"The human rights movement’s triumphs and catastrophes are common knowledge. We can say at once how much it has done, how little it has achieved. Surely the battles are endless; rights have always meant fights. But the movement has become a formidable combatant. The momentum lies with it."

—HENRY STEINER
HLS Launches Major Fund Drive for HRP

After fifteen years of effort and growth, the Human Rights Program (HRP) now finds itself at a turning point. Dean Robert Clark has launched a major initiative to secure the program a permanent place at the Law School and a future as an integral part of a Harvard education. The goal is to raise $10 million to $12 million in endowment funds over the next few years.

"The Human Rights Program has placed the Law School among the world's leading academic institutions in advancing thought in this vital field, as well as in training students to participate as activists and scholars in the human rights movement," Dean Clark said when announcing the fundraising campaign. "We will do our best to obtain funds for the program on the high promise of what it will contribute to the Law School and to human rights, a promise resting on fifteen years of striking achievement."

HRP Director Henry Steiner expressed his gratitude to the many who have supported the program through their generous gifts—instutions such as the Ford Foundation and the Norman and Rosita Winston Foundation and alumni such as Norris Darrell '54, Joseph Flom '48, Robert '55 and Phyllis Heinigson, Edward Smith '42, and Daniel '58 and Prudence Steiner.

"This is our great opportunity to complete the voyage from tourist to full citizen of the Law School," Steiner said. "Our students deserve no less."

(For more information on the campaign and its goals, see the inside back cover.)

Bringing Down "Africa's Pinochet"

On January 25, 2000, a group of human rights activists and victims gathered in Dakar, Senegal, and launched the first "Pinochet-style" prosecution of a former dictator in Africa. The case was directed against Hiss-sein Habre, the former leader of Chad now living in Senegal, who was responsible for as many as 40,000 political killings and 200,000 cases of torture.

The successful launch of the case was largely due to the work of three HLS graduates and the support of the Human Rights Program. "Harvard has been part of the case from the beginning to the end and deserves a lot of the credit for this breakthrough," said Reed Brody, advocacy director for Human Rights Watch (HRW).

Activists worldwide recognized in Augusto Pinochet's arrest in Britain in 1998 a model that could be applied to former dictators and their accomplices elsewhere. Thus began a collaboration between Brody and HRP Associate Director Peter Rosenblum, who has been pursuing a number of projects in Chad. They initiated discussions with

(Continued on page 37)
Celebrating HRP

The Many Faces of HRP

This publication is a celebration of human rights at Harvard Law School—of the students, teachers, activists, scholars and staff who contributed in significant ways to making this field of work a valued part of the Law School experience. The celebration marks fifteen years of the Human Rights Program, a program that has become an indelible feature of this school as it aspires to enrich the education of law students, strengthen the human rights movement and train future participants and, indeed, leaders of the movement.

So many cooks make this HRP broth. Many of the program’s alumni and staff figure in this magazine; a few prominently. Others could as well have been included from among the 150 alumni in the Alumni Notes section. Let’s start with the students, for they have been a key mobilizing force from the start. During the academic year 1983–1984, leading up to the creation of HRP, students campaigned to draw school funds into human rights internships and to expand curricular offerings. Among the leaders were Hilary Charlesworth ’86, Helena Cook, LL.M. ’84, Steve Golub ’85, Katie Koglin ’85, Jim Ross ’85 and Jessica Nastorich ’85, quite a group in light of their later high achievements in human rights. It was no accident that the program took off amidst escalating student interest in the field. Happily, the students were not alone in their interests. Professor Clyde Ferguson was developing plans for more systematic work in human rights when he died suddenly in 1983. Vice-Dean David Smith welcomed his encouragement to the students. Dean James Vornberg’s strong endorsement in early 1984 of Henry Steiner’s plan for creating HRP gave the program a vital push. After stepping down as dean, he remained helpful as a member of a faculty advisory committee that has been a source of ideas and has provided a link to the rest of the HLS faculty. The strong declares support for HRP has continued with Robert Clark, whose active leadership in HRP’s current fund drive is essential to its success. Supportive faculty, active and impressive students are a good combination for starters. Still, a program needs staff. From 1984 to 1992, Jack Tobin, the first administrative director, drew on his training as a lawyer and international law librarian to build up HRP and guide students into careers. His monumental effort, to get together with that of his successor, Jennie Green, led to publication of the well-known Guide to Human Rights Research. Jennie drew students particularly into court work. Jack and Jennie and their successors, associate directors Makasi Mutua, and then Peter Rosenblum, each built a new feature into the expanding HRP. This magazine’s stories illustrate those contributions—for example, the existing public interest work of Jennie Green, the preventive thinking of Makasi Mutua, and the new directions in clinical work brought to the school by Peter Rosenblum.

We also celebrate the contributions of two other extraordinary staff members: Program Administrator Susan Calhoun (see story on page 40), who left in February to raise her family, and Program Assistant Anja van Beekelaar, who departs for Harvard Medical School after three-and-a-half years of taking pre-med classes by day, while running HRP’s office by day. In HRP’s early years, Human Rights Interns were located in the program’s offices and influenced and strengthened HRP in varied ways. The organization was present both in name and vision. Laurie Wiseberg, its inventive head, saw the power of law in a decentralized, interconnected global movement before most people realized that there was any movement at all. She and Human Rights Interns, together with then-Visiting Professor Philip Alston, opened many doors to NGOs for HRP in those years. As the program developed, so did student initiatives. The Harvard Human Rights Journal, which shares offices and intellectual community with HRP, has been a galvanizing point for student interest and a major source of intellectual debate. Morris Panter ’88 and William J. Farrell ’88, its journal and served as co-editors of its first 1988 volume. Its fine academic reputation grew over years of students’ devoted work. There are so many others. Thanks from HRP and HLS to you all.

(Appeared page, clockwise from top right) Various events were held throughout the weekend, including panel discussions that drew questions from the audience; a provocative debate on the university of human rights titled the house; Lobsang Sangay of Tibet described his human rights experience; from left Professor Upendra Basu, formerly of the University of Delhi, draws with visiting fellows Catherine Drey and Tadie, and Alicia El Yamin shared a laugh with old friends.

Alicia El Yamin ’91 “The Human Rights Program was pivotal to my decision to pursue human rights as a career. My mother is Argentine, so growing up, the Dirty War in that country loomed large. It wasn’t until I got to the law school and through the Human Rights Program, that I was exposed to the mythical possibilities for turning what had been passions and convictions into a career.”

Lobsang Sangay, S.J.D. Candidate “During the UN Subcommission on Human Rights in 1992, I was lobbying hard to pass a resolution censoring China on human rights violations in Tibet. One of the experts told me, halfheartedly but without any guilt, ‘You are a bright boy. Why are you wasting your time in human rights?’ We lost the censure resolution against China that year. However, I thought to myself, such losses should not deter me from pursuing human rights activism. That was a battle lost, but there is a war to be won.”

Celebrate HRP

350 Gather to Celebrate HRP’s Anniversary
On September 17-19, 1999, the Human Rights Program hosted its first ever grand-scale event to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. The celebration drew alumni and friends from around the world for a weekend of discussion and debate. Some 350 attended the Saturday morning panel chaired by public radio host Christopher Lydon and the dinner with its keynote address by Amanda Sen, master of Trinity College at Cambridge University and winner of the 1998 Nobel Prize in Economics. Panels explored a range of current issues: “Globalization: Implications for Human Rights,” “Alleviation of Massive Tragedies,” “Universal Norms and Cultural Variations,” “US Practice and Policy,” and “The Role of the University in the Human Rights Movement.” Most of the panelists were recent graduates or visiting fellows whose work is often at the cutting edge of advocacy and scholarship. “All in all,” says HRP Director Henry Steiner, “the event was a triumphant occasion for our alumni, who came back to a school appreciative of their important public interest work, and to the celebration of a program that captures their loyalty and enthusiasm. It was the now indelible imprint of human rights work on the school.”
Chris Mburu, LL.M. '93

"My human rights career is divided into two distinct eras: before and after Harvard Law School. The Human Rights Program, with its rich lecture programs and, of course, the brown bag lecture series, helped me refine and articulate my work within the framework of existing international legal norms and practice. My experience changed my brand of activism, adding a critical intellectual dimension that has enabled me to meet and deal efficiently with complex human rights situations in many countries across the vast cultures."

