



POLICY BRIEF

OPERATIONALIZING A FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE US GOVERNMENT

by Stephenie Foster, Susan Markham, and Sahana Dharmapuri

I. INTRODUCTION

This document focuses on how to operationalize a new feminist foreign policy within the US context. First, it sets out the existing international and national legal and policy frameworks and the simple—and profound—principles for the policy that are both foundational and aspirational. It then makes a series of key points regarding the implementation of this policy within the context and structures of the US government. These points are informed by a growing feminist and gender-focused discourse in US foreign policy and national security among activists, academics, and advocates.

Current events and conversations challenge us to consider a new way of thinking. They take place at a unique time when the US leadership role is being transformed in part due to the rise of China and other powers. The use of cyber weapons, the greater role of non-state actors, and the ability of technology to give citizens access to their governments and demand greater transparency are upending the way diplomacy works. Further, the Trump Administration has thrown away the rule book by antagonizing allies, pulling out of international accords, and shattering traditional foreign policy thinking. It has “hyper-masculinized” the US approach to national security. Finally, Sweden’s groundbreaking adoption of a feminist foreign policy has spurred a deeper consideration of how a feminist policy applies in other countries.

We must take advantage of this moment to start a new conversation, be bold, take a long-term view of security and stability, and transform policy using a feminist and inclusive approach.

II. WHAT IS A FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY?

In envisioning a feminist foreign policy, it is important to acknowledge the unique role of the United States and its large footprint in global economic and political affairs. The United States is, and has been, a global superpower. As such, it cannot afford to ignore any issue—from climate change to nuclear nonproliferation—that is caused by global actors. Its impact is much larger than that of other countries with a self-described feminist foreign policy.

A feminist foreign policy framework should acknowledge the connections between domestic and foreign policy and the need to integrate these policy strands. US values at home must match the values we promote across the globe, whether it is preventing gender-based violence or providing access to comprehensive reproductive health care or economic opportunity. The silos that exist are man-made and unnecessary.

A feminist foreign policy is not necessarily pacifist; it can support intervention. We should be clear, however, that a feminist foreign policy prioritizes the importance of diplomatic solutions that actually make us safer over the assumption that armed intervention is the answer. Force can be justified but only after exhausting all other avenues, or if the United States is under attack.

Across the political spectrum, people agree that more women should be “at the table” in this arena, but that agreement does not translate into a particular policy agenda. We must take advantage of this moment to start a new conversation, be bold, take a long-term view of security and stability, and transform policy using a feminist and inclusive approach.

III. OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE US CONTEXT

As this paper contributes to the current conversation about foreign policy and national security, we make the following observations:

MUCH OF THE POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND GENDER EQUALITY EXISTS IN NUMEROUS UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS AND GLOBAL AGREEMENTS AGREED TO BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES.¹The challenge is to go beyond rhetoric and implement these commitments through a series of actions that transform how the US government conducts its foreign policy and that protect its national security in a feminist manner. These range from structural reforms, to greater women's representation, to the usage of gender analyses in foreign policy and national security decision-making.

THERE IS UNEVEN IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES BY THE US GOVERNMENT. The priority placed on these principles, and the policies and programs flowing from them, has depended on the priorities of the administration in power. In addition, there have never been sufficient resources for the work to implement these policies. As an example, while UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 was passed in 2000, the US did not release its first national action plan (NAP) on women, peace, and security (WPS) until 2011. Implementation has been uneven as there has been inconsistent leadership and insufficient resources to do so.

STRONG LEADERSHIP, IN BOTH THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES, IS KEY TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA. The President, members of her cabinet, civil servants, foreign service officers, military leaders, and Members of Congress must understand and support the transformative process needed. Moreover, coordination by these leaders is essential in order to make the process non-duplicative. For example, in the Obama Administration, there were parallel, and not well-coordinated, policy coordination meetings on WPS and atrocity prevention.

THIS IS A LONG-TERM PROCESS. Leadership is critically important, but structural, bureaucratic, and normative changes take time. Setting a vision and framework is foundational, and there must be a structured commitment to monitoring and tracking progress. This work must also have a strong coordination mechanism; in the current structure, the most obvious place for this is the National Security Council, but there should be further thought on this topic to ensure that this transformation is sustainable over the course of many administrations.

IV. INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL FRAMEWORKS

The frameworks below have formed the basis of US government participation in international affairs and its overall relationship to the rest of the world since the end of World War II. Having said that, the US has not consistently adhered to international commitments.² The frameworks also support the development and operationalization of a feminist foreign policy.

