# SPERKS Spring 2000

# The US in Africa PARTNERSHIP OR PILLAGE?

#### From the **Executive Director**

#### Vivian Stromberg

Spring 2000

## ar friends.

Our recent work trip to Rwanda was a powerful reminder of the long-term horrors of war and the fact that corporate greed can be as devastating as gunfire in destroying people's lives and communities. The people of Rwanda are working to rebuild their country in the wake of the 1994 genocide. But the policies being handed down by the World Bank and IMF are destroying some of their best efforts at reconstruction. For instance, last year, the government responded to demands by

women's groups and promised to make girls' education a priority. This is critical in a region where more than 50% of all women are illiterate. But the IMF has turned this into a hollow promise by mandating school fees even for the

poorest families. This is the story all over Africa — and everyplace else that MADRE works.

Getting governments to act responsibly and responsively has always been one of our biggest challenges as women working in justice movements around the world. But today that challenge is sharpened by a global environment (created through institutions like the World Bank and IMF) that discourages national governments from meeting people's most basic needs.

Women involved in trying to shape public policy have understood for some time that no matter how creative, comprehensive or passionate our programs

are, ultimately, solving social problems depends on government. We know that the strongest programs developed by women's organizations are those that combine meeting needs in communities with demanding better policies for the long-term. This requires a plan of action to pressure governments to develop humane and just policies and to keep the promises they make.

But more and more, the policies of national governments in developing countries are the sum of orders handed down by global financial institutions. So women have extended the reach of their organizing to the global level. MADRE's presence in the internation-

> al arena has increased this year with the participation of our sister organizations in the evaluation process of government promises made at the UN Beijing Women's Conference in 1995. As I write this letter, MADRE

representatives are in Geneva at a Preparatory Meeting for the United Nations Conference on Racial Discrimination to be held in South Africa in 2001.

Our challenge is to strengthen the connection between international arenas like this one, where we have won a voice for women, and those arenas still closed to us, like the IMF and WTO. And that's just what we're doing. MADRE is part of the growing international chorus of voices addressing global economic policies and demanding a say in policy making at the global level. The message that we brought in November 1999 and April 2000 to

the streets of Seattle and Washington, D.C., has been the message of MADRE since 1983: public policies - at the local, national and international level - must work together and prioritize the needs of women and families. All 25,000 MADRE members have helped us amplify this message. And we are getting louder.

Thank you for making this work possible.

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: Orukinga camp for Rwandan refugees, Uganda. Photo by Crispin Hughes, Impact Visuals

Photo (this page): Laura Flanders

## THE US IN AFRICA: Partnership or Pillage?

by Yifat Susskind

larming reports about the specter of famine in the Horn of Africa have recently resurfaced in the media. The culprit, we are told, is insufficient rainfall. But while a drought might ruin harvests, mass starvation cannot be blamed on the weather. Famine is caused by grossly disparate access to resources; yet the idea of famine in Africa as "natural" disaster persists as part of a broader web of images. Africa is a diverse continent three times the size of the United States with over 50 countries and 3,000 languages. But it is consistently portrayed in the US as a monolithic mass of primitive tribal wars, disaster, disease and death. The images are so pervasive that it's difficult to discuss African social and political problems without triggering the "dark continent" myths that everyone in the US ingests. Part of what makes these images so powerful is that they are presented to us without explanation, as though chaos and suffering were the natural condition of Africans. Only when we extend the picture of African "victims" to include their victimizers, can we begin to see a schematic of cause and effect; of actual people and policies that create and maintain the poverty, violence and disease that appear endemic to Africa.

