

MADRE

s p e a k s

Summer
2003



Adjusting to Empire

From the Executive Director

Vivian Stromberg

Dear friends,

I recently visited the vibrant MADRE-supported community-based projects on the North Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. Seeing these flourishing programs providing much-needed health care, human rights education, counseling, income-generating projects, women's leadership training and cultural programs in Indigenous communities made me proud to remember MADRE's first humble projects with our partners in those communities.

This fall, we will celebrate 20 years of MADRE's work with women and families. Since we began in 1983, our work has expanded far beyond Nicaragua, touch-



MADRE Executive Director Vivian Stromberg at a children's day-care center in Baghdad. © LAURA FLANDERS

ing people's lives in Guatemala, El Salvador, Mexico, Cuba, Peru, Colombia, Haiti, Rwanda, Kenya, Palestine, Lebanon, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. In each of these countries, we built partnerships with women working to ensure the survival of their families and communities and develop long-term solutions to the crises they face.

enough to respond to emergencies like this year's US attack of Iraq without jeopardizing our commitment to critical community programs like Casa Museo in Nicaragua (see page 14 for details on this new program). This month, MADRE's **Every Child Has a Name** campaign in support of Iraqi women and families sent a contribution through UNICEF/Iraq that will provide approximately 25,000 people with emergency relief, including essential drugs and medical supplies, powdered milk for children and water purification tablets to treat contaminated drinking water. All of us at MADRE extend our warmest thanks to each of you who contributed to this life-saving effort.

Thanks to you, we have delivered over 20 million dollars worth of direct relief. And, thanks to you, we have built an organization strong enough to respond to emergencies like this year's US attack of Iraq without jeopardizing our commitment to critical community programs like Casa Museo in Nicaragua (see page 14 for details on this new program). This month, MADRE's **Every Child Has a Name** campaign in support of Iraqi women and families sent a contribution through UNICEF/Iraq that will provide approximately 25,000 people with emergency relief, including essential drugs and medical supplies, powdered milk for children and water purification tablets to treat contaminated drinking water. All of us at MADRE extend our warmest thanks to each of you who contributed to this life-saving effort.

As we begin preparing for MADRE's 20th Birthday celebration this fall, I am reminded of another anniversary we are observing this year: the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg 50 years ago in June. We commemorate their execution at a moment when the US government is escalating its attack on political dissent in this country. In response, we rededicate ourselves to the principles and practices that have always sustained our work for peace and justice and to the knowledge that we do this work — as MADRE sponsor Audre Lorde once said — “Not out of altruism, but out of survival and self-preservation.”

With gratitude and hope,

MADRE

121 West 27th Street, #301
New York, NY 10001
(212) 627-0444 Fax: (212) 675-3704
e-mail: madre@madre.org
www.madre.org

Volume XIX, #1

MADRE's newsletter, **MADRE Speaks**, is published quarterly.

MADRE is an international women's human rights organization that works in partnership with women's community-based groups in conflict areas worldwide. Our programs address issues of sustainable development, community improvement and women's health; violence and war; discrimination and racism; self-determination and collective rights; women's leadership development; and human rights education. MADRE provides resources and training to enable our sister organizations to meet immediate needs in their communities and develop long-term solutions to the crises they face. Since we began in 1983, MADRE has delivered over 20 million dollars worth of support to community-based women's groups in Latin America, the Caribbean, the Middle East, Africa, the Balkans and the United States.

Newsletter Staff

Yifat Susskind, Editor
Megan Tan, Assistant Editor
Amy Thesing, Design

cover photo: © Jonathan Snow

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Adjusting to Empire

By Yifat Susskind, Associate Director

“America was targeted for attack because we’re the brightest beacon of freedom and opportunity in the world.”

– GEORGE BUSH, SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

On September 11, 2001, George Bush supplied the first official answer to the new quintessential American question: “Why do they hate us?” Abroad, the question resounds along a continuum of disbelief, impatience and disgust, reinforcing a stereotype of Americans as an oblivious and fumbling people, visiting destruction on places they are unable to locate on a map. For Americans themselves, the question unlocks debate about the costs and consequences of what growing numbers of people within the US are calling an American Empire.

That many Americans are only now coming to see themselves as citizens of an empire reflects an historical aversion to the construct. The founding myth of America as an idealistic nation born of rebellion against the tyranny and foreign rule of King George underlies a prescribed American self-image as a country opposed to the greedy colonial empires of Europe and, later, to the “Evil Empire” of the Soviet Union. Like all national identities, this self-image is a composite of stories that Americans tell themselves about themselves. Perhaps the most central of these stories is the notion that America is what Thomas Jefferson called “an empire of liberty.”

