekly “Dignity Vigils” outside City Hall for more than a year and a half to call for protections for undocumented people against detention and deportation. The organization has worked closely with farmworkers over the years to fight for fair wages, safe working conditions, and increased self-determination for farmworkers.

Brenda stressed that food sovereignty must start at the foundation of the food system with justice for the farmworkers who plant, cultivate, and harvest food.

“Food sovereignty for me, looking at it from that perspective, is people working in the fields being comfortable to venture out to buy food, which they don’t. People feeling safe enough to come into town, which they don’t. People just being able to live without fear, to be able to afford the food that they grow, and they don’t,” she said. “A lot of our farmworkers at least in this county go to the food bank, and that’s disgusting.”

“For me, food sovereignty is justice for farmworkers, fair wages, a pathway to citizenship, a reasonable life, a future for their children—all the things that we want for ourselves and our neighbors, for everyone,” she concluded.

As C2C executive director Rosalinda Guillén put it, “everything circles around food,” and food sovereignty is part of “fighting for justice in every way that we know how.”
For Carl Wassilie, from the Yup’ik Nation in Western Alaska and part of Alaska’s Big Village Network, the arctic ecosystem and traditional seasonal food sources of the Yup’ik people are the foundation of food sovereignty, which he describes as a caring relationship with land, water, and animals.

“In the context of the Western system, the ocean and rivers are our garden in Western Alaska, and the tundra is our garden. That’s where we harvest and gather food,” said Carl, whose Yup’ik name is Angut’aq. “And that is the sovereignty that we share with the animals that continue to return.”

Western Alaska is brimming with migratory species including marine mammals, fish, birds, insects, and caribou, which are all part of this shared sovereignty that Carl described.

“We are salmon people,” Carl explained. “When I think about food sovereignty, my first thought is salmon.”

“In the wintertime we don’t have fresh salmon, but we can get fresh food under the sea ice and river ice, as well as the caribou,” he added.

Alaska’s Big Village Network works to create “communities of inclusion” by working with youth and elders from Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, building respect for multiple worldviews, and honoring human and non-human life. The organization has raised awareness around environmental racism and taken a stand against Arctic oil drilling, mining, toxic dumping, militarism (especially with respect to the impacts of Navy training exercises on marine ecosystems), and other issues affecting rural and urban Alaska communities.

Addressing these environmental issues and the socioeconomic inequalities they exacerbate helps protect Indigenous food gathering practices that work in harmony with natural ecosystems.

“Food sovereignty for me is that access and that cultural importance of the sacred animals, sacred water, and sacred land that provide for us and have been providing for us for thousands of years,” Carl said. “That’s the basis of my idea of food sovereignty—the land, the water, the mountains, and the air. We have to take care of them.”

“That’s why I’m here with the United States Food Sovereignty Alliance to be part of a network that is caring for basic human dignity and the right to food so that our children have a healthy future and aren’t starving,” he concluded.
For Jim Goodman, the idea at the foundation of farm justice is simple: farmers get a fair wage.

As a farm activist and president of the National Family Farm Coalition, Jim advocates for a food system controlled by farmers and oriented toward consumers, not corporate profits. His fight for fair prices for farmers and quality food for consumers—and good wages to afford their food—draws on his experience witnessing failed policies as a dairy and beef farmer in southwest Wisconsin.

“I see food sovereignty as a three-way partnership between farmers or fishermen, the consumer, and the environment,” Jim said. “Farmers should have a fair living, consumers should have good healthy food at prices they can afford, and the environment shouldn’t have to suffer.”

It’s an equation where “everyone can win if we go about this right,” Jim said.

He pointed to the end of parity pricing—the idea that the price of products should fluctuate based on the cost of their production—as a key turning point. The 1980 Farm Bill, and the Agriculture and Food Act that followed in 1981, eliminated the parity pricing system that factored the cost of production into the price of products, such as milk, and instead put pricing in the hands of the “free market.”

“At that point,” Jim explained, “it switched from protecting farmers and the land and consumers to making more and more money for big corporations—the multinational corporations that deal all over the world, push farmers off the land, and produce a lot of cheap commodity food that makes us all sick.”

He sees a need for change on a political level—not just voting, but also getting money out of politics—to create federal legislation and policies that address food and farming inequities.

The National Family Farm Coalition, founded as a voice for farmers in Washington, DC, advocates for food sovereignty, fair prices for farmers, and an end to the corporate control of the food system.