(See mburu's biography in alumni notes, page 32)

Ken Anderson '86

"I have never known a program as open to genuine debate as the Harvard Law School Human Rights Program. It is committed to unreserved, fundamental discussion that does not turn human rights merely into a kind of religious dogma. In the diverse kinds of people it brings together, in its willingness to tackle questions that many puritans of this movement prefer to leave untouched, this program sets the standard for what intellectually rigorous human rights teaching and scholarship should be."

(See Anderson's biography in alumni notes, page 27)

Jennie Green '91

"I actually came to Harvard because of the program. One of the things i'm most grateful for is that i have the tools that allow me to feel like i can make a difference. When people in the Democratic region of burma say, 'what can we do?' you don't have to just throw up your hands and say, 'gee, I don't know. You have these tools but I don't really know what to do about them.' there is something that we can do and we can give their rights actual meaning."

(See Green's biography in alumni notes, page 30)

Ethics the Subject of Nobel Laureate's Keynote Address

Professor Armatya Sen, Nobel Laureate in Economics in 1998 and master of Trinity College, Cambridge University, gave the celebration's keynote address. His theme was the provocative, "Are Human Rights 'Nonsense on Stilts'?" the quoted phrase taken from philosopher Jeremy Bentham.

Sen defended the idea of human rights against several criticisms. For example, he argued that the importance of rights lies not in their recognition or enforcement by the state, but in the ethical belief that certain among them are basic and significant. They do not lose that importance for failure of state recognition. Indeed, not all human rights should be seen as seeking inclusion within the scope of the law. Legislation and court enforcement might be inappropriate paths for fulfilling some among them, especially economic and social rights.

A second criticism denies the validity of rights that lack correlative duties held by specific actors, perhaps the state. Such, "unrealized" rights may impose only "important obligations." Sen stressed the method of consequential evaluation, which values choices in terms of their broadly defined consequences, including their effect on others' freedoms, such as a freedom to be educated. Within that system, unrealized rights that give us reasons to work for their fulfillment are not self-contradictory.

Sen concluded by warning against a tendency to see human rights in too precise terms. "The ethics of human rights appeals to our basic values, which have a good deal of ambiguity" in their general, inexact sense of commitment, he said. The expression of such ethics must capture such ambiguities rather than try to produce an overly precise structure of rights.

(Clockwise from top left) Dinner guests came from all over the world; the Divinity School's Preston Williams '64 (left) and Bugamizezi Nabibib '98 talked of shared concerns; Ken Anderson paid tribute to the program; Henry Steiner responded to an after-dinner juggling act, with help from left) Ken Anderson '86, Anthony Appiah and Celestine Nyame '95 discussed universal norms and cultural variations; Rita Hooster and Dan Steinert greeted each other; Niasanthen Pillay, S.J.D. '88 and Judge Gerald Gillman '52 took time out for a chat, and (left) Jennie Green '91 described her work.

Harvard Law School
Questioning THE Universality of Human Rights

A highlight of the Human Rights Program's fifteenth anniversary celebration was the discussion among six noted human rights figures, "representing four different regions and a vast range of experience. The topic was "A Half Century of the Human Rights Movement: What Difference Has It Made?" Christopher Lydon, the widely admired host of "The Connection," a popular wide-ranging interview-talk program on National Public Radio, animated the discussion as moderator.

Photographs by Gustav Freedman

Makau wa Muwia, J.D.

"The Universal Declaration is neither complete nor universal. Documents do not become universal merely because people say they are." "I speak as an insider/outside," Muwia said. A commitment to human rights does not require us to treat the human rights corpus—the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the related treaties—as "having almost a biblical dimension." He challenged the universality of the declaration. "The founding document was authored largely by individuals who came from or were educated in the West," he said. For example, he observed, there was not a single African present in the negotiations. "As a consequence, it puts forward a vision of society along the lines of western democracy," Muwia said. "The document emphasizes the place of the individual in society at the expense of the community; it largely ignores conceptions of duty in organizing society."

Makau wa Muwia is associate professor of law at SUNY Buffalo and director of the human rights program there.

Mary Ann Glendon

"The framing of the Universal Declaration, that marvellous document, was impressively multicultural. That doesn't mean it was perfect, but it was enough input from enough traditions that it is very hard to dismiss it as Western."

Though coming from a very different perspective, Glendon agreed with much of Makau wa Muwia's critique of the human rights movement. "The overconception of personal, political and ethnic tensions (as in the drafting of the declaration) is such an inspiring model that it puts shame to the diplomacy of the 1990s," Glendon told the gathering. It was what happened after that created division. "The roots go back to the Cold War when the United States, on the one hand, and the Soviet bloc, on the other, adopted certain universal rights as their own and ignored the rest. They drove a stake through the middle of a very simple corpus." At the end of the Cold War, "the constant for meaning went off in another direction," she explained. "Each interest group tried to get its interest classified as a universal right." She gave as an example the ongoing conflict on women, where Western governments and organizations largely ignored basic health and education—the concerns of the vast majority of women—in favor of a narrow, North Atlantic agenda on sexual and reproductive rights.

Mary Ann Glendon is the Learned Hand Professor of Law at Harvard Law School.

Navanethem Pillay, S.J.D. '88

"Over the last half century, the international community has codified gross human rights violations over the world and encouraged a culture of impunity rather than respect for the rule of law."

As an African woman, Pillay challenged fellow panelist Makau wa Muwia's sentiments that the UDHR did not speak for Africans. The problem for her is not so much one of norms as their implementation. The world waited too long before demanding international accountability. "We are only now implementing the Genocide Convention, a treaty that was passed fifty years ago," she observed. "In the case of Rwanda, the UN could have prevented the genocide, but the international community lacked the will. She said that the international criminal tribunal is a step in the right direction and that by establishing it the UN Security Council sent "a message of hope" that perpetrators will be punished and individual accountability is possible. After years of complicity about massive human rights violations and impunity for universalism of human rights wasn't even questioned," he said. "We were concerned with attacking problems in the most practical fashion. Whether human rights had western origins wasn't an issue for us."

Now it has become an issue because of the challenge from Islamic groups. "There are two issues in this question of universality, one is universality as a conscious among different cultures. This is necessary, but will require time," he said. "The other is the universality of solidarity among those who believe in human rights and are ready to defend victims of repression. We don't need to wait fifty years for that."

Osulm is a professor of contemporary Arab thought at the University of Rabat (Morocco) and founding member of the Moroccan Organization for Human Rights.

Rita Hauser "55-56"

"In politics, principle must often be compromised to achieve peace. But the human rights movement has planted seeds that continue to yield results even fifty years later," Hauser observed. Since 1948, the United States has been caught up in the tension between universal values and non-interference in internal affairs, both of which principles are reflected in the United Nations Charter. One result is that while the U.S. plays an active role in elaborating the standards and treaties in the system, America's "position is extremely bad in ratifying anything," she said. "Our record is constant reference to these universal norms and an unwillingness to see other countries look into our affairs." Indeed, on many important matters like the Statute of the International Criminal Court and the landmines treaty, the U.S. "has defined the overwhelming will of the international community" by refusing to join. Given the more recent establishment of criminal tribunals and the demand from the citzens of the world that something be done about ethnic strife and the enormous violations of human rights, she expressed optimism that "the world community will overcome the reluctance to have other nations look into their affairs."