Often, Africa's problems are traced to European rule. But increasingly, it is the United States that creates conditions of deprivation and unrest across the continent. Since President Clinton's 1998 Africa tour — the most extensive of any US president — Africa has become a focus of US foreign policy like never before. His Administration has even proclaimed "a new US-Africa partnership" that aims to integrate Africa into



MADRE's sister organization in Rwanda is helping to address growing food insecurity through a women's agricultural training program that grows food for the community — not cash crops for export.

the global economy and contain the spread of AIDS and armed conflicts. These categories do reflect some of the worst hardships confronting African women and families. But "partnerships" are not unilateral declarations made by the strong about the weak. In fact, if we explore these problems from the perspective of African women and their communities, a very different set of causes — and solutions — emerges than those described by the President.

#### TRADE NOT AID

rade, Not Aid," is the Clinton Administration's mantra on Africa. The slogan encompasses policies that pressure African governments to implement economic reforms beneficial to the US. In return, they are rewarded with small packages of trade and investment. According to the President, "the legislative cornerstone of our Africa trade policy," is the Africa

Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), which will likely become law this year. The bill reinforces IMF Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) by cutting government social spending and privatizing state enterprises like utility companies, coffee and tea plantations and mines. Like SAPs, AGOA positions US corporations to cash in on these reforms by buying up newly privatized holdings (i.e., "increased foreign investment") and selling services like phone access and electricity back to African consumers, usually at higher prices than the former government owners (i.e., "opening African markets"). Thanks to provisions for "removing restrictions on investment," African governments will be prevented from enforcing standards to protect workers or the environment.

The US Commerce Department has labeled Africa "the last frontier for American business." But to most Africans, Clinton's trade policy is

# PHEBE

ost developing country debt is a legacy of loans made to Cold War-era dictators in exchange for siding with the US. Most of these rulers are now gone, but their debt has been inherited by poor women and families.

#### Taking From the Poor, Giving to the Rich

- On a per capita basis, every adult and child in sub-Saharan Africa carries a debt of almost \$400 — more than the average family makes in a year.
- To understand the impact of debt servicing, look at how much of the national budget it absorbs. This is the amount that's diverted from potential investment in meeting people's needs.
- Rwanda's annual debt service is \$42 million 1/4 of its entire national budget and more than 10 times the budget for healthcare.
- As a region, sub-Saharan Africa spends four times more on debt service than education & healthcare combined.
- UNICEF estimates that 500,000 children die annually from IMF-imposed policies mandated to service debt.

#### Relief with a Catch

- The World Bank and IMF have finally devised a debt relief plan for 41 of the most indebted countries — 33 of them in Africa.
- The move is not unprecedented. After WWII, the allies lowered Germany's debt payments to 3.5% of its export earnings so that the war-torn country could rebuild. The current plan puts this same figure for African countries at 150%.
- Because of strict conditions attached to the plan, few countries will actually qualify for relief. Those that do will have to implement aggravated SAPs that maintain the flow of profits to the North, as local people lose even more basic rights and services.

#### **Debt Relief for the Poor**

- Conditions on debt relief should not be dictated by the same lending institutions that created the crisis and deny responsibility for policies that hurt the poor.
- An emerging global movement, including many African organizations, demands that proceeds from debt relief go to meet basic needs in poor countries and that national processes should determine specific priorities.

simply the latest maneuver in a long history of exploitation by the global North (rich, industrialized countries led by the US). This history encompasses the slave trade, colonialism, neo-colonialism (economic domination even after political independence), and now, a kind of re-colonization in the form of neo-liberal policies like SAPs and "free," or unregulated trade.

In the 1950's, African independence movements won some control over national resources and basic rights like healthcare, housing and jobs. But African economies remained dominated by Northern governments and banks whose reckless lending policies generated a massive debt that has kept African countries vulnerable to Northern policy demands and dependent on even more loans to make payments. Some of us are familiar with the terrible burden that debt has placed on poor and working people in Latin America, where the debt is a full 38% of the region's Gross Domestic Product (the total value of goods and services produced within a year). In Africa that figure is 106%.

