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The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has been working since 1915 to unite women worldwide who oppose oppression and exploitation. WILPF stands for equality of all people in a world free of racism, sexism, and homophobia; the building of a constructive peace through world disarmament; and the changing of government priorities to meet human needs.

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### Cover:



"I Will Set You Free" by Cheryl Braganza (1945–2016). © Cheryl Braganza. Reprinted by permission. Named Montreal's Woman of the Year in 2008 for using her art as a tool to advocate for women's rights all over the world, Cheryl Braganza said: "I want my art to play a role in lifting people's spirits, in

challenging their assumptions, in provoking thought . . . thus promoting dialogue between peoples towards peace." Please visit the GoFundMe site [www.gofundme.com/cherylbraganza](http://www.gofundme.com/cherylbraganza) to learn more and to support efforts to preserve and promote her artwork, writing, and poetry and to make it available to nonprofits that support women's rights.

# Women Organizing for Action

## Putting Imagination to Work—Congress 2017

By Mary Hanson Harrison

President, WILPF US Section

**A** little girl was rushed during the night into a bomb shelter in Israel, near the Syrian border. Cold and scared, she could not sleep. To quiet her fears, her father told her: “Picture a little girl just across the border in Syria who is also in her bed and afraid of the noises, and wish her sweet dreams.”

Yifat Susskind, Executive Director of MADRE, was that little girl who imagined the possibility of another little girl just like her, huddled in another cigarette smoke-filled shelter. It was a revelation that night, Susskind tells us in her TEDx talk, “Fighting the Poverty of Imagination: Building a Future That Never Was,” that there actually were children in Syria, that the “other” existed as a human being. This expanding of her imagination guides her work today.

Whatever the reality of the moment—an event, a challenge, an opportunity, a call to action, or a loving suggestion like that of Yifat’s father—how long does it take for that moment of imagining to be realized?

The freedom to imagine and to create is essential to the survival of humankind. As Jane Addams noted more than a century ago, in *Democracy and Social Ethics*, “much of the insensibility and hardness of the world is due to the lack of imagination which prevents a realization of the experiences of other people.” This is the starting point for changing the system.

Since WILPF’s founding, we have held to creating a world of peace and freedom. Over the decades WILPF US has taken up many issues in our campaigns, issue committees, and branch and member work to do just that: realize this hope, this dream of peace and freedom.

At the end of July 2017, by coming together in Chicago, on the University of Illinois Chicago campus, we have the opportunity to imagine again how, in renewed commitment to “next steps,” we can move closer to this imagined world of peace and freedom. We are faced with the great challenge of building a resilient, creative force to counter the policies being propagated within the new US administration and cabinet, Congress, and the military/industrial/security state complex.



Mary Hanson Harrison. Photo: Rodger Routh.

To rise to this challenge and opportunity, this Triennial Congress will offer topic-oriented workshops to complement and strengthen the analysis and focus of the issue committees. There will be blocks of time for all members to meet with the issue committee they wish to work with, and there will be time for branches and at-large members to meet together in regional groups. There will be skills workshops on diversity and anti-oppression, building effective alliances and networking, storytelling to change the narrative toward peace and freedom, and learning how to use media as a tool to accomplish our mission. This Congress provides the opportunity to move from imagination to creative and effective short- and long-term goals over the next three years, leading toward the 34th Triennial.

**We have the opportunity to imagine again how, in renewed commitment to “next steps,” we can move closer to this imagined world of peace and freedom.**

This may seem a huge task, but it is the possibilities that imagining can bring to the reality of our world today that give us compassion when we are angered, faith when all around seems darkened, and courage to rise up together!

Let’s not forget that soon after the signing of the egregious Versailles Treaty in 1919, Jane Addams closed the 1919 International Congress of Women with this challenge: “We shall have to learn to use moral energy, to put a new sort of force into the world and believe that it is a vital thing—the only thing, in this moment of sorrow and death and destruction, that will heal the world. . . .”

Come join us in Chicago—to learn from and to talk with one another and to bring forth the energy and creativity to *put the power of our imagination to work!*

# Protecting the Children of Congo

## Boston WILPF Impels Action on Congo Conflict Minerals

By Julie Kabukanyi and Pat Aron

**A prime cause of the complex, international conflict in Congo is the pursuit of mineral wealth.**

**I**t was an unusual place for peace and social justice activists to be gathered—standing around the desk of Massachusetts Governor Charlie Baker. Near the members of Boston WILPF's Congo Action Now project were mayors, legislators, and news cameras as the governor completed a ceremonial signing of the Massachusetts Congo Conflict Minerals bill on February 2, 2017. A month earlier, the bill had been signed into law. The public ceremony was held to bring attention to the new law and the devastation caused by the conflict minerals trade in the Democratic Republic of Congo. In his opening comments, the governor thanked Congo Action Now for “opening his eyes”—and those of legislators—to the horrors of the conflict in Congo and to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts's responsibility to end any complicity in the conflict minerals trade that is perpetuating the atrocities.

Today, the Democratic Republic of Congo is the world's poorest country per capita, yet it is one of the most resource-rich areas on earth. Until the sixteenth century, the Kingdom of Kongo was a major international trading crossroads. When colonial powers seized control, its history shifted—to one of oppression, assassination, exploitation, and war. The country's ivory, rubber, and minerals enriched corporations and countries throughout the world. When Patrice Lumumba made his first speech as Prime Minister of the newly independent nation in 1960, he declared that Congo's wealth would now stay in the country, to be used for the benefit of the Congolese people. That assertion led to his assassination, a tragedy from which the country has yet to recover.

For more than 20 years, the Democratic Republic of Congo has been at war. Fighting has devastated the eastern part of the country. This conflict, the world's deadliest since World War II, has claimed more than 6 million lives. Sexual violence is a pervasive weapon in this war; as many as 2 million women and girls have been raped as a result of the fighting. The United Nations has called eastern Congo “the most dangerous place in the world to be a woman.” An average of 2,000 people per day are displaced by the fighting. Tens of thousands of child soldiers are conscripted by warring militias, many of them girls who

are also forced into sex slavery. (Pat Hynes writes of the exploitation of girl soldiers in the accompanying article, “Girl Soldiers: Forgotten Casualties of War.”)

The conflict in Congo is international and it is complex, but a prime cause of the fighting is the pursuit of mineral wealth. Eastern Congo is blessed—and cursed—with vast deposits of rare earth minerals. Essential components of cell phones and other digital items, these lucrative minerals provide profits that finance and perpetuate the war. Multiple militias (many of them supported by other countries) fight for control of Congo's minerals, using murder, rape, and other atrocities as strategies to intimidate and control communities. Just recently, many members of the Congolese diaspora and other Massachusetts residents lost a beloved friend when Father Vincent Machozi was assassinated after returning to eastern Congo. Father Machozi was killed for denouncing the atrocities occurring in Beni, where militias have killed hundreds of people and driven more than 88,000 from their homes.

### Legislative Lobbying

In 2009, federal Congo Conflict Minerals legislation was enacted as Section 1502 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. Section 1502 requires that publicly traded companies disclose whether their products contain conflict minerals (tin, tungsten, tantalum, and gold) from militia-controlled mines in the Democratic Republic of Congo. When, in 2011, California became the first state to consider legislation reinforcing Section 1502 by prohibiting the state from contracting with companies not in compliance with the federal law, Congo Action Now decided to attempt to get a similar law passed in Massachusetts. To its wide range of actions was added a new focus: legislative lobbying.

Congo Action Now's work has always focused on supporting the people of Congo by raising public awareness of the war and the epidemic of sexual violence and by influencing US policymakers to support a democratic Congo uncontrolled by the international conflict minerals trade. From its beginning, Congo Action Now has worked in close collaboration with the New England Congolese community, with Congolese activists central to its core

working group. It has engaged students from colleges throughout Massachusetts and supervised student interns on awareness-raising and advocacy projects. Congo Action Now's undertakings have included supporting federal legislation on conflict minerals and violence against women; lobbying US foreign policy officials; proposing and getting a resolution passed by the Cambridge City Council; making presentations to educational, religious, and civic organizations; holding vigils; participating in conferences, marches, and festivals; leading post-performance theater discussions; and supporting survivors of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Passage of the Massachusetts Congo Conflict Minerals bill, from its initial drafting to its signing by the governor, required almost six years of intensive and arduous work. Support for the bill had to be built—often one legislator at a time—by holding hundreds of meetings with legislators and aides; collecting and delivering letters from constituents; making public presentations; organizing phoning, emailing, and letter-writing efforts; testifying at hearings; and walking the corridors of the State House for hours. A key team of passionate supporters developed following a presentation before the Caucus of Women Legislators. Congo Action Now mobilized hundreds of Massachusetts residents and brought together over 50 local, national, and international organizations to endorse and work for the legislation (among them, the Congolese Women Association of New England, Amnesty International USA, Africa Faith and Justice Network, Congolese Community of Massachusetts, Global Witness, Physicians for Human Rights, Mwinda Catholic Congolese Community, Our Bodies Ourselves, and Traprock Center for Peace and Justice).