On the other hand, she said, neither the Sudan nor the intervention in Kosovo signals an end to the previous repressive. Important issues of state interest and neo-colonial domination persist. "The doctrine of humanitarian intervention has been an "escape for interventions in Africa—Christians against Muslims," for example. We got involved in the Balkans; we may not get involved in another Rwanda if it happens. There are realists who declare where we become involved."

Rita Hauser is the former U.S. representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights, a human rights advocate and, together with her husband Goo, a supporter of important initiatives to expand understanding about the field.

José Miguel Vivanco, ILM '90

"Perhaps the most important precedent for the region and the rest of the world is the prosecution of [Gen. Augusto] Pinochet. The lessons we have to do not only with impunity and personal crimi- nal responsibility for violators at the highest level, but also with reducing the gap between the official discourse and the real practice."

"With the exception of states like Cuba and Peru, where violations result from official policy adopted at the highest level, in the rest of the hemisphere governments and officials are open and receptive to human rights issues. The official discourse has changed tremendously, but that doesn't mean that the governments are implementing different polices to address human rights problems," Vivanco said. The irony is that despite the democratization of Latin America, every day it is more difficult to protect and promote human rights. "Most of the victims today are not political prisoners; they are suspected criminals. It is difficult to express those issues."

José Miguel Vivanco is director of the Americas Division of Human Rights Watch. A online version of the panel is available at www.unchr.ch/panel/ Programs/HRP/
Many students wish to explore those paths in varied ways by linking their formal education to practical clinical involvement in pressing human rights problems. You, understand, the world but also work to change it. The program draws richly from that world. Its soundable discussions and related publications feature participants from many disciplines and regions. Visiting professors and fellows come from all over to teach and learn about human rights. Students from these radically different cultures engage American students and each other in the classroom: listen hard, exchange ideas, debate.

The program's fifteenth anniversary celebration gave striking evidence of what the years have achieved. Most inspiring at the gathering last year was the sheer number of returning HRP alumni who are active in public interest and human rights work. Many of the panel speakers came from their ranks. All such alumni hold a honored place in Harvard Law School's rich history and grand ambitions. The human rights movement is the better for their remarkable contributions as activists, critics, and scholars.

Background photograph of Egyptian students, which was taken by Harry Steinberg during a human rights trip to Egypt.

A mere half century ago, launched by the Nuremberg trials and the Universal Declaration, the human rights movement started to carve its novel path through sovereign states and world institutions. Subsequently for many states in the ideal of individual rights for all and of participatory government, the movement generated treaties, sponsored international as well as nongovernmental institutions and stimulated the spread of liberal democratic constitutions among states.

The triumph and its个 hypotrophy are common knowledge. We can say, so much the movement has done, how little it has achieved. On the right side, so much has changed forever: a transformed legal, political, and social landscape new discourse that has permeated international law and relations. An altered consciousness of issues of people that threatens authoritarian regimes everywhere. Surely the battles are endless; rights have always meant fights, either violent ones or those within silent political life. But the movement has become formidable combatant. Its weapons range from its ideals and their implementing institutions to the evolving forms of collective pressure on the wrongs' violators. The momentum lies with it.

What else had university programs amidst this explosion of ideas and institutions? Conventional repression of speech, and beliefs of unanswerable poverty, of the denial of basic human dignity, not to millions, but to billions of the powerless. As the Human Rights Program developed, it nourished the then-incipient trend toward internationalization of legal education and matters ranging from trade and markets to environment, issues that often had their own human rights dimensions.

Legal education in this new field could of course play its traditional role, stressing human rights work, but in stable, open societies around the globe that were committed to liberal political ideals and the rule of law. Professional activities like court advocacy and legislative drafting would remain central. But in most countries, such work had little play or meaning. Court decrees do not overthrow tyrants. The more drastic, the violations, the less relevant lawyers' traditional activities and roles.

The classroom and other law school activities had, therefore, to examine broader social and political processes, including international and nongovernmental human rights institutions. They had to explore the limits of the possible in violent and repressive societies, far outside the boundaries of familiar legal work. The Human Rights Program has moved flexibly to provide this multidimensional education in studying, research, writing, and active engagement. All form part of a human rights education. Through this varied approach to "lawyering in the large," the school expands students' imagination of possible lawyers' work and careers.

Never has the program imagined itself as rivaling activist nongovernmental organizations in investigating, reporting, advocating, and lobbying. Its mission shifts. It keeps a certain distance from the everyday fight to gain perspective to analyze, reflect, evaluate, and propose. From the beginning, HRP envisaged a critical and open debate about what the human rights movement was and ought to become. We believe meant to "humanitize" everything needlessly, but rather to draw out latent or emerging issues for exploration. Clearly, the deep commitment to human rights issues had to be there, and it has been there. But our role was to question, examine and propose, not to propagandize or preach.
Facets of an Evolving Program

In the classroom, in the field, in scholarly pursuits and through its visiting fellows, HRP covers the landscape of human rights

The Human Rights Program carries on a range of activities and projects that extend through the school curriculum and beyond—into the worlds of scholarship and human rights activism. Each pursuit is intended to foster a critical understanding and active knowledge of human rights. The activities respond to the dual aims of the program, which are to enrich the internal life of the school and the external human rights movement. Many of the activities fall into four broad categories: academics, scholarly projects and publications, clinical training, and visiting fellows.

1 IN THE CLASSROOM: The Critical Role of Academics

Human rights only recently gained a foothold in the curricula of most law schools. Even at Harvard during the 1970s and early 1980s, only occasional courses were taught. Now, however, human rights figures importantly in the curriculum through a broad range of courses that seek to capture the subject in all its diversity and complexity. The curriculum ranges from the historical to the prospective, from the ideal to the practical. Some courses are specific to a region or country. Others address constitutionalism and ethnic conflict, the laws of war, economic and social rights, third world approaches to international law, gender discrimination, indigenous peoples and economic development.

The program typically presents five to seven human rights courses each year. Those offered in this academic year, in addition to Henry Steiner's basic course and research seminar, include new seminars on the history of human rights from 1776 to 1948 (MaryAnn Glendon) and on human rights advocacy (Peter Rosenblum). There are also courses on the humanitarian laws of war (Theodore Marmor from New York University) and on responding to massive human rights violations such as truth commissions and prosecutions (Jose Zalaquett from the University of Chile).

Visiting teachers from other parts of the world, whose ranks include activists, academics, constitutional court judges, truth commissioners and UN committee members, convey to students a picture of the human rights movement in its cultural, political and thematic diversity. On the recommendation of HRP, the Law School has typically invited two foreign visitors annually.

The late Neelan Tiruchelvam,(see this issue, page 37), who taught at Harvard in 1987 and was expected back last year, is one of those rare figures who embodied activism and academics. So is Allie Sachs, the South African Constitutional Court judge. When Sachs taught a 1998 course at Harvard, students had daily contact with one of the intellectual progenitors of the South African constitution and a living legend of the anti-Apartheid struggle. Sachs had survived political detention, exile and a near-fatal car bomb attack. But his way of humor and personal teaching style cut through any crevicular distances that his experience might otherwise have created.

In 2001, Professor Thandabantu Nhlapo from the University of Capetown, a member of the South African Law Commission and an expert on the relationship between constitutional law and indigenous law, will teach for the winter term. Future prospects include Professor Antonio Cassese, former president of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and Professor Hilary Charlesworth of the Australian National University, an authority on gender and feminism in the frameworks of international human rights law.