In the 1980's, as the debt crisis mounted, the IMF imposed SAPs that redirected government spending to debt servicing (making interest payments). These "austerity measures" obliterated the modest development gains of the first years of independence and actually ushered in a period of negative development. Across Africa, SAPs slashed national budgets for health and education by 50% and 25% respectively. Per capita income dropped by 20%. Meanwhile, money flowed North as trade and investment rules were weighted to favor foreign corporations. Current estimates put the transfer of money from Africa to the North at about \$200 million a day. That means that for every one dollar the US puts into Africa, it gets back four. Today, half

For background on neo-liberalism, SAPs, the IMF and other economic terms, visit MADRE's website: www.MADRE.org. If you don't have access to the web, just call us or write and we'll be glad to mail you some material.

of Africa's population (300 million people) earn less than \$1 a day and lack basic healthcare and safe drinking water. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest rates of poverty, HIV infection, illiteracy, malnutrition and infant and maternal mortality in the world.

Yet the US insists that Africa press ahead with policies that devastate the poor. For example, President Clinton hopes to create a NAFTA-like free trade zone between the US and sub-Saharan Africa. Many African labor, human rights and women's organizations worry that like NAFTA, this plan will hurt poor people and the environment and only benefit a tiny African elite. The real winners will be US corporations. Even without "NAFTA for Africa," the World Bank estimates that by 2002, US corporations will pocket 70% of the profits from trade with Africa.

What would an equitable US-Africa trade bill look like? First of all, it would work to generate and sustain African economic independence and development. Goods would be produced for local consumers as well as export, and local industry would be safeguarded from unfair competition with bigger foreign manufacturers. Investors would be held to at least the same environmental and labor standards as in the US and a fair share of the jobs and profits generated would be reinvested to meet basic needs of people within the country. If US-Africa trade is to benefit ordinary citizens in Africa, then trade and aid should not be seen as mutually exclusive, but as complementary paths to development.

AGOA is supported by the biggest US-based oil companies, Bank of America, GAP, Citicorp, K-mart and Coca-Cola. Corporate-owned media in the US have presented some African businessmen and politicians saying that AGOA is "pro-Africa" and that it's about time the US pay some attention to the continent. They point out that Africa is the only major area of the world where the US doesn't have a coherent trade policy. Some proponents of AGOA even



US economic policies reinforce traditional discrimination against African women, who earn half as much as men for the same work and are commonly denied access to land, property, credit and inheritance.

claim that to be against the bill is to be anti-Africa and, by implication, anti-black. Corporate concern about racism is highly suspect. After all, these same companies are infamous in Africa and elsewhere for practices that violate human rights and destroy indigenous communities. One of AGOA's main backers is Chester Crocker, architect of the Reagan Administration's "constructive engagement" policy with Apartheid South Africa.

But corporations can play this race card precisely because Africa's marginalization in foreign policy is linked to racism inside the US. Consider the way that the "trade not aid" paradigm mirrors the domestic welfare debate. Like poor and working class African Americans, Africa is presented as a hopeless charity case and a drain on US resources. But foreign aid (like the former welfare system) is a negligible proportion of the US budget. Besides, as a member of the world community, the US should have responsibilities proportional to its resources. After all, the US owes its unprecedented wealth in part to the (slave) labor, plundered natural resources and cheaply imported raw materials of

# Giving Charity or Buying Influence?

he US has profited greatly from its role as purveyor of funds to cash-strapped African governments. It has used this leverage to prop up favored regimes (like Mobutu's Zaire) and to make policy demands like those inscribed in today's AGOA bill.

- Among industrialized countries, the US allots the lowest portion of its budget for development aid (less than 1%).
- Since the end of the Cold War, annual US aid to Africa has been cut by more than half to \$700 million (1/3 the price of a B-2 bomber).
- In 1999, US aid to sub-Saharan Africa was \$155 million compared to \$225 million to Bosnia alone.