Jefferson’s view is just one of several competing traditions. In fact, there has always been a tension in American political culture between the ideals of a democratic republic and the pursuit of foreign empire. But that tension has never been more palpable than it is today. The Bush Administration, guided by a small group of neo-conservative ideologists, has dragged the US into

blatant pursuit of empire, triggering a crisis in American self-perception. Historically, US presidents have invoked America’s founding mythology to create a public perception of US foreign policy as a series of moral imperatives. Whether that mythology can be harnessed by the Bush Administration, or turned on its head by a growing opposition movement, will impact the course of US foreign policy.

CITY ON A HILL OR EMPIRE OF THE WORLD?

In the period between the fall of the Berlin Wall and the fall of the Twin Towers, much of the world came to see the US as a global empire. With US military bases in 40 countries, Washington’s stranglehold on international trade and financial institutions and American popular culture and

language encircling the globe, comparisons to Rome became plentiful. But Americans shied away from the label of “empire,” preferring the ahistorical designation “superpower” and euphemisms like “globalization” to describe US dominance. Lawrence Summers, a reigning intellectual of the Clinton Administration, liked to say that the US is history’s only non-imperialist superpower.

Although Americans are accustomed to wielding power in the international arena, they see themselves not as an empire but as “a nation of universal values” with a mission to export those values to the world. As George Bush puts it, “There is a value system that cannot be compromised, and that is the values we praise. And if the values are good enough for our people, they ought to be good enough for others, not in a way to impose because these are God-given values. These aren’t United States-created values. These are the values of freedom and the human condition and mothers loving their children.”¹ Bush’s tortured



A MADRE-supported school for the visually impaired in Havana treats children whose health is threatened as a result of the US embargo. The Bush Administration — which seized power by subverting the US electoral process — has tightened the embargo in the name of democracy. © MADRE



Most US Democrats and Republicans alike cite free trade as a benefit of US Empire. Yet women with whom MADRE works are currently mobilizing against the Free Trade Area of the Americas, a new trade agreement sure to increase inequality, poverty and environmental destruction throughout the hemisphere. © KAREN BERMAN

speech blends the moralistic Protestant messianism of America's religious founders with Enlightenment principles such as freedom and humanism that so influenced the country's early leaders. These twin ideologies continue to shape the national self-image, enabling Americans to see altruism where others see empire.

Historically, Americans have viewed their country as "a city on a hill" and "the beacon of hope and decency," as envisioned in 1630 by John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts. By 1776, the American project had become much grander. "We have it in our power to begin the world all over again," Thomas Paine wrote in *Common Sense*. Over the next 100 years, the US seized the territory of the region's Indigenous Peoples, swallowed half of Mexico and tried twice to conquer Canada in a series of wars that politicians defined as "missions" to extend "civilization" and "Anglo-Saxon democracy." So obvious was it to nineteenth-century US leaders that they were chosen by God himself to rule the continent that they named their privileged condition "Manifest Destiny." Political cartoons of the day are replete with images of a youthful

and virtuous America contrasted with the decaying and decadent empires of Britain and Spain.

The American anti-empire first ventured overseas in 1898, killing 600,000 Filipinos in the "Benevolent Assimilation." That year, US Secretary of War Elihu Root pronounced that, "the American soldier is different from all soldiers of all other countries since the world began. He is the advance guard of liberty and justice, of law and order and of peace and happiness."² Except for the flawless grammar, Root's pronouncement could have been issued today by George Bush. In fact, between the "Benevolent Assimilation" and "Operation Iraqi Freedom," the US has conducted over 170 military interventions in every region of the world. Each has been presented domestically as a mission to redeem the targeted country, and indeed the world, for freedom and democracy. Even the Bush Team's plan to invade and occupy Iraq, understood by most of the world as a naked grab for power, was presented to Americans as a mission to democratize Iraq and save its people from the "Butcher of Baghdad," Saddam Hussein. The bogus security imperative to disarm

Iraq spoke to the American mind, but the mission to bring freedom and salvation spoke to the American soul.

The deeply religious nature of American political culture is sometimes obscured by the notion of the US as the country that invented separation of church and state. In fact, every US president (including Kennedy, the lone non-Protestant, and Clinton, who has emerged in public consciousness as Bush's liberal foil) has traded on his religious credentials and talked openly of his devotion to God. But Bush, with his White House prayer breakfasts and fundamentalist language, is fast becoming known as the most fanatically religious president in US history. His periodic references to "crusade" and "a biblical struggle of good versus evil" have been alternately baffling and alarming to many people abroad. One reason is that Bush's brand of evangelicalism is a strictly American creed alien to most of the world.* As a "born-again" Christian, Bush believes that God communicates directly with him and that he is guaranteed a spot in heaven regardless of his actions on earth. Several journalists who have interviewed Bush extensively say that the President seems to believe that he was placed in the White House by God to carry out a divine mission.