The Massachusetts Senate revised the bill originally filed by Representative Marty Walsh (now mayor of Boston), deleting reference to Section 1502 compliance. The enacted law requires the development of procurement policies on Congo conflict minerals and human rights issues following a study of best practices. This differ-



From left: Looking on as Governor Charlie Baker signs the Massachusetts Congo Conflict Minerals bill, standing, from left: Mayor of Cambridge Denise Simmons, Estelle Disch, Pat Aron, Julie Kabukanyi, Leonard Tshitenge, Laurie Taymor-Berry, Representative Ruth Balsler, and Senator Joseph Boncore. Photo: Alastair Pike.

entiation from Dodd-Frank will allow Massachusetts to implement the law regardless of the current attacks on Dodd-Frank and specifically on Section 1502. By limiting funds to groups that are perpetuating the fighting, the people of Massachusetts have joined the states of California and Maryland in taking action to protect the children of Congo from a future stigmatized by war and sexual violence.

**ACTION ALERT:** The administration is preparing an executive order suspending Section 1502, and the Section's regulations have been reopened for comments with an eye toward destroying them—actions that will lead to militias regaining their predominance in the mining industry.

**Please take the following actions:**

- Contact the White House: call 202-456-1414 or email [www.whitehouse.gov/contact#page](http://www.whitehouse.gov/contact#page) and ask “the President” not to suspend Dodd-Frank Section 1502.
- Submit comments supporting Section 1502 to the Securities and Exchange Commission: for instructions, go to [sec.gov](http://sec.gov), click on “Regulation,” then “How to Submit Comments” (under “Quick Links”).

*Julie Kabukanyi is an at-large member of WILPF, a registered nurse, and President of the Congolese Women Association of New England. Pat Aron is a member of Boston WILPF, a retired social worker, and Chairperson of Congo Action Now.*

# Girl Soldiers: Forgotten Casualties of War

By H. Patricia Hynes

**We need to recognize the hypocrisy of passing a law to protect children caught in conflict and then violating it for that morbid excuse of “national security.”**

**A**t any given time, about 300,000 children between the ages of 8 and 18 are exploited as child soldiers in scores of civil and international conflicts in Africa, Asia and Colombia. In Sierra Leone’s civil war (1991–2001), 80 percent of fighters were between 7 and 15 years old; in Liberia’s conflict (1989–2003), up to 70 percent of government and rebel troops were children. Forty percent of soldiers slain in Colombia were children; the Lord’s Resistance Army in Uganda is mainly composed of children. They are abducted from agricultural fields, or taken en route to school or market, or when their village is attacked. Others join for reasons of extreme poverty and hunger; fleeing family abuse; revenge for enemy brutality upon their family; being drawn to a popular cause; and, in the case of some boys, as a way to garner respect from male elders. In-depth investigators of child soldiers conclude, “. . . never before in the history of warfare have children been so exploited on such a vast scale.”

What most people do not realize is how many child soldiers are girls—an estimated 40 percent, who are exploited, like boy soldiers, as servants, cooks, porters, spies, human shields, suicide bombers and fighters. In Sri Lanka, more than 43 percent of 50,000 children in armed groups were girls, a finding determined during peace talks between warring parties and UNICEF and documented by journalist Jimmie Briggs. Deepening their trauma, girls are taken into sexual slavery by boy soldiers, adult soldiers and commanders and, in some cases, sold in exchange for weapons. Given the popular image of boys as child soldiers, hundreds of thousands of girls constitute an invisible army and “forgotten casualties of war” in the rehabilitation process following the cessation of armed conflict.

Armed groups target children for wars because children—and particularly girls, because of sex discrimina-



Girl in front of destroyed homes in Ngaoundaye, Central African Republic. Since early 2007, the troubled region has been caught up in fighting between APRD rebels and government troops. © Pierre Holtz | OCHA.

tion—are obedient, vulnerable and malleable. Children can be more easily indoctrinated into being the next generation of armed rebels and terrorists. Child soldiers are cheap because they are unpaid and eat less than adults; and they provide functions such as cooking, cleaning and portering, thus freeing up adult soldiers for more rigorous fighting. With the prevalence of light but deadly weapons, both girls and boys are trained for combat. In a 2002 survey, nearly half the interviewed girls in armed groups described their primary role as “fighter.”

Despite their utility as fighters and servants, girl soldiers are raped, prostituted, mutilated, infected with sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, and made pregnant by soldiers. Many are permanently injured and will suffer lifelong pain as a result of multiple rapes and untreated infections. Returning to their villages and homes, numerous girls have reported that they are rejected as filthy and immoral, and they are blamed

for disgracing family and community honor. Even more shunned are girls who return pregnant or with children born of rape. Losing family and social support, they are compelled to turn to prostitution or stay with an abusive ex-soldier “husband” in order to raise their child and survive.

Moreover, even after commitments to release child soldiers, armed groups often refuse to give up girls, holding them captive as “wives.” Thus, the full cycle of misogyny entraps girls: ruthlessly violated as child soldiers, ostracized when returning home and often not released in the “peace” process.

### **Employing children in armed conflict is a crime against humanity.**

Fifteen-year-old Grace Akallo was abducted in 1996 with 29 other high school girls from her boarding school dormitory at St. Mary’s College Kisubi in northern Uganda by warlord Joseph Kony and rebel soldiers of the Lord’s Resistance Army. Physically, the girls were pushed to the point of death, walking barefoot, given little food and water and beaten with sticks and the butts of rifles. And spiritually, they were driven to the point of death, forced to torture and kill other children—sometimes a sibling—in a seasoning process designed to dehumanize them, extinguish their consciences and break their wills. Kony forced the girls to train with AK-47s. He also distributed them among his commanders as “wives.” They were expected to fight even with babies strapped to their backs.

Akallo was given to a man “older than her father,” who on first encounter seized her and raped her. “I felt like a thorn was in my skin as my innocence was destroyed,” she wrote of his sexual violence. In her community, the stigma of rape is so extreme that ex-girl soldiers will admit to murder before they will admit to having been raped.

In contrast to the outcast plight of girl soldiers, many boy soldiers earn a manly status in their communities. Leymah Gbowee, the Liberian Nobel Peace Prize laureate, works with ex-child soldiers from Charles Taylor’s army during Liberia’s civil war. Joseph, a boy she counseled, explained that he became a child soldier because “boys who joined the rebellion came back and were really respected and were often seen in the company of the elders and community leaders.”

Gbowee is convinced that the nexus between violence, weapons and manhood is responsible for drawing many former boy soldiers into the brutal, macho cycle of war. Many of the girls she assisted were “child wives” of

the ex-soldiers and had been abducted, raped and beaten into submission. With no exit, each girl was “caught up in a spiral of one individual trying to prove his maleness. . . . The abuse women suffer during conflict is a reflection of the interaction between men and women, boys and girls, during peace time.”

Compounding the excruciating burdens of girl soldiers is the failure of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs of the United Nations and international nongovernmental organizations—programs intended to help former child soldiers with education, job skills and fitting back into society. Save the Children’s 2005 report, “Forgotten Casualties of War: Girls in Armed Conflict,” concludes that girls are caught between “recrimination from the armed group if they leave and from the community if they return home” and are invisible in the reintegration programs. The misogyny and neglect on all sides has sent many of them into prostitution for survival or resulted in their suicides. Former girl soldiers are more than twice as likely to commit suicide as their male counterparts. . . .

We in the United States need a national floodlight on the issue of child soldiers. Employing children, by whatever means, in armed conflict is a crime against humanity recognized by the International Criminal Court. Forty percent of funding available for the rehabilitation of child soldiers should be dedicated to the reintegration of girls within their communities. Leaders who use child soldiers should be prosecuted and indicted. We need to research countries that traffic in arms and whose businesses invest in or conduct trade with countries that use child soldiers. And violators should be publicized, stigmatized and boycotted.

We need to frame and shame the hypocrisy of passing a law to protect children caught in conflict and then violating it for that morbid excuse of “national security”—a coverall for American militarism, xenophobia, torture, erasure of civil rights and sexual exploitation. Otherwise, political statements that women’s rights are human rights are a sham.

A slightly longer version of this article was published in *Truthdig*, October 19, 2016. Reprinted by permission.

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# The Commission on the Status of Women 2017

## A Report

By Robin Lloyd

Burlington Branch and co-chair of DISARM/End Wars

**T**he annual gathering of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) at the UN in New York City involves more global citizens in UN processes than any other UN event. Women care about the UN. Those of us who took part in the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women (1995) remember the excitement when we met our sisters eye to eye and committed ourselves to global solidarity. We're not going to let go.

However, this year, for the first time, attendance suffered a decline. Why? The Trump immigration ban denied visas to women from the Middle East, precisely the women whose voices we need to hear. WILPF International, which had planned several panel discussions featuring women from Syria and Yemen, sharply criticized this decision and withdrew from this year's CSW. WILPF warned that "the absence of women from countries affected by the recent US travel ban undermines the basic premise of the CSW as being an inclusive and participatory process and threatens its legitimacy." Although most other women's groups, including WILPF US, did not withdraw, they expressed solidarity by including an empty chair in their panels with a sign, "Why is this chair empty? #NoBordersOnGenderJustice."

US WILPF's special program for college students—the Practicum in Advocacy—was smaller than usual, with seven students. Blanca Gerard of the Essex County, NJ Branch was the sole participant in the Local2Global program for WILPF members who are active in their branches or at large. Nancy Price and Barbara Nielsen participated as members of the overall oversight committee of the program. Maureen Eke, professor and WILPF US board member, and Lamia Sadek, former managing director of WILPF US were to lead a "parallel event" at the Church Center across from the UN—with the title "Empowering Indigenous Women and Young Girls: Ending Economic Exploitation"—but it was scheduled for Tuesday, March 14, the day of the big blizzard. Everything was canceled, and, unfortunately, this workshop was not rescheduled.