Human Rights

International human rights law sets out the obligations of governments to take action, or refrain from it, in order to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals or groups. The **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. It applies equally to women and men: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." A series of international human rights treaties and other instruments adopted since 1948 have expanded this body of law.³

Women's Rights

In 1979, the UN General Assembly adopted the **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)**, often described as an International Bill of Rights for Women. CEDAW explicitly defines discrimination against women and sets forth an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. Further, at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, the **Beijing Platform for Action** asserted women's rights as human rights and committed to specific actions to ensure respect for those rights.⁴

Women, Peace and Security

UNSCR 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace processes, humanitarian response, and post-conflict reconstruction. It stresses the importance of equal participation and women's full involvement in maintaining peace and security. UNSCR 1325 urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all UN peace and security efforts. It calls on all parties in conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse.⁵ Under UNSCR 1325, and its nine successor resolutions, each nation-state committed to a WPS national action plan.⁶

The United States adopted its first NAP in 2011 and its second in 2016, although both are superseded by the current US Strategy on Women, Peace, and Security.⁷

In 2017, the **Women, Peace, and Security Act (WPS Act)** was signed into law. The WPS Act codifies the principles and objectives of UNSCR 1325 and previous US NAPs. In June 2019, the White House released its strategy for implementing the WPS Act; specific plans from departments and agencies are due within 120 days.

Other US Strategies

The **National Security Strategy (NSS)** is prepared periodically by the executive branch and sets forth the administration's assessment of threats and opportunities. It is further refined by the National Defense Strategy and the National Military Strategy, which guide the work of national security institutions. The Trump Administration delivered its first NSS in December 2017. The document named China and Russia as "revisionist powers" and removed climate change as a national threat. In a break with past doctrine, it characterized the world as a competitive arena rather than a "community of nations" or "international community" as previous documents had done. There is little focus in the NSS on women, but empowering women and youth is listed as one of the NSS's five priority actions.⁸

V. PRINCIPLES OF FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

Overarching principles of human rights and equality are set forth in the UN covenants and declarations. Gender equality is central to this framework. It underscores that women, men, girls, and boys interact with each other and with society differently because of (1) laws, policies, and practices; (2) cultural norms and beliefs; (3) gender roles and responsibilities; (4) access to and control over assets and resources; (5) access to power and decision-making; and (6) the impact of conflict and violence.

Based on these principles, in the context of US foreign policy and national security, this section sets forth the following components necessary to promote gender equality, defend human rights, and protect fundamental freedoms:

- Address power imbalances
- Utilize gender analysis to increase the range of issues and solutions considered
- Increase the number of feminist voices promoting gender equality
- Increase the number of women leaders

Address Power Imbalances

This framework should address both gender inequalities and the fundamental power imbalances that exist (1) within the US foreign policy and national security institutions; (2) between the implementers of foreign policy and those impacted by it; **and** (3) within society writ large. Addressing these imbalances means a fundamental shift in how institutions work. It does not mean "add women and stir," but a change in policy and the process used to formulate that policy.

Embedded in the current policy discourse are two overarching gendered assumptions about power and conflict resolution: One, that the ability to use military force ("hard power"), is "better" and makes us more secure than the use of diplomacy and development ("soft power"). This viewpoint has prevailed in the Trump Administration, which takes a strident approach to the world. The second assumption is that foreign policy decisions should be objective, based on "realism," hard data, and geopolitics.

These assumptions diminish the need for US foreign policy actors to understand how foreign policy and national security decisions impact people in countries around the world. While the political and power dynamics of decisions are obviously important, considering the impact on communities provides nuance about the immediate and long-term consequences of policy.

Providing a human lens does not mean that foreign policy and national security decisions will be made by consensus. It means that decision-makers have access to the most complete information and analysis possible, reflecting the differential impact of decisions on women and men, girls and boys (as well as subgroups within those populations and marginalized groups).

Utilize Gender Analysis to Increase the Range of Issues and Solutions Considered

Beyond addressing power imbalances, gender analyses must be used to broaden and deepen (1) an understanding of the policy landscape, including the importance of a broader set of issues, and (2) the scope of solutions considered beyond the traditional defense spheres. Such an analysis will show how men and women are impacted differently by US government foreign policy interventions.

This type of gendered focus should also be used to analyze government funding and resources, policy frameworks, and their implementation, in order to demonstrate the impact of these investments and reveal any gender gaps. Moreover, the links between US diplomatic engagements and those who represent the United States at home and abroad, as well as the scope of issues addressed should be noted.

