Project Expedite Justice

## 2020-2021 ANNUAL REPORT







"The real question is: who has the responsibility to uphold human rights?
The answer to that is everyone."

— Madeleine Albright



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#### MESSAGE FROM CYNTHIA TAI, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The last two years were unlike any others. The COVID-19 pandemic forced us to rethink how we work. No longer could we hop on a plane to meet with our partners around the world or conduct in-person training sessions. But while travel came to a halt and events were canceled, human rights abuses and mass atrocities continued.

At PEJ, we were determined to continue supporting the documentation of these crimes and elevating the capacity of our national partners to hold perpetrators accountable.

Tapping into our creative and passionate spirit, we survived, even thrived, during this period. We successfully shifted our operating systems to an e-learning platform accessible even for those without electricity or an Internet connection. We won legal victories, increased the capacity of dozens of local groups to document and store evidence, launched a new program to create opportunities for young lawyers from the Global South, and much more.

Our work led to the fastest implementation of sanctions in history by the U.S. Department of the Treasury against a terrorist group who killed, tortured and displaced close to 800,000 people. We facilitated a successful negotiation with the transitional government of Sudan to help restore schools and hospitals that were destroyed in a multi-year bombing campaign, bringing approximately 1 million people closer to an equitable future. We also supported a lawyer in Sudan in bringing a case against the Rapid Support Forces for shooting peaceful protesters, which resulted in a first-of-its kind victory, and a positive advancement for the acceptance of open-source information in court. We also launched a new project to investigate how efforts to solve climate change may cause systematic human rights violations to Indigenous populations around the globe.

In 2021, PEJ strengthened its internal capacity, by evaluating our core operations, increasing support staff, and creating more efficient processes to support our project teams. We embraced equity from the "inside out" by expanding our team by partnering lawyers from the Global South with their colleagues from the Global North.

Despite the significant challenges involved with this work, we persist. Standing by knowing these atrocities are taking place is not an option, even if achieving justice takes a long time. Our vision of a world without human rights abuses motivates us each day. Regardless of the type of crime or location, PEJ remains firmly rooted in its mission to represent the most marginalized populations on the planet to create a more peaceful and just world for all human beings.

I am grateful for PEJ's growing team of committed legal experts, and proud of what we have accomplished. We thank you for embracing our mission and the communities we serve, and for walking alongside us throughout this journey.

Sincerely, Cynthia T. Tai Executive Director

## Message from Akingbolahan ("Boye") Adeniran, PEJ Advisory Board Member, Lagos, Nigeria

I have been on PEJ's advisory board for 18 months and in 2022 will serve as the interim Legal and Program Director. The work that we do at PEJ is not easy, but necessary. We empower local populations, lawyers, human rights defenders and civil society organizations to fight for justice and the rule of law, especially in relation to those inadequately protected under the law. Our global team understands that no matter how tenacious and persistent we are, justice may not be immediately served. But we also understand that when you document crimes like these, time becomes an ally. Sometimes, it may, it will take 20 years before evidence is reviewed, and when that time comes, we want to make sure that there is ample documentation for crimes committed. Many of the victims we speak with are clear that sharing their stories helps them to feel heard, giving them hope. Each PEJ staff member is dedicated and passionate, and will not give up, despite the challenges. If we can incrementally increase the possibility of getting justice, we have achieved our purpose.

#### Message from Melissa Harry, Operations Manager, Johannesburg, South Africa

I joined PEJ in September, 2021, and am thrilled to be involved in developing the fundamental systems and processes needed for the organization to grow. While our dedicated team of legal experts focuses on supporting our partner organizations to achieve justice in their countries, my role is to ensure that PEJ has strong financial, human resource, administrative and project management systems that are efficient and sustainable for effective program delivery.

As we turn the page into 2022, we are concentrating on strengthening our day-to-day operations, and creating the best work environment for the PEJ family to achieve our strategic objectives.

Together we can contribute to lasting changes in society for a world that is more equitable and just.