The following comments reflect my experiences and

opinions as an emeritus Local2Global participant.

The focus of CSW61 was *Women's Economic Empowerment in the Changing World of Work*. Representatives of 162 member states met for two weeks to create a 17-page document designed to advance women's rights globally. They do this every year. Meanwhile, over 3,900 representatives from 580 civil society organizations met concurrently across the street and shared what was going on in their countries and strategized on how they might influence the outcome document.

### **What impact will these 17 pages of seemingly progressive statements for women's equality have on the streets and in the sweatshops and brothels around the world?**

*The Guardian* newspaper called the CSW negotiations "a display of geo-politics and a battleground to preserve decades-old agreements on promoting gender equality." Indeed, the inside/outside relationship is complex and gets more difficult every year. How does one try to "lobby" our United States UN representative (Nikki Haley), when everyone knows her positions are determined by Washington? And what impact will these 17 pages of seemingly progressive statements for women's equality have on women on the streets and in the sweatshops and brothels around the world? The 45 different points begin "the Commission reaffirms," "the Commission recognizes," or "the Commission calls for." The Commission never says "demands," "insists," or "orders."

A wise woman—and there are many who stride the hallways and take part in the NGO sessions at the Church Center—suggested a way to look at the final document. Her name is Marta Benevides. She is a progressive activist and former WILPF member from El Salvador. In conversation, she said to me: "These documents [including the Millennium Development Goals 2000–2015 and the Sustainable Development goals 2015–2030] should be looked at as a modern-day version of the Sermon on the Mount: moral teachings on peace and gender justice



In solidarity with other organizations and panel discussions, the Madre-sponsored workshop, “A Strategy Session to Confront the Global Surge to the Right,” placed an empty chair as part of the panel, representing the many women unable to attend the CSW because of the Trump travel ban. At the table is Yifat Suskind, Executive Director of Madre. Photo: Robin Lloyd.

that should be seen as the agreed values of the world community to be used by groups and individuals when they are faced with injustice or indifference on the part of their government.” With righteous indignation, activists can argue “You consented on this document; you must follow its dictates!”

## Dare to Invent the Future

Thus, it depends on the nongovernmental activists, waiting to take the final document back to their countries, to hold their governments accountable.

Some of the panel discussions I listened to explained service projects they performed in their countries. Others supported business interests and explained how women can become entrepreneurs in Africa. One lively debate was titled “A Strategy Session to Confront the Global Surge to the Right.” Yifat Suskind of MADRE: Demanding Rights, Resources, and Results for Women Worldwide asked: “What is the historical movement we are moving through now? Who is most in danger now? We’re differently positioned in this crisis. We must take this difference and build a resilient movement to encounter the ascendant populist and authoritarian upsurge of the moment.” Hakima Abbas of the Association of Women’s

Rights in Development (AWID) added: “So many forms of oppression have been normalized, such as inequality: the obeisance and homage the media encourages us to give to billionaires and celebrities.”

Kavita Ramdas, who directs the Global Fund for Women, the largest foundation in the world supporting women’s human rights, pointed out that eight men control the same wealth as 50 percent of the global population. “Everything is so exploitive of the earth,” she cried. “All relationships are now transactional. This system is not sustainable.”

Another woman who heads Women Moving Millions—now a black-led philanthropy—stated that, from her perspective, the worldwide threat to women is the threat to reproductive rights. Now, she said, they are pushing against contraception. A woman from Poland spoke up and described the women-led demonstrations in the streets of over 60 cities protesting the criminalization of abortion. “Women’s power has been awakened. How do we maintain it? How will we not get tired?”

At another workshop, “Corporate Power and Women’s Economic Empowerment,” a critique was made of the increased encouragement within the UN of public-private partnerships, when the risk is always put on the public sector. Unions have decreasing power vis-à-vis corporations, but they do have labor rights. After the Bangladesh labor catastrophe, unions gained some money and rights. But the workers still receive only \$68 a month!!

A woman from the Solidarity Center, which supports global union movements through the AFL-CIO, remarked that trade unions are battling corporations on a daily basis. But there are many restrictions on strikes. Unions are afraid of being sued if they go on strike to support another union. “But if we don’t fight, how are we going to win? We support a GLOBAL STRIKE!!”

These were some of the comments coming out of the more radical workshops that I attended. We have to disrupt the consensus. The governments are not working for the people. We must be daring enough to invent the future.

# Economic Empowerment, Peace, and Security

## Connections, Opportunities, Constraints

By Valentine M. Moghadam, with Coryrose LeBlanc and Chloe Lesieur

**Empowerment can only be enjoyed by all women if there are radical changes to our world system.**

**T**he theme of the 61st session of the UN's Commission on the Status of Women—*Women's Economic Empowerment in the Changing World of Work*—which took place in New York, March 13–24, 2017, raises the question of what link, if any, exists between women's economic empowerment, on the one hand, and peace and security, on the other. To what extent can today's chaotic world of gross income inequalities, climate change, and conflict and war be connected to women's subordination and exclusion from economic and political decision making?

Does women's economic empowerment mean *access* and *equal opportunities* to jobs, housing, health care, and so on? Surely that is insufficient, for we know that the formal right to housing or nondiscrimination does not necessarily translate into the enjoyment of a good job with benefits. Does it mean promoting women's *entrepreneurship*, self-employment, and small business development, whether through microcredits or bank loans? Surely that too is insufficient, given the reality that such forms of economic activity are not accompanied by the necessary support structures or services; such work therefore becomes onerous, self-exploitative, or impossible for working mothers in particular.

Challenges facing women's economic empowerment in the developing world differ from those in the developed world, although common problems include uneven distribution of care work, lack of access to affordable child care, discrimination in the hiring process and workplace, and the gender pay gap. Many of the CSW discussions noted that the economic empowerment of certain women can involve the exploitation of low-income and migrant women working as nannies or maids.

An expansive conceptualization and measurement of women's economic empowerment entails what the International Labour Organization (ILO) defines as “decent work”—“productive work for women and men in conditions of freedom, equity, security, and human dignity”—along with paid maternity leave of a sufficient duration, affordable and quality child care facilities, whether at the workplace or in the community, and encouragement of paternity leave. These should be regarded as rights of citizenship, to be

guaranteed by governments as well as employers.

At CSW61, many of the sessions pertained to the social and economic importance of women's economic participation; the significance of educational attainment for women's economic participation, advancement, and rights; gender pay gaps in the private and public sectors; informal and non-standard work; the ways that women's care-giving and family responsibilities impede their access to jobs and advancement; economic and employment discrimination faced by indigenous women; challenges and achievements in the implementation of the MDGs for women and girls; enhancing the use and availability of data; and examples of how government and NGOs work together to improve women's economic conditions and rights.

Some of the government statements were substantive, such as one by the representative of Mongolia, who called for “a global women's bank,” similar, she said, to the World Bank. The representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran spoke of vocational training and skills upgrading programs to assist women's employment and advancement, in such fields as mechanics, computers, electronics, and ICT. She mentioned that women's economic participation in the private sector had increased, and that there were now 325 women-led cooperatives. It was gratifying to hear, from the Moroccan representative, that the arms trade to the Middle East should stop, if both peace and financing for women's economic empowerment were to become genuine priorities. An Iraqi woman delegate spoke of the “exceptional circumstances” in her country of widespread violence, including violence against women, and displacement. Fourteen years after the Bush administration made the terrible decision to invade and occupy Iraq, the country continues to suffer.

### Economic Precarity

A representative of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), Chidi C. J. King, argued that “urgent action is needed to improve working conditions,” adding that in most countries today, “the environment for trade unions is restricted with respect to the flow of information, organizing.” In the context of neoliberal capitalist globalization, liberalized markets and free trade have benefited some



countries and populations within them, but they also have driven out small businesses, undercut domestic producers, and promoted “the race to the bottom.”

A representative of Nigeria’s Federation of Nurses spoke of the problems of employment precarity and the importance of unions and collective bargaining to ensure progressive labor rights and social rights that would also serve to enable women to enter and remain in the labor force. A trade unionist from Rwanda spoke of flaws in the global financial system that allowed for offshore accounts and tax evasion that undermine development spending and employment generation, compelling many women to seek income in the informal sector—which, however, does not offer any social protection, much less job security.

At the parallel events at the UN or at the NGO side events, delegates spoke openly and critically about the state of women’s economic conditions and rights, the adverse global environment for women’s economic empowerment, and the needed policies. A representative from the International Network for Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ESCR) discussed labor standards, decent wages, and cyclical economic oppression. In our capitalistic world, core countries import labor in order to circumvent their own labor standards and enjoy goods and services at low prices; in so doing, they perpetuate labor exploitation. At the ESCR session, a Filipina named Arlyn shared her story of working in a plastic-producing factory. She works seven days a week, twelve hours a day, with only one hour’s break. At the end of the week she takes home \$14. Arlyn asked her supervisor why they made such little money, despite the enormous amount of product they make each day. Her supervisor responded by firing her.

Decent work—well-paying jobs with good benefits; policies to enable families to balance work and family responsibilities; recognition of women’s care work and its redistribution so that women can reconcile work and family and be guaranteed a decent pension or retirement plan—eludes most workers. Women’s “human capital” has been improving across the world, but gender bias persists and education has not proved to be the great equalizer. Civil conflict, wars, invasions, and occupations impede or reverse any gains for women, exacerbate or

reinforce patriarchal controls over women, or compel women to make a living through prostitution. In such a global environment, then, how can women attain economic empowerment? In particular, how can Sustainable Development Goal 8—full and productive employment and decent work for all—be realized?

