



MADRE

speaks

Spring 2002

BUSH'S WAR
The Fall-Out
on Women
and Families

From the Executive Director

Vivian Stromberg

Spring 2002

What a terrible time this is. Not that the world was welcoming before Sept. 11, but since that awful day, the US is acting as though it has the moral authority to bomb, detain, torture, sanction and violate whatever international laws it decides to.

All the places where MADRE is working are ablaze. In Palestine, the children of the Ibdaa Center are trying to resume a "normal" life. What is normal? To live in a refugee camp? To pass checkpoints on the way to school, on the way to buy groceries? To have one doctor for 12,000 people? To be denied access to your ancestral home? For the children from the Deheisheh refugee camp, home to Ibdaa, these are daily facts of life.

In Colombia, peace talks have been called off and the US has stepped up military support to the Colombian government, which together with the paramilitaries and the FARC guerrillas, is unleashing unprecedented violence.

In Mexico, the Indigenous Peoples of the southern state of Chiapas are resisting the tide of economic policies and land acquisition that threaten their survival.

In Rwanda, 11% of the population is infected with HIV/AIDS, and violence and instability wreak havoc in every corner of that struggling nation.

We are truly living in a mad world. And when I stop to look at this huge web of violence, I think of all of you who have made it possible for MADRE to respond in concrete and meaningful ways. And I am grateful. Grateful to you, grateful to MADRE, grateful that we have a way to act. Because I cannot imagine knowing all that we know and not acting.

Since Sept. 11, we have sent over \$2 million worth of medicines and family-planning supplies to women in Nicaragua; supported Afghan women's organizations working with refugees; equipped Guatemalan women working in sweatshops with legal training to



MADRE Executive Director Vivian Stromberg and Maria Garcia from MADRE's sister organization in Xemal, Guatemala. © MADRE

demand their rights; petitioned the United Nations for international protection for Palestinian families living under occupation; inaugurated a potable water project for a Rwandan community of genocide survivors; and worked with young people internationally to enact agreements made by governments at the UN World Conference Against Racism.

And we have done all of this while playing a leadership role, together with other peace and justice organizations, in helping people in the US to formulate a progressive response to the horrors of Sept. 11. The attacks of that day and their terrible repercussions for women and families around the world have only reconfirmed the urgent need for MADRE's vision and action.

Thank you for your belief that together we can make a difference. It's true! Let's keep working together and making a difference throughout the world.

Sincerely,

Vivian Stromberg

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Since 1983, MADRE has worked in partnership with community-based women's organizations in conflict areas worldwide to address issues of women's health, economic development and other human rights. MADRE provides resources and training for our sister organizations and works to empower people in the US to demand changes to unjust policies. Based on the priorities of the women with whom we work, MADRE develops programs that meet immediate needs in communities threatened by US policy and supports women's long-term struggles for social justice and human rights.

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cover photo: © Jonathan Snow

BUSH'S WAR: The Fall-Out on Women and Families

As the atrocities of Sept. 11 become part of our collective past, their repercussions shape our present and future. The legacy of these attacks embodies an ugly truth: namely, that the Bush Administration has exploited Sept. 11 to advance a pre-existing agenda.

“Terrorism,” after all, is an abstract noun. Like “crime” or “poverty,” it is an elusive target for war. Indeed, the “war against terrorism” has proved to be a shape-shifter, easily molded to suit the interests of arms manufacturers, oil companies and free traders. Meanwhile, for the world’s poor — 70% of whom are women and children — the US reaction to Sept. 11 has intensified the overlapping crises that shape daily life: poverty and worker exploitation; free-trade agreements that harm the poor; government neglect of urgent issues; US military intervention; and spiraling political violence are some of the issues that MADRE’s sister organizations are tackling with renewed urgency since Sept. 11. Through MADRE’s community-based programs and our work at the United Nations, the women of our sister organizations are delivering a powerful message: there is no such thing as national security. For security to be genuine, it must be global. Moreover, “state security” must be complimented by “human security,” based on protection of human rights, including the right to food, housing, health care, education and decent work.



Governments around the world are responding to Sept. 11 by stepping up military spending at the expense of already meager social-service programs that poor women and families rely on. © MADRE

NEO-LIBERAL JIHAD

The day after the World Trade Center attack, Congressional Republicans declared without irony that the tragedy called for new global trade talks and the passage of Trade Promotion Authority. Republicans had been pushing this legislation for months, to enable the President to negotiate trade agreements with little input from Congress or advocates of worker rights, sustainable development

and environmental protection. At the same time, US trade representative Robert Zoellick launched his “countering terror with trade” campaign. Mr. Zoellick counsels that the way to avert “threats to our security” is by offering “economic hope” to poor nations (*The Washington Post*, 10/3/01). He and other neo-liberal¹ enthusiasts argue that since poverty is a “breeding ground” for terrorism, we must alleviate the plight of the world’s poor.

¹ Neo-liberalism holds that minimal government intervention and unrestricted (i.e., “liberal”) manufacturing, commerce and trade are the key to economic growth. In theory, this growth is supposed to benefit everyone. But the theory ignores the class inequalities built into categories like gender, nationality and race, which ensure that not everyone benefits equally from economic “good times.” For more information, see MADRE’s “What’s So Liberal About Neo-liberalism?” <http://www.madre.org>.

