

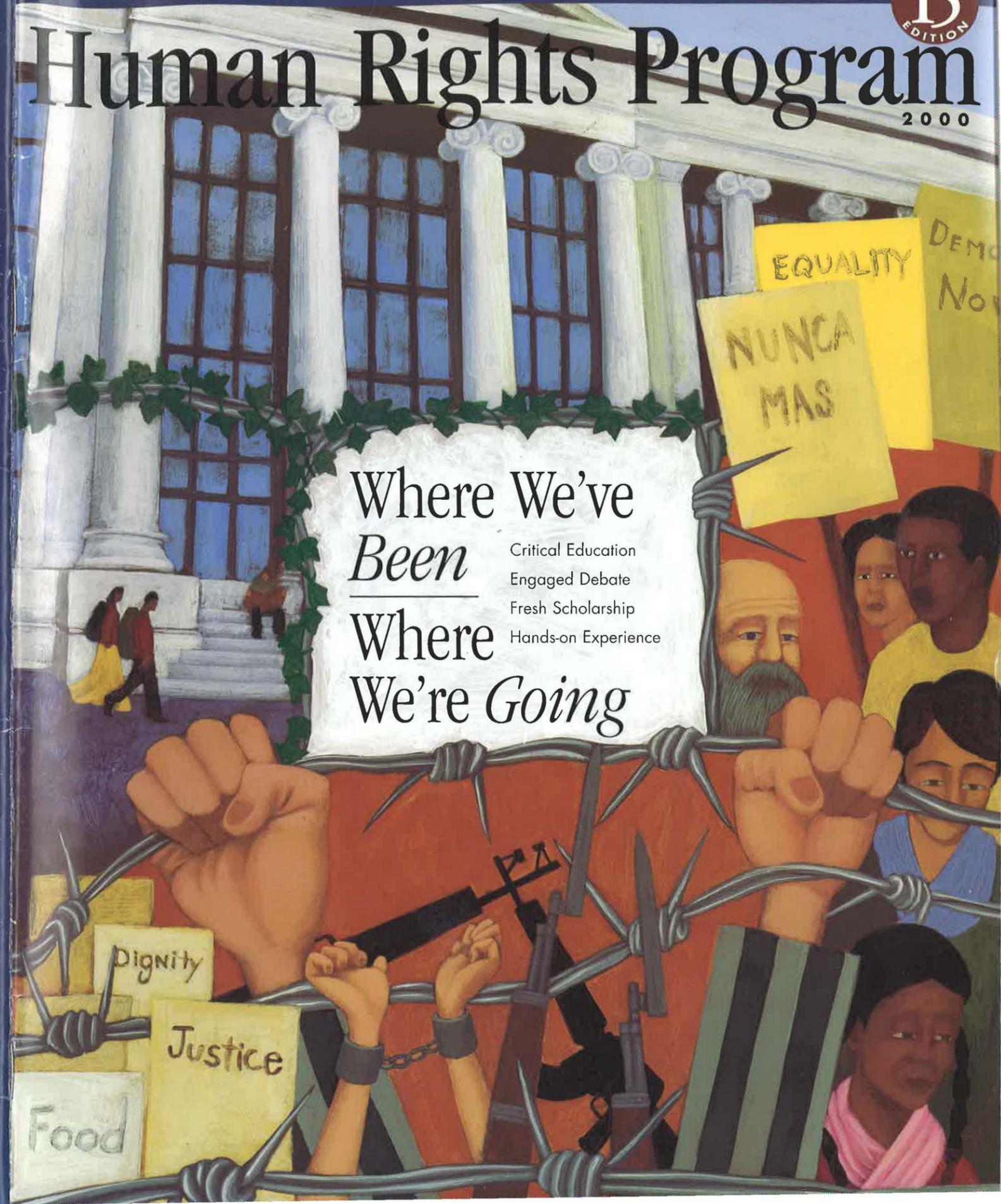
Human Rights Program

2000



“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



Where We've
Been

Critical Education
Engaged Debate
Fresh Scholarship
Hands-on Experience

Where
We're *Going*

HRP News

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 lead-

ing 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

"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."

—DEAN ROBERT CLARK

to the many who have supported the program through their generous gifts—institutions 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 Henigson, 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 Hissein 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)

HARVARD HUMAN RIGHTS JOURNAL

Articles

Civil Liability for the Commission of International Crimes as an Alternative to Criminal Prosecution	John B. Murphy
Rights and Status of Indigenous Peoples: A Global Comparative and International Legal Analysis	Suzanne Wenger
The Protection of Children in Peacekeeping and Peacekeeping Processes	Gene Cahn
Justice Delayed is Justice Denied: A Proposal for Ending the Unnecessary Denial of Asylum Seekers	Nehal A. Pariani
Transnational State Responsibility for Violations of Human Rights	Mark Gibney Natalia Tamara Jens Vedsted-Hansen
Nuclear Attacks in Japan: Historical and Modern Perspectives and Directions for the Future	Leah A. S. Jan Reber
Recent Developments	
The 1998 Land Mine Implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords in the Classroom and on the Ground	Jason Palmer Christina Post
A Response to the Critics	Peter H. Schuck
Book Reviews	
Book News	

Volume Twelve
Spring 1999
ISSN 1057-9057

HRP by the Numbers

About 10 percent of students at Harvard Law School are now served in some way by the Human Rights Program. That's a sizeable jump from the relative handful in the early days of the program.

The five or six human rights courses offered annually attract 150 to 200 students. A core group of about forty students and visiting fellows become seriously involved in activities that include research papers, clinical work, the independent, student-directed *Harvard Human Rights Journal* (which is located within HRP's offices) and summer internships. Mostly J.D.s, this core includes a vital number of foreign LL.M. and S.J.D. candidates who bring a wealth of experience and perspectives to the program. Another forty students are occasionally active in

human rights efforts while also pursuing other interests.

For the most committed students, HRP serves as a community where they converse, debate and share common goals and friendship. For many, human rights work is why they came to Harvard, and HRP has become their home at the Law School.

It is certainly home to the diligent group that produces the *Journal*. This year, some seventy students, a greater number than ever before, are participating to varying degrees in the arduous editing, cite-checking, writing and production tasks required to produce the 340-page publication. Now in its thirteenth year, the *Journal* grew out of students' initiative and has become a highly respected publication in the human rights world. A mix of articles by activists, academics, and students writing about reform or trends in the field, it is published every spring.

For many on the *Journal's* core staff, the publication offers a sense of place; it makes them feel a part of both the university and the human rights movement. It is also a tremendous challenge, requiring hundreds of hours of time from the student editors. "It's definitely worth it," said Mirna Adjami '00, co-editor in chief. "It provides a strong sense of community here and makes us keenly aware of the issues abroad. I wouldn't trade it for anything."

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 curriculum offerings. Among the leaders were Hilary Charlesworth '86, Helena Cook, LL.M. '84, Steve Golub '85, Katie Zoglin '85, Jim Ross '85 and Jessica Neuwirth '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 gave welcome encouragement to the students. Dean James Vorenberg's strong endorsement in early 1984 of Henry Steiner's plans 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 decanal 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, 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 Makau Mutua, and then Peter Rosenblum, each built a new feature into the expanding HRP. This magazine's stories illustrate those contributions—for example, the exciting public interest work of Jennie Green, the provocative thinking of Makau 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 people: Program Administrator Susan Culhane (see story on page 40), who left in February to raise her family, and Program Assistant Anje van Berckelaer, who departs for Harvard Medical School after three-and-a-half years of

taking pre-med classes by night, while running HRP's office by day.

In HRP's early years, Human Rights Internet was located in the program's offices and influenced and strengthened HRP in varied ways. The organization was prescient 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 Internet, 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. O'Farrell '88 created the *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.

(Opposite 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 universality of human rights filled the house; Lobsang Sanggay of Tibet described his human rights experience; (from left) Professor Upendra Baxi, formerly of the University of Delhi, dined with visiting fellows Catriona Drew and Yosuke Yotoriyama; and Alicia Ely Yamin shared a laugh with old friends.

350 Gather to Celebrate HRP's Anniversary

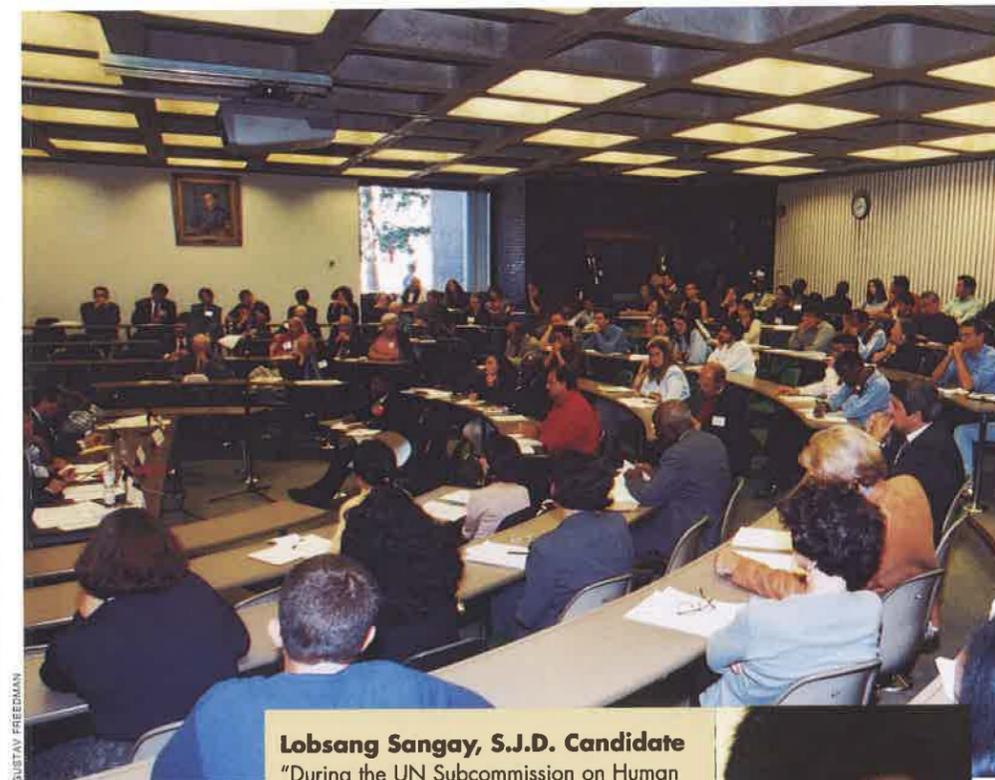
On September 17-19, 1999, the Human Rights Program hosted its first-ever grand-scale event to fête its fifteenth anniversary. The celebration drew alumni and friends from around the world for a weekend of discussion and debate. Some 350 attended the Saturday morning panel chaired by public radio host Christopher Lydon and the dinner with its keynote address by Amartya 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," "Aftermath 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 fixes the now indelible imprint of human rights work on the school."



Alicia Ely 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 pretty large. It wasn't until I got to the Law School, and through the Human Rights Program, that I was exposed to the myriad possibilities for turning what had been passions and convictions into a career."

(SEE YAMIN'S BIOGRAPHY IN ALUMNI NOTES, PAGE 36.)



Lobsang Sangay, S.J.D. Candidate

"During the UN Subcommission on Human Rights in 1992, I was lobbying hard to pass a resolution censuring China on human rights violations in Tibet. One of the experts told me, halfheartedly but without any guilt, 'You are a bright young 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."

(SEE SANGAY'S BIOGRAPHY IN ALUMNI NOTES, PAGE 35.)





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 in-class 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.)

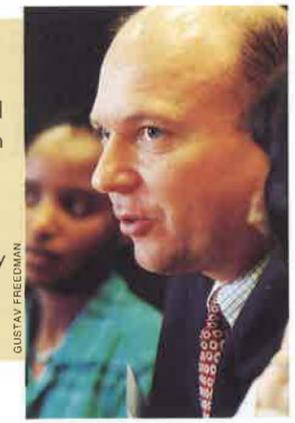
GUSTAV FREEDMAN



TONY LORETI

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 partisans 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.)