One answer was clear: workers need to organize to maintain, expand, or establish decent work conditions. At an AFL-CIO session, Cathy Feingold, head of the international affairs department, said that only 7 percent of all workers globally are organized; in the USA the proportion is 12 percent, though half of that figure consists of women workers. She introduced women union leaders from Cambodia (representing garment workers), New York and the Dominican Republic (from UNITE HERE, which organizes food, beverages, and retail workers), and Atlanta (representing the National Domestic Workers Alliance). All spoke of the rewards, and difficulties, of organizing.

The ESCR network goes further: form female-led unions, because women are overrepresented among exploited laborers. Women leaders should maintain a comprehensive list of demands, including fair wages, increased access to education, and employer-sponsored benefits financed by taxation. Access to these rights will halt the cyclical nature of exploitation. And because many governments disguise impoverishment by setting a low poverty line, activists should fight to raise the poverty line.

## Violence, Conflict, and War

Several side events focused on domestic violence, sexual harassment, unequal family laws, and harmful traditional practices as impediments to women’s economic participation and empowerment. Nigeria’s Ministry of Women’s Affairs organized an event on eliminating female genital mutilation, to “enhance women’s productivity and overall contribution to the gross domestic product.” ActionAid, the African Women’s Development and Communication Network, and the Association for Women’s Rights in Development focused on key strategies and opportunities for ending violence against women and girls and

*Continued on page 22.*

# Rank Order Voting

## The Example of Cambridge, Massachusetts

By Jim Allison

**M**aine's November 2016 referendum for ranked choice voting may have kindled some interest in the practical mechanics of this kind of system as applied on a smaller political scale than state-wide elections. Municipal elections in Cambridge, Massachusetts, may provide a robust, venerable example.

First, a little history. In 1938 the governor of Massachusetts signed a bill that enabled cities to adopt a fifth kind of charter, called Plan E, modeled on a charter that had found success in Cincinnati, Ohio. Plan E provided for a city-manager form of government, and for proportional representation (PR) elections.

### Advocates claimed that PR voting would guarantee majority rule and also give minority groups representation proportional to their actual strength.

In Cambridge, advocates of Plan E claimed that PR voting would guarantee majority rule but would also give minority groups representation proportional to their actual strength. Opponents said PR voting would arouse group prejudices, make voting a lottery, cost too much, and exaggerate the power of City Council. In 1938 Plan E was defeated by 1,767 votes. In 1940 it won by 7,552 votes, prevailing in eight of the eleven wards. The first Plan E government took office in 1942, and since then PR voting has faced and survived five referenda on whether to repeal or retain it—in 1952, 1953, 1957, 1961, and 1965.

If you want to run for City Council or School Committee in Cambridge, Massachusetts, this is how it works. Elections take place in November in odd-numbered years. A candidate must be a voter registered in Cambridge, 18 years old by Election Day, a US citizen, and a resident of Cambridge. A candidate must file at least 50 and no more than 100 certifiable signatures of voters registered in the city. You can pick up a candidate kit at the Election Commission office early in July, and your nomination papers will probably be due around the end of July.

You will likely already know something about how to

vote in a PR election. To focus on City Council, chances are you have already heard that a PR election ensures both minority representation on the Council and majority control of the Council. More specifically, in Cambridge any group of voters with more than one-tenth of the total vote can surely elect at least one member of the nine-member Council, but a majority group can surely elect a majority of the Council. (See note 1.)

At the PR polling place, you can vote for as many candidates listed on the ballot as you want, but you have to rank them in order of preference.

### Here's an example of a valid ballot, where the voter ranks Candidate A first, B second, and C third:

Candidate A: ① 2 3  
Candidate B: 1 ② 3  
Candidate C: 1 2 ③

### Here's an invalid ballot, where the voter votes twice for one candidate:

Candidate A: ① ② 3

### In this invalid ballot, the voter expresses the same choice for more than one candidate:

Candidate A: ① 2 3  
Candidate B: ① 2 3

The counting of the ballots is an intricate dance that can grow more attractive with familiarity. First we sort the ballots by the first preference shown on each valid ballot. It may help to visualize the result of this sort as several stacks of ballots, a separate stack for each candidate, that stack comprising all of the ballots cast by voters who ranked that candidate as their first choice. Suppose we count the number of ballots in each of those stacks. Do we have a winner?

The answer: Any candidates who reach the "necessary quota" are declared elected. The "necessary quota" is defined as the number of valid ballots cast, divided by one more than the number of positions to be elected, plus one. For example, for the election of 9 City Councillors by 25,000 valid ballots, the necessary quota would be 25,000 divided by 10, plus 1, or 2,501.1 Any candidate whose first-choice stack contains at least 2,501 ballots is elected to City Council.



**Vote Here, Brooklyn, USA.** Credit: April Sikorski/Wikimedia Commons.

But what about those other ballots, if any, in excess of 2,501? Those are called “surplus ballots,” and are subject to a process called “transferring the surplus.” In the latter process we sort each winning candidate’s first-choice stack into two more stacks, one consisting of 2,501 ballots chosen at random and the other consisting of “surplus ballots.” That first stack can be said to have elected our candidate; we set it aside, and it plays no further role in the election. But we do now turn our attention to the surplus stack. For each ballot in that stack, we examine the voter’s second-choice candidate and promote that candidate to first. That is how we “transfer the surplus.” Having done so, we start the process

all over again, sorting the remaining ballots by the first preference shown on each ballot.

As the count goes on, we eliminate candidates receiving fewer than 50 votes. Their ballots are redistributed to the remaining candidates according to the next preferences marked on the ballots of the eliminated candidates.

After each distribution, the candidate now having the fewest votes is eliminated and that candidate’s ballots are redistributed according to the next indicated preferences.

As candidates are declared elected, no further ballots are transferred to them. This process continues until all candidates are eliminated except the nine City Council winners.

Back in the day, a team of over 100 workers took a week to conduct this count. Now the computerized tabulation process takes just a few seconds.

When do we get the Cambridge election results? An unofficial first count comes on election night, minutes after we get the memory card from the last reporting precinct. It is “unofficial,” in the sense that it does not yet include write-ins, ballots that could not be read by the optical

scanner at the precinct, overseas absentee ballots, or provisional ballots. It becomes official days later, when those votes enter the count.

For further information, visit [www.cambridgema.gov/election](http://www.cambridgema.gov/election).

1.  $(2,501/25,000)=0.10004$ , or just over 10%—which is how any group of voters with more than one-tenth of the total vote can surely elect at least one member of the nine-member Council.

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*Jim Allison is a member of the WILPF US Corporations v Democracy Committee and is Professor Emeritus of Psychology, Indiana University.*

# The Roots of Activism: Two Perspectives

## Growing into My Activist Self

By Nancy Price

Chair, WILPF US Earth Democracy Issue Committee

**O**ur early personal and family experiences are foundational to who we are and to how and when each of us came to find a place in WILPF. I know everyone who reads this brief narrative also has a compelling story, which I'd be eager to hear told.



Nancy Price marching in the TPP Rally, November 16, 2015. Photo: Harriet Heywood.

In the early 1950s, I was living near New York City, reading about Eleanor Roosevelt and going on family and high school class trips to the new United Nations building, just completed in 1952. I read Anne Frank's *Diary of a Young Girl* when it was published in English in 1952, and I listened to the many heartbreaking stories my father's Dutch, English, and German medical colleagues told around the tea or dinner table when they visited us in the late

1940s and early 1950s during research trips. I was fascinated, listening to UN General Assembly radio broadcasts, with their simultaneous English translations over the speakers from member countries, and stirred by the promise that this new global institution might create the conditions for peace and freedom.

With this background, then, at the age of 14, I took a bold stand for democracy and against imperialism. June 1953 was at the height of McCarthyism and the "Red Scare." My rather authoritarian Republican father supported US and British government attempts to imprison or, worse yet, assassinate Mohammad Mossadegh, who in 1951 had become Prime Minister of the democratically elected secular government of Iran, under the Shah. After all, how dare Mossadegh want to "nationalize" the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (now British Petroleum), which the British had founded after World War I? Mossadegh was labeled a communist and survived assassination plots, only to be imprisoned by the Shah for three years and then kept under house arrest until he died in



Nancy Price displays the Earth Democracy banner. Photo: Don Price. Banner design: Creative Independent Artists Front.

1967. That June in 1953, I certainly didn't realize I was arguing against patriarchy, but all through the anti-war and feminist 1960s, my father and I struggled to understand and love each other.

Years intervened. Then, in early 2000, because of my friendship with then WILPF member Jan Edwards, I was invited to join the WILPF "Challenging Corporate Power, Asserting the People's Rights" campaign, and later I was drawn into the "Save the Water" campaign that, at the Triennial Congress in Chapel Hill in 2011, evolved into Earth Democracy.

The many early summers spent in the woods and swimming in fresh pond and Atlantic Ocean waters led me to read Rachel Carson's *The Sea Around Us* when it first came out in 1951. But it was her *Silent Spring* that induced me, then in my 20s, to again challenge my father. As planes flew low over our Cape Cod lakeside cabin, spraying DDT on the tent caterpillars chewing their way through the oak trees, we argued whether he and the government knew best, or whether I did, with my concern that exposure to DDT might harm not just the caterpillars, but other insects and birds, and people in the area. I now realize I was arguing for the rights of nature and for the precautionary principle, which, much later, have grounded my work as a committed defender of Mother Earth.