Nicaragua

Last year, MADRE helped open CADAMUC, the first women's health clinic on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. CADAMUC specializes in gynecology, obstetrics, dentistry and general medicine, combining indigenous healing practices with Western medicine. In its first year,

MADRE IN NICARAGUA



© Jonathan Snow

CADAMUC treated almost 1,000 women, many of whom previously had no access to health services. And MADRE sent two shipments of medicine, medical equipment and medical supplies valued at over \$2.5 million. The shipments provided CADAMUC with equipment for treating cancer and monitoring high-risk pregnancies and supplied a regional hospital and rehabilitation center with critical medicine. CADAMUC also provides women and girls with education about reproductive health and the prevention of sexually transmitted disease and offers counseling on domestic violence and child abuse.

The argument embodies the main fallacy of neo-liberal economics: that guaranteeing huge profits for corporations somehow benefits poor people. After more than a decade of strict neo-liberalism imposed on poor countries, the verdict is in: these policies exacerbate poverty and inequality wherever they have been implemented.²

Besides, we don't need to look further than the three billion people worldwide who live on less than \$2 a day for a reason to eradicate (not just alleviate!) poverty. Surely, ending the world's most widespread human rights violation is its own reward.

In the wake of Sept. 11, Bush, Cheney & Co. have worked to deflect attention from their flagrant opportunism (what luck that increasing corporate profits turns out to be the key to fighting terrorism) by waxing ideological about the virtues of free trade. Since Sept. 11, unregulated capitalism has been reinfused with a sense of mission not seen since the Cold War. Shopping has been elevated to a patriotic duty; trading on the "free" market has become an exercise in freedom itself. In contrast, the grinding poverty of countries that "hate America" is an embodiment of their barbarism and repression. "Trade is about more than economic efficiency," Mr. Zoellick intoned solemnly. "It promotes the values that are at the heart of this protracted struggle" (*The Washington Post*, 10/3/01).

Zoellick and the many CEOs in Bush's Cabinet present their dogma as plain truth rather than ideology. Like religious fundamentalists, proponents of strict neo-liberalism espouse an absolute and literal interpretation of an economic theory and implement it without regard for context or room for critique. US leaders will no doubt continue to proclaim that market fundamentalism is the best defense against Islamic fundamentalism. We need to

respond by questioning all forms of rigid orthodoxy, whether religious, cultural, political or economic.

CORPORATE RIGHTS VS. HUMAN RIGHTS: FTAA & PLAN PUEBLA-PANAMÁ

Topping the Administration's economic agenda for the hemisphere are the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and Plan Puebla-Panamá. The FTAA, which some activists have described as "NAFTA on crack," would turn all of Latin America (except Cuba) into one big free-trade zone, mainly for the benefit of US corporations. Regulations on foreign investment would be minimal and governments would have to treat foreign investors the same as domestic businesses. Because multi-national corporations can out-compete most local businesses the policy undermines efforts to promote sustainable industry in poor countries. The FTAA would even allow corporations to sue governments for enforcing certain labor and environmental standards.

Together with the FTAA, Plan Puebla-Panamá seeks to create an extensive free-trade zone, build a giant network of highways and railroads and develop the oil and electric industries from Mexico's Puebla state all the way to Panamá. Some of Mexico's largest oil reserves are thought to lie beneath autonomous Zapatista communities in Chiapas, where the struggle for democratic rights is underlaid by a contest for control over this valuable resource. "You can see which areas are thought to be richest in oil," explained one member of MADRE's Chiapas sister organization, K'inál Antzetik (see box on page 5). "These are the places where the government has stationed the most troops." For indigenous farmers who live in these areas, more oil wells mean the loss of

² For more on the impact of neo-liberal policies on poverty and inequality, visit <http://www.globalissues.org/TradeRelated>.

more precious farmland and the further erosion of their way of life.

There is no doubt that the FTAA and Plan Puebla-Panamá will exacerbate inequality and unemployment, create many more *maquilas* (sweatshops), destroy natural resources and biodiversity, displace poor farmers and Indigenous Peoples and result in further militarization of the region. Communities that are threatened by these developments, including MADRE's sister organization, K'inál Antzetik, are opposing the neo-liberal plans and insisting on human rights for poor and Indigenous Peoples.

THE MAN-MADE ROOTS OF "NATURAL" DISASTER

If Sept. 11 intensified the recession in the US, it has been disastrous for poor countries that are economically dependent on the US as an export market and a source of investment. In human terms, "slower economic growth" and "falling commodity prices" mean that 40,000 more children are likely to die worldwide this year from poverty-related causes and 10 million more people will sink into extreme poverty, surviving on less than \$1 a day.³

In Central America, the collapse of world coffee prices and one of the worst droughts in recent memory have conspired to intensify the economic repercussions of Sept. 11. Coffee is Guatemala's number-one export and the backbone of the rural economy. In the village of Xemal, home to MADRE's sister organization, T'al Nán K'oi (see box on page 6), most families depend on picking coffee for corporate plantations. While companies like Starbucks have tripled their profits in the last five years, these laborers do not earn the price of a Starbucks cappuccino in a whole day of work.