According to Goodman, one of the strengths of the Family Farm Coalition is that its members include farmers of all sizes, as well as fishers. “I think the thing that we probably try to do the best,” he added, “is influencing policy in Washington and state governments as well as trying to promote food sovereignty and getting farmers a fair price.”
For Jonathan Roberts, a member of the Detroit Food Policy Council, any conversation around food sovereignty must integrate food worker rights and the perspectives of the people—often poor people and people of color—working at the foundations of the food system.

For Jonathan Roberts, a member of the Detroit Food Policy Council, food issues are inseparable from the labor that goes into producing, distributing, and serving food. That’s why he believes that any conversation around food sovereignty must integrate food worker rights and the perspectives of the people—often poor people and people of color—working at the foundations of the food system.

“Our system doesn’t work without human labor. And it’s a labor of love, but it’s also a labor of pain and oppression and slavery,” Jonathan said.

“My entire family was born into the food economy through slavery,” he continued, sharing the story of one of his ancestors, named Sarah Snider. “When she was three years old she was incorporated onto a plantation. She had to work 12–15-hour days getting scraps from the person who happened to own the land.”

Jonathan sees clear ties between that history of enslavement and the ongoing exploitation of U.S. food workers.

“And now today, in cities like Detroit, you have working women who share a very similar fate. They work 12–15 hours to get tips, and to get these pittances from owners and bosses that are really just extending this legacy of economic subjugation to so many working people,” he said.

As a labor organizer, Jonathan has organized restaurant workers to fight for better wages and conditions. That’s the perspective that he brings to the Detroit Food Policy Council, an organization that promotes food justice, food sovereignty, and building a sustainable food system in Detroit through education, advocacy, and policy initiatives.

Jonathan finds food sovereignty a useful framework for approaching food workers’ rights because it helps demystify the food system by asking probing questions about where food comes from, how it was produced, and what conditions farmers, farmworkers, and other food workers experienced in getting the food to our grocery stores, restaurants, and kitchen tables.

The fact that many restaurant workers suffer food insecurity lays bare the injustice.

“So food sovereignty can’t exist when we have overproduction, and at the same time food workers like servers and bartenders and cooks, can’t even afford the food that they are preparing and serving to customers,” Jonathan said. “I think that contradiction in and of itself is enough to think about why food sovereignty demands a labor analysis.”
Black Mesa Water Coalition

[WATCH FILM HERE]

Addressing the Legacy of Colonialism and the Power of Traditional Knowledge in Just Transitions

For the Black Mesa Water Coalition, food sovereignty is one part of a broader effort to transform Navajo and Hopi communities and their economies by drawing on traditional knowledge to build sustainable alternatives to fossil fuel dependence.

“The just transition for us really came from the need to transition away from a fossil fuel-based economy, which our tribe is heavily dependent on, with royalties from the exploitation of coal, gas, and other resources,” said Black Mesa Water Coalition member Robert Nutlouis. “Our call for the Nation is to move away from that type of development towards a more sustainable, regenerative economy.”

The organization, based in Arizona, formed in 2001 to confront the impacts of coal mining in Navajo and Hopi communities and tackle issues around water, natural resources exploitation, and health. Among other work, its projects have included regenerative water catchment systems, leadership development initiatives, and a “Food Sovereignty Project” using dry land agricultural techniques to produce food on a five-acre community farm.

“Food sovereignty for our community is really looking at our own traditional knowledge and the wisdom that our ancestors had developed and left for us and is still carried by our elders,” said Robert. “Really going back and seeing what this knowledge and wisdom say to us about how to revive and rebuild our food system.”

The organization also works to build cultural awareness, including language preservation efforts and education around traditional seeds.

“There has to be a cultural shift from how we see things to how we interact with our environment,” Robert continued. “The land is sacred, the elements are sacred, and we have to understand it in that way.”

Sheldon Natoni, a youth member of the Black Mesa Water Coalition, added: “It kind of gives me comfort that I’m going through the right path and I’m not being part of the extractive economy. It’s a healing property for me to become more grounded in who I am as a Dene.”

Black Mesa Water Coalition received the US Food Sovereignty Alliance’s 2018 Food Sovereignty Prize in the domestic category, recognizing its work in reclaiming Indigenous food sovereignty.

For the Black Mesa Water Coalition, food sovereignty is one part of a broader effort to transform Navajo and Hopi communities and their economies by drawing on traditional knowledge to build sustainable alternatives to fossil fuel dependence.
**The Somali Bantu Community Association** works to build food justice and food sovereignty in Maine by creating opportunities for members of the Somali Bantu refugee community to grow healthy, organic, and culturally-appropriate food in Lewiston and Auburn.

