

HAITIAN RED CROSS

An institutional effort confronting disparity between demands and resources

In its six decades of existence the Haitian Red Cross⁵⁴ has faced great difficulties caused for the most part by the extremely adverse conditions the country has experienced for over 20 years and which today represent one of the most critical political, economic, and social situations in Latin America.

In the political sphere Haiti has gone from a long dictatorship to a stage of great instability characterized by successive coups and violations of human rights which have dimmed the prospect of democracy and the establishment of a state of law. On the economic front, in addition, are the negative impact of the crisis of the 1980s, the adjustment measures of that period, and the trade embargo decreed by the OAS in 1991. The consequence of all this has been worsening social deterioration and an increase in poverty, which has reached the highest level in Latin America and the Caribbean.

From the point of view of social vulnerability, the poverty and living conditions of the poor have been aggravated by dramatic deficiencies in the social infrastructure, specifically in water supply and environmental and household sanitation. There are still high rates of child and maternal mortality, and AIDS is one of the most serious health problems, so much so that Haiti is the country in Latin America and the Caribbean most affected in relation to its population. Moreover, deforestation and ecological deterioration are among the worst in the world, to the point where forecasts herald energy, agricultural, and environmental collapse in the very short term. The environmental problem, together with precarious living conditions, make the population very vulnerable to the disasters that recurrently afflict Haiti.

Poverty, hopelessness, political instability, and outbreaks of violence have caused major internal (rural-urban) and international (mostly to

the United States and the neighboring Dominican Republic) migration, which has become uncontrollable and enormous. The National Society, with the support of the Federation and ICRC, has been very active in this situation, especially in regard to refugees and returned expatriates.

It is evident that these complex problems and the negative trends they portend constitute a difficult and troublesome scenario for the Haitian Red Cross. In the first place, it is extremely difficult to establish priorities to deal with the variety and magnitude of the existing poverty. In addition, present conditions are a deterrent to attracting human, financial, and material resources and impede securing stable social support. Finally, this situation creates strong dependence on international assistance, even though it is negatively affected by internal sociopolitical problems.

The Haitian Red Cross has tried to respond to the challenges of its environment with a balanced program model in its definition of and approach to its activities, which establishes four areas of action: social and medical services, relief and assistance, blood transfusion, and information, education, and communication. The first two have priority. An understandable emphasis on providing assistance to the most impoverished and vulnerable has resulted in different programs having the same target population. Further, and in full congruence with the panorama already described, the different programs have had few concrete results in social impact.

Because of the scarcity of its resources, the Haitian Red Cross is forced to work austere and is always appealing to extra-institutional solidarity. Generally speaking, it does not have to make major efforts to convince cooperating agencies since the country's conditions in all social program sectors are extremely deficient

and stimulate a high level of varied humanitarian responses. Thanks to the economic and technical assistance received from the Federation and the ICRC, the National Society has been able to strengthen its administrative and operational capacity in recent years and so increase its activities.

One of the most important future challenges to the institution will be to strengthen its operational capacity in order to increase the social impact of its activities. To this end it will need to develop its technical ability to carry out programs, which could be done through various kinds of technical assistance.

Organization of the National Society

Organizational structure and geographic coverage

The central organization of the Haitian Red Cross is composed of the General Assembly, Central Committee, and Directing Committee.

The General Assembly includes all active members of the Haitian Red Cross. The Central Committee has five representatives appointed by the President of the Republic from the ministries interested in the operation of the Haitian Red Cross and 30 members elected by the General Assembly, two-thirds of whom may be reelected at the end of their terms. It can issue and alter regulations, create committees it deems necessary, and give its opinion on actions taken in its absence by the Directing Committee or the President.

The Directing Committee is composed of the President, two Vice-Presidents (one a man and the other a woman), a General Secretary, and five to seven advisors elected by the Central Committee from among its members. All may be reelected.

The highest authority in the Haitian Red Cross is the President, who also represents it in dealings with public authorities, courts, and the

Red Cross Movement. He supervises execution of agreements signed by higher bodies and has the power to use emergency measures, subject to later reporting, when such bodies are unable to meet for any reason. He is appointed by the President of the Republic for a four-year term.