The coffee price-collapse is global, but its impact has been harshest in Central America, where drought has



In Chiapas, land — and the right to farm it in the collective indigenous tradition — is the foundation of the autonomy and self-determination that people have fought for since 1994. © MADRE

left 1.5 million people without enough food since Summer 2001. Since then, thousands of peasant farmers have fled the parched countryside to undertake the dangerous journey to the US. In Guatemala, as elsewhere in Latin America, whole communities are dependent on money sent home from relatives working in the US. But Sept. 11 has brought tighter border restrictions, heightened xenophobia and worsening unemployment for immigrants in the US, diminishing even this last resort for peasant farmers to ensure their families' survival.

Mainstream economists attribute the coffee price-collapse to the "ups and downs" of the market, as though these were forces of nature. Actually, the crisis stems from the World Bank's decision in the early 1990s to finance large-scale coffee production in Vietnam. The Bank didn't consider that other coffee-producing countries would be unable to compete with Vietnam's labor costs,

MADRE IN MEXICO

Mexico

MADRE's sister organization, K'inál Antzetik, is working

to ensure that indigenous women in Chiapas have the knowledge and resources to confront the neo-liberal economic programs about to be imposed on their communities. With MADRE's support, K'inál Antzetik is working to

equip women with leadership skills and to develop sustainable local alternatives to an

economic model that sees indigenous communities as expendable obstacles to increasing corporate profits. MADRE is also enabling K'inál Antzetik to respond to ongoing urgent needs, such as reproductive health care for women and girls.

³ "Poverty to Rise in Wake of Terrorist Attacks in US: Millions More People Condemned to Poverty in 2002." World Bank, 10/1/01.

Guatemala

T'al Nán K'oi ("We Are Our Mothers' Children" in the Indigenous Mam language) is a group of young women and men working to generate resources for their community by refurbishing the weaving and corn mill cooperatives founded by their mothers — with MADRE's support — 10 years ago. T'al Nán K'oi is committed to raising awareness of women's rights through workshops in the community and advocating for the rights of indigenous women and youth internationally.

In Guatemala City, MADRE's **THREADS Program** (Training for Human Rights Enforcement — Advocacy, Documentation and Support) equips

women *maquila* workers to document and combat human rights abuses in factories where they work. This year, the project offered several trainings for *maquila* workers on labor law and occupational health hazards and produced a manual outlining women's rights in the workplace. And THREADS extends beyond the shop floor to support women workers confronting crises in their communities, including violence, drug addiction and the near-total lack of



© MADRE

health care and housing in the sprawling shantytowns around Guatemala City.

MADRE IN GUATEMALA

which remain among the lowest in the world. Vietnam quickly became the world's second-largest coffee producer, causing a glut on the global market. The oversupply has pushed the price of coffee so low that a 100-pound bag,

which sold for \$140 in 1999, today barely brings in \$50.

Similarly, the drought in Central America may be natural, but the disaster visited on the region's poor has its roots in agrarian policies. Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund to pay off foreign debts, Central American governments have catered to agro-exporters, taking land, credit and technical assistance away from small farmers. Poor farmers lack reserves to make it through bad harvests, and are left with the stark choice that many faced this year: starvation or emigration.

FALLING PROFITS, RISING POVERTY

With diminished prospects for working in the US, rural Guatemalans are flocking to the city, hoping to find jobs in the *maquila* sector. Even before Sept. 11, *maquila* closings were making headlines across Central America. In Guatemala, 27 factories shut down



A MADRE-supported weaving cooperative helps women in Xemal, Guatemala to provide their families with basic necessities like food, health care and school fees. © MADRE

in 2001, leaving more than 11,000 people (mostly young women) jobless. Now, with the worsening recession in the US (the market for 90% of Central America's *maquila*-made apparel), more factories are closing. Owners, meanwhile, are working to offset the dip in profits by increasing worker exploitation. In one *maquila* where MADRE's sister organization, Qat'it, is active, managers pressured women workers to sign a waiver after Sept. 11, releasing the factory owners from compliance with Guatemala's labor laws.

Without the protection of unions, Guatemala's 80,000 *maquila* workers suffer deplorable working conditions. Most earn only about \$150 a month and spend more than a quarter of their wages on water in the under-serviced shantytowns where they live. Yet for many women, the prospect of no work at all is worse than their exploitative jobs. That's why activism in solidarity with *maquila* workers needs to steer clear of tactics that can result in plant closings or punitive lay-offs. In the US, a call to "shut down the sweatshops!" may evoke the need to end abusive labor conditions. But organizing that truly supports *maquila* workers needs to recognize that families depend on these jobs for their survival. Linking workers' rights to internation-

al trade agreements is one important way of holding factory owners — and governments — accountable to core labor standards while minimizing the threat of lay-offs. This strategy is one aspect of MADRE's THREADS Program (see box on page 6).