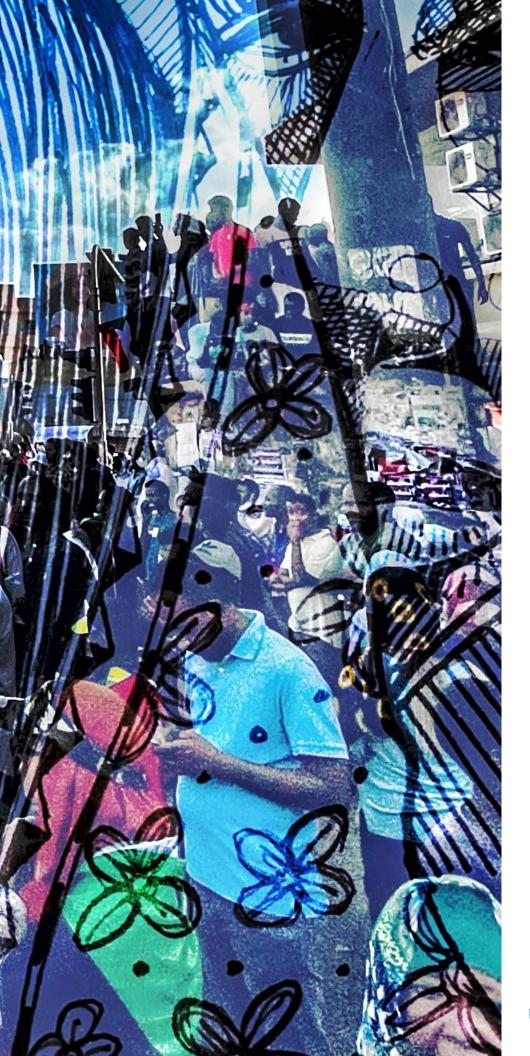
We use all available legal options to seek justice for individuals who are inadequately protected under the law, who cannot access legal resources, and who are exploited by governments, corporations, or others.

We ensure that the fundamental protections articulated in national, regional, and international human rights law are actualized in practice.

We advance accountability for atrocities, serious human rights violations, and related State and corporate abuses.

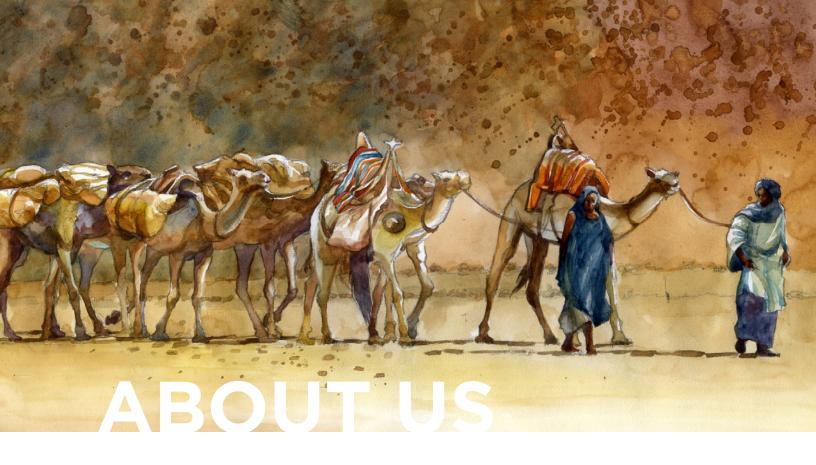
#### **WE ARE PROJECT EXPEDITE JUSTICE**





"There's a moment where you have to choose whether to be silent or stand up."

- Malala Yousafzai



PEJ, a 501(c)(3) charitable organization, was founded in 2016 by Cynthia Tai, a former prosecutor at the International Criminal Court in The Hague and a domestic prosecutor with close to 30 years of experience. With an increase in mass atrocities worldwide, PEJ believes now more than ever that there is an overwhelming need to empower local populations seeking justice. By partnering with national organizations, we train lawyers and investigators to have the skills necessary to collect and preserve evidence in a manner that meets international legal standards.

PEJ applies a novel, survivor-centered approach to addressing mass atrocities. We only engage in cases when requested to do so by the survivors, their families, or national civil society organizations, and where we have the appropriate expertise. Before engaging in any project, we evaluate the situation to identify the best avenue of success. We believe that professional, impartial, and prompt investigation contributes to holding perpetrators of atrocities accountable, reducing risks for survivors and witnesses, ending cycles of violence, creating more accountability mechanisms, deterring future perpetrators from committing atrocities, and advancing justice for victims. Our goal is to create peaceful, just and inclusive societies wherever we work.

## PEJ'S MODEL

#### **National Hub Development**

Creating healthy justice ecosystems of lawyers, civil society organizations and human rights defenders collaborating to document and litigate atrocity crimes and serious human rights violations

- Sudan Human Rights Hub
- Ethiopia Human Rights Defenders' Hub
- South Sudan Documentation Project

#### **Litigation Practice Group**

Focusing on international human rights, criminal & humanitarian law and anti-money laundering

- Targeted Sanctions Under the U.S. Global Magnitsky Act
- Reparations for Indigenous Children in South Kordofan and Blue Nile, Sudan (Two Areas)
- A Critical Look at Conservation and its Effects on Indigenous Peoples

#### Justice Incubator

Building the next generation of diverse leaders to expedite justice for marginalized and vulnerable groups inadequately protected under the law