Geographically, the organization is based on regional and local committees. The Central Committee creates the regional committees, taking into account the country's topographic and sociodemographic characteristics, and each is administered by a regional council responsible for promoting Red Cross activities in its assigned area. To this end they adopt their own programming, following the directives of the Directing Committee. They currently function in 14 communes, or only 11% of the 132 in the country. Moreover, only six of the regional committees (Cap-Haïtien, Les Cayes, Jacmel, Petit Goâve, Hinche, and Jérémie) have adequate logistical resources (their own buildings, communication equipment, ambulances) to function. The situation in all the other committees is frankly deficient.

There are 40 local chapters in the entire country; they operate only in their own communities, with the assistance and supervision of the regional committees to which they report. The Central Committee can promote them to regional committee status when their development justifies doing so.

Administration and planning

The Directing Committee is responsible for the highest-level administration of the Haitian Red Cross. The administrative structure is composed of three organizational levels: central, regional, and local. At the central level there is an administrative section directed by a general secretariat.

The basic planning units are the operational sections noted above. Their chiefs form a planning team or committee. In the absence of a development plan, the sections mentioned operate as programming foci, which ensures relative

continuity in the different activities. This results in a certain amount of rigidity, however, and members believe that programming is affected by a conservative policy reluctant to introduce new areas of activity.

There are various difficulties in the relations between the central office and the regional and local structures. Decisions about material aid and technician training required by the regional structures are unilaterally taken by the headquarters, which allocates most of the few trained cadres to program and follow up activities.

There is a tendency toward stagnation in the regional committees, which requires decentralization mechanisms to promote the institution's more homogeneous and balanced growth.

At the same time, there is consensus about the need to increase efforts to strengthen communications between the various institutional levels, even though the factors that negatively affect them are external in nature—poor roads, shortages of vehicles and fuel, etc.

Human resources

The institution has a small number of paid employees, most of whom work at headquarters. Regional committee workers are all volunteers, except for drivers and caretakers. The education and communications section is responsible for training newly recruited administrative personnel.

There are few volunteers to ensure the continuity of activities in the field, especially in those areas that require a higher degree of education such as technical training and communications. Various problems already noted force numerous potential volunteers to focus on their own livelihood, while many others become migrant workers. Political and social tensions, such as lack of freedom to meet and countless repressive situations which hinder the work of the Red Cross and other humanitarian institutions, also have a negative impact on human resources.

In addition, many volunteers who support the Red Cross's medical and social activities are secondary school students who stop their work

when they leave school. In general, the training and recycling of volunteers, most of whom have little training when they join the Red Cross, are greatly limited by all kinds of shortages. Their working conditions are poor, and shortages in operational, transportation, and communications resources are continuously reported at headquarters and the branches. As a result of this situation, the institution is forced to ask its volunteers to work energetically in many different capacities. It is important to note that part of the Federation's support consists of the contribution of nine delegates in charge of relief operations for repatriates and vulnerable groups. The ICRC's human resource contributions have also been strengthened by a team of delegates.

There are no accurate overall data about the number of Haitian Red Cross volunteers, but it is known that the largest group is the Red Cross Youth (approximately 1,500 members) in the capital, who also work in some of the regions.

Finance and budget

The most important sources of income are the following:

- a) The Government's subsidy, until very recently USD 10,000 a month but reduced by approximately 17% after the coup. The Government also pays the salaries of some technicians, to whom the institution pays only a supplement.
- b) The Federation's financial support, which amounted to CHF 2,980,783.42 between January 1989 and June 1992.
- c) The yearly collection, which yields relatively small amounts. The last one did not even produce the equivalent of USD 4,000.
- d) Miscellaneous donations by companies and individuals, often in kind, for which there are no itemized records.

There is a 1991-1992 expenditures budget amounting to HTG 2,263,310, or USD 113,165.⁵⁵ Approximately 86% fell into three categories: salaries and costs of headquarters personnel

(62%), maintenance and repairs (17%), and support for regional committees (7%).

The National Society's role and activities in the context of the country

Principal activities

Health services

The Haitian Red Cross's health services include two basic sections, medical and social affairs, and blood transfusion. Most of the former section's activities may be categorized as social welfare, and it performs little health work.