UNSCR 1325 and other frameworks set out the role of women to help prevent armed conflict or respond to crises. Because of their different roles in society, women often have a different understanding of issues that impact their daily lives. Taking this knowledge into account can make the US government's actions in other countries more effective and sustainable. For example, in most peace processes, when men are the only negotiators at the table, they generally do not raise the full range of issues that affect citizens' daily lives. (It's generally men with guns talking to other men with guns about men and guns.) If the United States does not demand that there be a more representative group of negotiators, we are allowing a process to proceed that does not address a broader set of issues (such as access to water and other resources) or reflect the views of "security" across society, thus leading to a peace agreement that is statistically likely to fail.⁹

The increased range of issues would include those that disproportionately impact women and girls and are not currently seen as national security issues (i.e., girls' education, maternal and reproductive health, migration, and child marriage). Policymakers need to understand that even "traditional" security issues, like nonproliferation, can be analyzed with a gender lens, especially in terms of the impact on communities of decisions to use weapons. Similarly, nontraditional security issues impact US policy and potential actions. For example, the cost of marriage ("bride price") in societies with little economic opportunity can prevent men from marrying, decrease their connections to society, and increase the likelihood of joining terrorist groups, thereby exacerbating state fragility. With this understanding, the US government could take a proactive approach to prevent the recruitment of men into extremist groups rather than wait to fight the groups after they've formed and are seen as a threat to the country's security.

Increase the Number of Feminist Voices

Beyond utilizing gender analyses, we need more feminist voices and more individuals and institutions dedicated to a gender-equality and women's empowerment approach to foreign policy and national security. Within the foreign policy and national security spheres, these voices can advocate for actions to reduce gender gaps in access to, control over, and benefit from economic, social, and political resources; prevent and respond to gender-based violence; and increase the ability of women and girls to make decisions about and control their lives.

This is different than increasing women's engagement and involvement. Being a woman does not mean you are a gender expert. It does not mean you have a particular worldview or ideology. For example, we cannot assume that women will have a less interventionist approach to decision-making. Not every woman is a feminist; not every person with a feminist

voice is a woman. Men can, and do, advocate for a feminist analysis and policy, and women, depending on their differing life experiences, ages, classes, and ethnicities, can bring nuanced views.

In terms of the bureaucracy, these issues are not only the responsibility of the Secretary's Office of Global Women's Issues (State) and the Office of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (USAID).

Increase the Number of Women Leading in Foreign Policy and National Security

Most decisions in this arena are made by a small group of (mostly) men in centralized and closely held processes. Women are underrepresented both within these institutions and in terms of providing input from the impacted countries. At the most basic level, we must increase these numbers. Recent numbers of women at the State Department, Defense Department, and USAID are as follows:

Only 3 of the 70 secretaries of state, and only 2 of the 26 directors of national security, have been women. About 36 percent of the senior foreign service personnel at the Department of State are women.¹⁰ As of 2016, 36 percent of US ambassadors were women. There has never been a woman US ambassador to approximately 25 countries, including Afghanistan, China, Germany, Iran, Israel, Russia, and Saudi Arabia, all central to US foreign policy.¹¹

There has never been a woman secretary of defense or a woman head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As of 2016, women comprised 18 percent of Army and Navy officers, 21 percent of Air Force officers, and 7.5 percent of Marine officers.¹²

Only 2 of the 18 administrators of USAID have been women. Approximately 30 percent of USAID mission directors are women.¹³

From a military mission-effectiveness perspective, women on the battlefield add to the military's adaptive capacity. Similarly, increasing the pool of senior foreign policy, development, and national security professionals, both career and appointed, means we access more talent and skill. This provides a greater opportunity to select the right person, or complement of people, in specific circumstances. Having more women serve as diplomats and mission directors engaged in development programming design and implementation makes the programs more effective.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS TO OPERATIONALIZE A FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY IN THE US

As we ground the principles of human rights and equality in foreign and national security policy, we must envision how a country as unique as the United States with a bureaucracy as large as the US government can turn these ideas into practice. These recommendations will help the US foreign policy establishment actors and officials promote gender equality, defend human rights, and protect fundamental freedoms by addressing power imbalances, utilizing gender analysis to increase the range of issues and solutions considered, increasing the number of feminist voices promoting gender equality, and increasing the number of women leaders.

Change the Institutional Structure

In envisioning a feminist foreign policy, it is important to note the unique role of the United States and its large footprint in global economic and political affairs. The US federal government is large and complex. With a population of 327 million people, the US government employs over 2 million people,¹⁴ includes 15 executive departments or agencies, and has an annual budget of about \$4 trillion. There must be thought given to how to best integrate this policy across the executive branch agencies. Further, the coordination mechanism, and the individual leading that work, must be at the highest level and only dedicated to implementing this policy.