GUSTAV FREEDMAN



GUSTAV FREEDMAN

(Counter clockwise from top left):

Chris Mburu offered an appreciation of HRP; (from left) public radio host Christopher Lydon moderated the opening panel: Navanethem Pillay, Jose Miguel Vivanco, Rita Hauser, Ali Oumlil, Mary Ann Glendon and Makau wa Mutua; Philip Alston (left) and HLS Professor Detlav Vagts attended the speech of Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen (below); and Dean Robert Clark and Professor David Maybury-Lewis carried on an animated conversation.

TONY LORETI



GUSTAV FREEDMAN

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 Tanazarin region of Burma say, 'What can be done?' you don't have to just throw up your hands and say, 'Gee, I don't know. You have these rights 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.)



TONY LORETI



TONY LORETI



TONY LORETI



TONY LORETI

(Clockwise from top left): Dinner guests came from all over the world; the Divinity School's Preston Williams (left) and Rugemeleza Nshala '98 talked of shared concerns; Ken Anderson paid tribute to the program; Henry Steiner responded to an ovation; panelists (from left) Ken Anderson '86, Anthony Appiah and Celestine Nyamu '95 discussed universal norms and cultural variations; Rita Hauser and Dan Steiner greeted each other; Navanethem Pillay S.J.D. '88 and Judge Gerald Gillerman '52 took time out for a chat; and Jennie Green '91 described her work.



GUSTAV FREEDMAN

Ethics the Subject of Nobel Laureate's Keynote Address

Professor Amartya 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 "imperfect 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.



TONY LORETI



TONY LORETI

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 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 and wide-ranging interview-talk program on National Public Radio, animated the discussion as moderator.

Photographs by GUSTAV FREEDMAN



MAKAU WA MUTUA, S.J.D. '87
"The Universal Declaration is neither complete nor universal. Documents do not become universal merely because people say they are."

"I speak as an insider/outsider," Mutua 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," Mutua 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 Mutua 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 marvelous document, was impressively multicultural. That doesn't mean that it was perfect, but there 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 Mutua's critique of the human rights movement. "The overcoming of personal, political and ethnic tensions [in the drafting of the declaration] is



such an inspiring model that it puts to shame the diplomacy of the 1990s," Glendon told the gathering. It was what happened afterward 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 ample corpus." At the end of the Cold War, the "contest 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 1995 Beijing conference on women, where Western governments and organizations largely ignored basic health and education—the concerns of the vast majority of women in the world—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 condoned gross human rights violations all over the world and encouraged a culture of impunity rather than respect for the rule of law."



their perpetrators, she believes we are finally moving forward.

Navanethem Pillay is president of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and a judge on the High Court in South Africa.

ALI OUMLIL
"Twenty years ago, it was clear that government was the adversary. Now we can see that the adversary is a force that comes out of the civil society, that doesn't believe in democracy or human rights."

Oumlil's presence on the panel was a reminder that of any region, it is perhaps in the Arab world where the efforts of human rights activists have been the most frustrated over the past twenty years. The democratic wave that touched the rest of the world after the end of the Cold War had little effect on most of the repressive Arab regimes of the Middle East and North Africa, with one relative exception, Morocco. But as Oumlil made clear, the threat of communal intolerance—politicized Islam—can be as destructive as state intolerance. "Twenty years ago, the



universality 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 consensus 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 more years for that."

Ali Oumlil 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 that 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 has been "extremely laggard in ratifying anything," she said. "Our record is one of 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 defied the overwhelming will of the international community" by refusing to join. Given the more recent establishment of criminal tribunals and the demand from the citizenry 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."



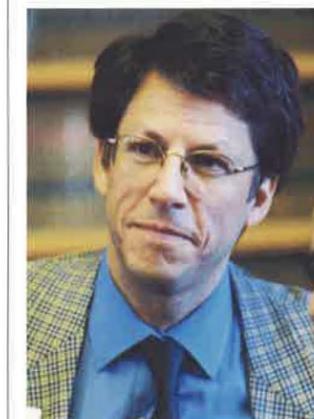
On the other hand, she said, neither the tribunals nor the intervention in Kosovo signals an end to the previous restraints. Important issues of state interest and neo-colonial domination persist. "The doctrine of humanitarian intervention" has been an "excuse for interventions in Africa—Christians against Muslims, for example. We got involved in the Balkans; we may not get involved in another Rwanda if it happens. There are realities that dictate 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 Gus, a supporter of important initiatives to expand understanding about the field.

JOSE MIGUEL VIVANCO, LL.M. '90
"Perhaps the most important precedent for the region and the rest of the world is the prosecution of [Gen. Augusto] Pinochet. The lessons have to do not only with immunity 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 government 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 policies 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 represent those issues.... The main obsta-



cle is often the public, which is the subject of easy political manipulation by local demagogues who present an easy solution, for example, for high criminality."

Jose Miguel Vivanco is director of the Americas Division of Human Rights Watch.

A video version of the panel is available at www.law.harvard.edu/Programs/HRP.

Making THE Human Rights Imprint

HRP pushes the boundaries of the Law School

by HENRY STEINER

AMERE 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. Subversive for many states in its ideals of individual rights for all and of participatory government, the movement generated treaties, spawned intergovernmental as well as nongovernmental institutions and stimulated the spread of liberal democratic constitutions among states.

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

What place had university programs amidst this explosion of ideals and institutions? Concretely,

why did the Human Rights Program start in 1984 to work its way into the education and activities of Harvard Law School? The time was right. Human rights had become a distinctive feature of the American and international scene. This country's foreign economic and military policies had become contentiously involved with human rights concerns. Internal debate about human rights became commonplace in countries everywhere, from the United States to the Soviet Union to South Africa. Students absorbed those concerns and carried into universities pressing questions that hastened the inevitable growth of courses and research.

Legal education led the way. It addressed the arguments about universal rights and the strategies for protecting them, as courts around the world were starting to address them, as the United Nations and regional organizations were doing. Harvard Law School itself was ripe for this adventure. Since my years as a student in the 1950s, Harvard's curriculum had gradually embraced a broader range of the serious problems of American life: poverty, racial conflict, gender discrimination, environmental degradation. But with few exceptions—the pioneering seminars taught by professors Louis Sohn and then Clyde Ferguson—the school's international and foreign work ignored analogous issues.

Human rights work pushed the boundaries. It brought into the school the world's underbelly of massacres and discrimination, of systematic

repression of speech and belief, of ungraspable 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 on 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 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 tyrannies. The more drastic the violations, the less relevant lawyers' traditional activities and fora.

The classroom and other law school activities had, therefore, to examine broader social and political processes, including intergovernmental 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 multi-dimensional 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 valuable lawyers' work and careers.

Never has the program imagined itself as rivaling active nongovernmental organizations in investigating, reporting, advocating and lobbying. Its mission differs. It keeps a certain distance from the everyday fray to gain perspective—to analyze, reflect, evaluate and propose. From the beginning, HRP envisioned a critical and open debate about what the human rights movement was and ought to become. We surely didn't mean to "problematize" everything needlessly, but rather to draw out latent or emerging issues for exploration. Clearly, the deep commitment to human rights values had to be there, and it has been there. But our role was to question, examine and propose, not to propagandize or preach.

Many students wish to explore those paths in varied ways by linking their formal education to practical clinical involvement in pressing human rights problems. Yes, understand the world, but also work to change it.

The program draws richly from that world. Its roundtable 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 an 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 schoolgirls was taken by Henry Steiner during a human rights trip to Egypt.



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 school 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 (Mary Ann Glendon) and on human rights advocacy (Peter Rosenblum). There are also courses on the humanitarian laws of war (Theodore Meron from New York University) and on responses 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 box, 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 Albie 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 wry sense of humor and personal teaching style cut through any reverential distance 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 framework 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

Henry Steiner's human rights research seminar has been offered annually since the program began. The course is limited to ten students, most of whom are from foreign countries. Six nations are represented here. The seminar has generated numerous research papers, many of which have been expanded and published as articles and books.

Photograph by JUSTIN ALLARDYCE KNIGHT

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 about responses to it.

Usually, the roundtables are multidisciplinary gatherings of about twenty people who spend several days together in recorded interactive discussion 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

Visiting Professors from Around the World (1984–2000)

Philip Alston
(several years between 1985–1993): Former chair of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; professor of international law at the European University Institute in Florence.

Russell Barsh '74
(1996): Activist and scholar on indigenous people, professor at the University of Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada.

Eyal Benvenisti
(1998–1999): Professor of Law at Hebrew University, board member and former president of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, expert on laws of war and international water rights.

Hugo Fruhling
(1989–1990): Chilean scholar on human rights and democracy.

Yash Ghai
(1997): Scholar and advocate on constitutionalism in East Africa and a professor of law in Hong Kong, exploring the issues of ethnic difference and human rights.

Cecilia Medina
(1998): Professor of Law in Chile and the Netherlands, member of the UN Human Rights Committee and scholar of the inter-American human rights system.

Makau wa Mutua
(1999): Kenyan national and professor and director of the Human Rights Center at SUNY/Buffalo Law School.

Joe Oloka-Onyango
(1998): Dean and professor of law at Makerere University in Uganda, member of the UN Sub-commission on Human Rights, a leading academic

activist in the African human rights movement.

Victor Osiatynski
(1991–1992): Active in instituting human rights in Poland, scholar of constitutionalism in Eastern Europe.

Albie Sachs
(1998): Long-time activist, now judge on the South African Constitutional Court.

Mustapha Kamel Al-Sayyid (1999): Professor of political science at the University of Cairo, director of its Center for the Study of Developing Countries and active on the board of major Egyptian human rights organizations.

Neelan Tiruchelvam (1987–1988): Sri Lankan activist and scholar assassinated by a suicide bomber in 1999.

Theo van Boven (1986–1987): Long-time head of the UN Human Rights Centre, professor in the Netherlands and member of several UN human rights organs.

Jose Zalaquett (2000): Professor of ethics and human rights at the University of Chile in Santiago, member of the Chilean Truth Commission.

Visiting Teachers from the United States (1984–1999)

James Anaya
(now at the University of Arizona)

Kenneth Anderson
(American University)

Tom Farer
(now a dean at the University of Denver)

Hurst Hannum
(Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy)

Benedict Kingsbury
(New York University)

papers. Each of the three or four sessions begins with one or more short commentaries, followed by three hours of moderated discussion 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 Cairo Center for the Study of Developing Countries and the François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights. A 1997 project developed with the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights led to a roundtable on 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 Role 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 State*, 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 roundtable in 2001 on paths toward arresting violence in incipient 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 Thorvald Stoltenberg, 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.