According to information provided by the National Society, the medical and social affairs section has specific programs, but careful analysis of their content shows that they are isolated activities because of their limited scope and small coverage and impact. The main activities carried out were: training of 30 community leaders in three regional committees; distribution of food assistance which came from donations (milk, flour, vegetable oil, wheat, and vegetables) to children and pregnant women, with the support of various charitable institutions, four courses given to train 95 child care workers from 1989 to 1991; distribution of used clothing and eye glasses as well as drugs to certain health institutions through volunteers in national vaccination campaigns and educational materials as part of the National AIDS Control Day. The medical and social affairs section is headed by a physician and has two staff nurses, one registered and the other an aide.

The blood transfusion section's most important activity is collecting blood, and it averages 426 collections per month. Because of the precautions required by the spread of AIDS cases in the country, the health authorities have given greater recognition to the role of the Haitian Red Cross in this effort.

The fear that AIDS usually causes has not led to a significant decrease in the number of donors.

who are overwhelmingly men. It was possible to determine that many people donate blood as a discreet and free way to obtain the serological examination that accompanies donation. Sixty-two percent of the blood collected is distributed to the public hospitals and 38% to private hospitals, and it is a worthwhile effort by the National Society.

Social welfare and assistance

Activities falling into this category are not in a separate program. Instead, they are part of health and relief activities.

Relief and emergency services

There is an assistance and relief section whose work consists of providing first aid to disaster victims. It has seven employees who are partly volunteers and 400 trained relief workers. The contribution of young people is also important. It maintains two food warehouses, both in the capital, but it lacks radio equipment and has very few vehicles and foodstuffs.

According to figures reported for 1990-1991, with the support of external cooperation it assisted 14,501 families affected by droughts, 725 by fires, 674 by floods, and 426 by social conflicts. Food, clothing, blankets, sanitary articles, and the like are provided to such families.

An emergency operation was undertaken during the past year with the technical and financial support of the Federation, which is coordinating various activities to provide aid to vulnerable groups, including repatriates. Although there have been activities of this kind for several years, cooperation has intensified because of the number of returnees and its sphere of action has widened substantially. To appreciate the scope of this work, it is useful to bear a few figures in mind. From the coup d'état to June 1992, according to U.S. Department of State sources, 24,689 emigrants were recorded at Guantánamo, of whom 17,788 were intercepted and returned to Haiti (51% involuntarily). Others were admitted at Miami or given temporary refuge for health

reasons. In June 1991, the authorities of the Dominican Republic ordered the expulsion of 65,000 Haitians, and an unknown number of others have returned from the Bahamas.

With the Federation's financial and delegate support, the Haitian Red Cross has made major efforts to care for those who return to Haiti by sea. The first phase of this operation focused on food assistance, and an attempt has been made to offer emergency medical care or ambulance transportation to those expelled from the neighboring country. Emergency financial aid of HTG 75 per person was added in the second phase to facilitate their return to their places of residence. In addition, the Red Cross's presence tacitly helps preserve the safety of such migrants.

Between February and July 1992, 565 tons of food were delivered to 25,075 returnees. Given the number of people aided, foodstuffs and the money available for this activity are often exhausted.

Another activity carried out by the Haitian Red Cross in this area is emergency service, which is limited to providing transport for the sick and injured and to first aid. It operates 24 hours a day with volunteer relief workers. Its most important interventions are during planned mass events (elections, pilgrimages, and sports events) and during sudden episodes of violence.

In 1990 and 1991, assistance was provided to 657 patients, of whom 43% received first aid. To provide this service the Red Cross has only two ambulances in operation. Thirteen more four-wheel-drive vehicles (four in Port-au-Prince and the rest in the provinces) can be fitted out for this purpose. There are serious problems in obtaining spare parts, the fuel problem is worsening, and, radio systems are considered inadequate.

Other activities

The education and information directorate is responsible for training relief workers and informational activities. It has been possible to establish five teams in the regional committees to conduct educational activities. Three hundred

and fifty relief workers have been trained during the past three years.

The central headquarters also has an official responsible for press relations, but little is done in this area. Activities to publicize International Humanitarian Law are aimed at four target groups. Red Cross workers (the priority), secondary and university students, neighborhood committees, and leaders of the armed forces.