PLAN COLOMBIA & THE RETURN OF THE "NARCO-TERRORISTS"

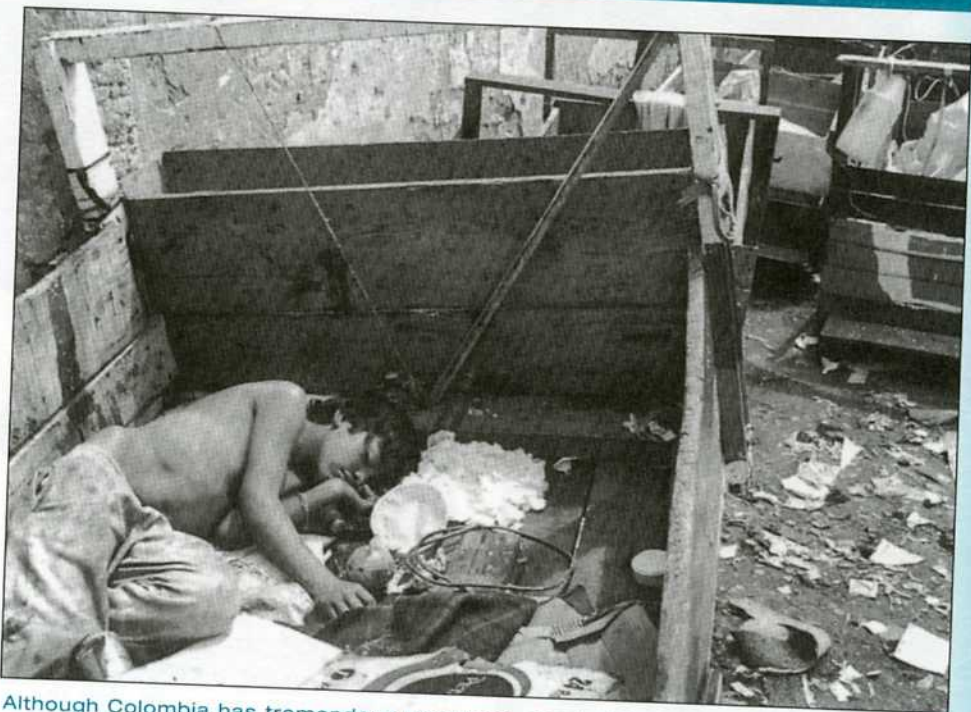
For women and families in Latin America, one of the most frightening trends triggered by Sept. 11 is the further militarization of their societies and the specter of increased US military intervention. The trend is exemplified by Plan Colombia, a \$1.3 billion aid package that makes Colombia the third largest recipient of US military aid worldwide. Its stated aim is to intercept the trade in heroin and cocaine at its source by wiping out cocoa production in southern Colombia. But doing that means taking on the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) guerrillas who control these areas and fueling Colombia's 38-year conflict by providing the military with massive amounts of weapons and funding.

Moreover, aid to the Colombian military means indirect support for brutal paramilitary groups that are closely tied to the army. These forces are responsible for 75% of the country's human rights violations, including about 3,500 killings each year and the displacement of more than two million people. The Colombian military and the FARC also stand accused of human rights violations.

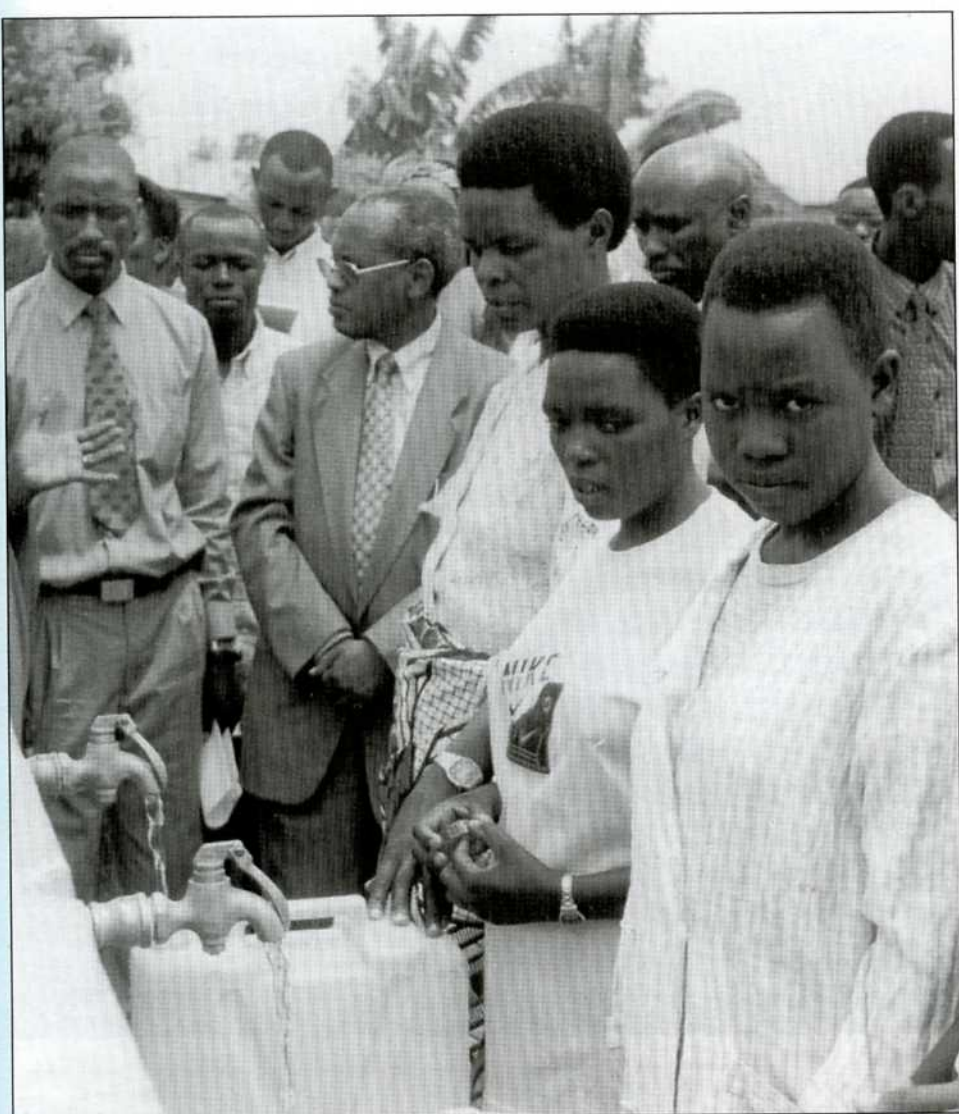
"Drug warriors" lost no time after Sept. 11 trying to grab a share of the \$40 billion in emergency military spending authorized by Congress. Reviving the Reagan-era "narco-terrorist" label, House Republicans, the Colombian government and lobbyists for US arms manufacturers all called for an expansion of the war on drugs in the name of fighting terrorism. It is well-known that the Colombian army