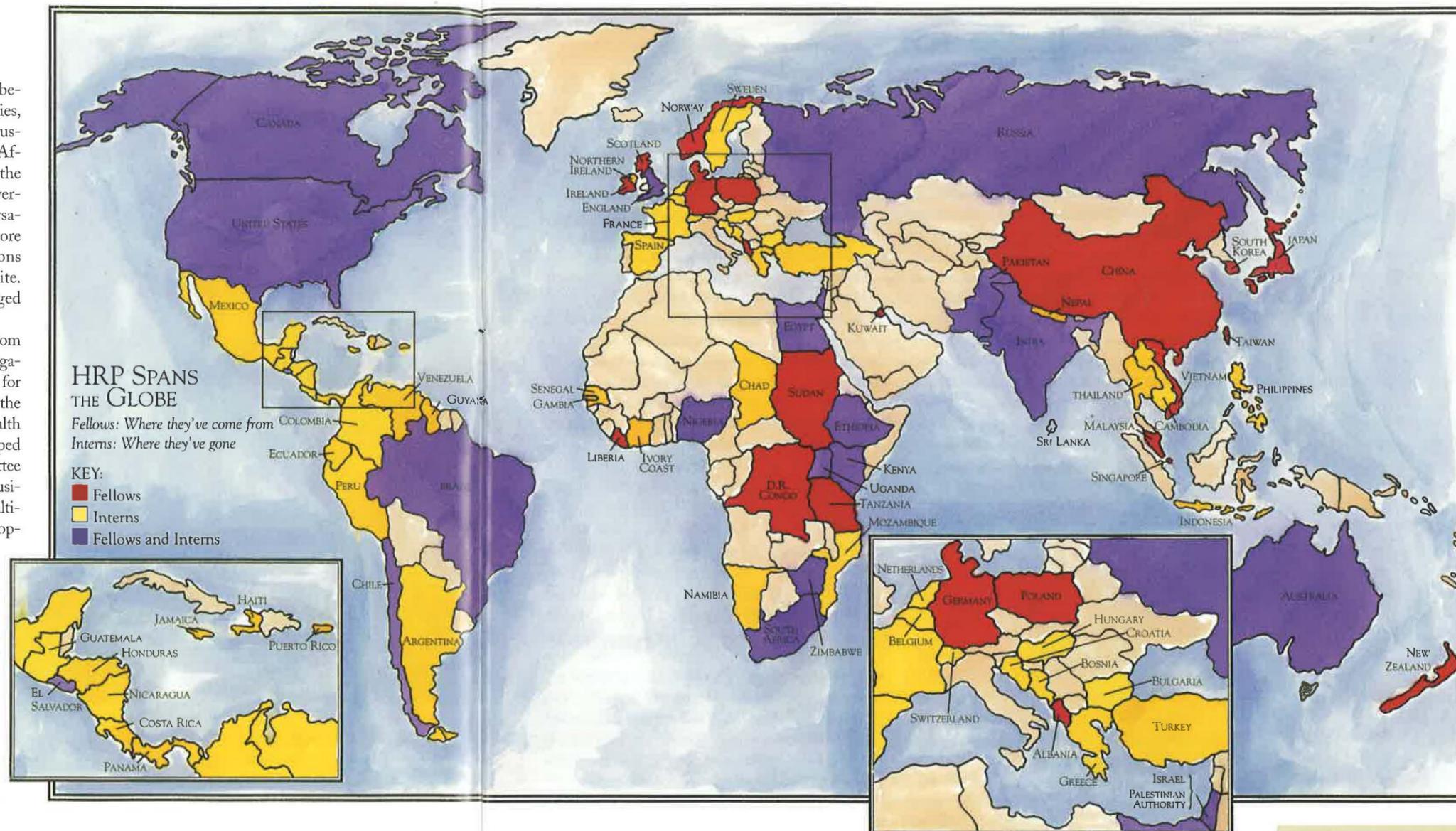
All HRP publications are available in full text

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?" Unwittingly, 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 givens.

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 court, 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 leg-



islators or an advocacy paper for a meeting of nongovernmental organizations. Moreover, it isn't 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 linked 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 U.S.-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-

Theodor Meron
(New York University)

Diane Orentlicher
(American University, then-deputy director Lawyers Committee for Human Rights)

James Rowles S.J.D. '93
(private practice)

HLS Faculty Teaching Human Rights

William Alford
(China)

Mary Ann Glendon
(History of Human Rights)

Randall Kennedy
(Race and South Africa)

Frank Vogel
(Islam and Human Rights)

Roundtable Publications

- ◆ *Diverse Partners: Non-Governmental Organizations in the Human Rights Movement* (1991)
- ◆ *Economic and Social Rights and the Right to Health* (1995)
- ◆ *Truth Commissions: a Comparative Assessment* (1997)
- ◆ *Business and Human Rights* (1999)
- ◆ *International Aspects of the Arab Human Rights Movement* (2000)
- ◆ *The Role of the University in the Human Rights Movement* (pending)
- ◆ *Religion and State* (pending)

Other Publications

- ◆ *Human Rights and Foreign Policy*, a symposium presented by the East Asian Legal Studies Program and HRP (1994)
- ◆ *Guide to Human Rights Research* (1994)

◆ The Edward A. Smith Lectures

"The New World Order: Opportunity or Threat for Human Rights?" Ian Martin, former Secretary General of Amnesty International and Head of Mission for the UN in Rwanda, Haiti and East Timor

"The Human Rights Movement: From Roosevelt's Four Freedoms to the Interdependence of Peace, Development and Human Rights." Louis Sohn, longtime HLS professor, leading figure in the formation of international human rights

"Reinventing International Law: Women's Rights as Human Rights in the International Community." Rad-

Measuring the Worth of Public Service

In 1990, *Details Magazine* ran a photo spread on eligible bachelors in the New York area. Among the hot-shot traders 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 emergent groups in Cambodia and, most recently, to humanitarian organizations exploring the links between human rights 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 researched reports on the legal systems in Cambodia and Burma served as basic texts for subsequent researchers.

After UN-sponsored elections brought an end to the prolonged war in Cambodia, Ross moved there for the International Human Rights Law Group to oversee a project to support the newly emergent Cambodian human rights movement. Following that, he did a stint with the United Nations in Bosnia, then returned to HRP as a visiting fellow for the 1997-1998 academic year. Since then, he has worked with the Dutch branch of Doctors Without Borders, one of the humanitarian organizations most engaged in scrutinizing the effect of its work on human rights conditions around the world. "Follow Jim Ross's career," said Associate Director Peter Rosenblum, "and you see the best of what has happened in the human rights movement."

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

One major area of concentration has been trafficking in women, a field where proposed laws are under discussion in many states. Deborah Anker, director of Harvard's Asylum and Refugee Clinic, has worked closely with HRP on this and other projects. "Although everyone recognizes the problem," said Anker, "it raises serious questions of strategy and principle. 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 opportunities abroad. Our clinical students helped to define the issues."

HRP's clinical program has expanded dramatically during the past four years. Students can take clinical work for credit independently or in conjunction with a human rights class. Each year, about forty of them respond to calls for project volunteers. A smaller number engage in sustained work on the major HRP projects.

4 INTERACTION AND REFLECTION: The Contribution of the Visiting Fellows

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 present six to ten fellows annually who join the program for between four to eighteen months. Now HRP receives many applications annually from activists and academics in all parts of the world.

More than 100 scholars and activists from forty-three countries have participated thus far, creating an invaluable global network of human rights workers engaged in all types of activity, from grassroots mobilization, monitoring, critical reporting and parliamentary participation to policy-oriented or other forms of scholarship and teaching.

Visiting fellows come for a variety of reasons. Some want distance from their absorbing work at home in order to reflect and write. Others want training in fields that are becoming relevant. While at HRP, each is engaged in a concrete research project, many of which lead to publication. They seek out appropriate faculty or audit courses at the Law School or other Harvard faculties. Many work closely with the associate director. Bi-weekly lunches feature presentations by the fellows, followed by discussion. In some cases, fellows have informally guided students doing *pro bono* work on given human rights projects.

Almost half of the fellows come from developed countries (including the U.S., Western Europe and Japan), the rest from the developing world. The program has sought to raise the percentage of fellows from developing countries, where the needs are greatest but the personal resources are scarcest. Currently, HRP can cover only 20 percent of financial needs, forcing some excellent applicants to withdraw. Plans are under

way to increase support for top candidates without resources and thereby to increase the percentage from developing countries to 75 percent.

Fellows have encompassed a striking range of work and experiences. On many occasions, the program has served as refuge and refueling ground for courageous dissenters forced to flee their countries, temporarily or permanently. There have been fellows like the late Ebua Lihau, the first chief justice of Zaire, who was imprisoned under President Mobutu before he managed to arrive at Harvard. Francis Seow, the former solicitor general and head of the bar association in Singapore, is another prison alumnus who gained asylum in the United States and intellectual refuge at HRP. As Steiner likes to tell his colleagues, "We really can't have deadlines for applications, because we never know when some of the applicants will get out of jail."

The work at Harvard of such fellows has given them and their cause much needed support. During his exile, for example, Justice Lihau served as

a model for an emerging human rights movement. When he returned to the country before his death, he was given a hero's welcome.

Fellows from South Africa have gone on to advise the president (Nick Haysom), sit on the Constitutional Court (Lourens Ackermann) and guide one of the major human rights groups (Steve Kahanovitz). From Asia, recent fellows like Vasudha Dhagamwar (India) have pioneered research and activism for the rights of tribal peoples and women, and Chantawipa Apisuk (Thailand) has been a leader in the "empowerment" of sex workers. Fellows of similar quality and aspirations have come from Africa, Asia, Latin America 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 Ilene Cohn, all examples of the "next" generation of human rights leaders, all with substantial field experience with nongovernmental and multilateral peace and human rights operations. ■

Putting Human Rights Treaties to Work in Nigeria

By the time he started his studies at Harvard, Felix Morka, LL.M. '95, was already an experienced human rights activist. He had worked with the Civil Liberties Organization in Nigeria, one of the earliest and most prominent human rights 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 Morka, "was out of touch with people on the ground. Their agenda—mostly civil and political rights—didn't affect people on a day-to-day basis. As a result, the population was increasingly resigned and apathetic."

Morka used his time at Harvard partly to reflect on alternative approaches. How could he tap into the grievances of the overwhelming majority of poor people, dispossessed of land and denied access to economic opportunity? "My decision was to look at economic and social rights," he said. He wrote a substantial paper on the topic in his research seminar.

With support from the Human Rights Program, Morka 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 feasible in Nigeria."

In May 1995, he founded the Social and Economic Rights Action Center (SERAC). In 1996, SERAC cautiously began its first campaigns in Nigeria, targeting the issues of forced eviction and slum conditions, relying on 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 advantage of a network of international organizations, SERAC gave the issues a new profile without losing an essentially "bottom-up" perspective.

One example came in 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 inspection and recommended compensation. The results were spectacular."

The results also temporarily cost Morka his liberty. He was held for two days in prison and two months without a passport. SERAC's networking and Morka'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 Morka, "and the government released me."



Felix Morka

hika Coomaraswamy, HLS graduate and UN special rapporteur on violence against women

"Transformation of the South African System of Justice." The Honorable Abdullah Omar, Minister of Justice of South Africa and longtime anti-Apartheid activist

University Committee on Human Rights Studies

The committee has sponsored and published symposia with professors from twelve Harvard faculties or departments of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. The planning, editing and publishing of the symposia of 1995 and 1997 were handled by the Human Rights Program. The publication topics were:

Human Rights at Harvard 1995

- ◆ "Universities and Human Rights" (Jonathan Mann, Henry Steiner)
- ◆ "United States and Global Human Rights" (Bryan Hehir, Stanley Hoffmann, Debora Spar)
- ◆ "Population Policies and Human Rights" (Lincoln Chen, Carla Obermeyer, Amartya Sen)
- ◆ "Discrimination: Comparisons among Gender, Race and Sexual Orientation" (Peter Gomes, Randall Kennedy, Martha Minow)

Human Rights at Harvard 1997

- ◆ "Universalism and Cultural Relativism: Perspectives on the Human Rights Debate" (Anthony Appiah, Diana Eck, David Maybury-Lewis)
- ◆ "Remembering and Forgetting Gross Violations of Human Rights" (Patrice Higonnet, Alan Stone, Susan Suleiman)

Letters FROM THE Front

Summer internships take HRP students into some of the most challenging, tormented 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 for blacks. Picking my way between the jammed beds (patients often have to lie under them because of overcrowding), I came across a sign saying, "Keep Out, Typhoid." And behind that sign was a cot, and in it was a living tragedy—a child with the classic symptoms of gross malnutrition. Those enormous expressionless eyes seemed to penetrate deep within me.

Children's rights is particularly urgent in South Africa, where 40 percent of the black population is under fourteen. Black children have to grow up very quickly, for their lives are so utterly brutalized. One Inanda mother bewailed the fact that her nine-year-old speaks only of guns, and is most interested in picture books on weapons. In Inanda, the current games include playing catch with the tear-gas canisters.

Carl Soderbergh '88
Soderbergh spent nine weeks in South Africa in 1986, interning at the law firm of N. Pillay & Co.

Dear HRP:

I came to Haiti thinking that human rights work meant counting violations and reporting them internationally. I realized in the weeks following a rally I witnessed in the Catholic church of St. John Bosco, these activities are only instrumental to a larger end, that of remaking political life. I understood that the broader goal of human rights work is to help the growth of new, just and democratic organizations for tomorrow's society—something more than simply fomenting today's revolution. Human rights work must not only denounce and decry the abuses of power, but also nurture an alternative to them.

Paolo G. Carozza '89
Carozza worked for the League of Former Haitian Political Prisoners in 1988.