Relations with the Government

The Government appoints the President of the Haitian Red Cross, which has caused the country's political turmoil to affect the post's stability and the national management in general. Some branches of the executive are represented in the National Society's higher bodies. Moreover, the Government supports the Red Cross financially, especially through a monthly subsidy. Operationally, the greatest collaboration is with the Ministry of Health. The armed forces are part of the population targeted for informational activities.

These relations are generally considered good because the Government has let the institution operate unimpeded and has not applied measures to it which could negatively affect its internal operations. Nevertheless, the state of exception imposed on the country has often made the work which the Haitian Red Cross performs in emergency social situations difficult, for example by limiting freedom to meet and move about, hindering care of the wounded, and not allowing passage of the institution's vehicles.

Relations with other organizations and agencies

Donations are received from private companies and individuals, but they amount to little. The Haitian Red Cross offers reciprocal training to and conducts informational activities with numerous private organizations.

Role of external cooperation

In July 1992 the Federation was maintaining a nine-person team in the country, and it has organized a working committee with the Haitian Red Cross to establish a plan of action for relief operations for repatriates and vulnerable groups. Two successive appeals were formulated in 1992, the last for CHF 1,623,000 (an amount which includes CHF 450,000 outstanding from the first appeal), in order to extend emergency food aid to around 30,000 families including repatriates. Generally speaking, the Federation's contributions have been continuous and intense.⁵⁶ Through the Federation the National Society also collaborates with the European Economic Community, which has a support program, and the World Health Organization.

The ICRC's contributions have also intensified. The regional delegate obtained authorization to visit persons detained during the attempted coup d'etat in January 1991. After the coup d'etat which overthrew President Aristide, a team of delegates reached Port-au-Prince with an initial shipment of emergency surgical equipment. Other aid was sent later and delivered largely to the city's general hospital. The team received authorization to visit detained persons.

The ICRC has maintained contact with various political and social circles in order to be able to act when necessary. In the area of assistance, it has made evaluations in several communes and regions and has undertaken the dual activities of training and providing information. Noteworthy in this area is a course on war surgery for local medical personnel, a press campaign to promote respect for basic humanitarian principles, and a course on International Humanitarian Law and the Principles of the Movement for officers from all branches of the armed forces.

Members of the Haitian Red Cross view with extreme concern the present and potential changes in attitude that national political events may cause in governments and agencies which until now have been willing to collaborate in solving the country's grave material and human problems. As for other National Societies, the cooperative ties with the Dominican Red Cross and the material support of the American Red Cross are noteworthy.

The National Society's perceptions of its public image

Haitian Red Cross members feel themselves part of a prestigious and loved institution. Nevertheless, they warn of certain problems which affect the consolidation of this good image, such as the low educational level of the population, which make their informational activities enormously difficult. The lack of trained personnel in the Society itself and of means for communication with the public are additional problems.

The information, education, and publicity section attaches special importance to protecting the emblem and uses telephone calls and visits to dissuade those who abuse it from doing so.

The national mass communication media are well disposed to collaborate with the National Society, but for varied reasons (number of newspapers printed, low index of television sets per household, etc.) their impact on the population is low. The Red Cross thus believes it urgent to have its own channels of social communication, especially an FM radio transmitter to broadcast educational programs, preferably in Creole.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The Haitian Red Cross is one of the National Societies most affected by the situation of the country, the poorest and socially most backward in Latin America. With continuing international support it has been making significant efforts to respond to the broad and multifaceted problems stemming from Haiti's situation, gaining experience and great motivation, especially in caring for refugees and returnees by applying a programming model characterized by its balance. In these activities, however, it has confronted serious limitations resulting from the scarcity of human and material resources in the country's provinces which make it hard to count on a stable social base of support.

Although international aid has been vital, it has at the same time promoted heavy dependence which is aggravated by possibilities of sudden withdrawal of aid because of internal political instability.

The Haitian Red Cross also faces internal problems. Its health services are fragmented into activities of varied scope and definition, which favors their dispersion and lessened overall efficiency and effectiveness. There is still no long-term development plan to integrate its programs and prevent duplication in concrete activities.