2 THE FOUNDATION OF THOUGHT: Scholarly Projects and Publications

The human rights movement is constantly expanding, taking on new issues and reaching out to new constituencies. It is driven more by need than by calm reflection about directions that it should pursue. In its interdisciplinary roundtables, HRP has provided a forum to explore many pressing issues. Now the signature product of HRP, the roundtables probe problems and explore avenues toward progress without demanding conclusions or consensus proposals from the group. The goal is to bring about a better understanding of the complexities of a problem and thereby to initiate constructive thought and responses to it.

Usually, the roundtables are multidisciplinary gatherings of about twenty people who spend several days together in recordedinteractive discussions about a given theme. Over the years, these discussions have included academics, lawyers, law teachers, human rights activists, trade union leaders, medical and public health professionals, economists, business executives, journalists, bankers, government officials, political theorists and judges. There are no prepared speeches or formal

Photograph by JOSHUA ALBRIGHT KNOWE
papers. Each of the three or four sessions begins with one or more short commentaries, followed by three hours of moderated discussions limited to five-minute interventions. Afterward, the edited transcript is sent to the participants for their approval. The final version of this interactive and cogent conversation is published and distributed to more than 2,000 individuals and institutions worldwide and then put on HRP's website.

In recent years, the program has averaged more than one publication annually. Several of the projects have emerged from close collaboration with NGOs or other organizations, among them the Cato Institute and the Center for the Study of Developing Countries and the François-Xavier Bagrady Center for Health and Human Rights. A 1997 project developed with the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights led to a report on conditions for Business and Human Rights, emphasizing multinational corporations' production in developing countries and issues like child labor.

Publications during 2000 include International Aspects of the Arab Human Rights Movement, which is being distributed this spring. Two more are being edited and will be published later in the year: The Rule of the University in the Human Rights Movement, based on a gathering of leading human rights academics and activists in Cambridge last September, and Religion and Sex, an exploration that took place near Athens in October 1999, with participants from the United States and Europe but the majority from several Arab states and Israel.

In cooperation with the Centre for Ethnic Studies in Sri Lanka, HRP is now planning a meeting in 2001 on paths toward avoiding violence in intractable ethnic conflicts. Other projects are on the drawing board.

Not all of HRP's meetings or conferences take the form of roundtables intended for publication. In 1994, HRP hosted an off-the-record discussion among twenty people, including Richard Goldstone, prosecutor of the then-young International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and Thoburn Stohnberg, UN peace envoy to the former Yugoslavia. The participants explored choices before the tribunal on policies and strategies.

In 1998, a collaboration between HRP and the International Committee for the Red Cross led to a combination conference and high-level training session for scholars, human rights advocates, UN officials and humanitarian professionals. The six-day seminar explored dilemmas and challenges faced by humanitarian organizations in the midst of armed conflict, particularly internal ethnic strife. All HRP publications are available in full text on the HRP website at www.law.harvard.edu/Programs/HRP.

3 IN TOUCH WITH THE WORLD: The Clinical Experience

Last year, weeks into a student clinical project in human rights, one of the students somewhat sheepishly asked, "Who is our client? What is the product? Where is the court?" Unusually, he raised an important point about the nature of a human rights clinic. In contrast to most traditional legal clinics, the clients, products and courts are not given.

The International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia or Rwanda, for example, may receive a lot of attention, but serious and systemic human rights issues are more frequently resolved outside the courts, through some combination of international mechanisms, political and public pressures and, sometimes, threats. The product of a clinical project for students might be a report for the public or a UN body, a briefing memo for legislators or an advocacy paper for a meeting of nongovernmental organizations. Moreover, it's often always clear who the "client" is. It may be a nongovernmental organization, a UN rapporteur or some diffuse amalgam of organizations made possible by cyberspace networking.

In choosing clinical projects, HRP tries to satisfy three criteria. First, the projects must help students develop practical skills like writing, research and advocacy, as well as sharpen their understanding of specific areas of doctrine and policy. Second, the projects are limited to NGOs, multilateral organizations or government bodies through which students learn how the institutions characterizing the human rights movement operate. Finally, to avoid abstract research projects, HRP looks for timely links to a particular forum such as a meeting of the Commission on Human Rights, a hearing before the Inter-American Commission or, as in the case of a recent project, an OECD-sponsored NGO forum on a new investment treaty. A number of recent projects follow the more traditional mold by stressing litigation, brief writing and appellate advocacy. For example, students have submitted briefing papers to the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. They've drafted an amicus brief in support of a Massachusetts law to restrict state purchases from companies engaged in business in Burma. The brief garnered the support of more than sixty US-based NGOs and faith-based organizations. Some other projects have involved collaboration with NGOs like Human Rights Watch that led to published reports.

But, essentially, HRP seeks to develop projects on the cutting edge of the expanding human rights movement, where research can clarify issues or strategies. Thus, major projects have involved themes like human rights and global investment, trafficking in women, and investment in Africa by international financial institutions.

After working closely with leading NGOs, ranging from Human Rights Watch to the Environmental Defense Fund, students have present-
Measuring the Worth of Public Service

In 1990, Details Magazine ran a photo spread on eligible bachelors in the New York area. Among the hottest bachelors and young lawyers with six-figure salaries was one man whose income must have caught readers off guard: Jim Ross, Asia director for the lawyers Committee for Human Rights. Salary: "Thirty-something," Ross, who was editor-in-chief of the Harvard International Law Journal when the Human Rights Program was formed, has spent his professional career in the human rights movement. Mirroring the transformations in the movement itself, his career has taken him from a well-established international NGO based in New York to an emergent group in Cambodia, and most recently, to the United Nations in Geneva, where he has worked with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in human and humanitarian assistance. At the lawyers Committee, Ross conducted missions and drafted reports on countries across Asia. He presented testimony to Congress and advocated for changes in U.S. policy. His carefully re- searched reports on the legal systems in Cambodia and Burma served as focal points for international negotiations.

After UN-sponsored elections brought an end to the protracted war in Cambodia, Ross moved there for the Inter- national Human Rights Law Group to oversee a project to support the newly emergent Cambodian human rights movement. Following that, he led a trip to the United Nations in Bosnia, then returned to HRL as a visiting fellow for the 1997-1998 academic year. Since then, he has worked with the Dutch branch of Doctors With- out Borders, one of the humanitarian organizations most engaged in scrutinizing the effect of its work on human rights conditions around the world. "Following Jim’s career," says Associate Director Peter Roseblom, "and you see the best of what has happened in the human rights movement.

ed papers at consultations in Washington, debat- ed with World Bank officials and proposed the wording for draft legislation. A number of projects have had a catalytic impact that has outlined the work of the students.

One major area of concentration has been traf- ficking in women's work where proposed laws are under discussion in many states. Deborah Anaker, director of Harvard's Asylum and Refugee Clinic, has worked closely with HRLP on several of these projects. "Although everyone recognizes the problem," said Anaker, "it raises serious questions of strat- egy and principle. And there is some concern that fear of trafficking is being used to set the clock back on women's rights by, for example, preventing women from traveling freely or taking up educational or professional opportunities abroad." Our clinical students have helped outline the work of the students.

The "Human Rights Movements from Roosevelt's Four Freedoms to the Prescription of Peace, Development and Human Rights."

Lucas Soluri, longtime HRP professor, leading figure in the formation of international human rights


When the Human Rights Program opened its door to visiting fellows two years after its creation, it didn't quite know what to expect. At best, it could offer a symbolic stipend, a desk in a shared office and access to the vast resources of the university. The first year produced one fellow, the second three fellows, and gradually the number grew to the point that six to ten fellows annually who join the program for between four to eighteen months. New HRP fellows are encouraged to develop their own research agenda and engage in consultation with other research projects.

More than 100 scholars and activists from forty- two nations meet with Fellows at Harvard and at the University of the United States and intellectual refugee in HRL. As Steiners likes to tell his colleagues, "We really can't have deadlines for appli- cations, because we never know when some of the fellowships will be ready.