## The US in Africa at a Glance

#### UNDERMINING INDEPENDENCE

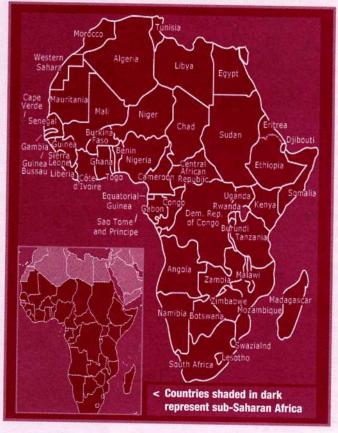
- · During Africa's liberation struggles, the US backed colonial rulers. For example, in exchange for maintaining NATO bases in Portugal, the US supported pro-Portuguese militias in Angola and Mozambique.
- After independence, the US consistently sided with former colonial powers and remained a staunch ally of Apartheid South Africa (until the divestment movement forced a change in policy).

#### SOWING MISERY TO CONTAIN COMMUNISM

- Using Africa as a stage for its rivalry with the USSR (1960-1990), the US sabotaged progressive leaders and movements in Congo, Ghana and South Africa and installed and maintained dictatorships in Zaire, Uganda, Sudan and Somalia.
- Leading African recipients of US aid during the Cold War were all infamous for human rights abuses.
- The US pumped \$1.5 billion worth of weapons into Africa, which are still in use today. Much of Angola, Mozambique and the Horn of Africa remain littered with Cold War era landmines.

#### FROM COLD WAR TO HOT WAR

- · Since 1989, Africa has become a dumping ground for arms dealers who lost Cold War markets.
- In Uganda today, a single chicken can be traded for an AK-47 assault rifle on the black market.
- The superpowers' interest in African conflicts has been taken up directly by corporations (especially mining companies), precipitating a rise in the use of "private" (i.e., mercenary) armies and child soldiers.



Africa. In fact, maybe we should reconceive "aid" to Africa as a kind of reverse debt servicing — a chance for the US to compensate for its long-time exploitation by helping to restore African economies.

#### **EXPLOITATION, WAR & UNDER-DEVELOPMENT:** THE VICIOUS CYCLE

he end of the Cold War was like taking the lid off a pressure cooker in Africa. The interest of

the big powers evaporated, creating a vacuum which shattered weak states and exploded long-simmering civil conflicts in Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Burundi, Sudan, Sierra Leone and Zaire (renamed Democratic Republic of Congo, or DRC, in 1997). The US built much of the arsenals for these wars with \$227 million worth of weapons and military training since 1989. Today, the biggest war in African history is raging in the

DRC, where the Pentagon has trained or armed eight of the nine warring countries. Most African militaries now receive US training through President Clinton's African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), which pushes even more weapons sales on these countries. The program is couched in a language of self-determination, with slogans like "African solutions to African problems." But in reality, it serves to beef up those African forces that will protect US interests, while avoiding a direct US military presence. ACRI also sidelines multi-lateral peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations, which may not match US priorities.

Like many armed conflicts, Africa's wars are fed by a "structural violence" of extreme poverty, inequality and the exclusion of most people from the opportunities and resources that society has to offer. This widespread disempowerment is built in (i.e., structural) to many societies, including the US, where wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a small elite. Structural violence breeds frustration, humiliation and resentment that can be easily ignited to fuel armed conflicts.

A look at Rwanda reveals the close ties between US-imposed economic policies, structural violence and war. Since colonization, Rwanda's economy has been distorted to suit the European market. Its main function was to produce coffee for export. In 1989, when the world coffee market crashed, retailers in the West were selling Rwandan coffee for 20 times more than the price paid to farmers.

As the government's income plummeted, the national debt soared and Rwanda was forced to cut a deal with the IMF to finance payments. The prescription was a typical SAP: liberalize trade, privatize resources, end subsidies to the poor and drastically devalue the currency. As in Haiti, Mexico and elsewhere, local farmers went bankrupt when restrictions on cheap food imports were lifted. Famine swept the country. Ninety percent of Rwanda's predominantly rural population sank deep below the poverty line. The rudimentary public health and school systems were virtually dismantled, causing a sharp rise in malaria deaths, child malnutrition, illiteracy and general unrest and hopelessness.