Bush's fundamentalism is far afield of mainstream US Christianity, but his evangelical overtones resonate with a long tradition of American messianism. In fact, what many people abroad characterize as American arrogance is, in part, a distorted religious impulse, expressed in the secularized language of "values." So when Americans hear

* Recently, however, fundamentalist missionaries from the US have stepped up their proselytizing in Africa and Latin America, with devastating consequences to Indigenous Peoples. Together with the expropriation of the traditional lands that underpin Indigenous cultures, the imposition of Christian fundamentalism constitutes an attack on Indigenous belief systems which contributes to the communal breakdown, drug abuse and family violence that MADRE's programs work to combat.

Bush saying that he will “lead the world to peace,” as he did after September 11, they may agree or disagree, but most do not laugh. They hear Bush’s words as an echo of Woodrow Wilson, who declared the US entry into World War I as a mission to “make the world safe for democracy.” (Wilson’s ambassador to England, W.H. Page, explained the move as “the only way to maintain our pre-eminent trade status,” but it is Wilson’s loftier rationale that endures in the national psyche.)

It’s not that Americans can’t understand the imperial machinations at work in foreign policy, but because US interests are portrayed as overlapping with “American values,” they can choose to view any US action as a pursuit of principle rather than empire. Consider the words of US trade representative Robert Zoellick, extolling the virtues of free trade as an antidote to terrorism: “Trade is about more than economic efficiency. It promotes the values at the heart of this protracted struggle.”³ Democrats are no less enamored of the interests/values shell game. Clinton was a master of the technique. Remember his “humanitarian bombing” of Kosovo? “If we’re going to have a strong economic relationship that includes our ability to sell around the world,” Clinton said, “Europe has got to be a key . . . that’s what this Kosovo thing is all about . . . it’s about our values.”⁴

A NEW IMPERIAL MOMENT

Since September 11, 2001, the American taboo against empire has crumbled under the strain of current events. Debate about the meaning of US power in the world has emerged from the shadows of neo-conservative think tanks and been taken up on popular call-in radio shows and the editorial pages of local papers. A database search by MADRE of US newspapers found that use of the term “empire” more than doubled in the year following the September 11



The 1999 bombing of Kosovo and Serbia was billed as “the first war fought for human rights.” But nearly all US attacks, including the ethnic cleansing of Native Americans and the invasions of Haiti, Vietnam, Grenada and Panama, have been presented as humanitarian interventions.

© ELIZABETH RAPPAPORT

attacks. As the historian Michael Ignatieff explained, “We’re living in a world that looks a lot like the late Roman Empire. The barbarians have just got through the gates, and they’ve sacked Rome. And the effect is to make everybody suddenly aware that we live in an empire.”⁵ Then, during the three months preceding the US invasion of Iraq, prominent US magazines on the Right (*The Weekly Standard*, *The National Review*), Left (*The Nation*, *The Progressive*) and Center (*The New York Times Magazine*, *US News & World Report*) all ran cover stories or major articles

on empire.

September 11, 2001 stands in the American mind as the day that “changed everything,” but the US invasion of Iraq in March 2003 marks a more significant turning point for US Empire. The invasion — with its three-pronged goal of testing Bush’s “preventive war” doctrine, controlling Iraqi oil and using occupied Baghdad as a springboard to overhaul the entire Middle East — is the most blatantly imperialist war in US history. In fact, the concept of empire has begun to resonate so loudly that the President has been compelled to issue repeated



Those killed and injured by the US “liberation” of Iraq remain uncounted. When asked about the number of Iraqi casualties after the 1991 Gulf War, Colin Powell answered, “That is really not a matter I am terribly interested in.” © LAURA FLANDERS

denials. In June 2002, Bush delivered a speech at West Point military academy in which he laid out his doctrine of preventive war. Bush told graduating cadets that, “America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish.” Five months later, he told a group of veterans in Washington, “We don’t seek an empire.” Bush made an identical claim in March 2003, while announcing the bombing of Baghdad.

While Bush sought to reassure the public that war is peace and freedom is slavery, the neo-conservative architects of his foreign policy have confronted the American taboo against empire head-on, proudly declaring themselves to be “liberal imperialists.” This disarming tack helped shift the terms of public debate about empire. The question is no longer whether the United

States is an empire but, to quote National Public Radio’s *Talk of the Nation*, “Does empire have to be a dirty word?”

The neo-conservative answer is a resounding “No,” issued with a call to embrace US power, à la Bush and Rumsfeld, in all its macho unilateralism. From the Center comes a more restrained response, echoing the tradition of apologists for US Empire. Ignatieff, for example, reassures us that “America’s empire is not like empires of times past, built on colonies, conquest and the white man’s burden,” but rather “an empire lite, whose grace notes are free markets, human rights and democracy.”⁶

On the Left are those — represented by parts of the A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition — who cite the excesses of US Empire as an understandable, if not justifiable, cause of September 11. Others, represented by the United for Peace and Justice coalition, have been more adept at reaching out to those in the political mainstream, in part by appealing to people on the basis of their ingrained American antipathy toward empire.