The work at Harvard of such fellows has given them and their cause much needed support. During his exile, for example, Justice Libia served as a model for emerging human rights move- ments. When he returned to the country in 1984, after his death, he was given a hero's welcome.

Fellows from South Africa have gone on to ad- vise the president (Nkosi, Groenewald), sit on the Constitutional Court (Louceus Ackermann) and guide one of the major human rights groups (Steve Krielmann). From Asia, recent fellows like Prasada Dhamuganag (India) have pioneered research and activism for the rights of tribal peo- ple and women, and Chantawong Apisak (Tha- iland) has helped launch the " hugged by sex workers. Fellow of similar quality and sep- arations have come from Africa, Asia, Latin Ameri- ca and the Middle East, from countries as ideologically diverse as Chile, China, Israel and Kuwait. Fellows from the United States include Jim Ross '85, Todd Howland, and Diane Cohen, all veterans of the "next" generation of human rights leaders, all with substantial field experience with nongovernmental and multinational peace and human rights operations.

Putting Human Rights Treaties to Work in Nigeria

By the time he started his studies at Harvard, Felix Marka,LM '95, was already an experienced human rights activist. He had worked with the Civil Liberties Organization in Nigeria, one of the most active and most prominent NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa, and then with the International Human Rights Law Group in Washington, DC. But he felt something was missing: "The human rights movement," said Marka, "was out of touch with people on the ground. Their agenda—mostly civil and political—didn’t affect people on a day-to-day basis. As a result, the population was increas- ingly resigned and apathetic.

At Harvard, Marka is trying to change that by focusing on one aspect of human rights: the right to a fair trial. "One of the biggest problems of human rights is that people are not taking the law into their own hands."

He has published a series of papers on the topic of his research seminar. With support from the Human Rights Program, Marka traveled to India and then to South Africa, "to study what grassroots organizations were doing, particularly in the area of housing and evictions. I decided it was possible in Nigeria.

In May 1995, he founded the Social and Economic Rights Action Center (SERAC). In 1996, SERAC ac- tively began its first campaigns in Nigeria, targeting the issues of forced eviction and slum conditions, rationing of community mobilization, monitoring, advocacy and legal action. Others had worked on these issues, but they hadn’t made the link to human rights treaties ratified by the government. In doing so, and taking advan- tage of a network of international organizations, SERAC gave the issues a new profile without losing an essen- tially ‘bottom-up’ perspective.

On October 1997, "We had an issue with the World Bank regarding the Lagos Drainage and Sanitation project that would have led to the eviction of more than one million people. We started a campaign, but the government was unresponsive. Then we turned to the World Bank, which eventually ordered an inspec- tion of the recommended proposals."

The results also temporarily cost Marka his liberty. He was held for two days in prison and two months without a passport. SERAC’s networking and Marka’s broad reputation in the human rights movement came to his aid. "The government action triggered a response from traditional human rights groups like Amnesty and Human Rights Watch," said Marka, "and the government released me."

Felix Marka

Human Rights at Harvard

"Universals and Cultural Relativism: Perspectives on the Human Rights Debate." (Anthony Appiah, Diane Eck, David Murphy)
Letters FROM THE Front

Summer internships take HRP students into some of the most challenging, terrorist and sometimes desperate places in the world. Their field reports reveal the breadth and diversity of human rights problems and the students’ sometimes life-transforming reactions to them.

Dear HRP,

I spent two days at a hospital in Haiti. It's a hospital for black suffering. The hospital is crowded, patients are lying on the floor, and the staff is overworked. It's a terrible experience, but the patients are grateful for the care they receive.

Carol Soderbergh

I came to Haiti thinking that human rights work was meaningful and rewarding. I learned that it is not always so. I witnessed the suffering of people in the hospital, but I also saw the hope in their eyes. It's a difficult job, but I feel fulfilled knowing that I am making a difference.

Paolo G. Caroza

Dear HRP,

Last week I witnessed a tragedy in a Mexican town. The town was attacked by drug cartels, and many people were killed. It's a scary situation, but I feel blessed to be able to help.

Jonathan Kamin

Dear HRP,

I spent the summer of 1984 in Haiti, and I witnessed firsthand the suffering of the people. It's a devastating experience, but it's also a humbling one. I learned that I cannot judge others based on their appearance or their background.

Marvin Arroyo

Dear HRP,

I spent the summer of 1984 in Israel, and I witnessed firsthand the suffering of the Palestinians. It's a difficult situation, but I feel blessed to be able to help.

Kerrie in Seattle, WA

Dear HRP,

I am a Kenyan citizen and I am working towards a career in public advocacy and law teaching at the University of Nairobi. I hope to find my first public interest advocacy firm in Kenya. Given my interests, I chose to do my internship at the Global Trade Watch Division of the Public Citizen Organization. Public Citizen was founded in 1971 by Ralph Nader as a non-profit consumer advocacy organization. Today it has over 120,000 active supporters and members valued at $1 billion. In order to stop this violation of integrity, they suggested that community organization, improving physical and mental health care, and especially education were needed in addition to legal action.

Stacy Brown

Dear HRP,

I took a course on human rights, and I was interested in becoming an advocate. I decided to do my internship with the University of Nairobi. I hope to find my first public interest advocacy firm in Kenya. Given my interests, I chose to do my internship at the Global Trade Watch Division of the Public Citizen Organization. Public Citizen was founded in 1971 by Ralph Nader as a non-profit consumer advocacy organization. Today it has over 120,000 active supporters and members valued at $1 billion. In order to stop this violation of integrity, they suggested that community organization, improving physical and mental health care, and especially education were needed in addition to legal action.

Joel Negri

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Jill Doherty

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Jill Doherty

Harvard Law School
KEEPING UP WITH THE REVOLUTION

HRP and the nongovernmental human rights movement come of age in an era of rapid change

by PETER ROSENBLUM

The human rights movement is far more than laws, declarations and treaties. It is driven by inventive activists, academics and institutions, motivated by a desire to make human rights "real." With the end of the Cold War, the movement has expanded massively. From a handful of organizations based largely in Europe and the United States, the movement is now represented in all but a small minority of extremely repressive countries sprinkled across the globe. The tactics, too, have changed, both for countries where dictators have been replaced by elected leaders and for those that have descended into ethnic violence. Shaming and denunciation, which are hallmarks of human rights activism, have been joined by promotional educational projects and "capacity building," by truth commissions and criminal tribunals and by selective military intervention and peacekeeping missions. In the human rights literature, lists of atrocities now stand together with subtle analyses of social expenditures, complex cultural practices and the activities of private corporations. If human rights organizations were once dominantly "statisticians of violence," their tasks are now more complex and deeper.
About the time the Human Rights Program was created in 1984, a new breed of watchdog and fact-finding organization, the human rights nongovernmental organization (NGO), came to share center stage in the human rights movement. The NGOs brought a popular dimension to the human rights movement and worked more effectively than the politics-dominated, intergovernmental organizations (INGOs) to implement the demands of international morality, as one scholar put it. The United Nations recognized 41 NGOs in 1948, a figure that leapt to more than 1,000 by 1992 and is still rising. Among the first and most visible global NGOs were Amnesty International, which was formed in 1961, and Human Rights Watch (HRW), whose first division was established in 1978. When Amnesty won the Nobel Peace Prize for 1971, it brought a new level of attention and credibility to the human rights movement.

Meanwhile, repressive regimes, which were the focus of the NGO campaigns, were resisting change, silencing or driving out voices of advocacy in their midst. The case of Kenyan lawyer Gibson Kariuki Kariuki was typical. For years, he put his name to nearly every significant human rights dispute in Kenyan court. On several occasions, Amnesty International campaigned on his behalf when he was detained for his work. In 1990, he was forced to flee for the safety he had found as a visiting fellow at HRW. Despite such government oppression, local human rights movements began to proliferate and thrive. Networks of NGOs emerged in Africa, Asia and Latin America (where, in fact, human rights activism had begun to assert themselves long before the end of the Cold War). When Kenya’s President Daniel Moi gave in to internal and international pressure for more open democracy, Kamau Kuri was able to return to Kenya, a little more than a year after he fled.