Dear HRP:

In the course of the summer of 1991, I became privy to a historical transformation within the Soviet human rights organization Memorial, a change of the guard as a new generation of activists asserted itself. In the process, I found that my friendship with a younger generation of activists often intruded on my sympathy for the agendas and projects of an older generation. The conflicts in my personal loyalties, I came to see, mirrored a painful inter-generational struggle over the identity and mission of Memorial.

At its inception, Memorial brought under one roof three generations of dissidents. Each had suffered differently in the seventy years of communist rule, each spoke a different political language, each had different expectations about what the new order would bring. Yet their common legacy of survival, and their shared conviction that their country should never face such a trial again, was strong enough to cut palpably across all of those lines.

In short order that common vision was clouded by agendas, narrow concerns and egos, a factionalization that was perhaps inevitable given the pluralistic democracy they are trying to build. For me, however, the breakdown of this coalition portended something ominous for the future, not just for the fragile human rights movement, but for a society unbound.

Jonathan Kamin '93
Kamin worked in Memorial's Human Rights Section in Moscow in 1991.

Dear HRP:

I spent the summer of 1984 in Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, conducting field research for the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights. My research represented the committee's first examination of human rights conditions in the territories occupied by Israel following the 1967 Six Day War. My research was confined to a study of the system of military justice in the territories and an examination of a few of the more controversial extra-judicial security measures employed by the Israel Defense Forces; curfewing, housing demolition and restriction orders.

Philip Warburg '85
Warburg was an intern with the Lawyers' Committee for International Human Rights in 1984.

Dear HRP:

Last summer while I was traveling on a crowded public vehicle in a province just outside Manila, a boarding Filipino passenger stumbled over my foot and fell down next to me. Maybe there was a look of irritation on my face, or maybe the young man was a bit surprised to see a black person in such a remote area, but whatever the cause, apologies flowed from him. I realized that he meant no harm, but he seemed serious about reassuring me that he had no ill intentions and ultimately repeated several times that he had "three nigger friends." Part of me wanted to get angry at him and dismiss his statement as nothing more than ignorance. The other part of me sought to understand.

For oppressed people, effective human rights activism requires the reconciliation of anger and awareness. Those of us who are oppressed must confront oppression on two fronts, dealing with our own subordination as well as that of the people with whom we work. When people who are oppressed in their own country go abroad to work for human rights, it is analogous to the wounded helping the wounded. Being called a nigger in another country is a vivid reminder of injury and that these injuries require attention.

Marvin Artis '89
Artis interned with the Paralegal Training Services Center in the Philippines in 1987.

Dear HRP:

Although I interviewed a diverse group of people in Mexico in a wide variety of fields, I was struck by a common theme. In response to my questions about the Mexican legal system and legal assistance for women, I was told over and over again that legal remedies would not eliminate the rampant violence perpetrated against women in Mexico. Instead, the people I spoke with reiterated a slogan that soon became etched into my mind—rape is not a sexual crime, but *un delito contra la integridad de la mujer*, a crime against the integrity of Woman. In order to stop this violation of integrity, they suggested that community organizing, improved physical and mental health care, and particularly education were needed in addition to legal reform and service.

Stacy Brustin '89
Brustin worked with the Mexican Academy of Human Rights in 1987.

Dear HRP:

Because of mining interests, the Aborigines of Western Australia are in imminent danger of being stripped of the gains they have made in rejuvenating their besieged culture. This new threat is reflected in Aboriginal poet Kath Walker's recent work, and her message has taken on an added urgency for me after having spent three months among the Martu, experiencing firsthand the depth of their attachment to the land: "But time is running out/And time is close at hand./For the dreamtime folk are massing/To defend their timeless land./Come gentle black man/Show your strength;/Time to take a stand./Make the violent miner feel/Your violent/Love of land."

Susan Warren '90
Warren worked for the Western Desert Puntukurnuparna Aboriginal Corporation in Pumm, Australia, in 1988.

Dear HRP:

I took careful notes as Sam Thoeun recited the litany of abuses and humiliations to which the Cambodian refugees in the Site 2 refugee camp were subjected daily: no way to leave the camp, no escape from the war raging a few miles away in Cambodia, no chance to work or study, no system of justice or protection, no dignity, no hope for the future....

I cautiously ventured that human rights advocacy might result in fewer and less serious abuses. He responded that "there are no human rights in Site 2, only human wrongs."

Roger Normand '91
Normand did his internship with the Cambodia Documentation Commission in 1989.

Dear HRP:

I spent the summer in London at ARTICLE 19, the International Centre Against Censorship, which works to promote freedom of expression around the world. I began the summer working on submissions to the UN Human Rights

Committee on freedom of expression in South Korea and Mexico. After submitting these reports, I had the opportunity to go to Geneva and represent ARTICLE 19 at the Human Rights Committee's review of Mexico. It was definitely one of the highlights of the summer. The committee addressed all the major points of my paper, and one member even quoted directly from it.

Bonnie Docherty '01
Docherty worked for ARTICLE 19 in London in 1999.

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 found the 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 within the United States. This in itself was a valuable lesson for me: That the common man "on the street" cares deeply about issues of human rights, labor standards, environmental concerns, etc., hence their continued support for Public Citizen's programs.

Joel Ngugi, S.J.D. candidate
Ngugi was an intern at Public Citizen in Washington, D.C., in 1999.

Nelson Mandela supporters crowd a scaffolding during the last week of campaigning before South Africa's first democratic election, which was held in 1994.



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.

©PETER TURNLEY/CORBIS

Making a Difference in the Middle East

Shawqi Issa, a Human Rights Program visiting fellow in 1999–2000, grew up in a Palestinian refugee camp in Bethlehem. He was arrested for the first time at age thirteen. “The older students were demonstrating at school and, of course, everyone was there,” he said. “I don’t even remember the exact reason for the demonstration.”



Palestinian youths fire slingshots at Israeli soldiers during clashes in Bethlehem in 1998.

For one month, Issa was held at the Israeli military base where he and the other students had to clean the camp. He was sentenced to a year in prison for flying a Palestinian flag, but he was released because there was nowhere to keep children. A few years later, the Intifada swept across the territories, bringing Palestinian youth into daily violent confrontation against the Israeli authorities. Issa left to study abroad. When he returned in 1990, he decided to move from the streets to the courts. He and a colleague set up an organization to challenge land confiscations. “Our aim was to give free legal aid to people who had no money and no recourse.”

Now, Law—the Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment in East Jerusalem—employs forty-two full-time staff including fourteen lawyers (four of whom are Israeli). Supported partly by Western foundations, it provides legal aid and researches violations of human rights and environmental rights by both the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority. Issa is one of the new breed of Palestinian activists who has as little tolerance for the excesses of the Authority’s leaders as for the Israelis with whom he has dealt on human rights issues.

A conflict in 1999 with the Palestinian Authority illustrates the point. A Palestinian newspaper, owned by a minister in the Authority, accused Law of fabricating information about torture in Palestinian prisons. “We sued for defamation,” said Issa. “It was a difficult choice because we support freedom of the press, but this was an article by a minister.” Eventually, the minister backed down and agreed to print a public apology. The case was dropped, and the Palestinian Authority learned a lesson about the tenacity of the Palestinian human rights movement.

Moments IN THE March OF Human Rights



1945–46

The Nuremberg Trials

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN)

1948



1957

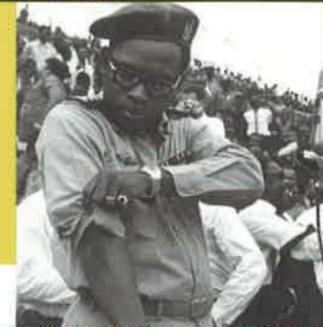
Ghana becomes the first black African sub-Saharan country to achieve independence, a milestone in the worldwide decolonization movement of the '50s and '60s



1961

Berlin Wall is erected, a marker of the Cold War
Amnesty International is formed

1965



Mobutu, a Cold War ally, takes power in the Congo

1973

Augusto Pinochet comes to power in Chile, overthrows the elected government



1975

The Helsinki Accords; Eastern European countries sign on to human rights provisions, acknowledging the human rights obligations in the Communist bloc



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 (IGOs) 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 Prize for Peace in 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 Kamau Kuria 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 and for the next year he found refuge as a visiting fellow at HRP.

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 activists had begun to assert themselves long before the end of the Cold War). When Kenya’s President Arap Moi gave in to internal and international pressure for more open dem-

ocracy, Kamau Kuria 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 Kuria 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 global “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 deflected attention from the more pressing concerns of the developing countries. At a conference in Crete organized by HRP and Human Rights Internet in 1989, thirty-two partici-



A group of traditional leaders from Cameroon are involved in an ongoing exercise to resolve and prevent local conflicts.

pants 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 dissension 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 roundtables. The Crete 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.

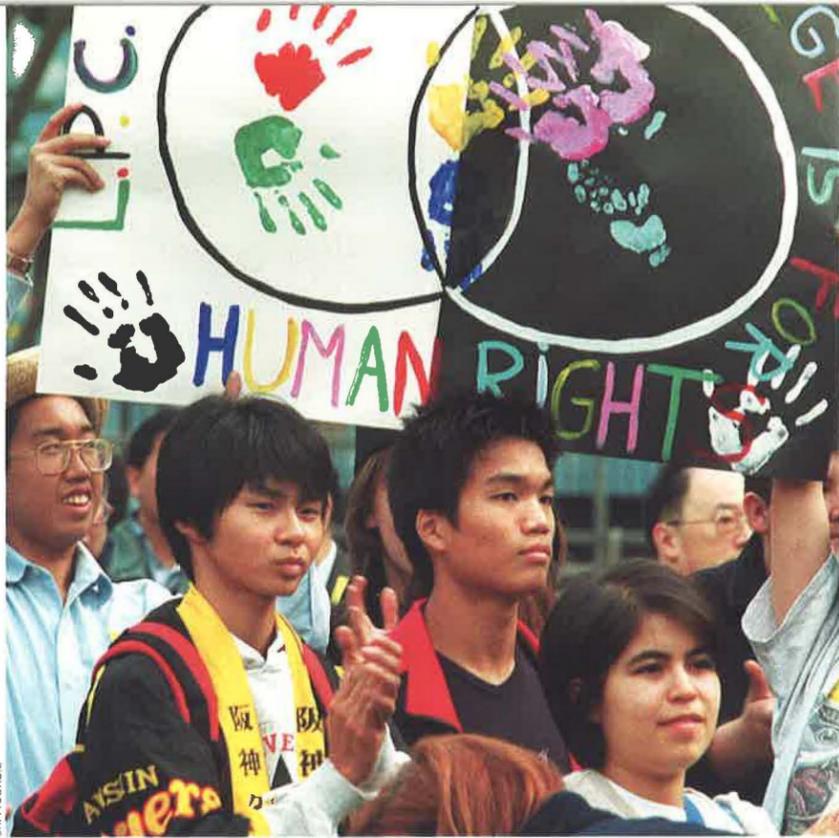
In the age of Cold War proxy battles in Africa, no one asked whether contact between Shell and Nigeria affected human rights. Nowadays, the companies themselves raise the question.

which lent its experience and credibility to the endeavor.

The Crete conference marked a 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 Oloka-Onyango 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. Oloka-Onyango has become one of the most articulate—and non-doctrinaire—voices for human rights in Africa. In 1998, 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 in HRP's fifteenth anniversary celebration.

Oloka-Onyango's classmate at Harvard, Makau wa

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 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.



Students from an international school in Hong Kong show their support during the fiftieth anniversary celebration marking the adoption of the Universal Declaration.