There are very few trained human resources, and for the most part they are concentrated in the central headquarters, which also has few means of communicating with regional and local units. In addition, the working conditions of the volunteers are deficient in training, work equipment, transport, and communication. A trend toward stagnation in the regional committees and uneven growth in the branches, associated with few mechanisms for decentralizing the institution, are perceived. Although the National Society deals in various ways with the problems of migrants and repatriates, it lacks a specific program to group its various activities to care for this population in an orderly and systematic way. In the area of natural disasters, its activities are limited and not part of a systematic program, though in this regard Haiti is a country at great risk.

Within this framework, the greatest future challenge facing the institution is to strengthen the development of its technical and financial capacity to stimulate sustained and autonomous growth, all as part of an overall planning system. It should also try to achieve a greater amount of institutional autonomy, which would create a possibility for democratizing the appointment of the President without prejudicing its good relations with the Government.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1. Draw up a strategic development plan which will strengthen institutional program coherence and unity**
- 2. Undertake a human resources development program**
- 3. Implement a plan to improve the infrastructure**
- 4. Strengthen social participation in the institution's activities**
- 5. Undertake a social communication program**
- 6. Strengthen the institution's autonomy**
- 7. Strengthen external cooperation**

1. Draw up a strategic development plan which will strengthen institutional program coherence and unity

- 1.1 Begin formulating a strategic plan by including all levels, volunteers, and branches of the institution.
- 1.2 Include evaluation and follow-up criteria and procedures in the plan.
- 1.3 Integrate scattered activities, especially those dealing with health and food and nutrition services, in the strategic development plan.
- 1.4 Include two new programs in the plan, disaster preparedness and community environmental sanitation, and consolidate migrant care activities into a specific program.
- 1.5 Solicit support from the Federation to strengthen the technical aspects of planning.

2. Undertake a human resources development program

- 2.1 Develop an intensive national program to train technical staff in all areas of activity.
- 2.2 Include training objectives and activities dealing with administration and finance in the human resources development program.
- 2.3 Solicit technical support from international cooperation to broaden the human resources development program.

3. Implement a plan to improve the infrastructure

- 3.1 Conduct a study of needs in work space, vehicles, and communication equipment, giving priority attention to the most deprived regional committees.
- 3.2 Undertake negotiations nationally and internationally to secure the necessary financial and material resources

4. Strengthen social participation in the institution's activities

- 4.1 Evaluate present conditions and results of community participation in the institution's programs and projects.
- 4.2 Determine if there are viable community participation alternatives not yet explored and whether assistance activities, despite their undeniable humanitarian justification, may be promoting dependence by communities.
- 4.3 Determine possible activities to promote participation, such as communication, mass education, participative research, training of facilitators and promoters, agreements, etc.
- 4.4 In collaboration with the ICRC, increase educational and promotional activities dealing with International Humanitarian Law in order to play a more active role in safeguarding basic rights.

5. Undertake a social communication program

- 5.1 Draw up and undertake financial negotiations for an educational FM radio program in Creole emphasizing primary health care and community self-help.
- 5.2 Organize recreational and cultural activities during which messages can be communicated about the Red Cross's role in the country and the importance of community collaboration.

6. Strengthen the institution's autonomy

- 6.1 Promote statutory reform to bring about democratization in the election of the institution's President.
- 6.2 Negotiate conditions of greater respect and guarantees for the humanitarian work of the Red Cross in the country with the appropriate authorities.

7. Strengthen external cooperation

- 7.1 Redouble efforts to achieve lasting external cooperation.
- 7.2 Introduce a criterion of medium- and long-term sustainability in projects financed by external cooperation which avoids dependence.
- 7.3 Establish a reference framework for development cooperation