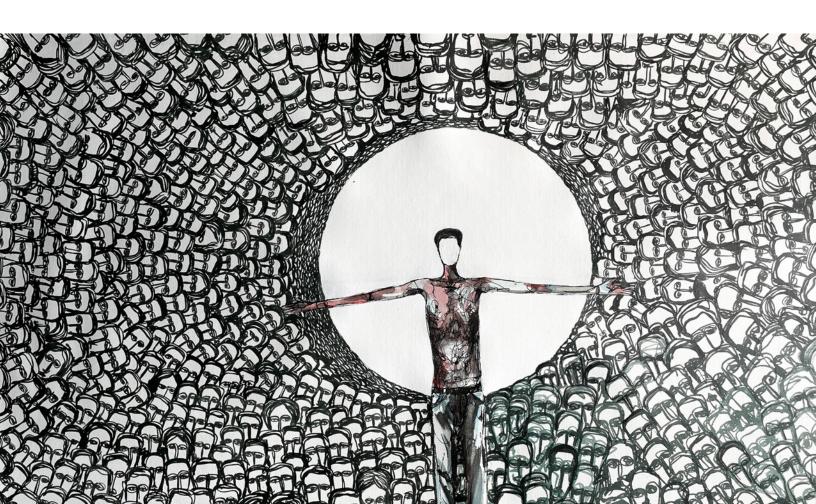




## JUSTICE INCUBATOR

In 2021 PEJ launched the Justice Incubator, a one-year program that offers young lawyers from the Global South practical training to expedite justice for marginalized and vulnerable populations. Lawyers with less than five years experience seeking to create bold, forward-leaning solutions are eligible to apply. The 2021 inaugural class included four leaders from Sudan, Cambodia, Colombia, and Lebanon.

These diverse and bright young lawyers are embedded in our project teams. They are our colleagues who work peer-to-peer alongside regional, national, and international experts to develop the skills necessary to stand up against human rights abuses. Through this program, we are shifting equity. Each participant is given the opportunity to develop a standalone human rights project that expands access to high-quality legal services for those not adequately protected under the law, and helps them realize their goal of one day leading their own NGO, social enterprise, or other entity.



## 2020-2021 AT-A-GLANCE

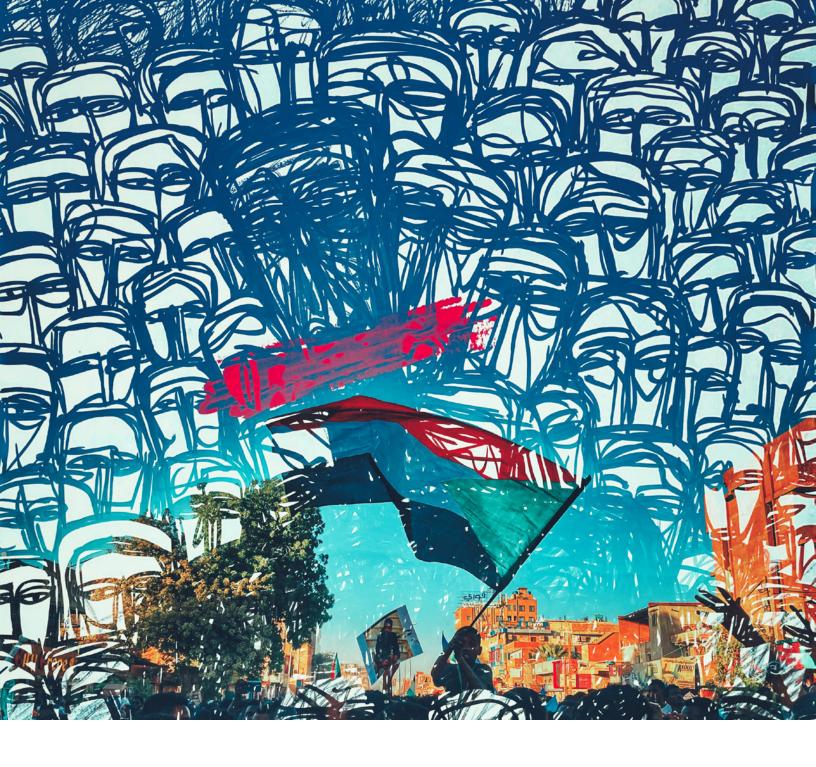
ARTICLES OF EVIDENCE AND INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS COLLECTED + CATALOGED

MENTORING SESSIONS WITH PARTNERS

PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS

ADVOCACY REPORTS PRODUCED

BRIEFS FILED relying on over 2,000 pieces of open-source, documentary and testimonial evidence. Briefs filed to the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (see page x), to the International Criminal Court under article 15 and to the Office of Foreign Assets Control, among others (see page xx).



"In this unfolding conundrum of life and history, there "is" such a thing as being too late. This is no time for apathy or complacency. This is a time for vigorous and positive action."

- Martin Luther King, Jr.

PEJ uses a holistic approach linking human rights with peace and security, gender equity, and social, economic, financial, and environmental issues.

## PEJ CONFRONTS



#### **Atrocity Crimes**

These crimes are committed with extreme violence, inflicted on a large scale, and carried out in a deliberate manner, particularly against civilians. Atrocity crimes include: genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.