Example: There have been far-reaching structural changes made in the US government in the past. Following the attacks on the United States in September 2001, President Bush established the Department of Homeland Security, transforming the federal government by combining 22 federal departments and agencies into a unified cabinet agency to respond to threats. The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) was created by Congress in 2004 to apply a new approach to US foreign aid.

Hold Institutions and Individuals Accountable

As part of transforming government institutions, the people implementing policy need to change the way they do business. Promoting gender equality and women's empowerment should be a shared responsibility of all who work in foreign policy and national security: staff, contractors, military members, and appointees. This work must be championed by leaders, carried out at every level, and not only be the purview of "gender offices" and "gender experts."

Performance evaluations and promotion criteria should be changed to reflect this priority.

Example: Promoting women's empowerment and equality is not new to the US government. At USAID, the 2013 Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Policy set forth the policy's goals and principles and included roles and responsibilities for all of its staff, including the regional, functional, and administrative offices in Washington and in the field. Moreover, Gender 101, a mandatory online training course, was launched to increase the understanding of gender in development. Every USAID staff person involved in the program cycle was required to take it within their first two years of employment.

Diversify Representation

As noted above, there are not currently enough women in senior-level positions.¹⁵ Given the slow speed at which the number of women in foreign policy and national security is growing, US government institutions should consider the following to reach gender balance. The President must commit to a gender-balanced cabinet and instruct the head of each executive branch agency that she wants a gender balance in political appointees at every level.

An overhaul of the civil service and foreign service recruitment and selection processes is needed to more easily recruit and promote qualified women already working in think tanks. Nongovernmental organizations and other parts of the government should focus on increasing the number of women in leadership positions across foreign policy and national security fields, including arms control, counterterrorism, intelligence and analysis, and military strategy.

Example: Increasing the number of women in leadership is possible. During Secretary of State John Kerry's tenure, one of the two Deputy Secretaries was a woman; the majority of Undersecretaries were women, and all but one of the regional Assistant Secretaries were women.¹⁶

Ensure Input from Those Affected

Beyond the women who work for the US government, foreign policy and national security decision-makers must listen to, and consider, the voices and views of those most affected. By consistently reaching out and listening to these individuals and organizations, these professionals will have a better understanding of not only how actions and interventions will affect people but how those actions will be perceived. This can build stronger relationships at the grassroots level that are not tied to those in power, who often say what they think the US government wants to hear or diminish flash points that should be factored into decisions. Memos and reports must include the perspectives of those outside of government and powerful elite.

Example: There are fierce internal battles about how the principals and other high-level US government officials spend their time, especially when they travel. As a result, whom they meet with has a disproportionate impact on how they understand a place or an issue. On Secretary Kerry's first trip to Afghanistan as Secretary of State, he met a group of eight Afghan businesswomen. After that, his speeches often recounted those interactions as a basis for reaffirming the importance of Afghan women to the future of the country.

Prioritize Information and Intelligence

Those who provide analysis for the intelligence community, and others in the foreign policy and national security agencies, must make it a priority to gather information about what is happening in a country with respect to women and other gender issues. Incorporating a gender analysis provides a broad and deep understanding of the situation. Beyond the standard foreign assistance indicators ("F" indicators) used by the US government, there must be new ways to measure accountability regarding the participation of women in security, political, and economic processes; track US government budget expenditures to implement feminist foreign policy; and measure outcomes. Collecting sex-disaggregated data allows issues to be seen, measured, and addressed.

Example: Through its gender policy, adopted in 2006, the MCC requires that gender issues and metrics are integrated throughout the threshold and compact cycle, from the initial country selection and assessment to the development and design of programs, project implementation, the monitoring of program results, and evaluation of program impacts. More recently, the US Overseas Private Investment Corporation has started to apply a gender lens to all its investment projects to help ensure women will benefit.

Increase Resources

Along with setting a new policy framework, it is critical that there are sufficient funds and other resources to support the implementation of these laws and policies. This includes funds to hire specific gender experts as well as educating all US foreign service, development, and military professionals about this policy framework. This means everything from equal access to development assistance for women and men, to increasing the number of women in security forces abroad by funding slots for women in professional foreign military education. This all costs money and takes time. The US government, both the executive and legislative branches, must be willing to put the needed resources toward this new way of doing business.