THE ANTI-EMPIRE MOVEMENT

The largest sector of the anti-war movement is a composite of traditional US peace and justice organizations, the misnamed anti-globalization movement and progressive Democrats. This new configuration is best understood as a movement

against US Empire. Indeed, some of its elements have been concerned about empire for some time. MADRE, which is part of United for Peace and Justice, has worked since 1983 in Central America and the Caribbean, where US unilateralism, invasion, occupation and “regime change” are familiar horrors. As many of you know, MADRE began with a women’s initiative to forge partnerships between day-care centers in Nicaragua that were bombed by US-backed Contra fighters and day-care centers in the US that were de-funded by the Reagan Administration. Twenty years later, MADRE continues to challenge destructive policies that appropriate domestic resources, such as wages and social programs, in the pursuit of empire. These critical services are utilized mainly by women, who constitute the majority of people living in poverty and are primarily responsible for meeting the needs of most of the population.

Like others in the anti-war movement, MADRE critiques empire from a human rights framework that draws on many of the same Enlightenment principles that inform “American” values, such as democracy, equality, pluralism and respect for civil rights. The overlap provides a platform from which to appeal to mainstream Americans through convictions they already hold. For while neo-conservatives may be thrilled about the new idea of America as Empire, most people in the US are not. Echoing a rising sentiment in the country, an article published on the eve of the Iraq invasion — entitled, “Is It Too Late To Save America?” — declares, “The America I know is not an empire. It’s a small comfortable place where my grandpa took me fishing when I was little...”⁷

Channeling collective angst into coherent, progressive political positions is a central challenge of the anti-war movement. It may also be one of the best strategies available to the movement, precisely because of the ways in

which the Bush Administration violates some of America's more democratic traditions, including: majority rule (Bush came to power by violating the Fourteenth Amendment of the US Constitution); respect for civil liberties (the PATRIOT Acts constitute the most severe roll-back of civil liberties in US history); separation of church and state (the theocratic agenda of Attorney General John Ashcroft and Bush's marginalization of public programs in favor of "faith-based" initiatives is unprecedented); and multilateralism (since taking office, Bush has scrapped more international treaties and violated more UN Conventions than any other US president).

Adopting the language of "American" values such as freedom and democracy gives the anti-war movement a powerful vernacular to articulate opposition to empire in a way that resonates with large numbers of Americans.

Indeed, parts of the movement are already speaking this language with slogans like "Peace is Patriotic." In fact, the practice of mobilizing dissent on the basis of traditional national values has a rich history. It includes the Abraham Lincoln Brigades who fought Spanish fascism, the flag-waving civil rights marchers who demanded that America make good on its promise of equality and the pacifists who re-channeled American messianism into the Central America Sanctuary Movement of the 1980s.

But galvanizing that tradition will require more than red-white-and-blue graphics. To be effective against empire, the anti-war movement needs to maximize the radical potential of "American" values like democracy and freedom. We can start by redefining language that has been pressed into the service of empire. Examples include rejecting the notion that democracy means the overthrow of governments elected by a majority of voters (as the US did in Iran in 1953, Guatemala in 1954, Chile in 1973, Haiti in 1990 and the US in 2000) and rejecting the



MADRE has been speaking out against US Empire for 20 years. © MADRE

notion that freedom means only a chance to provide markets, labor and raw materials to US corporations.

In 1896, African-American women founded the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs to mobilize mass opposition to segregation and lynching. Their motto, "lifting as we climb," offers a good model for a relationship between an anti-empire movement and mainstream America. To grow, the movement needs to meet people where they are. And to be effective, it needs to enable people to come to a more radical understanding of themselves and their society. "Peace is Patriotic" may be a tactical starting point, but ultimately, patriotism needs to be critiqued, redefined and perhaps rejected outright.

THE ACHILLES HEEL OF EMPIRE

The US invasion of Iraq opened a gulf between public opinion and government policy that reflects the incompatibility of democracy and empire. Bush was called "unflappable" in his response to public protest against the war. But while the Administration did not reverse its policy, neither did it ignore the protests. A look at Bush's speeches in the weeks

leading up to the invasion shows that his moralistic appeals about American "responsibility" to overthrow Saddam Hussein and rescue the Iraqi people rose steadily in proportion to public opposition to the war.

The potential power of citizen opposition is well understood by policy makers, who have launched concerted propaganda campaigns on the eve of every US war since World War I. Particularly since Vietnam, US presidents have walked a tightrope between building empire and thwarting citizen opposition to their wars. To achieve this balance abroad, the US has relied increasingly on proxy armies, such as the Nicaraguan Contras, the Kosovo Liberation Army and Afghanistan's Northern Alliance. At home, the Pentagon spends millions annually on its "public relations" programs.