In 1990, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) announced that any further aid would depend on Rwanda institutionalizing IMF policies. Similar pressure was applied throughout Africa.



Today, Rwandan women are literally rebuilding their war-torn country. But their efforts are undermined by macro-economic policies that worsen conditions for the poor.

Rwanda's government complied and was rewarded with increased foreign aid just as it was escalating its genocidal campaign against the Tutsi.2 Scapegoating the Tutsi helped divert growing opposition to IMF reforms. Meanwhile, the government used development aid money to import weapons and expand the army seven-fold. Tens of thousands of soldiers were newly available from the swelling ranks of the landless and unemployed. Like a growing number of destitute young men across Africa, these recruits felt they had little to lose. Genocide propaganda told them they had much to gain, including the property of Tutsi neighbors and a chance to reclaim their dignity, which was in fact badly battered by decades of structural violence.

Each Rwandan (like each of us) is, of course, responsible for his or her own actions during the genocide. But our choices are shaped by the conditions of our lives. In Rwanda, as in much of Africa, those conditions are created in part by Northern institutions like the World Bank and IMF. For example, in 1992 the World Bank ordered the Rwandan government to privatize its

electricity and telecommunications companies and hand over the sale money to the IMF for debt servicing. The utilities were sold to a European corporation that fired hundreds of workers and jacked up electricity prices, immobilizing services in the cities and exacerbating ethnic tension. By 1994, international development agencies like USAID funded a full 80% of the Rwandan national treasury. Aid money continued to flow into the coffers of the genocidal regime, which remained a model of compliance with IMF and World Bank policies.

Today, survivors of the genocide have to repay the debt that the former government incurred (partly by buying weapons to carry out the slaughter). Unlike individuals and businesses, poor countries do not have the option of gaining a clean financial slate by declaring bankruptcy. After the genocide, the new Rwandan government had to accept another SAP to service its massive debt and win loans to rebuild the country. Today, Rwanda's economy, along with 30 others in sub-Saharan Africa, remains tightly supervised by the same Northern institutions that funded the genocide. The structural violence that their policies create is still the order of the day.

For discussion of the genocide's "ethnic" dimension, visit MADRE's website

- The majority of AIDS deaths worldwide are in Africa, where 9 million people have already died and 70% of the world's HIV-positive people live.
- The 29 most AIDS-infected countries in the world are all in sub-Saharan Africa, where IMF "austermeasures" reduced have average annual health budgets to under \$10 a person.
- Medications that have slowed the course of the epidemic in the global North are priced beyond the reach of developing countries. World Trade Meanwhile, the Organization (WTO) prohibits the sale of affordable generic alternatives to life-saving drugs patented by US pharmaceutical companies.
- 55% of all new African HIV cases are in women, who are vulnerable to infection by male sex partners because they lack the power to negotiate sex or condom use.
- AIDS, poverty, neo-liberal policies and women's inequality are mutually reinforcing crises that must be addressed together to fight the disease.
- But the Clinton Administration is primarily concerned with AIDS' "impact on elites" and its potential to destabilize African governments and undo years of building "free market" economies (Washington Post, 4/30/00). The Administration has therefore declared global AIDS a "threat to US national security," and placed all related policy under the control of the National Security Agency and the CIA.
- This unprecedented militarization of "health" policy comes as developing countries, led by South Africa, are accusing the US of exploiting the AIDS epidemic to wield geopolitical influence through international agencies like the World Bank, the World Health Organization and the WTO.