HRP and the Expanding NGO Movement

Since its inception, HRP has been intimately linked to the NGO movement, serving as a forum for debate, a launching place for analysis, a training ground for activists and, as the story of Kamau Kuri illustrates, an intellectual refuge for activists under attack.

One of the first fields of inquiry was the growing tension within the human rights movement. Many NGOs from what came to be referred to as the “South”—the less developed countries that tend to be the focus of human rights campaigns—resented the dominance of the NGOs from the “North”—the United States and Western Europe. The Northern groups relied on frontline activists in the South for information and cases, but the Northern NGOs were perceived to dominate the agenda, control funding and set priorities that often reflected their own concerns.

For instance, some NGO leaders from the South felt that the emphasis placed on the individual “prisoner of conscience,” a centerpiece of Amnesty International mobilization, simplified issues and diverted attention from the more pressing concerns of the developing countries. At a conference in Crite organized by HRP and Human Rights Inter in 1989, thirty-two participants from around the world gathered to discuss their views on the human rights movement. “A main point of the critics was that stress on individual cases . . . may blur the big picture, the systemic and structural issues that underlie and in some sense explain violations,” recounted Diverse Partners, HRP’s report on the meeting.

The open airing of dissatisfaction and concern among NGOs was a rare occurrence. There were—and still are—no official mechanisms for bringing together in dialogue the “diverse partners” that constitute the movement, a gap that HRP has sought to fill with its periodic multilateral conferences. The Crite conference was co-sponsored by Human Rights Internet (whose name predates the era of computer connectedness and refers to international networking in the movement),

The NGO movement, even as it became more diverse in geography, interests and form, was achieving more coherence on basic issues.
In the age of Cold War proxy battles in Africa, no one asked whether contact between Shell and Nigeria affected human rights. Nowadays, the companies themselves raise the question.

which least its experience and credibility to the endeavor.

The Centre marked an moment in the evolution of the NGO movement before dramatic changes occurred. Since that time the movement has become increasingly diverse and decentralized. Many of the people instrumental in the transformation of the human rights movement have spent time at HRP, whether as students, fellows, visiting professors or guest speakers. Joe Obi-Oyango occupied three such roles. He came to Harvard from Uganda in 1985 and completed an S.J.D. in 1989. Though critical of the leadership of President Museveni, he returned to Uganda and opened a human rights center at Uganda's premier Makerere University. Later, he was elected dean of the law school and became a member of the UN Subcommission on Human Rights. Obi-Oyango has become one of the most articulate—and mordant—voices for human rights in Africa. In 1988, he returned to Harvard as a visiting professor to teach a well-received course on human rights in Africa. He also participated as a panelist at HRPs fifteenth-anniversary celebration.

Obi-Oyango's classmate at Harvard, Makau Mutua, was a refugee from Kenya who completed his law studies in Tanzania before earning his S.J.D. degree at Harvard. Mutua then directed the Africa Program for the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in New York. He returned to Harvard in 1991 as a projects (and later associate) director of HRP, during which time he also played an instrumental role in the human rights struggle in Kenya. Now a law professor at the State University of New York at Buffalo, where he heads a human rights program, Mutua has become through his writings one of the most serious, articulate and discussed critics of cultural bias in the human rights movement.

The growing voice of such activists from the South has also had a direct effect on NGOs in the North. One small indication is the number of Africans, Asians and Latin Americans who head the organizations or direct research at major international NGOs, including Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Africa, Latin America and Middle East divisions of HRW. An impressive number of HRP alumni from the developing world are quickly assuming places of responsibility in major organizations, including Jose Miguel Vivanco, director of the Latin America division of HRW; Viviana Kirisuvec (Argentina) LLM '93, director of the Center for Justice and International Law; Ariel Dulitzky (Argentina) LLM '99, Latin America director for the International Human Rights Law Group; Biafaifor Nnoromay (Kenya) LLM '93, researcher at HRW, and Redibeka Coomaraswamy (Sri Lanka), the United Nations' special rapporteur on violence against women and director of the International Centre for Ethnic Studies.

A recent HRP roundtable, this one in Cairo, demonstrated how far the NGO movement had come in a few years. It was organized by HRP and the Cairo University Center for the Study of Developing Countries to discuss the Arab human rights movement, and there was a new level of sophistication around the table. Activists from Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Palestine, Kuwait, Lebanon and Yemen, representing years of experience with local repression, exchanged criticisms and proposals about the movement with representatives of international NGOs and funders from around the world. The international NGO participants included Hany Megally, an Egyptian who heads the Middle East and North Africa Division of HRW, and Middle East expert Emuna Playfair, the executive director of Internights in Rights Advocacy

Climbing the Ladder of Women's Rights Advocacy

In 1997, Wendy Patten's life took a very unexpected turn. She accepted a job with the U.S. Justice Department.

Until then, her work had been consumed by the human rights NGO movement. Before coming to Harvard Law School, she spent three years working on women's development, the last year in Senegal where she became particularly aware of the need to combine human rights with an economic development strategy. "We were working with a woman's collective engaged in processing and selling fish. Our project was delayed for eight months because of problems getting title to land in the name of the woman," said Patten '94.

During her J.D. years at Harvard, she pursued her interests in women's rights and Africa. HRP sponsored her first summer in Uganda, where she worked with a woman's NGO engaged in direct legal services. On graduation, she received a Skollander Arpa Public Interest Fellowship that enabled her to work for AYUDA, a Washington, D.C.-based NGO that provided legal assistance to immigrant and refugee women on domestic violence, family law and immigration proceedings. "In Africa, the groups wanted to know how we worked at home. I wanted to have some real knowledge here and build my own base and credibility, to be useful to others, I had to learn how our system worked."

She stayed at AYUDA for three years.

Then the Justice Department knocked. "It was a fabulous opportunity to see how human rights policy is made and implemented at the highest levels of government," she explained. Two years later, the National Security Council (NSC) asked her to work with it on refugee issues, treaty implementation and trafficking in women. She again accepted the challenge.

"I never expected this," she said. "They wanted me to work on the issues that troubled most to me. Clearly, this would be a learning experience that I could share. The most effective advocates are the ones who understand the institutions and the constraints that they act under."

At the Justice Department and the NSC, Patten has been a strong spokesperson for the human rights movement. "There is something humbling about having been an advocate. No matter how involved I became in the bureaucratic debate, I can always be able to step back and tell myself, ‘It is about women; it is about people facing persecution, and we can do something about it.’"

US supports Contras in Nicaragua

1976

1977

1978

1980

1986

1989

1989

1992

1999

Nunca Mas

Vetet Revolution, fall of Communism, in Czech Republic and elsewhere

China, Tiananmen Square

Bonnie conflict begins

Nunca Mas ("Never Again")

Amnesty International wins the Nobel Peace Prize

President Carter appoints Patricia Derian as the nation's first Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is signed

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights is signed

Human Rights Watch is founded
London. Grievances between the locals and internationals grew, as they had in Crete a decade earlier, but there was a fresh and important sense of convergence of ideas and views. The non-governmental movement, even as it became more diverse in geography, interests and form, was achieving more coherence on basic issues.