## The Desire to Make a Difference

By Shilpa Pandey

Membership Development Chair, WILPF US Board

**W**hat picture usually comes to mind when we imagine a bunch of young women, 18 to 20-something years old? I would guess it might be an image of a group of giggling young girls, clad in shorts or casual attire. Well, that is exactly how I was in my 20s, like most others my age!

Growing up in the capital city of Delhi, India, in a family of well-established professionals, I was fortunate in many respects, if you consider that I was born female in a country that still must hang its head in shame when it comes to its record of female infanticide.

With this bit of background, I would like to share something about why I came to initiate the founding of a Young WILPF branch in India about eight years ago.

**If we are unable to tap into the vast potential of our youth, we will not be able to live up to the expectations of our foremothers.**

For a country that has almost 65 percent of its population under the age of 35, it seems ironic that India did not have a Young WILPF branch. This took me by surprise, because, historically, WILPF is an organization with an exceedingly glorious past, and if we are unable to tap into the vast potential of our youth, we will not be able to live up to the expectations of our foremothers.

India is a very diverse country. As school children, we often heard our teachers say that “unity in diversity” so aptly described both the cultural diversity and a kind of cohesiveness that co-exist together in India. However, with such diversity as exists in India also comes a set of situations equally varied. On the one hand, there are city-bred and educated young women like me, and on the other hand there are young women who live in the city but in areas that can best be described as urban villages. And then there is yet another set of young women who live in the smaller towns and rural areas of India. It is not merely the fact that their geographical locations all happen to be different, but it is also true that for all these women their general upbringing, overall situation, and specific circumstances in which they live are equally different.



Shilpa Pandey, front left, enjoying the hospitality of Young WILPF friends from India. Photo courtesy Shilpa Pandey.

Though it's important to recognize these disparities, the one thing that remains common for all these women is that they all have the energy of youth, a desire to make a difference in the world that surrounds them, and the keen hope that they can, they should, they will *do* something!

In my case that “something” came in the form of WILPF. WILPF provided the platform that brought us all together, that taught us the relevance and importance of activism in our daily lives. Above all, WILPF showed us how to do it all.

Today, I live in the United States, which I now call home, and it is with great pride that I can say that I am still as deeply active in my community here as I was when I lived in India. Even today, I continue to assert myself, thanks to the same grounding in WILPF that I first experienced when I was in India.

As the newly appointed membership development chair on the board of the US Section, it is my hope now that many more young women like me will learn about WILPF and will come forward and join in our movement to make this world a better place for all.

# WILPF US Interns

Learning What It Means to Be an Advocate for Peace



Dianna Carlson. Photo: Ellen Thomas.

## By Dianna Carlson

WILPF Program Support Intern

**T**he Women's International League for Peace and Freedom caught my attention in the summer of 2015 when I was researching organizations that work toward human and women's rights and international equity. I was drawn to WILPF because of its grassroots history of female leadership, and I began reading the WILPF website in my spare time to learn more about the organization and its efforts regarding national and international events. The following summer I applied for and then accepted the Program Support internship with WILPF for the fall semester. The internship brought many different subtopics of peace work—such as Disarm/End Wars, Earth Democracy, and Advancing Human Rights, to name a few—into my life, and I was lucky enough to grow more knowledgeable about disarmament and the organization practices, thanks to my advisors, Program Chairs Maureen Ngozi Eke and Odile Hugonot Haber, whom I deeply admire. Together, we worked on a document called the Program Strategic Plan, which was drafted by WILPF members during a program planning retreat in an effort to define best practices for WILPF and to coordinate the activities of the branches.

At the end of September 2016, I was very fortunate to attend the World Beyond War Conference, “No War: Real Security, without Terrorism” (#NoWar2016), in Washington, DC, with WILPF members from various branches, including the WILPF US President, Mary Hanson Harrison, and WILPF International President, Kozue Akibayashi. Over the course of the three-day conference, I learned about the importance of synergy in linked networks so that groups working on similar issues can come together and educate each other to grow and create more space for peace. The key to my drive and

the work of WILPF can be found in a statement Kozue Akibayashi made during her “Ending War and Patriarchy” presentation: “WILPF is powerful [and still around] because intersectional feminist ideology is inevitable to end war [and to create a more peaceful society].”

## By Krystal Kilhart

Communications Intern

**I** was initially drawn to activism when I was in high school, after I began volunteering with SOL Garden, a gardening and sustainability group in my local community. My time with SOL Garden introduced me to social justice work and taught me valuable skills in how to keep an open mind and to listen without judgment. Once I entered college, I got involved in activism around reproductive justice, racial justice, immigration, and the environment, participating in marches and rallies on campus and in the community. My interest in peace work was sparked when I traveled to Costa Rica and learned that this country had no standing army and frequently advocated for peace and nuclear disarmament at UN conferences. I then began to focus my college studies on protest movements and activism in Latin America and French-speaking West Africa.

I learned about WILPF through my cousin Virginia Pratt, who is a member of the Boston Branch. I was intrigued by WILPF's work specifically in Cuba and Palestine. I began reading some of Virginia's old issues of *Peace & Freedom*, and I attended a local branch meeting. My interest was piqued and I wanted to get more involved.



Krystal Kilhart, right, with Virginia Pratt and David Rothauser at the Veterans for Peace Alternative Memorial Day event in Boston, MA. Photo courtesy Virginia Pratt.

With Virginia's encouragement, I applied to intern with the WILPF US Section. I was selected to be a communications intern in 2016 and from there my involvement with WILPF began. I have enjoyed witnessing the inner workings of a large-scale nonprofit and advocacy group, and I have learned so much that has altered my perspective on global politics and peace. My time with WILPF has shaped me into a more competent and dedicated activist, and I hope to continue in this work long after my internship with WILPF is over.

## WILPF Fresno Interns

The Fresno Branch of WILPF US is certified to be a field placement for social work students in the Department of Social Work Education at California State University, Fresno, who wish to intern with a community agency or organization. By interning with WILPF, students are "working on macrolevel interventions in neighborhoods, communities, and societies to achieve social change to improve the quality of life for all people and the planet." WILPF Fresno member Joan Poss established the branch's internship and has been field supervisor. This year's three interns shared their experiences with *Peace & Freedom*.

### Karla Aguilar

I am an undergraduate student at California State University, Fresno. I am interning at the WILPF US Fresno Branch. Now that I am in my last semester of internship, I am glad I was a part of WILPF. Our society is in an era where our national administration is constantly testing the people's constitutional rights. I did not know, as an individual, how to make a difference, whether it is personally, locally, or nationally. I was clueless about what resources

are out there to advocate for social justice. Now, I am confident in myself as an activist because of WILPF. I am aware of the Peace and Justice Calendar for events, writing our politicians with our concerns, networking with organizations that advocate for social justice, attending or organizing protests, and being exposed to the Community Alliance. This has all been helpful to me. I can make a difference in the community.

### Veronica Dominguez

As an intern for WILPF US, I am honored to have had the opportunity to learn of the many committees that work toward justice and education. Education and awareness strengthen the efforts toward creating change for equality and empower people to stand up for change. This organization does just that. I have incorporated the material given to me on the dangers of pesticides and I share through my social network, presentations, and tabling events throughout Santa Barbara County. The most vital information that I have learned from WILPF is how relevant it is to call your local or state representatives, because your voice can influence policies made in this country.

### Christie Lee

Before my internship with WILPF US, I was unaware of the social and political issues that affected my community. I didn't know that in our little town of Fresno, we have many active progressive organizations operating to help empower our community. I am so thankful to have had the chance and opportunity to have my eyes and my heart opened to help educate and advocate for others through WILPF's mission and goals.

## Attention WILPF Members

### Opportunity Awaits You: Serve as a National Board Member

The board elections will be held this fall to fill these positions: Program Chairs (two positions), Personnel Chair, Secretary, and At-large. The Trump administration is presenting new challenges for activists (not to mention the entire world). People who have never been politically active before are getting involved, and activists are increasing their own efforts. If you're ready to take your activism to a new level,

consider running for the board. We need candidates with special qualities of passion, clear-sightedness, and leadership abilities. A minimum of 24 months of WILPF membership is required to apply for the board. Contact the Nominating Committee at [nominations@wilpfus.org](mailto:nominations@wilpfus.org) for more information. We look forward to hearing from you.

# Disarm! For a Climate of Peace

The International Peace Bureau World Congress 2016

By Cathy Deppe

**An obstacle to world peace is the wall of silence hiding the truth about the consequences of war.**

“**S**omething there is that doesn’t love a wall” is a favorite Robert Frost line I pondered on my first trip to Berlin for the International Peace Bureau (IPB) World Peace Congress, September 30 to October 3, 2016. Germany was readying for Unity Day October 3, a national holiday celebrating the day “the wall” came down and the people of Germany were once again united. I could hardly wait to take my first walk in this bustling, rebuilt city, east through the Tiergarten to the famous Brandenburg Gate that anchored the Berlin Wall for 27 years. Obscured from sight at first by an immense Ferris wheel set up for Unity Day festivities, the Brandenburg Gate soon came into spectacular view as a testament to peace. All too aware of the consequences of war, Germany has admitted more of the world’s 65.3 million refugees than any other country.