1976

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights is signed

International Covenant in Economics, Social and Cultural Rights is signed



1977

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

Amnesty International wins the Nobel Peace Prize

1978

Human Rights Watch is founded

1980



©BILL GENTILE/CORBIS

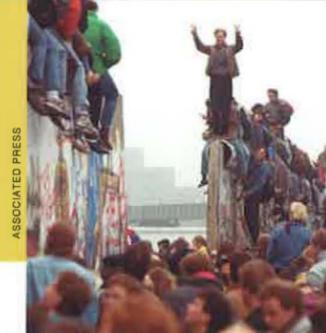
US supports Contras in Nicaragua

Nunca Mas

1986

The first Truth Commission in Argentina, the National Commission of Inquiry into Disappearances, publishes its report, "Nunca Mas" ("Never Again")

1989



ASSOCIATED PRESS

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

1989

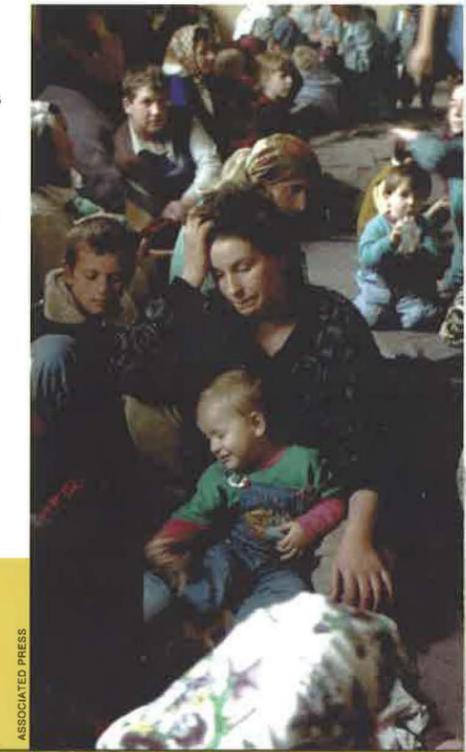


ASSOCIATED PRESS

China, Tiananmen Square

1992

Bosnian conflict begins



ASSOCIATED PRESS

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 that time, 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 women'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 women," 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 women's NGO engaged in direct legal services. On graduation, she received a Skadden Arps 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 mattered 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 become in the bureaucratic debate, I am always able to step back and tell myself, 'It is about women; it is about people facing persecution, and we can do something about it.'"

If the Truth Be Told

Excerpts from HRP's roundtable publication, "Truth Commissions: a Comparative Assessment" (1997)

Henry Steiner, HRP director and professor of law

The cause of the Irish problem, suggested William Gladstone, is that the Irish never forget, while the English never remember. Is there then a golden mean, some "proper" degree of collective memory appropriate for bearing in mind the cruelties and lessons of a troubled past, while not so consuming as to stifle the possibilities of reconciliation and growth? How might one imprint such a memory on a people's or state's conscience? What kinds of institutions or processes would be appropriate? What purposes might be served by a detailed recording of gross abuses, not only for the collectivity but also for the individuals involved as victims or perpetrators?

José Zalaquett, professor of law and former member of Chilean Truth Commission

The political changes of recent years have brought new issues into the human rights agenda. One of them concerns how to deal with past evil deeds. The main question is: Must this be done? It must be done not because of a fixation with the past as such, but because the past can influence society's present and future.

Following a major breakdown of the rule of law and basic civic values, a society must reconstruct its moral underpinnings. Truth commissions can be a part, perhaps the cornerstone, of such a process of moral reconstruction. I believe that they are most important when crimes affecting values that are crucial to the character of the state have been denied or remain unacknowledged. Governments usually deny deeds that can never be justified, such as killings in custody, disappearances and torture. Such secret crimes must be unveiled.

...[But] we should bear in mind that truth commissions are not a simple recipe for every transitional situation. They are only a part of a more complex policy to address the past—sometimes including compensation, prosecutions and institutional change. They are most useful where broad sectors of society do not believe or acknowledge critical facts.

Bryan Hehir, professor of practice in religion and society at the Harvard Divinity School

I think that truth commissions function at three levels. The first entails catharsis.... The second level involves the process of moral recon- (Continued on opposite page)

London. Grievances between the locals and internationals came forth, 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 its allies, 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, among them:

- 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 Neuwirth '85 and Navanethem Pillay S.J.D. '88;

- Social and Economic Rights Action Center (Nigeria), founded by Felix Morka LL.M. '95 (see box, page 15);

- International Anti-Poverty Law Center, co-founded by Maria Green '97;

- Institute for Human Rights and Development, Banjul, 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 Slote '95.

Other alumni work independently or in existing organizations building bridges between traditional human rights concerns and related fields. For example, Jim Ross '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

struction.... Society must pass judgment on what has been heard. It must establish a moral account of the historical record. The third level verges on the political—what is done with the process of truth telling? A number of options are available. A society may [even] choose to "forget" or ignore the truth.

Tina Rosenberg, member of editorial board, the New York Times

I am struck by how many comments outline the parallels between truth commissions and the therapeutic process of dealing with victims of post-traumatic stress disorder. The similarities are striking. People need to tell their story, but this is not all. Two other levels are important. People need to tell their stories to someone who is listening to them seriously and validating them. This is official acknowledgment. More importantly, victims must be able to reintegrate that narrative into their whole life story.

Lawrence Weschler, staff writer, the New Yorker

As the victims put their own lives together, they also pull the whole country together. I detect three overlapping metaphors in our discussion: the realms of law, art and therapy. The most effective truth commissions carry on elements of the theater, by being broadcast to the public on television, for example. Artfulness of presentation makes the commission more effective. The public responds like an audience of a Greek tragedy. People must organize their lives in an artful way that lends them a cathartic life experience at the end.

Yael Tamir, senior lecturer in philosophy, Tel-Aviv University

If the peace process is to move forward it cannot proceed on the basis of an investigation of the past. Rather, we must disassociate ourselves from the past and build a future based on an abstract acknowledgment of the injustice done by both sides, an injustice grounded in the fact that we share the same small piece of land for which both sides make claims of right. We must therefore reach an agreement regardless of past injustices. Peace cannot be grounded in competition over past suffering.

Fateh Azzam, former director, Al Haq, Ramallah

What should emerge from this strange animal called the peace process? I have some disagreement with Yael. Unless we acknowledge what happened in the past, it will continue to come up. Israelis and Palestinians must redefine their relationship, but not necessarily deny it. We must acknowledge one another in a way that lays a proper foundation for our future. This will take a very long time. The Palestinians need to hear some acknowledgment in order for them to admit that co-existence is possible.



1993

World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia is formed



1994

Nelson Mandela votes in the first democratic elections in South Africa

Genocide in Rwanda

World Conference on Women in Beijing

1995

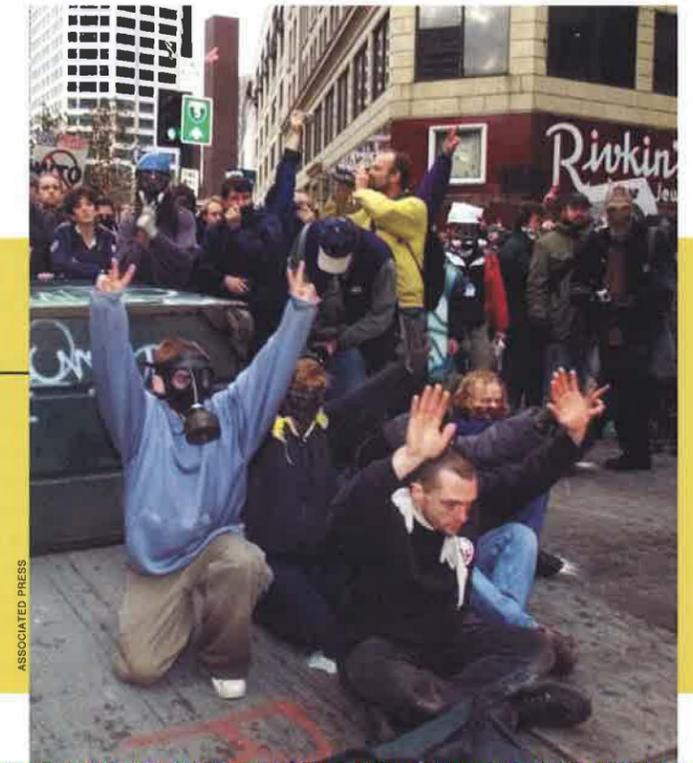


1998

Rome Conference for the creation of the International Criminal Court

1999

World Trade Organization riots in Seattle, Washington



Student Intern's Portfolio Speaks a Thousand Words

Debi Cornwall '00 arrived in the troubled city of Jakarta, Indonesia, in June 1998, mere weeks after the deadly uprisings that achieved the ouster of President Suharto had quieted down. What the HLS student and amateur photographer saw when she deplaned was shocking. A city in disarray. Burned out vehicles rotting by the roadsides. Debris and relics of civic unrest 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 both through her human rights studies at HLS and an undergraduate internship to South Africa at the dawn of its new democracy, Cornwall 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 huge. Theirs 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. Cornwall'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 had during 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 some of the world's leading academic figures in the human rights movement. For a day and a half, they discussed what the university should or could do for human rights. "In the publication that is due this summer, there is something thoughtful for everyone at that roundtable to disagree with," Steiner 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 has been as surprising as developments in the movement itself. The late James Vorenberg, who formally launched HRP when he was dean in 1984 and long gave it 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. So it seemed to me that if any universities were going to set up a human rights program, we should surely be a leading one among them. 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." ■

Arms and the man, or the boy, as the case may be. Cornwall captured disturbing images in the shadows of Indonesia (right) and the harsh light of South Africa (below).



HRP Alumni Notes

The work of HRP's alumni is the program's grandest achievement. Their contributions to the public interest—often specifically to human rights advocacy, exploration and scholarship—have been extraordinary. The biographical sketches below vividly illustrate this point.

Each year, HRP adds about thirty-five names to its "alumni" database. They come from graduating students who, during their years at HLS and HRP, committed serious time and energy to human rights work, to scholarship and/or to both. They also include the year's visiting fellows. The alumni total is now about 600 former students and visiting fellows. It's difficult for HRP to keep in touch with many of these alums, given address changes and the many alumni who are abroad.

The list below grew out of responses to HRP's alumni questionnaire, asking about human rights or other public interest work in which alums are now or were recently engaged. It's likely that names of at least fifty more would appear if we had been able to reach everyone, and if all those doing such work had replied. So the list below is more than a sample, but far from complete.

Any graduate wishing information to be included may call (617-495-9362), write (HRP, Pound Hall 401, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA 02138) or email (hrp@law.harvard.edu).

Payam Akhavan, LL.M. '90, S.J.D. candidate, is legal advisor

at the Prosecutor's Office of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in the Hague. At HLS he is preparing a thesis examining conceptions of genocide. At



Deborah Anker and Payam Akhavan

the Tribunal, he served as advisor on indictments against officials such as Milosevic and Karadzic, and argued the first case before the Appeals Chamber of the Tribunal (*Erdemovic v Prosecutor* 1997). He has also published extensively on human rights issues and served as visiting lecturer at Yale Law School during the 1998 fall semester.

Kenneth Anderson '86 is associate professor of law at Washington College of Law, American University, Washington, D.C. He was formerly director of the Human Rights Watch Arms Division and general counsel to the Open Society Institute. Anderson is chair of the board and general counsel to the Media Development Loan Fund, a non-profit organization that promotes free expression worldwide through the development of financially sustainable independent media. He is also chair of the advisory board of the Open Society Institute Landmines Project, which makes grants in support of the international campaign to ban landmines. He is most recently legal editor of *Crimes of War: What the Public Needs to Know*, Roy Gutman and David Rieff, eds. 1999.

Tony Anghie, S.J.D. '95, teaches international law and international business transactions at the College of Law, University of Utah. Last summer he taught at the Law Faculty of the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka, and delivered a series of lectures on "Human

Rights, Globalization and Development," at the summer session of the Erik Castren Institute for Public International Law and Human Rights in Helsinki, Finland.

Deborah Anker, LL.M. '84, is director of the Immigration and Refugee Clinic at Harvard Law School. In addition, she works with HRP Associate Director Peter Rosenblum supervising the clinical program in human rights. Her research and writing focus on women immigrants and women refugees. The third edition of her treatise, *Law of Asylum in the United States*, was recently published, as were three articles she co-authored on refugee issues. She started the nonprofit Refugee Law Center, Inc., with two colleagues. Anker and her husband welcomed a baby boy, Phillip Samuel, born Sept. 28, 1998.

Chantawipa "Noi" Apisuk, V.F. '97, is founder and director of EMPOWER Foundation, an organization working with sex workers in Thailand. It provides education and legal and health assistance, including HIV/AIDS help, to sex industry workers to give them more choice about work. EMPOWER works to eliminate the stigma associated with sex work, to promote equal opportunity to economic and social services and to fight discrimination against sex workers with HIV/AIDS.