#### Human Rights Abuses

Human rights are universal rights inherent to all individuals and communities and protected under law. Violations of these rights are the root of numerous global conflicts.



#### Corruption & Atrocity Financing

Corporate, financial, and other actors may directly or indirectly contribute to, facilitate, motivate, enable or profit from atrocity crimes and human rights abuses. Too often institutions disregard the risk of these crimes for their own profit.



#### **Environmental Destruction & Climate Change**

Atrocity crimes may directly or indirectly result in environmental destruction, illegal exploitation of natural resources, illegal land grabbing, and exploitative mining of natural resources.

## CHALLENGES FACED BY SURVIVORS

#### **Remote Areas**

Victims of atrocities often live in remote areas where it may be challenging and/or impossible to access legal counsel, particularly by specialists in the fieldS of human rights law, international criminal law, and the laws of other jurisdictions where they may seek legal redress.

#### **Inadequate Remedies**

Remedies, whether individual compensation to victims or community reparations, are often not prioritized and are an afterthought to ensuring the perpetrators are convicted and imprisoned.

#### **Faulty Evidence**

Evidence is often not documented, collected or preserved in a manner that meets internationally-recognized standards, and thus, it is frequently lost forever.

## OUR SOLUTIONS

#### **Empowering Local Populations to Document and Collect Evidence**

Without evidence, there can be no accountability. We partner and train national lawyers and investigators to collect, analyze, and preserve evidence according to international legal standards. We create networks of organizations to stand in solidarity against oppression.

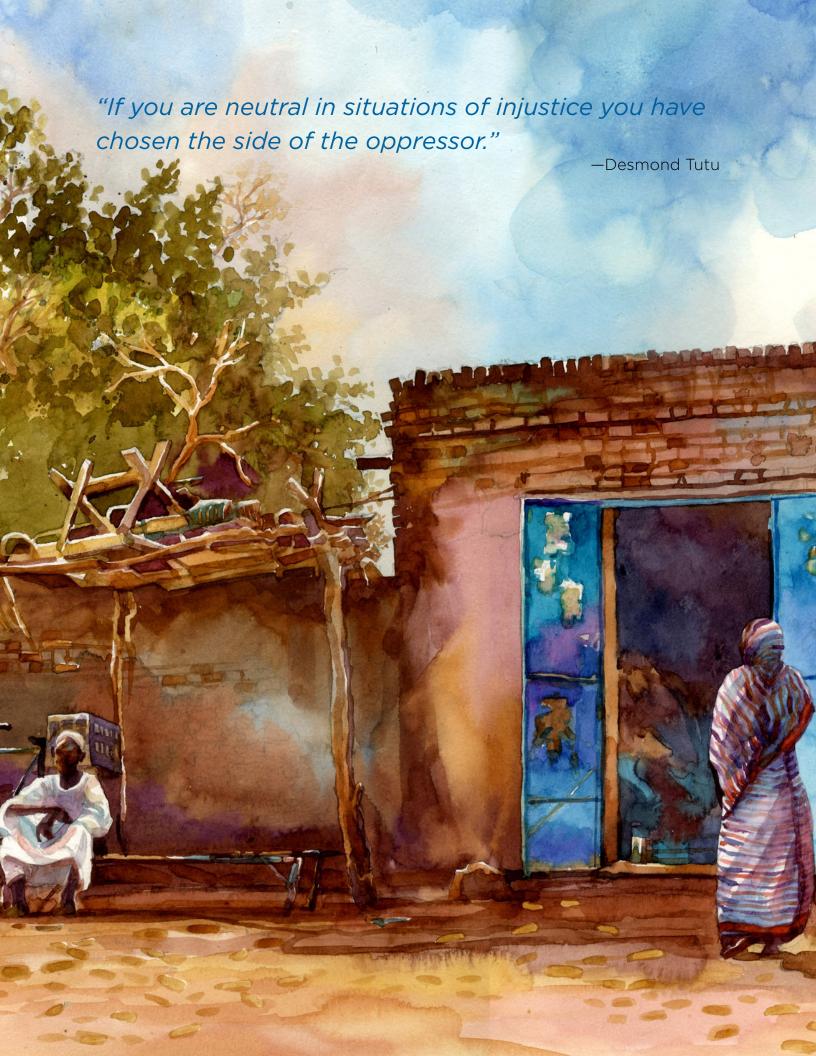
#### **Linking Crimes to Those Responsible**

PEJ works alongside national partners to tackle challenges, refine strategies, and develop leads in investigations. This unique case-focused strategic guidance and action learning aims to seek justice, provide long-term sustainability, and ensure that international evidentiary standards are met as legal theories develop.

#### Using All Available Mechanisms to Ensure the Best Possible Case and Forum

Looking broadly and resourcefully at the web of people and businesses that may be responsible for international crimes and human rights abuses, PEJ ensures the best possible case is presented in the best forum. Regional or international mechanisms and alternative regimes are explored where it isn't possible to proceed at the national level.