SOURCES

1. Sources: (a) Latin American Demographic Center (CELADE) (estimates); (b) The urbanization rate may be overestimated because it includes the capitals of communes which lack basic services characteristic of urban areas; (c) World Bank, *Informe sobre el desarrollo mundial 1990. La pobreza*, Washington, D.C., World Bank, 1990, p. 198; (e) National Ministry of Education (MEN), *L'Education haïtienne en chiffres*, Port-au-Prince, MEN, 1988; (d), (f), and (g) United Nations Development Program (UNDP), *Desarrollo humano: Informe 1992*, Bogotá, UNDP/Tercer Mundo, 1992, Table 1.
2. In terms of per-capita income—USD 360 per year in 1988—Haiti was the 27th lowest country in the world in that year. See World Bank 1990, Table 1.
3. United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) *Estudio económico de América Latina y el Caribe, 1989: Haití*. Santiago, Chile, ECLAC, 1990, p. 11.
4. *Maquilas*, or assembly industries, are plants where imported components are assembled for a world market. These factories have proliferated in the developing world because of the low cost of local manpower, and particularly in the Caribbean area because of the incentives created by the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) launched by the U.S. Government in 1984.
5. International Labor Organization (ILO). *El trabajo en el mundo* Geneva, ILO, 1992, vol. 5, p. 102
6. UNDP 1992, Table 16.
7. UNDP 1992, Table 3
8. Cited in Tania Pierre-Charles. *Sociedad y salud: El caso haïtiano*. San José, International Federation of the Red Cross, 1992, mimeo, p. 5
9. Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Cooperation (IICA) *América Latina y el Caribe: Pobreza rural persistente*. San José, IICA, 1990, p. 20
10. UNDP *Hacia un desarrollo sin pobreza en América Latina y el Caribe: Memorias de la II conferencia regional sobre la pobreza, Quito, noviembre de 1990*. Bogotá, UNDP, 1991, p. 191.
11. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 4
12. See the chapter on the Dominican Republic in this Study
13. World Bank 1990, p. 232.
14. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 14.
15. UNDP 1992, Table 11
16. Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) *Las condiciones de salud en las Américas*. Washington, D.C., PAHO, 1990. Vol. II, p. 186.
17. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 39, using IDB data.
18. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 40.
19. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 48, citing PAHO data.
20. UNDP 1992, Table 12.
21. PAHO 1990, p. 187.
22. PAHO 1990, p. 188.
23. PAHO. *Boletín Epidemiológico*. Washington, D.C., PAHO, 12(4):6 (December 1991).
24. In some small English-speaking Caribbean countries such as the Bahamas and Barbados, this ratio is much higher because of their smaller populations and the impact of tourism.
25. PAHO. *Boletín Epidemiológico*. Washington, D.C., PAHO, 13(1 and 4) (March and December 1992).
26. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 43.
27. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 45.
28. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 47.
29. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 51.
30. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 52.
31. T. Niyungeko. *Situation du secteur eau et assainissement*. Port-au-Prince, WHO/PAHO, 1992.
32. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 59, using WHO/PAHO data.
33. PAHO 1991, p. 191
34. UNDP 1992, Table 13.
35. UNDP 1992, Table 11.
36. G. Gagnon. *Le redressement économique et la pauvreté en Haïti*. Port-au-Prince, ACIDI, 1991, cited in Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 63.
37. Ministère de l'Éducation National 1988
38. UNDP 1992, Table 14.
39. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 67
40. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 70
41. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 29
42. Cited by Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 32.
43. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 34.
44. Cited in Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 21
45. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). *Haïti. les enfants et l'environnement* Rio de Janeiro, UNICEF, 1992.

46. UNDP 1992, Table 23.
47. M. Ehrlich, F. Conway, and N. Adrien. *Haiti, country environmental profile A field study. Rapport préparé pour l'USAID* Port-au-Prince, 1986.
48. Antonio De Lisio. "Un escenario 'Siglo XXI' para el ambiente en el Caribe." In: Andrés Serbin and Anthony Bryan, *El Caribe hacia el 2000: Desafíos y opciones*. Caracas, Nueva Sociedad/UNITAR-PROFAL, 1991, p. 258.
49. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 16.
50. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 18, and PAHO 1991, p. 191.
51. Organization of American States (OAS). *Desastres, planificación y desarrollo. Manejo de amenazas naturales para reducir los daños*. Washington, D.C., OAS/OFDA, 1991, pp. 3 and 33.
52. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 72, cited in UNDP, *Rapport 1989*, Port-au-Prince, UNDP, 1990.
53. Pierre-Charles 1992, p. 73.
54. The official name in French is Croix-Rouge Haïtienne.
55. HTG 5 = USD 1, a reference value commonly referred to as the "Haitian dollar." In July 1992 the free market rate was about HTG 12 per USD 1.
56. See Jean Ayoub, head of the IFRC delegation in Haiti (coordinator). *Rapport du Projet 49-HT-614: Opération d'aide aux rapatriés haïtiens et aux groupes vulnérables*. May 1992.