Example: Successful and lasting initiatives are backed by resources. The US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) is widely considered the most consequential initiative ever launched against HIV/AIDS. Through 2017, the United States had spent more than \$70 billion on PEPFAR activities, dwarfing that spent by other donors to eradicate HIV/AIDS.

Utilize Technology

The use of technology, from social media to online banking, is transforming the lives of millions of people in developing and high-risk parts of the world. It can deliver information, connect people, and close gender gaps in information and employment. Like any other tool, technology used for foreign policy will not be as efficient or effective without planning that ensures a diverse set of users has access to the technology and frameworks that collect usable and informative data.

In the foreign policy arena, technology can help us gather data and information and analyze it in a way that informs policy decisions. This can encompass the use and collection of both macro-level data (i.e., about changes caused by climate change) and micro-level data (i.e., about the incidence of violence).

Example: New technologies have been used by the government through the Presidential Innovation Fellows program, which makes it possible for technologists to take on temporary projects within government to help agencies take advantage of technological advances.

VII. CONCLUSION

We are at an inflection point both within the United States and in the world. Rethinking US foreign and national security policies is critical to restructuring the role of the United States as a global leader and to creating a safer and more stable world. These policies will be more effective if we infuse them with the principles outlined in this paper. This paper provides a road map for those within the US government to operationalize a feminist foreign policy.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Some exceptions are the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, all of which the United States has not ratified.
- 2 The United States is one of the countries to have ratified the fewest number of international human rights treaties—of the 18 agreements passed by the UN, the United States has only ratified 5. See <https://qz.com/1273510/all-the-international-agreements-the-us-has-broken-before-the-iran-deal/>.
- 3 They include the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), CEDAW (1979), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006), among others. See <https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/human-rights/>.
- 4 See <https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/gender-equality/index.html>.
- 5 See <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/>.
- 6 The nine UN Security Council resolutions on Women, Peace and Security are 1325 (2000); 1820 (2009); 1888 (2009); 1889 (2010); 1960 (2011); 2106 (2013); 2122 (2013); 2242 (2015), and 2467 (2019).
- 7 Executive Order 13595: Instituting a National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security (2011), <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/12/19/executive-order-instituting-national-action-plan-women-peace-and-security>. The first NAP contained the following objectives: (1) national integration and institutionalization, (2) increased participation by women in peace processes and decision-making, (3) the protection of women and children from violence, (4) the promotion of women’s participation in conflict prevention, and (5) the ability of women and children to access relief and recovery. The Departments of Defense and State and USAID each developed implementation plans. The 2016 NAP further emphasized monitoring and evaluation and enhanced programming to empower women and girls to prevent and respond to emerging challenges such as violent extremism and climate change. It also aligned with other frameworks including the US National Security Strategy (2010, 2015) and the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (2010, 2015).
- 8 A New National Security Strategy for a New Era (2017), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/new-national-security-strategy-new-era/>.
- 9 When women participate in peace processes, the resulting agreement is 35 percent more likely to last at least 15 years. Council on Foreign Relations, <https://www.cfr.org/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes>.
- 10 An Open Letter from Foreign Policy and National Security Practitioners, <https://opensocietypolicycenter.org/wp-content/uploads/equity-inclusion-for-national-security-open-letter-20180427.pdf>.
- 11 Pew Research Center, “Few American Women Have Broken the Glass Ceiling of Diplomacy,” https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/22/few-american-women-have-broken-the-glass-ceiling-of-diplomacy/?utm_content=bufferc7225&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer.
- 12 Council on Foreign Relations, “Demographics of the US Military (2018),” <https://www.cfr.org/article/demographics-us-military>.
- 13 As of July 1, 2017, this percentage is based on the list of USAID mission directors. See USAID, “Mission Directors,” <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/organization/mission-directors>.
- 14 Congressional Research Service, Federal Workforce Statistics, <https://fas.org/sfp/crs/misc/R43590.pdf>.
- 15 As of November 2018, 13 out of 35 senior positions at the State Department, 6 out of 23 at Defense, and 8 out of 30 at USAID are filled by women. Six women serve in the president’s cabinet as of 2019.
- 16 Remarks of Secretary John Kerry, <https://ci.usembassy.gov/women-play-a-central-role-in-peace-by-john-kerry/>.

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Our Secure Future: Women Make the Difference (OSF) is a program of the Colorado-based One Earth Future Foundation. OSF works to strengthen the Women, Peace and Security movement to enable effective policy decision-making for a more peaceful world.

CONTACT US

 303.533.1715  oursecurefuture@oneearthfuture.org  525 Zang St. Broomfield, CO 80021



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