These policies betray the Administration's vulnerability to public opposition and underscore the potential power of the anti-war movement.⁸ The national mythology from which Americans' self-image as defenders of freedom and democracy derives is deeply at odds with Bush's decision to overthrow a sovereign (albeit brutal) government, install direct US military rule over another country and violate



MADRE is part of an emerging anti-empire movement, rooted in long-standing principles of peace and justice organizing, that is working to challenge the Bush Administration's policies. © MADRE

US citizens' civil liberties. The contradiction provides an opportunity for a new anti-empire movement to stake a claim to America's founding myths. To do this, we must generate public conversation about what kind of nation Americans want to be and what values we want to see reflected in our foreign policy. The Bush Administration will remain in a strong ideological position to wage its "endless war against endless enemies" if it can convince the public that it is acting in the tradition of "American values." But if the anti-war movement continues to refine its capacity to appeal to mainstream Americans on the basis of those same values, it may garner the political power necessary to produce foreign policy that reflects the country's truly democratic potential. ♦

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Interview with Bob Woodward, Crawford, Texas, August 20, 2002.
- ² *The Financial Times*, January 1, 2003.
- ³ *The Washington Post*, October 3, 2001.
- ⁴ Televised address, March 23, 1999.
- ⁵ *Macleans*, February 4, 2002.
- ⁶ *The New York Times Magazine*, January 5, 2003.
- ⁷ <http://www.alternet.org>, March 19, 2003.
- ⁸ The same can be said of openly coercive tactics such as the current "blacklisting" of anti-war academics, journalists and artists and the outright criminalization of non-violent dissent (a US wartime tradition dating back to the Alien and Sedition Act of 1789).

Voyages with a Vision

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Call us soon to reserve a space!

A Big THANK YOU to
**CHARLOTTE
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Par Excellence!

THANKS TO OUR WONDERFUL INTERNS:

- Marina Bernál
- Alison Egic
- Alicia Iriarte
- Violeta Krasnić
- Amy Penfield
- Vanessa Wirth

Reflections on the War in Iraq

MADRE Interviews Noam Chomsky

MADRE: Why did the US invade Iraq?

Noam Chomsky: The reason is connected to the National Security Strategy that the Administration published in September 2002. In that document, the US announced that it intends to rule the world by force forever and that it will crush any potential challenge it might perceive. This is being called Bush's doctrine of pre-emption, or preventive war. We've seen elements of this before, but the "right" of preventive war has never been so brazenly claimed. And it's not enough to announce a doctrine: you need to establish it, too, so that people know you are serious. Iraq is meant to be an example, a credible threat to the rest of the world. As a trial run of the new doctrine, Iraq is the first — not the last — in a series of attacks. The next one could be Iran, Syria or the Andean region. Consider Colombia: it would take nothing for a public relations firm to build up a claim that the *guerillas* are about to destroy the US, and therefore in self-defense we have to go in and establish "democracy" there.

M: Why did the Administration choose Iraq to test its new military doctrine?

NC: Iraq was chosen because it was militarily defenseless. There weren't too many US casualties, which would have soured public opinion. The US would have never attacked Iraq if they thought Iraq had any possibility of defending itself, just as they won't attack North Korea because it has artillery aimed at Seoul. Iraq was also chosen because it is economically important, having the second largest reserves of oil in the world.

M: What do you see as the main consequences of this attack?

NC: For months, US intelligence and international affairs specialists have said that the policies that Washington is pur-



Noam Chomsky being interviewed in his Boston office by MADRE Associate Director Yifat Susskind. At right, journalist Max Bohnel and baby Sasha Susskind. © MADRE

suing are likely to lead to an increase in terror and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, for revenge or simply deterrence. The US has told the world very frankly that if you want to prevent us from attacking you, you'd better have a deterrent of some kind; terror, weapons of mass destruction or even mass conventional forces as the North Koreans have, but you better have something. So, as MADRE has said, the US attack has actually made the world a more dangerous place. And — as the CIA has pointed out — it has endangered Americans.

M: The Bush Administration has failed to link Iraq to the September 11 attacks, with even the CIA denying that Iraq has supported international terrorism in recent years. And Hans Blix, the chief UN weapons inspector, said that the US presented falsified evidence in making its case about the military threat posed by Iraq. Yet people in the US still believe that Iraq posed a grave danger to them. How can that be?

NC: Generating fear of Saddam Hussein in the US was a public relations triumph that can be attributed to a very aggressive propaganda assault

begun in September 2002, at the start of the mid-term election campaign. Just after September 11, about three percent of the population thought Iraq might be involved. By the time of the invasion, about 60 percent of the US public thought that Iraq was an imminent threat to the existence of the US.

Before September 2002, people in the US did not believe this. Saddam Hussein was a terrible guy but not a threat to our existence. But through government and mainstream media propaganda, deep fear has been instilled in a substantial part of the population. And fear of Iraq translated into support for the invasion.