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM

In late February 2002, Colombia exploded into full-fledged war when President Pastrana unilaterally broke off peace talks with the FARC. Backed by the Bush Administration, the Colombian military bombed the 16,000-square-mile demilitarized zone, which is home to more than 100,000 people. President Pastrana's decision to derail the peace process coincided with a US effort to expand Plan Colombia from anti-narcotics funding to direct support for counterinsurgency. Under the guise of the "war on terrorism," Bush has requested an additional \$500 million in military aid for Colombia. But the budget has more to do with protecting US oil interests than fighting terrorism. Its allocations include \$98 million to secure military access to the 480-mile oil pipeline in northeast Colombia that belongs to US-based Occidental Petroleum. The FARC succeeded in shutting down the pipeline for most of 2001.



Although Colombia has tremendous resources, most of the population lives in misery. This inequality is the root cause of Colombia's conflict. © EDICIONES ENDA AMERICA LATINA



Members of BENIMPUHWE, MADRE's Rwandan sister organization, inaugurate a MADRE-supported potable water project that is providing their community with clean drinking water. © BENIMPUHWE

uses US training and equipment designated for counternarcotics missions to carry out operations against the FARC, making any distinction between the drug war and the state's counterinsurgency operations purely academic.

Now, the Bush Administration is considering doing away with the distinction altogether. In January, the State Department announced a new counterinsurgency effort that would allow the Colombian government to use US aid directly for operations against the FARC. The move represents a dangerous escalation of US involvement in Colombia's conflict. For people in Latin America, the poli-

cy shift is an eerie throwback to the 1980s, when the US supported murderous regimes and paramilitaries that killed hundreds of thousands of people in Central America.

THE END OF HISTORY?

We've heard repeatedly since Sept. 11 that the attacks "changed everything." Yet, much of the world remains dismally unchanged. In sub-Saharan Africa, the world's poorest region, issues like AIDS, access to clean water and debt relief are as urgent as ever. Consider Rwanda: almost eight years after the genocide, 11% of the population is

infected with HIV (the figure is 8% for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole; 0.6% for the US). The relatively few AIDS patients who have access to hospital care are often crowded two to a bed. Almost one in five Rwandan children die before age five from easily preventable illnesses, many caused by untreated water.

These appalling health indicators and the human suffering that lies behind them have steadily worsened since the genocide, largely because policymakers have prioritized the repayment of Rwanda's national debt over the lives of its people. Oxfam estimates that bringing clean water to rural communities in Rwanda could save the lives of 6,000 children who die each year from diarrhea. The project would cost far less than the \$42 million a year that Rwanda pays in debt servicing. But with a public health budget that's barely 10% of what the government spends on debt, potable water remains out of reach for most rural Rwandans.

For several years, the global justice movement has demanded a cancellation of debt for the world's poorest countries as part of a debt relief program that's linked to governments' performance on meeting people's basic needs. The Bush Administration staunchly opposes debt cancellation. Yet after Sept. 11, Bush quickly promised Pakistan \$1 billion in debt rescheduling and aid. The message was clear: debt relief can be had in exchange for cooperation with the US, while governments' track records on reducing poverty, promoting public health or respecting human rights are irrelevant.

SHARON'S RAMPAGE: ANTI-TERRORISM AS A COVER FOR TERRORISM

Bush's ultimatum to the world's governments that "you are either with us or with the terrorists" was interpreted by many governments (e.g., India, Russia, China, Pakistan and Colombia) as license to crack down on rebel groups and

MADRE's Palestinian sister organization, the **Ibdaa Children's Center**, is a critical resource in the impoverished Deheisheh refugee camp, which is under attack by Israeli forces as we go to press. Members of the

community have been killed and several children have been shot by Israeli snipers.