Thematic and Strategic Diversity

The human rights movement has diversified in other ways as well. Fifteen years ago, the tactics of most human rights NGOs were limited to "mobilizing shame," using information and publicity to intimidate oppressors and embarrass their foreign funders. These tactics may have been useful against criminal regimes, many of which were supported by the United States and other Western countries. But with few exceptions, those governments are now gone and the problems persist. Today, activists may be educating and building capacity in one state, facing private militias in another and criticizing a World Bank-backed oil project in a third. In the age of Cold War proxy battles in Africa, no one asked whether a contract between Shell and Nigeria affected human rights. Nowadays, the companies themselves raise the question. Activists are often faced with questions of how to stop internal conflict, end impunity without undermining the possibilities of bringing peace, provide humanitarian assistance without supporting private militias, work to achieve economic and social rights and deal with conflicts stemming from deep cultural norms. HRP and many of its alumni are now involved in all aspects of this debate, in scholarly and active ways. HRP alumni have actually formed new organizations around these:

- The Center for Economic and Social Rights, founded by Chris Jochnick '93 and Roger Normand '91;
- Equality Now, a women's rights organization founded by a small group, including Jessica Newhouse '85 and Navnethem Pillay S.J.D. '88;
- Social and Economic Rights Action Center (Nigeria), founded by Felix Mbiya Lu.M.'95 (see box, page 15);
- International Anti-Poverty Law Center, re-founded by Maria Green '97;
- Institute for Human Rights and Development, Bandul, Gambia, founded by Julia Harrington '95, after years of working with the African Commission on Human and People's Rights;
- Women's Rights Network, founded by Carrie Cuthbert '95 and Kim Stone '95;

Other alumni work independently or in existing organizations building bridges between traditional human rights concerns and related fields. For example, Tim Rose '85 (see box, page 14) is working with a major humanitarian organization, Doctors Without Borders, as it seeks to draw human rights and humanitarian law into its work. Similarly, Paul O'Brien '93 has worked with Care, one of the largest U.S.-based humanitarian organizations, to review its practices in light of human rights. Elliot Schrage '86 teaches a course on business and human rights at Columbia Business School and advises corporations on human rights practices. In the field of litigation, Jennie Green '91 has played a leading role in bringing civil claims against individuals and corporations under the Alien Tort Claims Act, and Sandra Babcock '91 works to bring international law to bear on U.S. death penalty jurisprudence. Luke Cole '89 has been a top figure in developing the field of environmental racism.

What is next on the horizon? Recently, HRP turned the spotlight on itself and the role of the university in the human rights movement. In the
Debi Cornwell '00 arrived in the troubled city of Jakarta, Indonesia, in June 1998, seven months after the deadly uprisings that achieved the ouster of President Suharto had quelled riots. What the HSL student and amateur photographer saw when she deployed was shocking. A city in disarray. Burned out vehicles reeking by the roadside. Debris and relics of civic arson strewn everywhere. Construction halted. Buildings in such bad shape that she couldn't tell "what was on its way up and what was on its way down.

It was an eye-opening summer internship. Armed with the knowledge acquired through her human rights studies at HLS and an undergraduate internship to South Africa at the dawn of its new democracy, Cornwell set about her job with the Committee for Victims of Violence and the Disappeared.

It wasn't easy. She was a woman alone with little command of the language. The bureaucratic obstacles she and her colleagues faced were immense. There was a relatively new organization, and the resources were limited. Still, their mission, to investigate and prosecute on behalf of thousands of abused and missing persons, was one that seemed achievable now that the country was assembling a new government.Cornwell's principal work was helping the committee launch an international press campaign, refine its organizational goals and coordinate its activities.

She also took pictures, capturing as she did her stay in South Africa the indelible images of repression, destruction, hope and renewal around her. As a witness to the human rights struggle and as a testament to the value of summer internships, the photographs speak as loudly as a thousand words.

days before the fifteenth anniversary celebration, HRP hosted one of the world's leading academic figures in the human rights movement. At a day and a half of the event, they discussed what they learned, the university should or could do for human rights. "In the publication that is due this summer, there is something thought of everyone at that roundtable to agree with," Steinzer said.

William Alford, the Henry Stimson Professor of Law at Harvard and head of the East Asian Legal Studies program, has watched HRP for a decade. "There is a real sophistication in the program about the development of international human rights in a way that speaks to many and different peoples. They recognize the slightly different ways that different cultures and peoples might approach different issues. That's quite impressive, and it's not easy," Alford said. "HRP is one of the best things that the Law School does."

Looking back over fifteen years, the development of the Human Rights Program as an enterprise of aspiring as developing professionals. The late James Vordersberg, who formally launched HRP when he was dean in 1984 and long gave its vigorous support, expressed it well: "I thought we had certain strengths that no other school had, like a very large library of foreign books and journals that were not getting much use and a large number of graduate students from countries where human rights was a problem. We also had a fair number of faculty members who had some particular interest in human rights issues. It seemed to me that if any universities were going to set up a human rights program, we should start with a lead among others. What I did not take into account was Henry's imagination and energy and that, combined with the rest, really developed that 1984 moment and the program in a way that continues today."


Eva Brenes, LL.M. '95, has been a fellow at the Institute for Human Rights of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). She is an active member of the Flemish section of Amnesty International and the League for Human Rights. Her publications in English and Spanish include articles on the Moroccan Question and the Islamic Reform of the French Constitution. "The Moroccan Question..." (1994) and "The Moroccan Question and the Islamic Reform of the French Constitution." (1994). She is also an active member of the Flemish section of Amnesty International and the League for Human Rights. Her publications in English and Spanish include articles on the Moroccan Question and the Islamic Reform of the French Constitution.

Brian Burke '90 is a staff attorney with the Canadian Cultural Relations Unit in the Department of Justice. Burke has worked extensively in human rights issues, focusing on Canadian Human Rights legislation and the application of international human rights law. His research has focused on the application of international human rights law in Canada, with a particular emphasis on the rights of Aboriginal peoples. Burke is a member of the Canadian Bar Association and the International Human Rights Law Group. He has published extensively on human rights issues, particularly in the area of Aboriginal rights.

Sarah Barry '95 has been the Asia researcher for the Women's Rights Division of Human Rights Watch (HRW). She has worked extensively on human rights issues in Asia and has conducted research in numerous countries, focusing on women's rights, human rights, and trade policy. Barry has published extensively on human rights issues in Asia and has conducted research in numerous countries, focusing on women's rights, human rights, and trade policy. Barry has published extensively on human rights issues in Asia and has conducted research in numerous countries, focusing on women's rights, human rights, and trade policy.

Carolyn B. Clark '92 is a consultant to the United Nations and has worked on a number of human rights projects, including the development of human rights curricula for schools and universities. She has also worked extensively on human rights issues in Asia and the Pacific, focusing on issues such as the right to education, the right to health, and the right to development. Clark has published extensively on human rights issues in Asia and the Pacific, focusing on issues such as the right to education, the right to health, and the right to development.

James A. Goldston '87 has recently become deputy director of the Harvard Institute of International Law, a part of a worldwide network of more than 30 foundations established by the Institute for the Promotion of Human Rights, to promote more openness and accountability through economic, social, and cultural rights, and the defense of human rights. The Harvard Institute of International Law was founded in 1999. Goldston was also a legal advisor of the European Roma Rights Centre, a Budapest-based organization engaged in advocacy and litigation on behalf of Roma Communities.

From 1993 to 1999, he was an assistant U.S. attorney in the Southern District of New York, and in 2000, he was named to a Carter Endowment for International Peace Book award on civil society activism.

Jessie Green '91, formerly an administrative director of HRP, is an attorney at the Center for Constitutional Rights. She is a member of the Legal Advisory Committee of the Center for Justice and Accountability and the Board of Directors of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. She also sits on the Committee on Human Rights of the United Nations Human Rights Committee.

Marius Grullon '94 is founding director of the Latin American and Anti-Poverty Law Center (IAPLC), a New York-based Human Rights Program NGO that focuses on poverty issues from an international human rights perspective. She is currently working with the Center for Economic and Social Rights (CESR), a human rights organization that promotes human rights and social justice.