**Somali Bantu Community Association of Maine**

**WATCH FILM HERE**

### Accessing Land for Sustainable Agriculture and Cultural Identity

The **Somali Bantu Community Association** works to build food justice and food sovereignty in Maine by creating opportunities for members of the Somali Bantu refugee community to grow healthy, organic, and culturally-appropriate food in Lewiston and Auburn.

In the process, the organization aims to increase food security in the refugee community, as well as provide economic opportunities for farmers.

“In our organization, most of the people who we serve are dependent on food stamps. When you have food stamps, you don’t have the luxury of going to any aisle and shopping. Healthy food was an issue for us,” said Muhidin Libah, executive director of the Somali Bantu Community Association (SBCA).

“Our organization decided to come up with this program where we help people access land and produce their own healthy food,” Muhidin added. “Our goal is to help people get overall protein and everything from their own work, including cheese, milk, eggs, and vegetables.”

For Muhidin and the SBCA, this kind of self-determination of producing food by and for the Somali Bantu refugee community is “food justice in action” and the foundation of food sovereignty. The organization operates **Liberation Farms**, a program that offers farmers access to a tenth of an acre of land to grow food for their families and communities.

As the organization grows, farmers also have access to economic opportunities by selling excess produce at local markets. “We put 135 families into the field,” Muhidin said, explaining the organization’s expansion from just 20 farmers in 2014.

“We are producing more than we can consume, so we are now accessing markets; we are selling,” he added. “And now people are getting healthy food, and at the same time, selling their produce, which is creating some income. We are fighting economic problems in that way.”

Aside from food justice work, the SBCA also offers cultural and youth programming, immigration and translation support services, conflict resolution initiatives, and medical outreach in the community, among other programs.

Bantu people are an ethnic minority group in Somalia who faced discrimination at the hands of major Somali clans during the civil war, forcing Bantus to flee to refugee camps in Kenya. Some 12,000 Bantus resettled in the United States. Today, 3,000 live in Lewiston, Maine, according to SBCA.
A democratic food system: That’s how Joan Brady defines food sovereignty in action. Joan farms a small acreage in southern Ontario and is a member of the National Farmers Union of Canada and North America regional coordinator of La Vía Campesina, the international social movement organization that popularized the term food sovereignty.

“Not only am I a farmer-producer,” Joan said. “I am a leader within my community to build the alternative food system—one that recognizes and values the work that farmers do, that recognizes and values that citizens can choose what to eat, and that they should be part of the decision making process.”

During the Assembly, Joan spoke passionately about her experiences as a hog farmer in Canada, and how it has informed her work to cultivate food sovereignty at home and internationally. She described a difficult environment that saw family hog farmers unable to make a living wage and turning to food banks as they felt cornered in the business. When she no longer saw a future in hog farming, Joan made the difficult decision to leave the industry and start over in 2006. She continues to produce food in a market-garden.

Joan connects the systemic challenges she faced while being forced out of the hog industry to the agribusiness model that impacts small farmers and peasants around the world.

“I am very much a believer that the answer is within the group, that we as citizens—and especially as peasants and farmers and migrant workers and Indigenous people and fisherfolk, who are in Vía Campesina—we do have those answers,” she said.

Joan attended the US Food Sovereignty Alliance Assembly for the first time in 2018, and she said she was “blown away” by the cross-pollination between different movements and struggles, from urban agricultural projects in US inner cities to agroecology initiatives in rural areas in Latin America. She was also optimistic about the growing movement.

“This is a place where we link up with people who are passionate and who understand what food sovereignty is,” Joan said. “And they’re going places.”
Sophie Ogutu is a feminist human rights activist who works with the Kenyan chapter of the World March of Women, an international feminist movement fighting to eradicate the causes of gender violence and poverty.

The World March of Women also embraces food sovereignty as a fundamental human right, with a particular focus on women.

Women not only disproportionately bear the burden of hunger, they are also at the foundation of the world’s food system. In sub-Saharan Africa, women produce up to 80 percent of all food, according to the UN Food and Agricultural Organization. At a global level, women produce more than half of all food grown.

For Sophie, linking up struggles across the globe is a powerful part of her work. “I think it is very important that we were part of this because we were able to look at how our comrades from other parts of the world are dealing with their struggles and are making change,” she said during the US Food Sovereignty Alliance Assembly in Bellingham, Washington, in October 2018, which she attended with another activists from the World March of Women Kenya.

“It’s a platform of strategy, it’s a platform of building our synergies. It’s a platform where we know that when we bring our minds together, we are facing a global struggle right now that we are all in,” she added.

Sophie shared that she was struck by the stories she heard at the assembly of so many local communities facing food security challenges. “Coming here in the USA and seeing a lot of people also hungry in a very fast-growing economy country breaks my heart, but it also gives me a lot of hope when I see so many people to discuss and address those issues,” she said. “Without hope we have nothing.”