# PEJ AND THE UN'S SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

PEJ recognizes that transformational change is needed in these unprecedented times, and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS) pave the way forward, recognizing the interdependence and connections between various dimensions of sustainability. SDG 16 is the main goal for fostering "peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence". Notably, the agenda includes 24 targets from seven other SDGs that are linked to this aspiration:

**Peaceful:** SDG targets for preventing and ending violence are supported by targets on gender-based violence, various harmful and abusive practices (SDG 5, 8 and 10), safe environments of various kinds (SDG 4, 8 and 11), and promoting a culture of peace (SDG 4, Target 4.7).

**Just:** SDG 16 targets for access to justice and rule of law, legal identity, and illicit flows and corruption are supported by targets for dissemination and equality (SDG 4, 5 and 10) and employment and labor rights (SDG 8).

**Inclusive:** Targets for institutions and good governance are referenced in SDG 1, 5, 10, 11, 16 and 17, while SDG 10 and 16 support the commitment to ensuring all people can participate fully in society.

In 2020-2021, PEJ made significant contributions to SDG 16 for Peace, Justice and Security. PEJ's people centered approach to justice and accountability aligns directly with this SDG and others. Overall, we aimed to reduce violence everywhere. We documented the destruction of health centers and schools; addressed gender-based violence and violence against peaceful protesters; obtained sanctions against a terrorist group; and addressed the conscription of child soldiers.

To the wrongs that need resistance, To the right that needs assistance, To the future in the distance, Give yourselves.

—Carrie Chapman Catt



#### SOME OF THE SDG'S THAT PEJ'S WORK **SUPPORTS INCLUDE:**

- Significantly reduce all forms of violence (16.1)
- End all forms of violence against children (16.2)
- Promote the rule of law and access to justice for all (16.3)
- Significantly reduce illicit financial flows (16.4)
- Ensure responsive, ilnclusive, and participatory and representative decision-making (16.7)
- Prevent terrorism (16.a)
- Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies (16.b)
- Promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence (4.7)
- Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership (5.5)
- Eradicate forced labor and end modern slavery and human trafficking (8.7)
- Elimination of child labor and of the recruitment and use of child soldiers (8.7)
- Empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all (10.2)



# OUR TRANSITION TO E-LEARNING

In the wake of travel restrictions imposed by COVID-19, PEJ and its partners in Sudan successfully developed an innovative e-learning course to continue our work using a hybrid model (synchronous and asynchronous) to keep learning alive for our national partners. We created a remote course with fifteen interactive lessons on transitional justice, trauma care, and best investigative practices. The format and technology used are highly flexible, and lessons can be accessed without an internet connection or electricity.

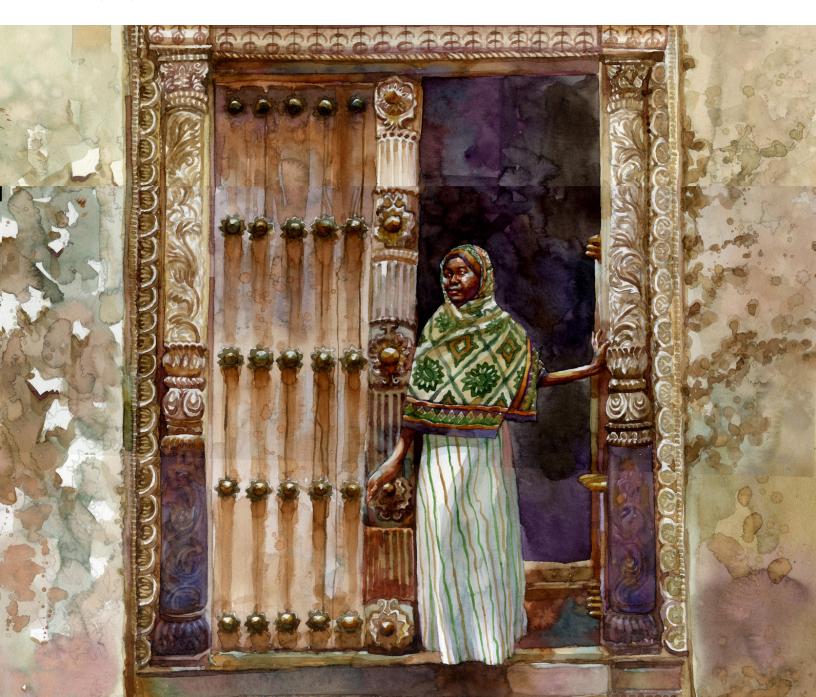
PEJ piloted this e-learning training and mentoring in Sudan with 14 participants from 11 organizations. We were guided by an e-learning expert and we conducted a focus group to better understand how PEJ's learning objectives were being met through the remote technology used.