Karl Rove, the Administration's campaign manager, has pointed out that national security is the ticket for Republicans to campaign on because voters, frightened by the threat of terrorism, see the Republican Party as more capable on that issue. If social and economic issues dominated the mid-term election, the Bush Administration did not stand a chance. So it was necessary to concoct a huge security threat. In fact, polls reveal that voters maintained their preferences, but suppressed concerns over jobs, pensions, benefits, etc., in favor of security. Be on the lookout for something similar just before the upcoming presidential campaign.

Look at what happened in the 1980s when the same people were running the government. They were pursuing the same economic programs domestically,

continued on next page

Chomsky interview continued from page

which were very harmful to the population and were strongly opposed, just as they are now. If you look at polls on socio-economic issues today, you see that most people are very strongly opposed to these policies, and for good reasons, just as they were in the 1980s. So how did those guys stay in power? By pushing the panic button every year. One year it was Libyan hit men wandering around Washington to assassinate our leader. Another year it was the Nicaraguan army two days' marching time from Texas. Supposedly Nicaragua was about to conquer us, and the Reagan Administration declared a national emergency because of the threat posed. If somebody were watching this from Mars, they wouldn't know whether to laugh or cry. After that, there was an air base in Grenada, which the Russians were going to use to bomb us. Black criminals, welfare queens, South American drug traffickers, one thing after another to try to terrorize the population into submission. It's not that hard to control people when they are afraid. That's what the Administration is doing now.

M: Are you optimistic about the potential of a citizen movement to alter the course of US foreign policy?

NC: Well, consider this: opposition to this war is absolutely without precedent; there has never been anything like it in the United States. There has never been massive public protest against a war before it started. In the case of Vietnam, it took years before there was any protest. Global justice movements exist now that never existed before. This country is far more civilized than it was 20 or 30 years ago. Issues that we now take for granted — women's rights, environmental issues, third world solidarity and global justice — these issues didn't even exist 30 or 40 years ago. Nobody talked about them. It was a much more submissive, subordinated population. But that is changing, not thanks to any government initiative, but thanks to forces like MADRE. Over time, efforts to organize and educate people work. And that changes the world. Right now, it's better than ever before. There has never been such a popular base for action and opposition. ♦

YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE

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Help collect health and hygiene supplies, eyeglasses, books and toys for women and children in Latin America and the Caribbean. Contact us to find out how you can help.

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From the MADRE Bookshelf

Sing, Whisper, Shout, Pray!: Feminist Visions For a Just World (M. Jacqui Alexander, Lisa Albrecht, Sharon Day and Mab Segrest, eds.) is an indispensable guide to the progressive politics of race, class and gender in the new millennium from leading feminist writers of our time. Includes contributions from MADRE friends Linda Burnham, Edwidge Danticat, Angela Davis and Sonia Sanchez.

Women on War: An International Anthology of Writings from Antiquity to the Present (Daniela Gioseffi, ed.) is a unique collection of writings on war and peace from more than 150 women throughout history and across the globe — including MADRE supporters Isabel Allende, Gioconda Belli, June Jordan, Adrienne Rich and Alice Walker.

2003 MADRE Member Survey

TELL US WHAT YOU THINK

Please take a moment to fill in and send us this survey. Your ideas help MADRE improve our programs and be more responsive to you.

1) How did you first learn about MADRE?

- From a friend Through the mail At an event Other

2) What first attracted you to MADRE?

3) Which news outlets do you use most frequently? (please specify)

Newspaper _____

Magazine _____

Radio _____

Television _____

Internet _____

4) How often do you use the Internet?

- Many times a day Once a day Once a week Almost never/never

5) Do you use the Internet for news updates? If so, what sites do you use most?

6) How often do you visit MADRE's website?

- Once a day Once a week Once a month Almost never/never

7) What do you use MADRE's website for?

- Program Updates Political Analyses Action Alerts Other

8) Would you like to receive occasional program updates, event announcements and political analyses from MADRE's listserv?

If so, please give us your email address: _____

9) Are you interested in joining a MADRE delegation

to CUBA, NICARAGUA, GUATEMALA or PERU? (circle the countries you would like to visit)

10) Do you have access to medicine, eyeglasses or health and hygiene supplies that MADRE could deliver to women and children in Latin America and the Caribbean through our Helping Hands Campaign?

- YES NO _____

11) Are you affiliated with a university, religious organization or community center that would like to arrange speakers from MADRE?

If yes, please specify _____

2003 MADRE Member Survey

continued from page 11

12) Are you interested in learning more about MADRE's planned giving program?

YES NO _____

13) Does the company you work for have a matching gifts program?

YES NO _____

14) On which issues would you like MADRE to increase its focus?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bush's "War on Terror" | <input type="checkbox"/> Indigenous Peoples' Rights |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual and Reproductive Health | <input type="checkbox"/> Labor Rights and Economic Justice |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Violence Against Women | <input type="checkbox"/> Women, Armed Conflict and Displacement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rights of Children and Youth | <input type="checkbox"/> Racism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Emergency Relief | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____ |

15) In what areas of the world would you like to see MADRE increase its focus?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mexico and Central America | <input type="checkbox"/> South America |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The Caribbean | <input type="checkbox"/> Africa |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The Middle East | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____ |

16) Do you have any friends or acquaintances who might like to know about MADRE?