She stressed that the alternatives that movements like the USFSA and the World March of Women strive to build are global in nature, calling for joining forces across borders. “We cannot do it in solitude,” she said. “For us, being here really strengthens and helps us to build this together.”

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**Sophie Ogutu is a feminist human rights activist who works with the Kenyan chapter of the World March of Women, an international feminist movement fighting to eradicate the causes of gender violence and poverty.**
When Hurricane María hit Puerto Rico in 2017, La Organización Boricuá was ready to deploy one of its key tools for building food sovereignty: Agroecological Mutual Support Brigades.

The brigades use a model of collective work to develop agroecological food production at farms, schools, community gardens, and other spaces around Puerto Rico. And in the wake of Hurricane María’s devastation, they helped local producers collectively replant and rebuild farming infrastructure that helped feed families and communities in moments of great necessity. The three-decade-old organization, made up of a network of farmers, peasants, agrarian organizers, farmworkers, and food sovereignty activists, promotes and practices agroecology as the foundation to achieve food sovereignty in the archipelago.

“We believe that the struggle for food sovereignty must be based in collective processes where we support each other and exchange knowledge while building power,” Organización Boricuá’s general coordinator Jesús Vázquez Negrón.

“We move from farm to farm, plot to plot, community garden to community garden expanding a network for agricultural work,” Jesús explained, describing the mutual support model. “At the same time, we are also training ourselves on the farms and protecting the water, defending the land, and defending the rights of those who work and take care of the land.”

Another part of Organización Boricuá’s work involves teaching agroecology to children through a school agriculture and environment program. Dalma Cartagena has been working with children to produce organic and agroecological food at schools for three decades.

“For me, the most important are the skills in producing healthy food that the children learn and will be able to use in the future,” Dalma said. “And they have learned that what we do for our families and for our community also benefits our country and our entire planet Earth.”

Organización Boricuá received the USFSA’s 2018 Food Sovereignty Prize for its work promoting food sovereignty and agroecology through support brigades.

“We say that the struggle for food sovereignty is a struggle for life itself,” Jesús said. “In the end, it’s about ensuring that food and the agrifood system are in the hands of people, not corporations that extract from Mother Earth as if there were no limits and exploit every form of life.”
What is the USFSA?

The USFSA formed in 2010, emerging from a national food crisis working group that advocated for the right to food and structural solutions to increased rates of hunger and food insecurity during the global financial recession. USFSA co-founders created the coalition to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among working-class people, peasants, and Indigenous communities fighting to democratize society, scale agroecology, and relocalize food systems.

As described in the USFSA’s publication titled “Our History,” much of the impetus to establish the USFSA stemmed from the 2007 Forum for Food Sovereignty, organized in large part by La Via Campesina, the international peasant movement that first popularized the concept of food sovereignty during World Food Summit in 1996. The Forum in Mali brought together over 500 grassroots delegates and NGO representatives in the Nyéléni village. Delegates from U.S.-based organizations such as the National Family Farm Coalition, Grassroots International, and WhyHunger attended. Afterward, they began conversations with more organizations in the U.S. about how to align strategies to mobilize for food sovereignty.

Signatories of the Declaration of Nyéléni asserted, “Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems.” In addition to the six pillars identified in the Declaration, the seven principles of food sovereignty have been foundational to the USFSA since our founding ten years ago.

The USFSA promotes grassroots-led, socially just, ecologically sound alternatives to the corporate food regime. Our mission is rooted in long-standing fights against colonial and imperial domination, white supremacy, the subjugation of women and gender non-conforming people, and the cruel exploitation of rural and urban laborers.

Grassroots and grassroots-support organizations in the Alliance include small- and medium-scale farmers, farmworkers, urban food chain workers, fishers, hunter-gatherers, urban gardeners, and supporters from academia and progressive policy institutions as well as anti-hunger, faith-based, and environmental NGOs. We work toward structural transformation of agri-food systems by means of grassroots organizing, coalition-building, policy advocacy, narrative building, and political education.

The USFSA functions according to a dual structure of regional formations and thematic working groups open to members and allies. Representatives from grassroots member organizations in the West, Midwest, Northeast, and South have directed the Alliance’s National Coordination team with technical and logistical assistance from NGOs in the Support Collective. In addition to ad-hoc committees such as the finance team and the planning group for the annual Food Sovereignty Prize, the Alliance’s five national collectives include: Political Education; International Relations; Youth; Agroecology, Land, and Water; and Narrative Strategy.