#### DEVELOPMENT FOR PEOPLE, NOT PROFITS

omeone once defined foreign aid as the poor people of a rich country sending money to the rich people of a poor country. In fact, large-scale development aid is channeled from US taxes through international agencies like USAID and the World Bank, into the treasuries of African governments who are locked into the proscriptions of these Northern institutions. Even when money is channeled to non-governmental organizations, they are usually big operations that, like governments, represent the interests of the powerful. In fact, most development aid money ends up in the hands of the richest 1% of the population. Funds go into creating jobs for a small, skilled elite and into massive projects that mostly bypass the poor. Often these projects are actually detrimental to poor people, as when governments confiscate peasant farm land for development initiatives with no compensation or benefit to the farmers.

Women, who are the poorest of the poor, are hurt most. African women are the backbone of most of the region's economies. They generate more than 70% of household incomes and work an average of 13 hours a week more than men (17 hours a day). Women are not only the main caretakers of children, the sick and the elderly, but are also primarily responsible for feeding their families. They account for 75% of the workforce that grows, processes and markets food. But the importance of women's work, whether it's raising children or plowing fields, is ignored.

For example, although African women often do more farm work than men, less than 1% of agricultural development loans are made to women. Where land reforms have been part of development schemes, they have often reduced women's access to land by assigning ownership titles only to men (the exception in

Rwanda is a recent hard-won victory of women's organizations). In keeping with the US designation of Africa's place in the global economy, development strategies have privileged exportbound cash crops controlled by men over food crops grown by women. The threat of famine rises as poor countries become unable to feed themselves and dependent on volatile market forces to import food from the North.

US policymakers continue to insist that "development" will eventually flow from the same macro-economic policies that benefit US stockholders. But development is not a function of Gross Domestic Product or export ratios. Rather, development is a process by which people cultivate the skills and resources necessary for them to meet the needs of their communities and create conditions that enable people — individually and collectively — to realize their full potential. To achieve long-term development, local people need knowledge and political power to influence the interplay between policies at the local, national and international levels.

Poor and marginalized women, like those in MADRE's newest sister organization in Rwanda, are key actors in development. They are the people primarily responsible for meeting families' basic needs. And they are the world's majority who are denied the means to development. If we shift our perspective to the vantage point of these women, we see that many of the hardships they face are linked to policies favored by powerful people and institutions in the global North. When we expand our scope in this way, potential solutions also begin to come into focus: once we see that famine is not caused by bad weather, but by bad policies, we can begin to identify alternative policies. Together with our sister organizations, MADRE works to create these alternatives and fights to put them into practice — in Africa and around the world.



MADRE representatives from Haiti at a strategy session for the Beijing + 5 Review Process in Lima, Peru.

#### BEIJING + 5

In 1995, MADRE representatives were among the 40,000 women who gathered outside Beijing, China for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. The Platform for Action produced by the conference represents the most extensive set of commitments ever made by governments to safeguard women's rights. Now MADRE is part of an international initiative assessing governments' progress in fulfilling those commitments. This "Beijing + 5 Review Process," will culminate in June at a Special Session of the UN General Assembly.

MADRE has brought women from our sister organizations in Haiti, Guatemala and Nicaragua into this important process. We chose to focus on the needs of indigenous women who are often mar-

ginalized even inside the global women's movement. With a shared commitment to issues of reproductive rights, economic justice and the needs of young and indigenous women, 10 MADRE representatives attended international preparatory meetings in Lima, Peru and New York. They shared experiences and organizing strategies with women from all over the world, educating others and learning new skills to apply to their own work for social change. In New York, MADRE conducted a training for our partners on how to effectively lobby their governments to improve international laws that affect women and how

to maintain the lobbying process at the national level once they are back home.

#### RWANDA: Reconstruction and Reconciliation

MADRE has begun work with a remarkable group of women in Rwanda, who are part of an organization called BENIMPUHWE ("From the Heart" in Kinyarwanda). These women — including genocide survivors and women from the community that perpetrated the slaughter — have pulled together to confront shared problems of extreme poverty, homelessness, bereavement and trauma. Together, they have set out to build a new community on the scorched earth of the genocide: 180 small homes and an agricultural project to sustain them. Housing and food are critical needs for the many single mothers among the women, their children and the war orphans in their care. But BENIMPUHWE enables these women to move beyond survival to the hope of renewal. Because as they build their modest houses, these women are also building a new Rwanda, one based on equality rather than ethnicity.