Homes have been destroyed and many buildings ransacked and badly damaged, including the Ibdaa Center.

With the community under seige, Ibdaa's programs are more urgently needed than ever. Its trauma counseling, human rights education, media training, youth leadership development and Internet training enable young people to cope with — and transform — the violence that permeates their lives.

In response to the Israeli military assault, MADRE is working to rebuild homes in Deheisheh, refurbish Ibdaa's children's library and kindergarten, which were destroyed by soldiers, and provide trauma counseling to help the community heal from this violence.

For progressives like those from Ibdaa, ending Israeli occupation is only the most immediate goal. They must also work to build the democratic society that they envision. That's why every activity at Ibdaa teaches values of human rights, democratic process and respect for women's rights, embodying the hope that a generation scarred by war will be able to build a peaceful, progressive society.

MADRE IN PALESTINE

nationalist movements that challenge them. In Israel, the exploitation of Sept. 11 was especially swift and far-reaching. On Sept. 13, the Hebrew daily, *Ma'ariv*, described the attacks on the US as "a rare opportunity to... use against terrorism the kind of means which [Israel formerly] did not dare to use for fear of international reaction."

These "means" have included the shelling of civilian neighborhoods with US-supplied attack helicopters and opening fire on homes, schools and hospitals. But far from "rooting out terrorism," Sharon's war has only produced more grief, rage and bitterness among Palestinians, generating a climate of despair and hopelessness that in turn gives rise to support for extremism. "No one is born a suicide bomber," said Su Schachter, a MADRE member and activist in the Israeli women's peace movement. "These are invariably young people from the poorest refugee camps. They've grown up watching their parents humiliated, their brothers beaten, arrested or shot, their dreams extinguished by grinding poverty and Israeli army violence. None of

this justifies terrorism; it merely helps explain it. If you want to understand how a young man could be drawn to the hateful ideology of Hamas, visit a refugee camp. Once you've seen what it's like to grow up there, you go from being incredulous that there are suicide bombers to being thankful that there aren't more of them."

Just as Israeli repression helps generate Palestinian extremism, Palestinian attacks against Israeli civilians galvanize support in Israel for Sharon's assaults. The spiral of violence is self-perpetuating, strengthening the most reactionary forces in each society. In fact, religious fundamentalists and right-wing demagogues, both Israeli and Palestinian, have a vested interest in ongoing conflict. Each new death enhances their capacity to mobilize people on the basis of fear and hatred. Meanwhile, Palestinian and Israeli progressives face a shared challenge: to demonstrate that people's basic needs — material, social and spiritual — are better served by support for human rights and democratic process than by



Ibdaa teaches young Palestinian refugees to understand and demand human rights and issue a powerful call for peace and justice. © Ziad Abbas

religious fundamentalism, war-mongering or extreme nationalism.

For progressives in the Middle East, as elsewhere, Sept. 11 has renewed the urgency of this challenge. In Israel, Sharon's brutality has been met by a revitalized peace movement.⁴ In Palestinian society, too, progressives are calling for a halt to the cycle of armed conflict. As the courageous Palestinian leader, Hanan Ashrawi, recently asked, "Why and when did we allow a few in our midst to interpret Israeli military attacks on innocent Palestinian lives as license to do

⁴ Visit <http://www.batshalom.org> to learn about Israeli women's activism to end the occupation.

the same to their civilians?"

CONCLUSION

Of all the trends to emerge since Sept. 11, at least one offers a glimmer of hope: in communities around the world, people have renewed the call for peace and human rights. In the US — even among some families who lost loved ones on Sept. 11 — shock and grief have been channeled into demands for peace and justice. In Latin America, poor and Indigenous Peoples are organizing locally, nationally and internationally to confront the twin threats of neo-liberalism and militarism. In Africa, social justice activists are calling for people-centered policies to revital-

ize the continent. And in Palestine and Israel, people are insisting that terrorism and military violence against civilians are two sides of the same coin — and that both must end immediately. MADRE is part of all of these efforts. We are outraged at the destruction and right-wing opportunism that have gripped the world since Sept. 11. But our work with other women whose lives, families and communities are on the front lines of the world's most entrenched conflicts gives us tremendous strength. Together with our sister organizations and our 23,000 members, MADRE's response to Sept. 11 has been to step up our fight for justice and human rights around the world. ♦

"End the occupation. It is killing us."

On April 2, MADRE Associate Director Yifat Susskind delivered this message at a press conference organized by Arab and Jewish groups in New York City.

This morning, I spoke with young people from MADRE's partner organization, the Ibdaa Children's Center in Deheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem. Deheisheh is under siege by Israeli troops today.

I have a message from a young girl of the Ibdaa Children's Center, 16-year-old Manar Faraj:

"Tell the American people that their money pays for the carnage in Palestine. Tell them that Israel says it is hunting for terrorists, but it is killing unarmed women, children and old men. We are being killed with weapons made and sent here by the United States. Tell the American people that we know that if they could see for themselves what their government is supporting, they would demand an end to Israel's violence. Tell them to end the occupation. Please. It is killing us."