We will continue to use this efficient and effective learning model in years to come. We now have experience creating interactive, technology-driven training courses that civil society actors can access in remote locations without traveling or having a constant internet connection or access to electricity. This technology will help us reach more and more change-makers in the communities we serve.

## **AWARDS**

#### October 2020: Cynthia Tai Receives Champion for Social Justice Award from the Hawaii State Bar Association

PEJ is proud to announce that Executive Director Cynthia Tai was awarded the 2020 Champion for Social Justice Award from the Hawaii State Bar Association for her extraordinary efforts to seek and preserve justice through her work as a local judge, a prosecutor for the U.S. and at the International Criminal Court (ICC), and with PEJ.



## OUR PROJECTS



"The dead cannot cry out for justice. It is a duty of those living to do so for them."

- Lois McMaster Bujold

"Justice will not be served until those who are unaffected are as outraged as those who are."

- Benjamin Franklin



#### **ETHIOPIA**

**Increasing Capacity of and Coordination Between** Local Organizations to Document and Litigate **Human Rights Abuses** 

Training sessions for 4 CSOs and 4 Lawyers Associations

Training sessions with the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission

PEJ's Ethiopia program launched in 2020 to increase justice and accountability for human rights abuses, along with increased protections and observations to create a healthy justice ecosystem.

Trusted partnerships were formed with civil society organizations, Ethiopian lawyers' associations and Human Rights Defenders, increasing their capacity to investigate, document, manage, preserve, and report abuses; as well as pursue accountability through litigation and advocacy through national courts or the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC), a key national human rights organization.

PEJ also formed a strategic alliance with the EHRC and was able to embed one international and one national legal expert into the organization to provide knowledgebased support to increase the EHRC's overall impact.

Amidst the challenging situation in Ethiopia, PEJ worked with local partners to empower civil society organizations and strengthen the rule of law, be it through legal reform or legal support.

Our strong partner relationships allowed us to conduct a 3-day plenary meeting in Ethiopia in December 2021. The goal was to increase coordination and cooperation between civil society actors, human rights defenders, lawyers associations and the EHRC to collectively enhance monitoring, documenting, reporting, advocacy, and accountability efforts.



#### "What hurts the victim most is not the cruelty of the oppressor, but the silence of the bystander."

- Ellie Wiesel.



#### SUDAN

#### Reparations for Children, Documenting Survivor Voices, and Increasing Coordination Between and **Capacity of Local Human Rights Actors**

After nearly three decades of conflict and authoritarian rule, Sudanese citizens began peaceful protests in 2018 that led to a transition to a civilianled government, with justice and accountability at the center. A new, young generation of activists were calling for the skills and training necessary to achieve transitional justice. However, in October 2021, a military coup derailed this fragile progress toward democracy. Nevertheless, Sudanese citizens continue to demand justice and accountability every day.

PEJ continues to stand in solidarity with our Sudanese colleagues and remains committed to supporting civil society organizations in their efforts to investigate and document human rights abuses and litigate atrocity crimes in Sudan.

#### **Sudan Human Rights Hub**

In 2020, prior to the military coup, PEJ and its partner, Gisa Group, launched the Sudan Human Rights Hub, an ecosystem of lawyers, civil society organizations, grassroots community groups, and human rights defenders that support a holistic and inclusive transitional justice process in Sudan. The Hub provides access to legal experts in international criminal law, human rights, environmental violations, economic and financial crimes, human trafficking, and corruption.

Given the fluid security situation in Sudan, the Hub remains adaptable, designed to support the partners' developing needs as they arise.

The Hub created a network of approximately 20-25 Sudanese journalists, lawyers, and activists hailing from Khartoum and the peripheries (Darfur, Two Areas, Kassala, Port Sudan etc.). We supported a group of young women who courageously documented the rapes of both men and women during the July 2019 massacre. We also supported the efforts of several national lawyers to bring justice to those that were shot during peaceful protests. Notably, through our support in one of the cases, a Sudanese lawyer presented novel legal arguments that were eventually accepted in a Sudanese court of law, thereby creating legal precedent.



#### **Litigation Success: Reparations for Children**

In February, 2021, the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child approved a settlement agreement facilitated by PEJ and our national partners. This was a major victory on behalf of children from the Blue Nile and South Kordofan States, also known as the Two Areas, who were harmed by government bombing campaigns between 2011 and 2016. For children born in 2011, the war left them without education, health care, or hope. In recognition of the human rights violations, the transitional Sudanese government (which has unfortunately since been ousted) agreed to not only acknowledge responsibility for the harm caused by the Bashir regime, but also agreed to reconstruct schools and hospitals that were destroyed, allow unfettered humanitarian access into the region, and reform laws related to sexual and gender-based violence.

The communication filed by PEJ and its partners was only the eleventh to be considered by the Committee in its nearly twenty-year history; and only the second time a communication has been resolved through an amicable settlement process.