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____
EMAIL _____

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____
EMAIL _____

17) Comments

18) Please fill in below

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____
EMAIL _____ PHONE _____

Age (check one)

- Under 21 21-35 36-50 51-65 Over 65

Please return the completed form to: **MADRE**, 121 West 27th Street, #301, New York, NY 10001

1983-2003

MADRE is 20 years old!

This fall, we will celebrate 20 years of women recreating the world.

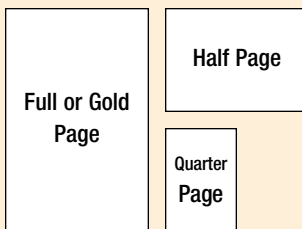
Celebrate with us by being part of MADRE's 20th anniversary journal, dedicated to women who have inspired us to work for a better world.

Place your message in honor of a woman — a mother, daughter, friend, artist, activist — who has inspired you.

MADRE's 20th anniversary journal message form

SELECT SIZE

- Gold Page (4 1/2" x 7 1/2")\$ 1,000
- Full Page (4 1/2" x 7 1/2")\$ 750
- Half Page (4 1/2" x 3 5/8")\$ 400
- Quarter Page (2 1/8" x 3 5/8")\$ 250
- Listing\$ 50



NAME

ORGANIZATION (IF ANY)

ADDRESS

PHONE

EMAIL

FAX

- Enclosed is a check for \$ _____
- Please reserve a space for my message. A check for \$ _____ will follow.
- Bill my credit card for \$ _____

DESIGN SPECIFICATIONS

- I am emailing my message in Quark Express (Mac formatted) or high resolution PDF to madre@madre.org. (Make sure to include all supporting fonts and artwork).
- I am sending my camera-ready copy to MADRE (121 West 27th Street, Room 301, New York, NY 10001).
- I would like MADRE to design my message for a \$50 fee.

VISA/MASTERCARD #

EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

Please direct all questions to Marcelle Hopkins at (212) 627-0444, fax: (212) 675-3704 or madre@madre.org.
121 West 27th Street, Room 301, New York, NY 10001



NICARAGUA'S NORTH ATLANTIC COAST

CASA MUSEO

MADRE is providing critical support for Casa Museo, a community museum and educational center offering human rights trainings, art and music classes and children's recreational programs. MADRE offered support for the construction of the center, sent a shipment of furniture and equipment and provided technical assistance for its conception and initial programs. Through MADRE's Sisters Without Borders program, a young Indigenous woman from the Shinnecock Reservation in New York traveled to Nicaragua's North Atlantic Coast to teach Shinnecock beading and sewing techniques at Casa Museo and to intern with the autonomous government in the region.

WANGKY LUHPIA

With support from MADRE, Casa Wangky Luhpia opened its doors this spring, offering trainings with a human rights perspective on topics including health, violence against women, childrearing practices and Indigenous rights. In April, MADRE Executive Director Vivian Stromberg conducted a workshop on women's human rights that was attended by women community leaders from around the region. MADRE support also helped to found and supply a women's sewing and upholstery collective at Casa Wangky Luhpia that will help generate income for its programs. And MADRE has provided books and toys for a children's library and play corner in the center.

CADAMUC CLINIC

MADRE sent CADAMUC Clinic a shipment of urgently needed anti-asthma medications. The shipment, valued at almost \$200,000, will help combat a common, debilitating condition among people on the coast. And MADRE continues to give general support to CADAMUC. Recently, CADAMUC expanded its services to children by hiring a pediatrician who visits the clinic every afternoon. They have begun providing health services to workers in the fishing industry and at the Moravian University. And the clinic's newly initiated dentistry program is providing a critical service in a community where the only other dentist is private and unaffordable for most people.

CUBA

MADRE recently delivered critical medicine, medical supplies and eyeglasses to the Red Cross in Cuba to help combat the effects of the US embargo. MADRE delegations traveled to Cuba in January and March, giving participants the chance



Members of CHIRAPAQ (the Center for Indigenous Culture of Peru), broadcasting for *Voices for Justice: Human Rights Radio*, an educational radio series for Indigenous women and youth in Ayacucho Province of Peru. © CHIRAPAQ

to witness firsthand the impact of the US embargo on women's health and education. The March delegation attended the 16th World Congress of Sexology, which addressed the politics of sexuality from local, national and global perspectives.

KENYA

MADRE supplied our sister organization, the Indigenous Information Network, with computers for trainings in Indigenous communities, and with tape recorders to document the oral histories of elders, preserve threatened Indigenous languages and facilitate public speaking workshops for women.