I'm also an Israeli. And I've spent the past few weeks calling Israel to check on the safety of friends and family in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa. I have a message from them, too. Their message is the same: "End the occupation. It is killing us." This is the message that Israelis in greater and greater numbers are directing at their government. These are people who are declaring that Israelis killed by Palestinian suicide bombers are victims of Sharon's policy. Because that policy creates suicide bombers.

We condemn the attacks against Israeli civilians, just as we condemn attacks against Palestinian civilians. From a human rights perspective, denouncing the suicide bombings is obvious. If we want to stop them, we need to also understand why they occur. The root cause of the suicide bombings is the Israeli occupation. Ending the occupation is the first crucial step in providing safety and peace for Manar's family, for my family and for all of the families in Palestine and Israel.

On April 10, Manar's grandfather, 60-year-old Ali Faraj, was gunned down by Israeli tank fire as he was bringing home bread to his family.

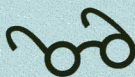
*At the end of
December 2001,
our dear friend*

**DR. HELEN
RODRÍGUEZ-TRÍAS**

*died. Her passion and
devotion to fighting for
justice will continue
to inspire us as we
redouble our efforts
to change the world.*

madre

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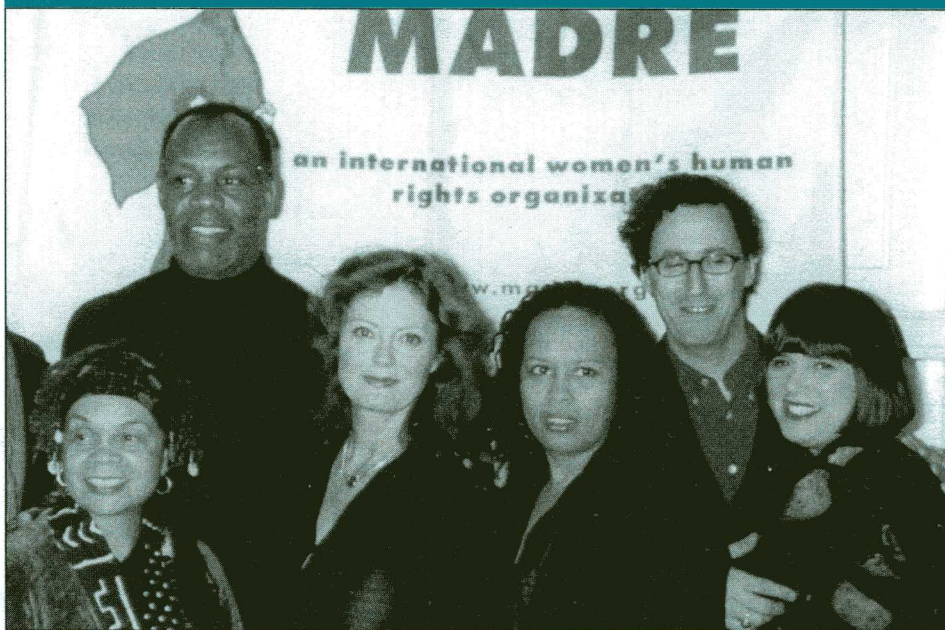
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Mother Courage: IMAGINING PEACE



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On December 10, 2001, MADRE presented *Mother Courage: Imagining Peace*, the first major New York event benefiting Afghan families and some of the most vulnerable victims of the World Trade Center attack. Poets and artists lent their voices to this dramatic reading to create a shared public place of thought, action and possibilities for change after the horrors of September 11 and the US war. The event, produced by Kathy Engel and Virginia Giordano, raised \$32,000, benefiting the following organizations:

- **The Afghan Women's Network**, which provides Afghan refugees with humanitarian aid, including food, medicine and clothing.
- **The Afghan Women's Educational Center**, which promotes educational programs for Afghan refugee women and children and supports women's participation in civil society.
- **The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA)**, which fights for human rights and social justice in Afghanistan and provides humanitarian relief to Afghan women and children.
- **Asociación Tepeyac**, which is responding to the needs of families of undocumented workers affected by the World Trade Center attack.

Participants included: Alvan Colón-Lespier, Blanche Wiesen Cook, Cooper-Moore, Eve Ensler, Patrice Gaines, Danny Glover, Gale Jackson, Tony Kushner, Carol Maillard, Nadine Mozon, Sonia Sanchez, Susan Sarandon, The Silver Cloud Dancers and Jordan Ware.



MADRE in Action:

New MADRE Programs

- ◆ **CADAMUC**, a women's health clinic on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua.
- ◆ **T'al Nán K'oi**, an indigenous, youth-led weaving cooperative in Guatemala.
- ◆ **Q'atit**, an organization of Guatemalan *maquila* workers fighting for their human rights.
- ◆ **Peace for Palestine**, a trauma counseling program for refugee children through the Ibdaa Center in Deheisheh refugee camp.
- ◆ **Imagining Peace**, emergency relief to Afghan families through three Afghan women's groups.
- ◆ **The International Youth Network**, a worldwide forum initiated with MADRE's help for youth to share ideas and strategies for protecting the rights of young people.