Tanya Greene '99 works with the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers on the Bar Asso- ciate for Human Rights at the University of Alabama, where she focuses on death penalty cases in the state and on the impact of the capital punishment system on the families and communities of those affected by it.

Nicholas Haysom, V.P.'87, is a law clerk for the International Court of Justice in the Hague, where he is involved in cases related to the rights of civilians and the protection of human rights.

Aydin Gokalp, LLM. '93, S.J.D. '96, teaches international law and related courses at Tel-Aviv University. He currently serves as the executive director of the Palestinian Center for Human Rights in the West Bank.

Todd Howland, V.P.'97, is a partner at the law firm of Howland and Rogers in New York City. He is a member of the American Bar Association and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Deborah Isser-Herberg '96 is an associate at Morrison & Foerster in New York. She specializes in human rights law and is a member of the International Bar Association Human Rights Committee.

Jesse James '99 is an attorney at the Center for Constitutional Rights. He is currently working on a case involving the rights of Afghan refugees in the United States.

Pascal Kemble is a member of the Human Rights Law Group and Human Rights Watch. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the African National Committee to Aid Refuges and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa (ANCRA). He has been involved in human rights litigation in Southern Africa and has worked on cases related to the rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

Jonathan Kamiis '95, an associate at Seafarers and Welfare Chicago, is a law clerk for the National Human Rights Law Centre in London. He has worked on cases related to the rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

Chris M. Johnson '94 is a law clerk for the Southern Center for Human Rights in Atlanta. He has worked on cases related to the rights of those facing deportation from the United States, including those who are HIV-positive.

Miguel De Verey, an assistant federal public defender in Atlanta.

Ali Khabanovtsev, V.P.'92, is a human rights defender in the Russian Federation and is currently working on cases related to the rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

Goran Klemencic, LLM. '97, is a law clerk for the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva. He has worked on cases related to the rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

Dennis Hubbard '93 is a legal advisor for the Center for Human Rights and Environmental Justice in Brazil. He has been involved in cases related to the rights of those facing deportation from the United States, including those who are HIV-positive.

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the Ethical Trading Initiative in the United Kingdom, an alliance of companies, governments, NGOs and trade unions promoting to fundamental rights through codes of conduct.

C. Pang, C. Pang, L.M., M.T., 2000, in The University of the Philippines Law School. Last year, he was a visiting lawyer at the Law and Educational Center of the Philippines in Sri Lanka. He later joined the Fast Track to Interna-
cional law as a delegate for the Philippines and served an internship with the National University of South Africa. He
Red Cross (ICRC) panel of experts that examined the status of humanitarian laws as interna-
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**HRP Alumni Notes**


Dr. Thomas Thomson ’94, an associate professor at the University of New Hampshire, has recently completed two years as the Gibbons Fellow in Public Interest and Constitutional Law, during which he litigated cases involving the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Currently, he is a trial attorney with the Division of Enforcement at the United States Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington, D.C.

Jose Miguel Vivanco, L.M.M. ’92, is executive director of the Americas Division of Human Rights Watch. In the past year, he has directed extensive research and advocacy projects focusing on human rights in Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and Brazil. He is also adjunct professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania Law School and a staff attorney with the Center for International Human Rights. His work has been widely recognized by the international community, and he has been awarded numerous fellowships and grants from institutions around the world.

Alicia Pepa ’91 is a staff attorney and assistant professor at the University of California at Berkeley. She has spent several years with the Center for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, where she has worked on legal and technical issues related to human rights. She has also contributed to several books and articles on human rights and international law.

Lea Tucker ’92 is a consultant to Human Rights Watch and a criminal defense attorney with experience in human rights issues. She has been involved in the work of the American Bar Association Committee on Human Rights, where she has worked on issues ranging from international law to domestic human rights. She has also contributed to several books and articles on human rights and international law.

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Behind the Scenes

Reflecting on Life at HRP

By CATRiona DREW

Boarding the plane home in a post-draught blaze, I recalled my sense of curiosity as I arrived at the Human Rights Program (HRP) a mere six months earlier. As a visiting fellow pursuing a research project on self-determination of peoples, I was keen to find out more about my prospective academic environment. What did the Human Rights Program do exactly? What would I do? Who would the other visiting fellows be? Would I have any interaction with students? What did the Associate Director, Peter Rosenblum, do? Would I work with Director Henry Steiner? And who were the mysterious Anja Van Beckelaar and Susan Cunliffe? These were the questions that bombarded my mind. What would it be like interacting with people from different backgrounds? How would I adapt to the new environment?

Anja not Angela in person: a twenty-something woman whose control over the office and more crucially, Peter Rosenblum, was manifest from the start. Within hours, she had me all fixed up with everything from an email account to a bicycle lock. As I unpacked my things in my spacious and, as yet, unoccupied visiting fellows’ office in HRP’s quarters, I looked forward to what I imagined would be a solitary period of uninterrupted research.

Two topics dominated conversation in my early days at HRP. The first was HRP’s fifteen-year anniversary celebration to be held that September. The second, discussed in sad tones, was the impending departure of Program Director Susan and Program Assistant Anje, both of whom were due to leave HRP in 2002. And in the weeks that followed, I saw the unholy spectacles of women’s mammal deployment of logistical support for the September celebration; I began to share in the institutional sense of alarm that filled in HRP could not possibly go on without Susan. After all, how could I interact with the incomparable Anje? She was my mainstay, my support, my savior. And in Susan, my friend, my confidante.

The project I embarked on was my first encounter at HRP, a project that explored the relationship between human rights and international law. The project focused on the rights of women, specifically the right to sexual and reproductive autonomy. The research was conducted in collaboration with a team of renowned human rights scholars, including Anja Van Beckelaar and Susan Cunliffe. The project was funded by the MacArthur Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

The project proved to be a challenging one, but also very rewarding. I learned a lot about human rights and international law, and I developed a strong sense of purpose and commitment to the cause.

In conclusion, my experience at HRP was an enriching one. I learned a lot from the people I worked with, and I was able to contribute to important research on human rights.

(Continued on page 40)

A cohort of almost constant activity from morning to night, HRP’s office serves as both workplace and home-away-from-home to visiting fellows, students and staff. (Clockwise from top left): Anja Van Beckelaar and Peter Rosenblum prep for the day’s onslaught of visitors, including the book’s author, Catriona Drew; second from left, pause for a group gift; Susan Cunliffe juggles two things at once; Harvard Human Rights Journal co-editor John Jenkins left goes headlock on a brief from clinic director Deborah Arkin; fellow editors spend time outside for a break. Anja Van Beckelaar offers a helpful ear; and students Sarah中小学 and Melissa Clark discuss future internships.
One Foot in the Activist World

Associate Director Peter Rosenblum spent eight years in the human rights movement before joining HRP, and he continues to keep a foot in the activist world. He has been a member of the UN Secretary General’s advisory committee on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, testified several times to Congress on the Great Lakes region of Africa and advised foundations supporting human rights NGOs around the world. “I like to believe that my activism gives a real-world edge to all of my interaction with students: teaching, advising them on careers, orienting them to internships or developing clinical projects,” he said.

In the last year, Rosenblum traveled seven times to Africa for various organizations, including the Inter-Parliamentary Union and Human Rights Watch. “Wherever I go, I am on the lookout for interesting projects and interesting organizations for students,” he explained.

Two exciting new projects in Africa—the prosecution of the former leader of Chad, Hissene Habre, and the complex advocacy surrounding the 1999 Cameroon pipeline project—grew out of his travels. Another project on human rights commissions has evolved as a collaboration with Human Rights Watch, involving many current and former HRP students.

Rosenblum also lectures on humanitarian law and human rights across the country and abroad during the past year. He lectured for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Warsaw, delivered talks to the African Studies Association and traveled to South Africa to participate in teaching in a new program. In 1998, an LLM program at the University of Pretoria.