Roberto P. Aponte-Toro, LL.M. '84, is professor at the Universidad de Puerto Rico, where he teaches a general human rights seminar. He participated in the ASIL panel discussion, "Free Trade, Democracy and Human Rights," last April. "A Tale of Distorting Mirrors: One Hundred Years of Puerto Rico's Sovereignty Imbroglia," will probably appear in the book *Sovereign in a Domestic Sense*, to be published by Duke University Press in 2000.

Christopher J. Arias-Pirano '93 is associate counsel for the Puerto

Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. Since 1997, he has participated in state and federal litigation in the areas of language and employment rights and of housing discrimination. He has also been involved in efforts to further economic opportunity among poor ethnic communities of the northeastern U.S. From 1993 to 1996, he was associate counsel for Florida Rural Legal Services, Inc., where, among other things, he was involved in litigation against South Carolina's peach industry

and its widespread practice of debt peonage.

Sandra Babcock '91 has spent the last eight years representing indigent defendants at trial and on appeal. She has devoted a significant part of her practice to the representation of foreign citizens on death row, includ-



Sandra Babcock

ing Stanley Faulder, a Canadian recently executed by the state of Texas. She now consults with attorneys across the country regarding the application of human rights treaties in capital cases. Last year, she argued as *amicus curiae* before the Inter-American Court on Human Rights regarding the repeated violations by the United States of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.

Audrey Baker '89, now an associate producer at ABC News Special Projects, is working on a project on children's rights. She was political affairs officer for the United Nations Mission for the Verification of Human Rights in Guatemala in 1995-96.

Rajagopal Balakrishnan, S.J.D. candidate, Soros Justice Fellow. This spring, he began teaching at the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at MIT. Before coming to HLS, he helped estab-

lish the first field office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Cambodia. He has published articles on human rights themes.

Margaret Becker '92 is an attorney with Legal Action of Wisconsin, Inc., in its Rock County Homelessness Prevention Project. She previously practiced union-side labor and employment law with the firm of Cullen, Weston, Pines and Bach in Madison, Wisconsin. Before moving to Wisconsin in 1994, Becker represented farmworkers as an attorney with Michigan Migrant Legal Assistance Project, Inc., in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Eva Brems, 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 include "The Margin of Appreciation Doctrine in the Case-Law of the European Court of Human Rights," 1-2:56 *Heidelberg J. Int. L.* (1996); and "Enemies or Allies? Feminism and Cultural Relativism as Dissident Voices in Human Rights Discourse," 19:1 *Hum. Rts. Q.* (1997).

Brian Burke '90 is the in-house counsel for The Nature Conservancy in San Francisco, California, where he works to protect land and create nature preserves. The Conservancy works throughout the U.S., Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific to preserve the plants, animals and the natural communities that represent diversity of life on Earth. Since its inception in 1951, the Conservancy has protected more than 8 million acres in the U.S. alone. Burke also continues his *pro bono* activities on immigration matters.

Samya Burney '95 has been the Asia researcher for the Women's Rights Division of Human Rights Watch (HRW), for which she has investigated and reported on violations of women's human rights in Asia and worked with women's organizations in the region and around the world to improve the protection of women's rights. Burney's publica-

tions for HRW include *Bangladesh: Political Violence on All Sides and Crime or Custom? Violence Against Women in Pakistan*.

Kathleen Campbell '92 works for the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). In July 1998, she left OCHA's New York headquarters to return to the field and to open its office in Uganda, where she focuses on helping the international aid community to better coordinate its efforts. Before leaving New York, Campbell published *Complex Crisis, Complex Peace: Humanitarian Coordination in Angola*, UNDHA, New York 1998.

Thomas Carothers '85 is vice president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C., where he oversees research in international policy areas ranging from the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons to the effects of the information revolution on international affairs. His own work focuses on democracy promotion and its role in U.S. foreign policy. He has worked in many countries on democracy assistance projects and written widely on the subject. His latest book, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Carnegie 1999), assesses the state of the field of democracy promotion. Prior to joining the Carnegie Endowment, he practiced law with Arnold & Porter and was an attorney-advisor at the Office of the Legal Advisor of the U.S. State Department.

Paolo Carozza '89 is associate professor of law at Notre Dame Law School. He teaches international and comparative law subjects, including human rights, and is heavily involved in the activities of the Notre Dame Center for Civil and Human Rights. His recent research and publications have focused on the use of comparative legal methods in international human rights, and on the European Court of Human Rights.

Christine Cervenak, V. F. '92, is raising her children and working part time in conflict resolution.

One project for the Conflict Management Group in Cambridge, Massachusetts, involved co-writing a guide for USAID on alternative dispute resolution in developing countries. Most recently, she and a local team conducted a study on commercial arbitration, for the Asia Foundation, in Sri Lanka.

Vandana Chak '89 is an attorney practicing law in New York City. In March-April 1998, Vandana was invited to the University of the North in South Africa, to assist with establishing a Nelson Mandela foundation in the U.S. (The highlight of her visit was meeting Mandela himself.) She participates in and organizes cultural and social awareness events for the South Asian community in New York.

Hilary Charlesworth '86 is professor and director of the Centre for International and Public Law at the Australian National University in Canberra. She teaches international law and international human rights law and most recently has written *The Boundaries of International Law: A Feminist Analysis*, with Christine Chinkin (Manchester University Press, forthcoming). Until 1999, she was a hearing commissioner with the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. She also convenes the Optional Protocol Network, assisting those wishing to make complaints against Australia under the optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Janie A. Chuang '98 was a Harvard Sheldon Fellow researching the application of international human rights law to the problem of trafficking in women. During her fellowship, she assisted the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Radhika Coomaraswamy, LL.M. '90. She is the author of "Reconceptualizing Trafficking in Women: Definitions, Paradigms, and Contexts," 11 *Harv. Hum. Rts. J.* 65 (1998).

Ilene Cohn, V. F. '99, has been working since March 1999 with the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict. She is principally responsible for the

office's international law-related advocacy and work on child soldiers, the protection of children in peace processes, and country-specific work in Latin America. She recently published "The Protection of Children in Peacemaking and Peacekeeping Processes," 12 *Harv. Hum. Rts. J.* 129 (1999), and "The Protection of Child Soldiers During the Liberian Peace Process," 6 *Int. J. Child Rts.* 179 (1998).

Luke Cole '89 continues to practice environmental justice law, directing the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation's Center on Race, Poverty and the Environment, and working with low-income communities to fight environmental hazards throughout the U.S. He also serves as chair of the Enforcement Subcommittee of the EPA's National Environmental Justice Advisory Council. He publishes widely in the environmental justice field, most recently in the *Ecology Law Quarterly*. He will be taking a six-month sabbatical in 2000 to teach full-time at Hastings Law School in San Francisco, where he lives with his wife Nancy and their son Zane.

Roberto Cuellar, V. F. '87, was appointed executive director of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights on October 11, 1999. He recently traveled to



Cuba, where he addressed a workshop for activists and promoters for the Peace and Justice Commission of the Catholic Church in the Havana Archdiocese.

Carrie Cuthbert '95 is founding co-director, along with Kim Slote '95, of the Women's Rights Network (WRN). WRN is a human

rights organization working to end domestic violence and sexual abuse, and to strengthen the global women's human rights movement using a combination of training, organizing, public education and participatory research. Cuthbert and Slote are co-authors of articles in *Violence Against Women: An International and Interdisciplinary J.* (February 1997) and of "Innovative Overseas Strategies to End Domestic Violence," *Tex. J. Women & L.* (Spring 1997).

Marcella David, '92 Ford Fellow, is a professor of law at the University of Iowa where she teaches an introduction to public international law and a seminar on human rights. She is a founding member of the Midwest Coalition for Human Rights. Recent publications include a chapter on "The U.S. Government and Women," in a multi-volume sourcebook, *The International Rights of Women*, Transnational Press, and articles in the *Harvard* and *Michigan* international law journals.

Rangita de Silva-de Alwis, LL.M. '94, S.J.D. '97, is immigration policy analyst for the Massachusetts Immigration and Refugee Advocacy Coalition. Duties include analyzing immigration policy issues and engaging in advocacy on law reform.

Vasudha Dhagamwar, V. F. '98, is the executive director of the Multiple Action Research Group (MARG) in New Delhi, India, an NGO that disseminates rights information to disadvantaged groups, especially to rural women, both by producing the material and by holding training workshops. Dhagamwar's publications include "Criminal Justice or Chaos?" *Har Anand* (1997). She is completing the manuscript she started at HRP called "Role and Image of Law in Rural India" and preparing a second edition of her book, *Towards the Uniform Civil Code*.

Catriona Drew, V. F. '99, teaches public international law and international human rights at the School of Law, University of Glasgow, Scotland. She is also a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Law at the London

School of Economics. Her principal research lies in the area of self-determination of peoples. Recent publications include "The East Timor Popular Consultation: Self-determination Denied," *Human Rights Law Review* (1999).

Luise Druke, V. F. '88, concluded her 13th assignment in the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. For the past two years, she was UNHCR representative in Kazakhstan. She is now a UNHCR research scholar at Harvard, researching the challenges of human rights and refugee institutions in post-Communist countries. Her previous writings include "Harmonization of Asylum Law and Judicial Control Under the Third Pillar," in *Justice and Home Affairs in the European Union*, College of Europe, Centre du droit comparé et européen, Lausanne 1995; and "The United Nations in Conflict Prevention," in *The Art of Conflict Prevention*, Brassey's Commentaries, no. 7, New York 1994.

Ariel E. Dulitzky, LL.M. '99, is Latin America program coordinator at the International Human Rights Law Group, an NGO of human rights defenders and legal professionals engaged in human rights advocacy, litigation and training around the world. He continues to litigate cases before the Inter-American Commission and the Inter-American Court on Human Rights.

George Edwards '86 is founder and director of the Program in International Human Rights Law at Indiana University, where he is an associate professor. Some of his recent publications include "Applicability of the 'One Country, Two Systems' Hong Kong Model to Taiwan," 32:3 *New England L. Rev.* 751-78 (Spring 1998); and "Hong Kong: Preserving Human Rights and the Rule of Law," 12:3 *American Univ. J. International L. & Policy* 407 (Summer 1997). He was an NGO delegate to the 1998 Rome Diplomatic Conference on the



George Edwards

Establishment of a Permanent International Criminal Court. During the autumn of 1999, he was a visiting professor at DePaul University College of Law in Chicago.

Karen Engle '89 is professor of law at University of Utah College of Law. She teaches inter-

national law, human rights, immigration law and employment discrimination. Her writings have concerned identity politics (gender, race, sexuality) and law in human rights and employment discrimination, often questioning traditional liberal strategies. She is currently working on a project entitled "Human Rights and the Predicament of Culture."

Paula Escarameia, LL.M. '86, S.J.D. '88, was legal counselor at the Portuguese Mission to the UN until 1998.

She was involved in drafting the Statute of the International Criminal Court, among other things. She is also involved, through the NGO International Platform of Jurists for East Timor (IPJET), in giving advice to Timorese on international law issues. She published several articles on human rights, including "The Meaning of Self-Determination and the Case of East Timor in International Law and the Question of East Timor," *IPJET* 1999.

Helen Fein, V. F. '93, is executive director of the Institute for the Study of Genocide (ISG). She organized an ISG conference in December 1998, "Ever Again? Evaluating the UN Genocide Convention on its 50th Anniversary and Proposals to Activate the Convention." She also authored "Gender and Genocide: The Uses of Women and Group Destiny" in 1 *Journal of Genocide Research* (Spring 1999). In August 1999, she received a Dis-

tinguished Career Award for Contributions to Scholarship, Teaching and Services from the Peace, War, and Social Conflict Section of the American Sociological Association.

Laurel Fletcher '90 is associate director of the International Human Rights Law Clinic at Boalt Hall School of Law, University of California at Berkeley where she supervises students representing refugees in asylum proceedings and engaging in human rights projects. Fletcher was in Bosnia last summer working with a team of Boalt students and Bosnian law students to conduct an interview study of Bosnian judges. Fletcher's book review of Chuck Sudetic's *Blood and*

Vengeance was published in the *Human Rights Quarterly* last May.