International Advocacy

- ◆ **MADRE participated in** the UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related



Lottie Cunningham and Mathilde Lindo were part of a MADRE-sponsored training at MADRE's partner organization, URACCAN, in preparation for the UN World Conference Against Racism. © MADRE



Executive Director Vivian Stromberg visits Casa Castellana Rehabilitation Center in Havana. photo © Rick Miller

Delegations

MADRE ORGANIZED FIVE DELEGATIONS TO CUBA AND GUATEMALA.

Intolerance and made sure that the voices of women and youth were heard.

- ◆ **MADRE advocated for** international protection for Palestinian families living under Israeli occupation at the 5th Special Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights.
- ◆ **MADRE participated in** the Beijing + 5 Review Process of the UN World Conference on Women, where we helped to initiate the International Indigenous Women's Forum.
- ◆ **MADRE took part in** the 44th Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the 21st Century."
- ◆ **MADRE is a fiscal sponsor** of the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice at the International Criminal Court (ICC), which works to ensure a gender perspective at the ICC; the Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice, which works at international conferences on economic justice issues with a gender perspective; WHRnet, a web-based international human rights information center; Breakthrough, an anti-violence video project in India; and La Norita, a child-care center in Nicaragua.

A Two-Year Review 2000-2001

Thanks to the following for their support:

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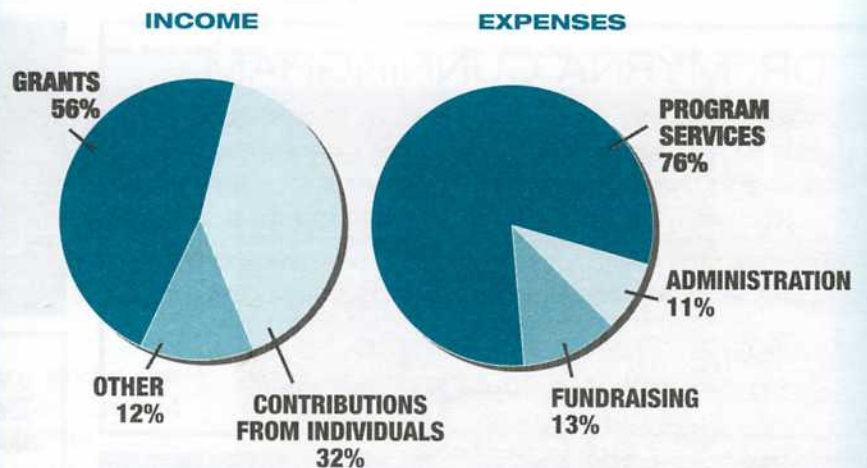


In July 2001, a MADRE delegation delivered a shipment of antibiotics, reproductive health supplies and other important medicine to clinics throughout Cuba. photo © Rick Miller

Shipments

MADRE SHIPPED \$4.5 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN AND MEDICAL AID TO CUBA, GUATEMALA AND NICARAGUA.

MADRE Income and Expenses Fiscal Year 2000-2001



Note: \$3,057,153 is the value of "in-kind" medical shipments and services donated to MADRE during the year. This category is not considered income by the Internal Revenue Service, but it is a very important source of support for MADRE.

A Report-back from the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance

MADRE took a leading role in youth organizing for last September's UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR for short) held in Durban, South Africa. As part of the leadership of the International Youth Committee, MADRE provided guidance for the participation of young people worldwide in the WCAR process. MADRE helped organize a two-day International Youth Summit with participation from 800 youth from around the world, including young women from our sister organizations. The Summit produced a Youth Declaration, which articulated young people's demands for recognition of and redress for the particular ways that youth are affected by racism and discrimination.

MADRE also made a special presentation at a satellite event of the WCAR. Manar Faraj, a 16-year-old Palestinian refugee girl from Deheisheh refugee camp in Bethlehem, testified about her life and her struggle to organize with other young people for an end to



Manar Faraj from Ibdmaa, MADRE's Palestinian sister organization, and Vivian Stromberg read "Generations of Hardship: Generations of Hope," testimonies of Palestinian women. © MADRE

Israeli occupation. MADRE Executive Director Vivian Stromberg read the testimony of Nijmah Jadullah, Manar's maternal grandmother, who is a survivor of the 1948 war in which nearly 800,000 Palestinians were displaced from their homes by Israeli forces. Their testi-

monies were presented as part of the Human Rights Hearing of the Center for Women's Global Leadership.

For more information about the WCAR, and the Final Declaration and Program of Action, visit MADRE's website (<http://www.madre.org/advocacy.html>). ♦

DR. MYRNA CUNNINGHAM,

MADRE's long-time partner from Nicaragua, public health advocate and leader on indigenous issues and the quest for autonomy for Indigenous Peoples, has received the distinguished

"Public Health Hero of the Americas" award from the Pan American Health Organization.

**Congratulations
from all the MADRE family.**

A BIG THANKS TO OUR WONDERFUL INTERNS:

**Rebecca Angevine, Marcela Barrientos,
Penelope Lane, Rachel Newell,
Ebele Okobi, Irene Schneeweis,
Carmen Sepúlveda, Anja Tranovich
and Rafeef Ziadah**

Fall Interns Needed:

Be a part of programs that support women's human rights around the world. Applications due July 1.

Contact MADRE for information

MADRE has a new email address: madre@madre.org

Support women's human rights with a gift for yourself or a friend

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