PERU

MADRE sent support to our newest sister organization, CHIRAPAQ (the Center for Indigenous Culture of Peru), for *Voices for Justice: Human Rights Radio*, an educational radio series for Indigenous women and youth in Ayacucho Province. The weekly broadcast offers programming on human rights, sexual and reproductive health and the rights of Indigenous Peoples in Peru and internationally.

EVERY CHILD HAS A NAME

Working in partnership with UNICEF/Iraq, MADRE's *Every Child Has a Name* campaign provided approximately 25,000 people with emergency relief, including essential drugs and medical supplies, powdered milk for children and water purification tablets to treat contaminated drinking water. MADRE is continuing its public education work to raise awareness in the US about the impact of the Bush Administration's policies and our advocacy at the United Nations to hold the US accountable to international law and human rights standards.

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

• Joining hands & hearts with women & families for peace, justice & human rights •



• 121 West 27th Street, #301 New York, NY 10001 • 212-627-0444 • Fax: 212-6757104 • email: madre@madre.org • http://www.MADRE.org •

MUGS

MADRE design (above) printed wrap-around in red, yellow, purple and green on an 11 oz. white ceramic mug



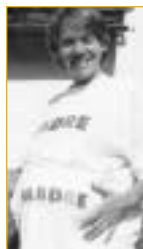
around in red, yellow, purple and green on an 11 oz. white ceramic mug

\$10 each + shipping & handling:

(\$3 per mug; \$2 for each additional mug to the same address)

MADRE Address Books

\$15 + s&h (shipping & handling: \$3 per book; \$2 for each additional book to the same address)



MADRE T-SHIRT

Original MADRE design printed on black or white 100% cotton preshrunk t-shirts in full color. (please indicate color when ordering; LIMITED QUANTITIES AVAILABLE)

Adult sizes: S, M, L, XL, XXL **\$20 + s&h**
 children's sizes: ch XS (2-4), ch S (6-8) **\$15 + s&h**

(shipping & handling: \$3.50 per shirt; \$3 for each additional t-shirt to the same address)

MADRE Tote Bags!

Off-white canvas bag with MADRE design (detail at right).

Available in
 MEDIUM (15" x 13") **\$25 + s&h** or
 JUMBO (19" x 18") **\$35 + s&h**

(shipping & handling: \$5 per tote; \$3 for each additional tote to the same address)

Perfect for the beach or everyday!



Fill out coupon below and return to: MADRE 121 West 27th Street, #301 New York, NY 10001

Please send me MADRE gifts!

ITEM	SIZE	COLOR	QUANTITY	PRICE EACH	SHIPPING	SUBTOTAL
TOTAL:						\$

I am enclosing \$ _____ for my purchase, made payable to MADRE, Inc.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

TELEPHONE _____

Bring a MADRE Speaker to Your Community!

This fall, MADRE Executive Director Vivian Stromberg will conduct a nationwide speaking tour, **Women Worldwide Respond to Bush's War.**

To arrange for Vivian to speak in your community, call us at (212) 627-0444 or email madre@madre.org.

MADRE HAS BEEN NOMINATED TO RECEIVE A GRANT FROM **WORKING ASSETS LONG DISTANCE.** WHETHER WE ARE CHOSEN WILL DEPEND ON HOW MANY VOTES WE GET FROM WORKING ASSETS CUSTOMERS. IF YOU HAVE WORKING ASSETS PHONE SERVICE, PLEASE VOTE FOR MADRE!



MADRE

121 West 27th Street, Room 301
New York, New York 10001
Telephone 212 627-0444
Fax 212 675-3704
e-mail: madre@madre.org
http://www.MADRE.org

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Alice Walker
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Billie Jean Young

Executive Director
Vivian Stromberg

DATED MATERIAL

membership

- I want to become a member of MADRE. Enclosed is my \$35 annual membership fee.
- I am a member of MADRE and want to offer further support. Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of \$_____ to MADRE.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____
TELEPHONE _____ EMAIL _____
AMOUNT ENCLOSED \$ _____

MADRE is a 501(c)(3), not-for-profit organization. All contributions to MADRE are tax deductible to the extent of the law. A copy of MADRE's latest financial report can be obtained by writing to the New York Department of State, Office of Charities Registration.

gift memberships

Introduce a friend or relative to MADRE by sending them a gift membership in celebration of a birthday, wedding, holiday or special event. For \$35 or more per membership, MADRE will send an acknowledgement to you and an information packet and membership to the people you list below.

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY/STATE/ZIP _____
NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY/STATE/ZIP _____
Enclosed is \$35 or more for each Gift Membership
YOUR NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____
TELEPHONE _____ EMAIL _____
TOTAL AMOUNT ENCLOSED \$ _____

Please send me information about Voyages With A Vision

CUBA: January 2004; July 2004 PERU: February 2004 GUATEMALA/NICARAGUA: June 2004

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____
TELEPHONE _____ EMAIL _____

MADRE

121 West 27th Street, Room 301
New York, NY 10001

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