Robert Foster '92, an associate at Rackemann, Sawyer and Brewster in Boston, represents Harbor Me, Inc., an organization serving victims of domestic violence. He serves as co-chair



Laurel Fletcher

of the Boston Bar Association's Section on the Delivery of Legal Services, which is devoted to issues concerning the delivery of civil legal services to the poor.

James Thuo Gathii, S.J.D. '99, is an assistant professor in International Business Law, Human Rights and Ethics, Graduate School of Management, Rutgers University. Recent articles include "Good Governance as a Counter-Insurgency Agenda to Oppositional and Transformativ Social Projects in International Law," 4 *Buffalo Hum. Rts. L. R.* (1999); and "Representations of Africa in Good Governance Discourse: Policing and Containing Dissidence to Neo-Liberalism," *Third World Legal Studies* (1999).

Suzanne Goldberg '90 is a senior staff attorney at LAMBDA Legal Defense and Education Fund, where she works on a wide range of issues related to sexual orientation discrimination. She leads LAMBDA's work on

immigration and asylum rights for lesbians, gay men and people with HIV/AIDS. She recently co-authored *Strangers to the Law: Gay People on Trial*, University of Michigan Press 1998, as well as an entry on immigration and travel restrictions for people with HIV in the *Encyclopedia of AIDS* (1998).

James A. Goldston '87 has recently become deputy director of the Open Society Institute, part of a worldwide network of more than 30 foundations established by the George Soros Foundation to promote more open societies through educational, social, legal and economic reform, and the defense of human rights. For three years previously, Goldston was legal director of the European Roma Rights Center, a Budapest-based organization engaged in advocacy and litigation on behalf of Roma ("gypsies"). From 1991 to 1995, he was an assistant U.S. attorney in the Southern District of New York.

Stephen Golub '85 is project director of the Ford Foundation's Global Law Programs Learning Initiative, an effort to derive and disseminate lessons springing from the foundation's support for law-oriented activities around the world. He teaches international development law and policy at the Boalt Hall School of Law at the University of California at Berkeley. He also is an individual projects fellow of the Open Society Institute, and is contributing to a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace book on civil society assistance.

Jennie Green '91, formerly administrative director of HRP, is an attorney at the Center for Constitutional Rights. She is on the Legal Advisory Committee of the Center for Justice and Accountability, and on the Advisory Committee of the International League for Human Rights. She also fills committee roles with the ABA and the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development's war crimes tribunals project.

Maria Green '97 is founding director of the International Anti-Poverty Law Center (IAPLC), a New York-based

NGO that focuses on poverty issues from an international human rights perspective. She previously worked with the Center for Economic and Social Rights. Green's recent work includes writings on human rights indicators, and on the structure of substantive general comments of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. She is also the primary author of the *CESR Guide to Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, CESR, forthcoming. The IAPLC can be reached at [iaplc@iaplc.org](mailto:iapl@iaplc.org).

Tanya Greene '95 works with the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers Death Penalty Resource Council, at the Southern Center for Human Rights in Atlanta, Georgia. She defends death row inmates in Georgia and Alabama, and provides resources to other capital defenders around the U.S. Greene won the 1999 Reebok Human Rights Award for her work.

Aeyal Gross, LL.M. '93, S.J.D. '96, teaches international law and related courses at Tel-Aviv University Faculty of Law. His most recent publication in English is "The Politics of Rights in Israeli Constitutional Law," 3 *Israel Studies* 80 (1998). He serves on the board and the legal committee of the Association of Civil Rights (ACRI) in Israel. In 1998, he represented ACRI before the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. He also serves, *pro bono*, as general counsel to the Society of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender People in Israel.

Michelle Guerardi, LL.M. '98, is an attorney at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Before obtaining her LL.M., she worked for three years at the Projeto Legal-IBISS in Rio de Janeiro, a human rights legal defense center for street and marginalized children.

Julia Harrington '95 is executive secretary at the Institute for Human Rights and Development, based in the Gambia. The institute is engaged in capacity-building and human rights litigation in Africa before the African Commission and courts relying

on the African Charter. She also works to provide administrative support to the African Commission's Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Executions.

Farooq Hassan, V. F. '90, was an advisor to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on law and international affairs. He represented the administration before the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva in 1998, and before the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in 1999. He also led the Pakistan delegation in the negotiations for an International Criminal Court. He is president of the Pakistan League for Human Rights, which acted, among other things, as one of the monitors of the country's general elections in 1997. He writes a syndicated column in *Jang*, Pakistan's leading newspaper.

Nicholas Haysom, V. F. '87, was chief law advisor to President Nelson Mandela in the South African Office of the President from 1994. He is currently chairing an all-party committee on a new constitutional law for Burundi and working on an ethics code for members of the executive branch. He was closely involved in the negotiations of the South African Interim Constitution (1994) and the final Constitution, which came into effect in 1997. He co-authored *Fundamental Rights in the New Constitution: Commentary and Cases*, Jutas 1997.

Dan Heffernan '87 currently practices in Boston with Weisman & Associates. Their current cases include a suit against the City of Worcester and various school personnel for their failure to stop years of abuse of children with disabilities perpetrated by a special education teacher. Heffernan is president of the board of directors of the Federation for Children with Special Needs and the Community Legal Services and Counseling Center. He and his wife Julia Samuelson Heffernan have three children, Brian, Magdalene and Evelyn.

Eric Heinze '91 is at the Faculty of Laws, Queen Mary and Westfield College of the University of London. He has recently pub-

lished "Principles for a Meta-Discourse of Liberal Rights: The Example of the European Convention on Human Rights," 9 *Indiana Int'l & Comp. L. R.* 319 (1999); "The Universal Child?," in *Of Innocence and Autonomy: Children, Sex and Human Rights*, Eric Heinze, ed. (1999); and *Landmark Cases in International Law*, Eric Heinze and Malgosia Fitzmaurice, eds. (1999).

Genoveva Hernandez Uriz, LL.M. '99, is a visiting professor at the University of Oklahoma Law Center, where she teaches human rights and international business transactions. She spent last summer in Ndjamena (Chad) working with local human rights groups on a range of issues, including the human rights implications of an oil exploitation project, and the possible prosecution of the former Chadian ruler.

Todd Howland, V. F. '97, is deputy chief of the UN Human Rights Division in Angola. He is also an active member of the Dublin-based International Human Rights Trust, which is devoted to improving human rights field interventions. He recently published "Mirage, Magic or Mixed Bag? The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights' Field Operation in Rwanda," 21 *Hum. Rts. Q.* 1 (1999).

Dianne Hubbard '85 is coordinator of the Gender Research Project at the Legal Assistance Centre in Windhoek, Namibia, a position she has held for the past seven years. This project engages in research and advocacy aimed at law reform in areas such as violence against women and family law. Current work centers around forthcoming laws on rape and domestic violence. Among her publications is "The Many Faces of Feminism in Namibia," co-authored with Colette Solomon, in *The Challenge of Local Feminisms*, Amrita Basu, ed., Westview Press 1995.

Paul Hunt, V. F. '97, is the rapporteur to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. He serves on the Advisory Board of the International Anti-Poverty Law Center.

Deborah Isser-Herzberg '96 is an associate at Morrison and Foerster in New York. She is working with former classmate Suzanne Nossel and a group of lawyers and academicians to set up an Internet-based channel through which human rights activists outside North America can receive *pro bono* assistance from private attorneys. She clerked for the Honorable Justice Dalia Dorner of the Supreme Court of Israel from 1996-98.

Richard Jerome '84 has been deputy associate attorney general with the U.S. Justice Department since 1997, with principal responsibility for civil rights matters and the Community Relations Service. In 1999, he was part of the State Department delegation to the 55th Session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, where he advised the delegation on human rights compliance in the U.S.

Chris Jochnick '93 is a co-founder and advocacy director of the Center for Economic and Social Rights (CESR, www.cesr.org). CESR was established in 1993 to address the lack of attention to economic, social and cultural rights within the mainstream human rights movement. In 1997, he moved to Ecuador to start the center's Latin America office (www.cdes.org), which now has a full time staff of 10 persons and is active in a number of South American countries. He recently published "Confronting the Impunity of Non-State Actors: New Frontiers for the Promotion of Human Rights," 21 *Hum. Rts. Q.* 1, 56 (February 1999).

Chris M. Johnson '94 has worked as a staff attorney at the Southern Center for Human Rights in Atlanta since 1995. During that time, he has handled death penalty cases at trial, on appeal and in post-conviction proceedings in Georgia and Alabama, as well as prison-conditions lawsuits against Alabama county jails. In 1998, he married

Megan De Vorse, an assistant federal public defender in Atlanta.

Steve Kahanovitz, V. F. '93, is regional director at the Legal Resources Centre, Cape Town, one of the five offices of the Legal Resources Centre in South Africa. Its mission is to enable its client to ensure the respect, protection, promotion and fulfillment of the rights contained in the constitution of the new democratic South African state. Its innovative land program and constitutional program concentrate on economic, social and cultural rights.

Pascal Kambale, LL.M. '99, is now consulting with the International Human Rights Law Group and Human Rights



Pascal Kambale

Watch. He is a founding member and executive vice president of the Democratic Republic of Congo's leading human rights organization, ASADHO, and a leading human rights lawyer in the Congo. He plans to return to the Congo next year, to start a

human rights program at the University in Butembo.

Jonathan Kamin '93, an associate at Sachnoff and Weaver in Chicago, is a *pro bono* advocate for the Center for Neighborhood Technology (encouraging environmentally friendly business/industrial practices). He also works as liaison with the Community Economic Development Law Project, which provides legal support to low income/minority/not-for-profit entrepreneurs and organizations.

Mikhail Kazachkov, V. F. '93, is president of Freedom Channel, Inc., which he founded while with the HRP. In its early years, Freedom Channel produced more than 20 documentaries on human rights, market and democratic themes aired on Russian national television. Freedom Channel has been involved in an effort to build an Internet-access-

sible legal database for Russian paralegals involved in human rights work in the provinces.

Ali Khashan, V. F. '92, is founder and dean of the Palestinian School of Law at Al Quds University and has served on the Ad Hoc Committees for the Ministry of Justice and for Palestinian Basic Law. He is currently preparing two books, *The General Theory of the Constitutional Law and Palestinian Constitutional System*.

Jae-Won Kim, V. F. '91, is professor of law and assistant dean for academic affairs at Dong-A University in Pusan, South Korea. He has also been actively engaged in a legal reform campaign as a member of People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, a leading Korean NGO. In 1991, he translated Thomas Buergenthal's *International Human Rights* into Korean.

Goran Klemencic, LL.M. '97, is a counselor to the government of Slovenia in the cabinet of the Minister of Interior on questions of human rights. He lectures part time on constitutional criminal procedure at the College of Police and Security Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia. He is a national coordinator of the Council of Europe's program on Police and Human Rights. Since February 1999, he has been a member of the UN Commission for the drafting of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence and Elements of Crime for the International Criminal Court.

Dino Kritsiotis, V. F. '98, lectures in international law at the University of Nottingham, and undertook research on UN safe areas during his fellowship at HRP. He recently published articles in the *Michigan Journal of International Law* and the *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*. In 1999, he lectured at the 17th Annual Summer School on International Humanitarian Law in Warsaw, Poland. He is on the board of editors of the *Journal of Armed Conflict Law*.

Viviana Krsticevic, LL.M. '93, is executive director of the Center for Justice and International

Law, a regional human rights organization with headquarters in Washington, D.C. She litigates extensively before the Inter-American Commission and the Inter-American Court on Human Rights on behalf of victims of human rights violations. She has also co-taught a human rights seminar at Washington College of Law of American University for the past three years. She has published several articles on international human rights.

Zbigniew Lasocik, V. F. '93, runs the Polish Section of the International Commission of Jurists. In this capacity, he deals with legal reforms in Poland, support for human rights activists in Belarus and constitutional education for lawyers. He continues to work for the European Human Rights Foundation as a consultant and external expert on human rights and civil society, and to teach at Warsaw University's Department of Criminology and Human Rights Center.