But conditions are harsh. The tiny village has no electricity, no paved roads and worst of all, no potable water. The nearest water source is three kilometers away. The women walk the route daily, carrying heavy loads of water back to their families. With no way to sanitize their drinking water, people in the community contract illnesses that can be fatal. Their hardship is shared by more than half the population of Africa, where 400 million people



MADRE staff (right) with BENIMPUHWE representatives Odette Gatogi and Suzanne Ruboneka (left).







MADRE Program Coordinator Elena Arengo at a gathering of the "Central American Network of Women in Solidarity with Maquila Workers." MADRE supports the Network as part of our THREADS program, which offers women sweatshop workers training and support to fight for their rights in the workplace.

lack potable water and three million people die needlessly every year from water-related illnesses.

When we asked the women of BENIMPUHWE how MADRE could best support their efforts, they didn't hesitate: a potable water project is their single biggest need. We were able to contribute \$18,000 towards a \$40,000 safe water project and we are committed to raising more funds for the project.

MADRE is also working to supplement BENIMPUHWE's agricultural training program. Rwanda's national agriculture policy is under the control of the World Bank, which claims to make loans to farmers. But the funds are available only for large-scale agri-business (mostly coffee exporters). Women subsistence farmers like those of BENIM-PUHWE, are far below the radar of such programs. But thanks to MADRE members' response to our March appeal, each BENIMPUHWE family is receiving a few chickens and goats. The livestock will provide additional food during the current drought and eggs that can be sold to generate some income for doctor's visits and school fees (costs resulting from Structural Adjustment Programs).

Amongst the many hardships facing women and families in Rwanda is AIDS. Around the world, the spread of HIV is linked to extreme poverty, warfare and migration. Rwanda's 1994 genocide (including a policy of mass rape) intensified all three of these factors. Today Rwanda is one the most AIDS-infected countries in the world. Together with our partner, the Clinic of Hope in Kigali, MADRE is supporting a public education program on the spread and prevention of HIV/AIDS.

MADRE's Share Hope campaign recently delivered over \$700,000 worth of Tamaxofin to a Cuban hospital. This critical breast cancer treatment is virtually unavailable in Cuba because of the US trade embargo. A plaque with the names of MADRE members

who contributed to the shipment now hangs in the hospital. Some of these same MADRE members joined our January Voyages with a Vision Delegation and saw first-hand Cuba's determination to provide for its people despite the deprivation caused by the embargo. The delegation delivered medical supplies to the Cuban Red Cross and much-loved toys to a child treatment center, bringing the total retail value of MADRE's shipments to Cuba to nearly \$1 million in under one year. Now MADRE is continuing our campaign to bring

urgently-needed AIDS medication to Cuba.

Klinik Fanm is growing! This MADRE-supported women's clinic, located in one of Port-au-Prince's poorest areas, offers hope and healing at a time when Haiti is mired in renewed political violence and 70% unemployment. Equipped with a recent shipment of medicines and supplies from MADRE, Klinik Fanm has extended its services to include children. The women of the clinic made sure to design the new program in a way that strengthens their commitment to women's health: as mothers bring their children for treatment, they themselves become patients at the clinic. Now the hundreds of women who have come to rely on Klinik Fanm can find high-quality, affordable healthcare for their children. And, through the pediatric program, new women are reaching the clinic and benefiting from its ongoing programs of primary care for women, reproductive healthcare and family planning, antiviolence education and human rights training.

June 20-30, 2000 just a few days left to sign up!

#### CUBA

August 4-12, 2000

and stay tuned for news about trips to HAITI and NICARAGUA's ATLANTIC COAST in the fall ....

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