"The world will not be destroyed by those who do evil, but by those who watch them without doing anything".

- Albert Einstein.

#### **SOUTH SUDAN**

### **Documenting Atrocities for the Potential of Future Justice**

South Sudan is a complicated country fraught with civil war, ethnic tensions, and food insecurity. Although there was hope for peace when the country became independent from Sudan in 2011, over ten years later, human rights violations are only increasing, including unlawful killings, abductions and sexual violence. The civil society space has been significantly reduced, forcing many organizations to shut down or operate underground, with virtually no accountability or institutions to uphold the rule of law.



Nevertheless, PEJ has been partnering with a South Sudanese organization (who shall remain anonymous for security reasons) for the last five years to document human rights violations throughout the country. PEJ trained people to monitor human rights in seven different regions, who in turn trained others to collect witness statements and draft investigative reports. Each month we receive 30 – 60 documentation reports. This information is then synthesized for an advocacy newsletter that is published anonymously each quarter.

Despite the pandemic, we were able to continue preserving these reports, which have increased in both number and quality.

Although there are no immediate pathways to justice on the horizon, it is important to document and preserve evidence of these crimes for future accountability. We are one of few organizations doing this work, and our ultimate goal is to install capacity in-country so that our partner eventually becomes independent and self-standing with no need to rely on international support.

Advocacy Reports Articles of Evidence collected and cataloged

mentoring sessions with partners

"If you join in a fight for social justice you may win or lose, but just by being part of the struggle, you win, and your life will be better for it."

- Howard 7inn

#### DRC

#### **Cutting Off the Money**

Abducting children. Conscripting boys. Enslaving women. Public beheadings of civilians. These are just a few of the egregious atrocities committed by a nonstate armed group based in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In 2019, PEJ supported a partner organization to investigate the activities of the armed militia group. We provided knowledge based training sessions and supported the collection of evidence with the objective of dismantling the organization's ability to harm civilians. PEJ archived all of the statements and potential evidence in order to sequence accountability efforts. Following the investigation, PEJ drafted and submitted an application to the U.S. Department of Treasury's Office of Foreign Asset Control requesting sanctions under the Global Magnitsky Act against this group and its leadership. Within 90 days, a historic record, the U.S. Department of Treasury imposed sanctions prohibiting the transfer of U.S. dollars to fund their activities. These sanctions were then adopted by the European Union and the United Nations. Sanctions can be an extremely effective tool to financially disable organizations or individuals who commit gross human rights violations.

In 2020 and 2021, PFJ drafted and submitted an Article 15 communication to the International Criminal Court requesting that they investigate these crimes. The brief included more than 1.000 articles of evidence that were collected and cataloged in 2019. In September 2021, PEJ submitted a second request to a thirdparty government, requesting similar financial sanctions with the objective of disrupting human rights violations.



"Perform your obligatory duty, because action is indeed better than inaction."

- Bhagavad Gita



#### **Looking Under the Hood**

The UN Climate Change Conference (COP26) that took place in November 2021 was groundbreaking in its acknowledgement of Indigenous peoples' vital role in protecting the lands that they have been stewarding before the creation of "protected areas". In the main decision adopted at the end of the meeting, governments urged parties to "actively involve Indigenous peoples in implementing climate action."

Given the massive ramping up of potential conservation efforts to create a carbonfree future - in particular the "30 x 30" project to convert 30% of the Earth's land and water into protected areas by 2030 - PEJ is working to understand how this impacts Indigenous peoples, and how their voices can best be heard by decision-makers.

In 2021, PEJ conducted an in-depth research project analyzing various protected areas around the world. and will publish a detailed briefing of its findings in 2022, including legal options and other recommendations on the way forward.

Our goal is to support the goals of Indigenous people as they advocate for a return of their land. We offer our legal and human rights expertise to bolster their capacity to advocate on behalf of themselves.

While we support conservation in all of its forms, we must collectively also recognize that Indigenous people have historically had a symbiotic relationship with the land that leaves them best equipped to protect these critical areas.





## **DONORS**

Bay and Paul Foundation
Bridgeway Foundation
Delegation for the European Union to Ethiopia
Humanity United
National Endowment for Democracy
International Coalition of Sites of Conscience

## INDIVIDUAL DONORS

United States Agency for International Development Anonymous Foundations

## FINANCIAL SUMMARY

[make charts to show support and revenue, expenses and assets; plus growth from 2019. NOTE: we will need to update this when the 2021 numbers are audited.]

Below is a financial summary for 2020. 2021 will be available following the financial audit.