In another testament to peace, a disarmament action was in full swing in the Platz der Republik, outside the Reichstag. The unveiling of artist Joe Hill’s astonishing interactive painting, “#3DnukeBerlin,” introduced the IBP press conference. My husband, Alex, and I were in Berlin to represent the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Council (NWTRCC), based in New York. I had not yet unpacked our banner, but I was honored to help display another proclaiming “No Uranium Weapons.” I was to learn much more about this in the coming days.

Civil society here and everywhere stands opposed to war and preparations for war, with people from every nation demanding the human right to live in peace. And yet, everywhere there are the principalities and powers, the governments that ignore the cries of their people, and, through deception, propaganda, and fear, turn our world into a heavily armed and militarized weapon of destruction. Joe Hill’s 3-D painting at our feet in the plaza showed a huge missile emerging from the city sewers but being held back with chains clutched in human hands. This is indeed citizen action confronting the war makers.

The urgent need to transform our militarized societies would be at the heart of this peace conference. Refugees from wars, drought, famine, and instability now number over 60 million, an incredible mass movement of people not seen in Europe since World War II. At the Technical



Ria Verjauw of Belgium, left, and Cathy Deppe, right, in front of the Reichstag. Photo: Alex Walker.

University Berlin where we gathered, President Christian Thomsen announced the opening of 300 university seats for the city’s refugees. In his welcoming speech, he shared the history of this respected institution, first misused and militarized by the Third Reich, only to be pulverized by the Allies, and then reborn and transformed, with a mission to never again support war efforts.

## Campaign for a Peace Tax

Our coalition partner in Berlin was the Conscience and Peace Tax International (CPTI), a collection of war tax resisters and peace tax campaigners with a conscientious objection to paying for war. CPTI has special consultative status at the United Nations and promotes this goal: since the UN already recognizes that human beings are free to reject military violence, therefore “no person shall be compelled to participate in military violence, directly or indirectly through military taxation” (The UN Human Rights Council outlined conscientious objection to military service as a basic right as early as 1987 and reaffirmed this in a July 5, 2002, resolution.)

Most European governments do not provide an option to control withholding (W-4 resistance) but simply remove estimated taxes directly from employee paychecks. Only self-employed persons can maintain control over their earnings. A peace tax would require a government to create an avenue for conscientious objection by designating an individual income tax to be used for peaceful purposes only. In the US, the National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund is advocating for the Religious Freedom Peace Tax Fund Bill to allow “alternative service” for drafted dollars: “It would be a watershed event for religious and

civil liberties if major military powers acknowledged that citizens who object to military taxes have a just claim.” Twelve countries have similar peace tax campaigns. Our CPTI workshop attracted several newcomers and gave me an opportunity to describe our work in the US. People were completely shocked at the high percentage of taxes that go to war and preparations for war in our land. They especially liked the War Resisters League pie chart (showing where our income tax dollars go) and the NWTRCC brochure “Praying for Peace but Paying for War.” Our session ended fittingly with a comic skit and a wonderful rendition of Bob Marley’s “Redemption Song” performed by Merikukka Kiviharju from PAND—Performers and Artists for Nuclear Disarmament.

We learned that while more than 1,000 registered to attend the peace conference, over 250 who registered from countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Bangladesh, and Pakistan could not get visas—one more wall the global peace movement faces. For those attending, there was a smorgasbord of plenaries, youth gatherings, 13 panel discussions, and 63 workshops to choose from! We found a great spot for the NWTRCC/Peace Tax Fund/CPTI table in a classroom hallway, and we had great response from both conference participants and students from the institute. We distributed most of the 43 pounds of materials we had brought with us in our two roll-on bags by the time we left for home.

## Environmental Destruction

Our newfound Belgium friends from CPTI invited us to their workshop “The Impact of War on the Environment,” which focused on the campaign against uranium weapons, in particular, the Salto Di Quirra firing range in Sardinia. Located off the coast of Italy, this island is the largest NATO firing range in the world. For 50 years, military and arms manufacturers have used the island to test new bullets, bombs, and missiles, train soldiers, and practice war scenarios. CPTI member Ria Verjauw, from Belgium’s movement, visited Sardinia in 2013. She reported that the current state of environmental destruction includes lead in the water, contamination of local food products such as Sardinian honey, and the heavy metal thorium as found in the bones of several local shepherds who died from leukemia. Cancer rates, particularly leukemia, are very high. In the farmland, local sheep are often born with deformities. Many fear electromagnetic radiation from numerous radar stations.



Joe Hill, “At the Nuclear Abyss.” Photo: Lucas Wir/ Creative Commons.

But local people are organizing to demand the evacuation and closing of all military bases, the rehabilitation of contaminated areas, and compensation for all victims.

I have personal concerns about uranium weapons. My grandson’s father was in the Gulf Ground War of 1991. His unit bivouacked in the desert, near the remains of Iraqi tanks destroyed by depleted uranium “penetrators” and left abandoned to contaminate the environment. To this day, children play on them and local people collect and burn them as scrap metal in the open air. My grandson’s soon-to-be father came home from Iraq with an unexplainable rash and severe headaches, very possibly from the “Gulf War Syndrome,” still considered a “medically unexplained illness” not officially connected to radiation poisoning from uranium weapons.

After I attended this workshop, I agreed to contact my senator, Dianne Feinstein of California, on behalf of the campaign. Feinstein sits on the Defense Subcommittee. It is important to question her about transparency and to ask if, when, and where the US has fired depleted uranium projectiles. One of the biggest obstacles to world peace is again the wall of silence erected to hide the truth of the ongoing consequences of war on our planet. The struggle continues.

For information about the International Campaign against Depleted Uranium, visit [www.paxforpeace.nl](http://www.paxforpeace.nl).

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*A WILPF US member from Los Angeles, Cathy Deppe is a retired teacher and lifelong peace and justice activist. She currently serves as co-treasurer of the Southern California War Tax Resistance Alternative Fund ([scwtr.net](http://scwtr.net)) and board member of the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Council ([nwtccc.org](http://nwtccc.org)).*

# Buy WILPF a Cup of Coffee . . .

**Every drop in the cup can make all the difference for WILPF US in 2017.**

**F**or as little as \$5 a week or a month, or about the cost of a fancy cappuccino at your local gourmet roaster, charged, with your permission, to your credit or debit card, you can make a contribution that WILPF urgently needs to support its program and mission, and to amplify the work of members and branches.

Though your regular donation may be small, it means a lot for WILPF US to be able to count on those donations coming in throughout the year. It means we can plan more strategically and be more agile and flexible going forward.

These recurring donations will provide important support for Mini-Grants that strengthen our Branch activism, Issue Committee funding, and the important Local2Global and UN Practicum for Advocacy Programs. Added up across WILPF, these contributions will be critical to our sustainability and will also allow us to support our members and branches with new materials and resources and communications.

If we, as WILPF members, aren't putting our money behind our ideals, how can we ask others to do so?

For members who believe so fervently in WILPF's mission and manifesto, who draw strength from one another, who benefit from the national and international history and the institution that is WILPF, is it too much to ask to buy WILPF a cup of coffee once a week or once a month?

When a Development Committee volunteer calls on you to become part of our Sustainer Program, please consider buying WILPF a cup of coffee.

Or, sign up now at:  
[wilpfus.org/story/buy-wilpf-cup-coffee-once-week](http://wilpfus.org/story/buy-wilpf-cup-coffee-once-week).

Just imagine . . . if half (700) of our total membership contributed:	WILPF would receive:
\$5 a month (\$60 a year)	\$42,000 a year
\$5 a week (\$20 a month/\$240 a year)	\$168,000 a year
\$10 a month (\$120 a year)	\$84,000 a year
\$10 a week (\$40 a month/\$480 a year)	\$336,000 a year



## 'WILPF can shed light'



Claire Gosselin

Who would imagine that one cup of coffee could help counter hate and fear? Claire Gosselin, that's who! Claire buys WILPF a cup of coffee every month. It's easy . . . and once it's arranged, she doesn't have to think about it again.

"WILPF is a big part of my life and I donate on a monthly basis to support its work—like I pay the electric bill—so that, like electricity, WILPF can shed light on moving to a better society for all," says Claire, of Boston MA WILPF.

"I joined WILPF in early 2003 because of its 'big picture' perspective—one that sees the connections between the problems we face in our country and how it operates Internationally.

"I was also drawn to WILPF's focus on engaging women at all levels, local to global, for our own full inclusion as well as for the greater common good."

# Peace & Planet Before Profit

**T**wenty-six branches across the US participated in the first-ever WILPF US Solidarity Event on April 22, Earth Day. The theme that members chose, Peace & Planet Before Profit, connects the issues of climate justice, environmental concerns, women and human rights, peace, militarism, disarmament, and the importance of #MoveTheMoney from a war economy to an ethical budget that addresses the real human needs of the majority of Americans. These issues are deeply entwined, but that connection is invisible to most Americans. On Earth Day 2017, WILPF US highlighted those interconnections.



# In Memoriam

**WILPF celebrates the lives of these extraordinary women and men who have advanced the goal of global peace and freedom.**



## Wilmer Brandt

Wilmer Brandt, of Marshfield, Vermont, died on October 10, 2016, at the age of 96. He was a longtime benefactor of WILPF and remembered WILPF US with a bequest.

### **From his obituary in the *Barre-Montpelier Times Argus*:**

Wilmer was one of eight children born to John and Fannie Brandt, of Deodate, PA. He is survived by his brother, Herman, 94, sister, Elsie, 91, and 23 nieces and nephews.