#### **Support & Revenue**

Contributions	\$811,204
Donated Services	\$16,000
Loss on Currency Conversion	-\$209

TOTAL: \$826,965

#### **Expenses**

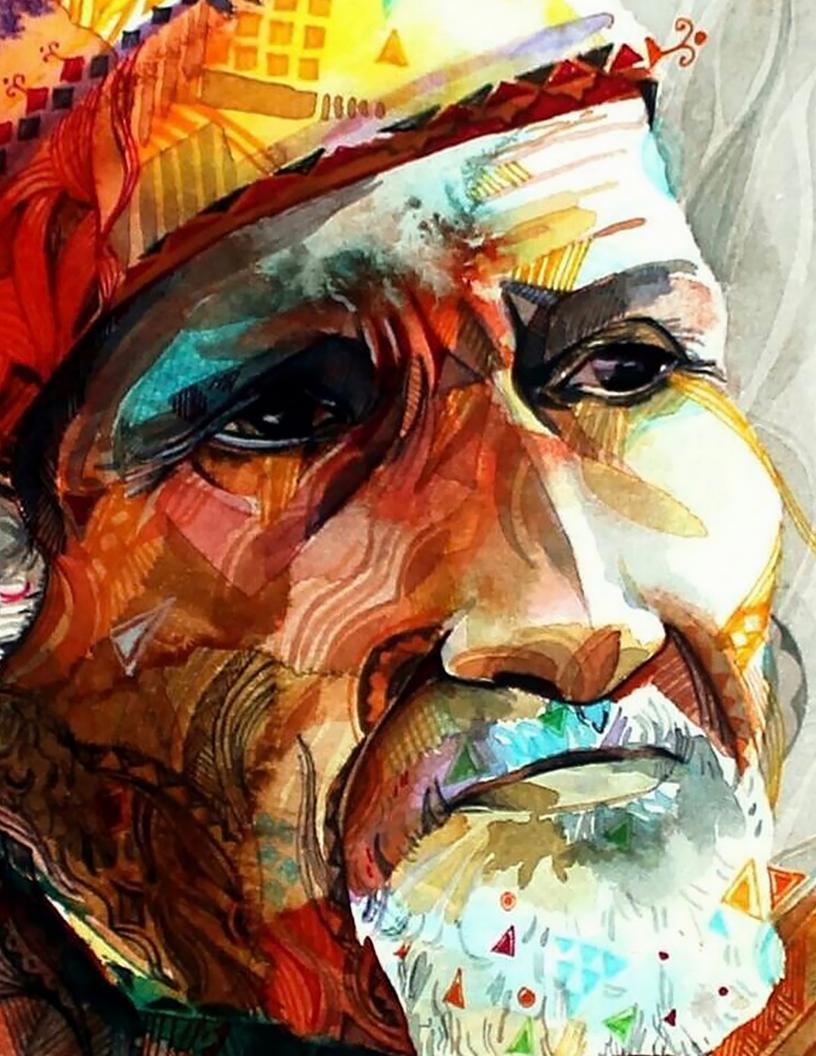
ProgramServices	\$485,281
Management & General	\$51,766
Fundraising	\$6,762

TOTAL \$543,809

#### **Assets**

Change in Net Assets	\$283,236
Beginning Net Assets	\$85,554

Ending Net Assets \$368,790



## **PROJECT EXPEDITE JUSTICE**

#### **Board of Directors**

Dr. Brett Carey - President Jennie Montaño - Secretary/Treasurer Tony Tate - Board Member Rebecca Villegas - Board Member

#### **Board of Advisors**

Kay Sides

Gilbert Nuwagira

Ravic Huso

Gregory Jackson

Linda L. Walton

Aymen Korika

Joyce Seelen

Silvain Sana

Akingbolahan Adeniran





## OUR TEAM

We are proud to have staff members from all over the globe including: Austria, Cambodia, Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Ireland, Italy, Lebanon, Netherlands, Nigeria, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Uganda and the United States

#### Administration

Cynthia Tai Esq. - Executive Director (U.S.)

Melissa Harry
Operations Manager (South Africa)

Laura Rubio Krohne
Executive Assistant & Communications
Officer (Colombia)

## **ART** CONTRIBUTORS





Artist Statement

I draw, to feel that I am doing a change in my life even a bit ... All what raises my worries, concerns and interest is from the periphery of my life...

The large and small details inspires me .. the decorations, ornaments and the strong Af-rican colors as it's humans all this urging me to draw and draw it, but not as it is, it gives some of which reflected within myself to come out differently from what I had seen first time...

My simple life inspired me on my childhood, the colors of my rural area overlooking the Nile with its humans, homes and culture of its simple human in it's deep meaning... All I had drawn and what I will draw are from my simple life inspiration, but the African character is stronger in its nature as well as in my activities. Africa is what determines my activity, Africa is the motherland.































Artist Statement







I am greatly inspired by buildings of old texture, cracked walls with light penetrating through them in addition to old doors and soaked damp walls. Most of all I am love with the morning sun light that penetrates through the walls of old straw Sudanese traditional huts.







Photos taken by PEJ Consultant Arwa Hleihel in Ethiopia







Images by Juanita Mulder from Pixabay



"Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing."

- Arundhati Roy





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