Wilmer grew up in the Church of the Brethren following the peace tradition of the Anabaptists. He attended Hershey Junior College in Hershey, Pennsylvania, and later graduated from Goddard College in 1955. He was a conscientious objector in World War II and spent the last three years of the war in Civilian Conservation Corps work camps in Pennsylvania and Florida. After the war, he worked for the Brethren Relief Service and briefly joined the Merchant Marines in order to help send and care for cattle and horses to war-torn Europe.

Wilmer then made his way to the Macedonia Cooperative Community in Georgia where he lived and worked for six years before coming to Vermont where he would eventually settle. Wilmer became a forester and worked on many forest management plans in the Adirondacks and Vermont.

His life in Vermont included joining many activities related to his pacifist beliefs, including WILPF and the Friday Peace vigils in Montpelier. For decades he attended the Friends Meeting House in Plainfield and helped to build the new Meeting House. The Vermont State Legislature recognized his dedication and activism in 2000.

Wilmer was a man of the earth and land, and all of the natural inhabitants were part of his everyday life. He was committed to peace and justice, and supported many US and international organizations whose philosophies were in step with his.



## Carol Norberg

### **From the obituary in the National Women's History Project newsletter:**

Carol Norberg (of the WILPF East Bay Branch) passed away at the age of 92.

Carol was born in 1924 in Roseville, CA, just four short years after women earned the right to vote. Her passion for history started when, as a member of the curriculum committee for her Jewish Community Center, she volunteered to write the section covering the Holocaust.

In the late 1960s, she joined the League of Women Voters, studied early childhood education, and spent much of her time and energy volunteering with the local school district. It was in her role as a substitute teacher that she was able to look through a wide variety of history textbooks, and noticed the disheartening lack of women.

She served as the chair of Roseville's National Organization for Women (NOW) chapter and worked with the Roseville Historical Society, where she organized exhibits on local women.

Her passion for history remained, and she used every opportunity to remind young women of the sacrifices others made to get them the right to vote. "Every time women grouse about working in the movement . . . I think of those women who sloshed through the snow in high-button boots and long skirts. I wish we could somehow put that in some kind of video with virtual reality so young women today could know what women have gone through in the past to secure their rights."



## Aileen Hernandez

### **From the obituary in the National Women's History Project newsletter:**

Aileen Hernandez (San Francisco Branch) died on February 13, 2017, at the age of 90. She

was a phenomenal woman whose work as a union organizer and human rights activist has left a lasting impression on the lives of women around the world. She began as a union organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, then moved up to become their Educa-

tion and Public Relations Director for the Pacific Coast Region. In 1962, she was appointed Deputy Chief of the California Division of Fair Employment Practices, and in 1964 President Lyndon Johnson appointed her as the only woman on the newly established Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

In 1966 she left to start an independent urban consulting firm, Aileen C. Hernández Associates. That same year, she also helped found the National Organization for Women (NOW), where she served as national president during 1970–1971. She oversaw the organization of the Women's Strike for Equality in 1970, giving a rousing speech demanding a fuller role for women in policy debates. "There are no such things as women's issues! All issues are women's issues . . . [T]he difference that we bring is that we are going to bring the full, loud, clear, determined voice of women into deciding how those issues are going to be addressed."

Throughout her life she also helped to launch several other important and influential organizations, including the National Women's Political Caucus, NOW's Minority Women's Task Force, Sapphire Publishing Company, and Black Women Organized for Action. She served as chair of the California Women's Agenda, a network of 600 organizations dedicated to implementing the plan of action adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, in 1995.

## Betty June Marsh

### Anne McLaughlin writes:

"I met Betty through WILPF in Portland, OR. In 1990 she graciously hosted our local WILPF 75th anniversary event at her beautiful Irvington home. She was inspiring in her journeys abroad, going solo to many less traveled areas of the world.

"In 1995 WILPF Portland purchased a set of photos taken in 1945 by US Marine photographer Joe O'Donnell in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He had been assigned to document the aftermath of US atomic bombing raids. In recognition of the 50th anniversary of the bombings, Betty organized an exhibit of the photos at Pioneer Place shopping mall in downtown Portland, where they could be seen by many who might not otherwise be aware of the reality of the destruction. Betty was a special person, and we miss her presence."

### From Betty June Marsh's obituary:

Betty June Marsh, nee Scaman, was born in 1927 to a working-class family in Long Beach, CA. She lived through the depression years with a father too proud to accept help. At 20, she married her high school sweetheart, Sid Mauk, with whom she had two daughters, Manda Bradlyn Beckett and Deni Bradlyn. Betty later married Ben Bradlyn, who adopted both girls. After her second divorce, she took her mother's maiden name, Marsh, as her own, and was known as Betty Marsh for the rest of her life.

Betty was the first member of her family to go to college, and she returned again and again until she earned a master's degree, while working and raising a family as well. When the girls left home, Betty and Ben went to Jamaica with the Peace Corps. Betty was endlessly ambitious and eager for new experiences. She worked as a teacher, a social worker, and finally as Curator of Education for the State Museum of Alaska. She traveled the world, occasionally with friends, but in great part by herself.

Betty didn't believe in god but she worked for peace and civil rights with religious fervor. In the 1960s, she joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the ACLU, and continued to support both for the rest of her life.

Betty was smart, but not rational; she was unquestioningly brave and loyal but, as one friend put it, "she didn't have much respect for reality." This latter quality may have helped her to achieve as much in life as she did: she repeatedly ignored the normal constraints placed on women of her time and class. She died at 89 in the Assisted Living quarters of Terwilliger Plaza in Portland, Oregon.

## CSW61

*Continued from page 9.*

transforming economies “by tackling dominant macro-economic structures that exploit and perpetuate women’s economic inequality and increase women’s exposure to violence.”

Statements submitted to the UN’s Economic and Social Council by the Center for Egyptian Women’s Legal Assistance, Nazra for Feminist Studies, and the Egyptian Center for Women’s Rights noted violence faced by women human rights defenders: harassment and prosecution in Egypt, smear campaigns in Yemen, imprisonment in Bahrain, abductions by armed groups in Syria; the persistence of discriminatory family and labor laws; increasing informalization of women’s work and lack of social protection; and “the social impact of the rising tide of political Islam” and “socially conservative groups that totally deny the right of women to work.”

Also widely discussed at CSW61 was the impact of intra- and inter-state violence on women’s economic empowerment, and on how Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security can help realize this empowerment. Weak or nonexistent implementation of 1325 has been of concern to many women’s rights advocates. Global Network of Women Peacebuilders international coordinator Mavic Cabrera-Balleza spoke of progress in some contexts—for example, two women were eventually involved in the peace talks in Colombia—but she noted that in many conflict or post-conflict situations, “women’s participation is close to zero.” In the Democratic Republic of Congo, “community-social dialogues” remained two-sided, between rebels and government, rather than a roundtable involving civil society actors such as women’s groups.

When SCR 1325 was adopted in 2000, it was rightly heralded as a major achievement of both the women’s movement and the UN. However, it has neither prevented conflict nor protected women from violence. Violations of international law and world-systemic hierarchies enable some countries to provide logistical and military support to rebels and other countries to invade or bomb sovereign countries. Just since 2000, we have had:

- The US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001
- Insurgency in eastern DRC, fueled by neighboring countries
- The US/UK invasion of Iraq in 2003
- Israel’s attack on Lebanon in 2006
- The Russo-Georgian war of 2008
- The NATO bombardment of Libya in 2011

- Israel’s attack on Gaza in 2013
- Attempted regime change in Syria and support for armed rebels since 2012
- The Saudi bombardment of Yemen since 2015
- Civil conflict in South Sudan since 2015

Although WILPF International did not attend the CSW this year in protest of the Trump administration’s executive order and travel ban, it did submit a statement to ECOSOC that began: “To achieve transformative, sustainable development and peace, action for women’s economic empowerment must include women across the conflict spectrum and address root causes of inequality and violence. The time is now to put people over profit and those marginalized at the mainstream; to create political economies of feminist peace based on gender justice and fulfillment of women’s economic, social, and political rights, rather than maintain outmoded political economies of militarism, exploitation, violence, and war against both people and planet.” It pointed out that in 2010, funding for the world’s feminist movement—\$106 million for 740 women’s organizations—was less than the cost of a single F-35 fighter plane (\$137 million). It called to “Move the Money” from a political economy of war to a political economy of peace and gender justice.

## Concluding Thoughts

Women’s economic and physical insecurity is widespread, and the impunity of states, banks, corporations, and armed groups appears unlimited. Women’s economic empowerment cannot be realized in a world of gross inequalities, violence, and war. Similarly, violence and war will continue as long as women are unequal and subordinate in the family, economy, and politics. Deliberations such as the annual CSW meetings will help to highlight the problems and the policies needed to improve women’s lives. Ultimately, however, real economic and political change will come about through concerted advocacy and activism of the world’s progressive social movements and civil society actors, in partnership with progressive political parties. Women’s economic and political empowerment may be key to a more peaceful world, but that empowerment can only be enjoyed by all women if there are radical changes to our world system.

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*Valentine M. Moghadam, a member of the Boston Branch, is Professor of Sociology and International Affairs and Director of both the International Affairs Program and the Middle East Studies Program at Northeastern University. Coryrose LeBlanc and Chloe Lesieur are students at Northeastern University.*

# With Imagination and Boldness

## Branches Get to Work

**Locally and nationally, in unity, WILPF US members march, educate, and advocate for “a positive vision of a better world.”**

### Women’s March on Washington

The **Maine Branch** was one of the many groups that endorsed the Women’s March on Washington on January 21, 2017. The goal of the march, organized by women but not limited to women, was to insist on human rights for all people. Maine member Jean Sanborn published an op-ed in the December 16 issue of the *Brunswick Times Record*, in which she wrote: “This march will not be a protest filled with anger. Rather, we want to remind the new administration that Human Rights are a deep historical declaration of the United States and must not be forgotten in the aftermath of a divisive and sometimes vicious campaign.” Sanborn also pointed out that the work of peace is not just about “distant marches and local vigils and electronic petitions to world leaders.” It is also about working locally, about working together.

The **Detroit Branch** joined with the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Utility Workers of America to organize two buses going from metro Detroit to the march in DC. Bus riders included about 20 riders from the Welfare Rights Organization, union members, and first-time protesters, young and old—and Laura Dewey (Detroit Branch) and Odile Hugonot Haber (Ann Arbor Branch), who reported on the march.

Laura Dewey wrote: “At a rest stop on the way home, I talked to an African American woman who was an auto plant worker and UAW member from Ohio. When I asked her how she liked the march . . . the first thing she remarked on was the feeling of unity. She marveled at all the different people there, and that we weren’t in our own cliques. This spirit of unity . . . was on display at the recent protests of Trump’s executive order barring immigrants from seven countries. At the Detroit airport protest, numbering about 3,000 people, the Mexican flag was carried in the midst of people of Middle Eastern descent. A young African American man, who works at the airport, joined the protest after the end of his shift, telling a television reporter that we all have to support each other. Although the marchers were galvanized by



**Mary Jane Williams, member at-large from Florida, protesting in Washington, DC, Inauguration Day 2017.** Photo courtesy Mary Jane Williams.

Trump’s election, a movement cannot be sustained by being against someone or something. We need to continue to project and work for WILPF’s positive vision of a better world.”

Of her experiences in DC, Odile Hugonot Haber wrote: “The ‘trouble’ was that many more people came than the organizers had expected, so we were all blocked in. The police did not want us to take over the White House and to occupy it! After marching for fifteen minutes, we found a more open space in front of the obelisk, and there we saw the magnificent spectacle of the crowd unfurling into a march, with so many different signs! Glorious expressions of the unforeseen movement. They came out of the woodwork, from everywhere, old, young, black and white, Latinos, Asian—we were all there.”



**Postcards and Pizza in Detroit.** Courtesy Laura Dewey.

Later, on February 13, the Detroit Branch held a “Postcards and Pizza Party” as a follow-up to the Women’s March on Washington. Over 55 people gathered and wrote 237 postcards to their US senators and representatives and state

# Branch Activities (continued)



Peace posters created by young visitors to the Greater Phoenix Branch's Peace Kids booth at the Scottsdale Arts Festival hanging in the branch's "art gallery." Photo: Mike Taft.

officials. Many who attended the event were protesters who had traveled to the march in Washington, DC. Some had never been politically active before but were galvanized by the election and eager to do more.

Mary Williams, member at-large from Florida, protested in DC on Inauguration Day and reported: "I carried the 'End the Whole Nuclear Era' banner, with Kevin Kamps of Beyond Nuclear, all day on Inauguration Day, with all positive interest and feedback." She did an interview for Thailand TV and for a website in the Middle East.

WILPF members from a number of branches participated in local women's marches.

**Humboldt, CA Branch**—Sue Hilton reported: "We had about 5,000 people marching in Eureka, in a county of about 130,000. We think that's pretty good—certainly the biggest demonstration in the almost 30 years I've lived here. Great speakers, from local tribes and the NAACP and local elected officials. . . . WILPF had a table. . . . We got lots of people signed up for our email list; handed out info on our peace scholarship; got people to write messages of support for our congressman (who has basically been pretty good, and who wrote a great message about why he wasn't attending the inauguration); and made connections with two other local organizations (350.org and the Northcoast Environmental Center). . . ."

**Brunswick, ME**—Christine DeTroy wrote that a number of Maine towns held gatherings in their communities. "The dove buttons seem a good idea. I still have a few left and can share them. . . . It certainly identifies us in a simple and straightforward way. The sashes are also

good and highly visible. I remember wearing one for an ERA demonstration in Florida—white dresses and green sashes, going back to the days of suffragette activities."

From other reports of local marches: The **San Jose, CA Branch** focused on giving out membership information to interested women. **St. Louis, MO** passed out the WILPF post-

cards: "We used them all and have 23 new names!" Betty Traynor, **San Francisco, CA Branch**, reported carrying the new "End the Whole Nuclear Era" banner from the Disarm/End Wars issue committee. A few **Philadelphia, PA Branch** members went to DC, while others participated in the Philadelphia March. Hattie Nestel of the **Boston, MA Branch** sold all 200 of her "no fossil fuel" buttons at the Boston march, which had an estimated 175,000 in attendance. **San Diego WILPF** reported an estimated 40,000 people participated, and **Des Moines WILPF** members joined the more than 26,000 "women, men, girls, boys (babies, too)."

## International Women's Day

Branches around the country marked March 8, International Women's Day, with this year's theme, "Be Bold for Change." Jean Sanborn reported that the **Maine Branch** "continue[d] its annual distribution of flowers on the street for International Women's Day. . . . Each year, we see more recognition of just what WILPF is about, and with the other events going on around the women's strike, women and girls reacted more with pleasure than surprise as they received their carnations. . . . We always attach information about WILPF and about International Women's Day to the flowers."

Sue Hilton from the **Humboldt County, CA Branch** wrote: "Peace and freedom music filled the Arcata Playhouse auditorium on March 8, as the Humboldt County Branch hosted our sixth International Women's Day Celebration. Featuring a keynote by the president of the local NAACP branch, informational tabling, announcement of our Peace and Justice grant winners, music by the

Raging Grannies and a singalong, it was an inspirational and fun event.”

The **Los Angeles Branch** hosted its annual International Women’s Day luncheon, which this year featured Margaret Prescod, long-time community-based women’s rights, anti-poverty, and anti-racist campaigner and host of “Sojourner Truth,” a nationally syndicated FM radio public affairs program. Original music was performed by the singing duo The Vicissitudes (WILPFers Holly Overin and Charell Charlie) and singer-songwriter Nalini Lasiewicz, also a WILPFer.

## Branches Host Benefits

On March 19, the **Tucson Branch** and the Tucson Raging Grannies hosted “Challah for Gaza and All of Palestine,” their ninth annual fundraiser for the Middle East Children’s Alliance (MECA). All proceeds from the event go to MECA, an organization which arranges medical aid and emergency food relief for children and families in Palestine. The Tucson fundraiser supported MECA’s Maia Project, which builds water purification systems for the children and families of Palestine.

The **Monterey County Branch** joined the Monterey Peace and Justice Center and the Monterey Peninsula Friends Meeting (Quakers) on February 3 to sponsor a musical and cultural benefit for Syrian refugees and victims of war. The evening’s proceeds went to the Syrian American Medical Society Foundation, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, professional medical relief organization representing thousands of Syrian American medical professionals in the United States. The foundation organizes medical missions, provides professional and educational trainings to Syrian physicians, and delivers medicine and medical supplies to hospitals and vulnerable families in Syria. Monterey County Branch members Catherine Crockett, Celeste Akkad, and Judy Karas organized the benefit, which raised more than \$7,000.

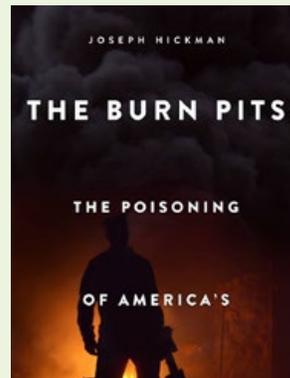
## Branches against Fracking

The Earth Justice Committee of the **Greater Philadelphia Branch** received a mini-grant to fund a one-day guided tour of fracking sites in Dimock, Pennsylvania. Judith Elson reported: “On November 12, we . . . visited various fracking sites in Dimock, home to Cabot Oil and Gas and

other companies fracking shale, seven days a week. We were able to see the wells, pipes, compressors, contaminated water, and ruined property. We visited residents who have been impacted by fracking. They have no clean water to drink or to bathe in. They have to pay for weekly water delivery and store it in large water buffalo tanks that are delivered each week.” The tour was filmed and the video shown in February to a gathering of Philadelphia environmental groups.

Many **Monterey County, CA** WILPF members were instrumental in helping to pass a local ballot measure banning fracking and other damaging drilling-related practices in the county. WILPF member Jeanne Turner serves as treasurer for the Protect Monterey County group that put the measure on the ballot for November. Monterey became the seventh California county to ban fracking and the first major oil-producing county to do so, with a remarkable 56 percent of the vote.

## The Burn Pits



“We, the United States, have never fixed what we have broken in war since World War II. Our imperial ambitions lie at the core of many now-ruined countries, millions of dead across the world, millions of living dead and displaced, toxic

environments and hundreds of thousands of disabled US veterans who fought for the war machine.”

So writes H. Patricia Hynes in her review of Joseph Hickman, *The Burn Pits: The Poisoning of America’s Soldiers* (Hot Books/Skyhorse Publishing, 2016). Read the full review on *Truthdig*, posted January 6, 2017; [www.truthdig.com/arts\\_culture/item/the\\_burn\\_pits\\_20170106](http://www.truthdig.com/arts_culture/item/the_burn_pits_20170106).



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