Hope Lewis '86 is a professor of law at Northeastern University School of Law. Her main areas of research and teaching have been in international human rights and business law. She is currently developing a new course, titled Human Rights in the Global Economy. She has written law review articles on cultural relativism; the right to development ("Women (Under) Development: The Relevance of the Right to Development to Poor Women of Color in the United States," 18 *Law and Policy* (U.K./SUNY Buffalo) 281 (1996)); and on the human rights of black labor migrants ("Lionheart Gals Facing the Dragon: The Human Rights of Inter-national Black Women in the U.S.," 76 *Ore. L. Rev.* 567 (1997)).

Soonyoung Lim, V. F. '97, works for Korea's Sexual Violence Relief Center as a researcher. This center provides comprehensive psychological, legal and medical assistance for victims of sexual violence. She has also developed programs for human rights education and for preventing sexual assault. She recently published a manual for a sexual harassment-

prevention training program with a co-worker.

Stephen Livingstone, LL.M. '84, is Professor of Human Rights Law at Queens University Belfast and acting director of its Centre for International and Comparative Human Rights Law. He is a member of the executive of the Committee on the Administration of Justice in Belfast and has acted as a human rights consultant for the British Council, Council of Europe and European Union. Recent publications include *The Inter-American System of Human Rights*, ed., with David Harris, Oxford University Press 1998.

Ellen L. Lutz, V.F. '95, is a partner in the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) law firm of Buckalew and Lutz, LLP. She recently completed a Fulbright Fellowship in Uruguay, where she taught a course entitled International Justice: From Nuremberg to Pinochet, and is editing a book with the same title. She served on the Human Rights Watch delegation to the diplomatic conference to create an International Criminal Court and is an adjunct professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Michael Malamut '85 is a staff attorney at the New England Legal Foundation, a public interest law firm that advocates for traditional civil liberties and property rights. From 1992-98, he was an attorney with the Boston Housing Authority. Malamut does *pro bono* work for the AIDS Action Committee and the Volunteer Lawyers for the Arts, and serves on the boards of the Massachusetts Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Fund and the Lena Park (Dorchester, Massachusetts) Community Development Corporation.

Chris Mburu, LL.M. '93, works as a human rights officer for the UN Observer Mission for Sierra Leone. In 1998, he was appointed to the UN Special Investigative Team that documented violations of human rights and international humanitarian law in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He previously worked as a project coordinator at the International Human Rights Law Group,

where he directed a project to empower human rights NGOs in eastern Zaire.

Martha McDougall, LL.M. '95, is legal counsel for the Refugee Section of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada in Montreal, Quebec. In November 1998, she took a leave of absence to teach law at National University in Butare, Rwanda. She will be returning to Rwanda for three months this coming September, to continue teaching law.

J. Patrick Meagher '89

continues to work with the Center on Institution Reform and the Informal Sector (IRIS) at the University of Maryland in College Park. He is currently based in Sri Lanka and doing research in South Asia on issues of state corruption and infrastructure development. Some recent publications include "Misgovernance or Misperception? Law and Finance in Central Asia," based on research in 1998 in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, and "Cooperating against Corruption: Governance and Jurisdictional Design in Plural Societies," which he co-authored with an IRIS colleague.

Jamie F. Metzler '97 left the National Security Council Staff in 1999 to work as senior coordinator for International Public Information in the State Department. In this capacity, he is implementing the Presidential Decision Directive designed to galvanize the U.S. government to be more creative in using information tools to prevent and mitigate crises. Metzler is teaching a course in international human rights law at Georgetown this spring.

Naoko T. Miyaji, V.F. '92, is an assistant professor at the Department of Hygiene, Kinki University School of Medicine, in Japan, where she incorporates human rights issues into the teaching of medicine and public health. She is also involved in the networking of grassroots activities and psychiatric care for

female survivors of sexual and other types of violence. Her publications include "Friendly Persuasion? Legislative Enforcement of Male Responsibility for Contraception," Tong, R., Anderson, G., Santos, A., eds., *Globalizing Feminist Bioethics in the 21 Century*, Westview Press, forthcoming 2000. She and Jack Tobin, former administrative director of the

Human Rights Program, have two children.

Jennifer Moore '87, an associate professor at the University of New Mexico School of Law, teaches refugee law and comparative human

rights law. She served as associate protection officer for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Conakry, Guinea (1991-93) and Washington, D.C. (1993-95). She is a co-author, with Musalo and Boswell, of *Refugee Law and Policy* (1997), the first U.S. casebook on refugee law. She is the mother of Kyra, six, and Tessa, one.

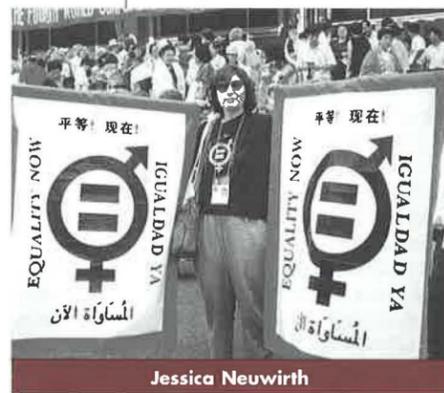
Makau wa Mutua, S.J.D. '87, is professor of law and co-director of the Human Rights Center, State University of New York at Buffalo. He taught as visiting professor at Harvard Law School in 1999. He was formerly associate director of HRP, and director of the Africa Program at the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. He continues to publish widely on a range of themes in international human rights and current politics.

Devanesan Nesiiah, V.F. '96, is a consultant at the Marga Institute and member of the board of governors of Climate Change Lanka. He is principal coordinator of "A History of Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: Recollection, Reinterpretation & Reconciliation," a project designed to lead to a three-volume publication with that title,

by the end of 2000. His previous affiliation (January 1997-April 1998) was with the Resettlement and Rehabilitation Authority of the North of Sri Lanka, the state agency responsible for the welfare of well over a million inhabitants, approximately one half of whom remain displaced.

Jessica Neuwirth '85 is a founder and president of Equality Now, an international human rights organization working for the protection and promotion of women's rights. She worked on a short-term basis for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda as an expert on sexual violence, in connection with the Akayesu judgment. In 1997, she founded Equality Enterprises, Inc., a company created to raise funds for women's rights. The first project of this company is The Horse Latitudes, a gift store at 94 Charles St., Greenwich Village, NYC, or on the Internet at www.horselatitudes.com.

Fionnuala Ni Aolain, V.F. '94 is currently a professor at Ulster University in Northern Ireland. She had been an assistant professor of law at Hebrew University, Faculty of Law, in Jerusalem,



Jessica Neuwirth

Israel. In 1996-97, she worked as representative of the prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia. She continues to be a member of the Committee on the Administration of Justice (Northern Ireland). Recent publications include "Fluid Boundaries—Charting the Relationship Between Human Rights and Humanitarian Law," *Israeli Yearbook on Human Rights* (1999), and "The Fractured Soul of the Dayton Peace Agreement—A Legal Analysis," *Michigan J. Int.*

L. (1998). Her forthcoming book, *The Politics of Force*, charts the management of the Northern Ireland conflict between 1969 and 1994, and is pending publication.

Roger Normand '91 co-founded the Center for Economic and Social Rights (CESR) in 1993. CESR is one of the first human

rights groups to focus on poverty and economic exploitation. As policy director, he oversees policy development and supervises the Middle East Program, with projects in Iraq and Palestine. He has also worked with Human Rights Watch-Asia and Catholic Relief Services, and has published articles in the *Harvard International Law Journal*, the *Journal for Refugee Studies*, the *Nation*, the *Washington Post*, the *Guardian* and other periodicals.

Suzanne Nossel '96 was recently appointed senior advisor on UN Management and Reform in the office of Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Ambassador to the UN. She is working with former classmate Deborah Isser and a group of lawyers and academicians to set up an Internet-based channel for human rights activists outside North America to receive *pro bono* assistance from private attorneys. With classmate Elizabeth Westfall, she co-authored *Presumed Equal: What America's Top Women Lawyers Really Think about their Firms*, Career Press (1998). Her email address is nossels@state.gov.

Marek Antoni Nowicki, V.F. '91, was a member of the European Commission of Human Rights from 1993 until it was dissolved this year. He is, among other things, president of the Human Rights Commission of the Polish Bar, vice president of the Helsinki Foundation of Human Rights in Warsaw, member of the Legal Advisory Board of European Roma Rights Center and author, most recently, of "The Right to Legal Assistance in Criminal Proceed-

ings," 5:1-2 *The Parker School J. of East European Law*, (1998); "Les lenteurs des procédures civiles et pénales et la manière de les combattre," 8 *Bulletin des Droits de l'Homme*, Institut Luxembourgeois des Droits de l'Homme (1998).

Binaifer Nowrojee, LL.M. '93, is living in Cambridge, Massachu-

setts, and working with the Africa Division of Human Rights Watch on a number of areas in human rights, including national human rights institutions in Africa, women's rights issues and the rights of refugees and internally displaced persons.

Rugemeleza A. K. Nshala, LL.M. '97, is executive chairman of Lawyers' Environmental Action Team (LEAT), a public interest environmental and human rights organization in Tanzania. He teaches environmental law at the University College of Lands and Architectural Studies (UCLAS), a constituent college of the University of Dar es Salaam. He is also part of the team drafting the new NGO legislation in Tanzania under the auspices of the vice president's office.

Jessie N. Madu Nwabueze, LL.M. '87, recently published an article on the social problems of Nigerian children in *African Profile USA*, and was interviewed for an article in *Lifestyle* magazine, on African women on the move in Britain.

Celestine Nyamu, S.J.D. candidate, is a research associate with Women and Law in East Africa and conducted field research in Makueni district, Kenya, between June 1998 and February 1999. Her current research deals with gender, culture and property relations in a plural legal context.



Roger Normand



Celestine Nyamu

Helena Nygren Krug, LL.M. '95 recently left the Office of the High Commissioner to take a position as Human Rights Focal Point at the World Health Organization (WHO). The objective is to integrate into WHO work human rights concerns ranging from disease eradication to humanitarian relief to more development-oriented work aimed at poverty alleviation.

Liliana Obregon, S.J.D. candidate, is currently studying issues of identity and culture in Latin American perspectives of international law. She is former publications director of the Center for Justice and International Law in Washington, D.C. Her recent articles include "In Search of Hope: The Plight of Displaced Colombians," in *The Forsaken People*, Roberta Cohen and Francis M. Deng, eds. 1998, and several articles in *Encarta Africana* (Microsoft, CD-ROM) and *Africana Encyclopedia*, Henry Louis Gates and Anthony Appiah, eds., Perseus Books (1999). While at Harvard, she has worked actively to bring the issue of Colombia's human rights abuses to the attention of the international community.

Paul O'Brien '93 left the presidency of the Echoing Green Foundation in New York in 1998 to return to East Africa. Since then, he has worked as a human rights consultant and trainer in East and Southern Africa and Afghanistan. He has worked mainly with humanitarian NGOs and the UN to raise awareness of the nexus between human rights and humanitarian assistance in complex emergencies. He has recently taken a position as regional policy advisor for CARE

International, covering East Africa and the Middle East.

Mitsuo Okamoto, V.F. '98, is fulltime professor of peace studies at the Faculty of Law, Hiroshima Shudo University. His focus of research and teaching is in the area of human rights issues of war

victims. He published an article, "Peace and Human Rights," in 1998, and edited a book, *Peace Studies in the Making*, in 1999, both in Japanese.

J. Oloka-Onyango, S.J.D. '89, has served the first year of a term as dean of law at Makerere University in Uganda, having been director of the Human Rights and Peace Centre (HURIPAC) since 1996. He has recently completed studies on trade, globalization, human rights and racism for the United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights, to which he was elected in 1998. His recent publications include "Human Rights and the Quest for Sustainable Human Development (SHD): The Case of Structurally Adjusted Uganda" and "Heretical Reflections on the Right to Self-Determination at the Close of the Second Millennium: Prospects and Problems for a Democratic Global Future," 15 *American University Int. L. Rev.* (1999).

Omo Omoruyi, V.F. '95, is a research fellow at the African Studies Center at Boston University. His sojourn at HRP afforded him the opportunity to reflect on the crisis of democratization in Nigeria from his personal experience, from which two books are emerging. One is the *Tale of June 12: the Betrayal of Democratic Rights of Nigerians*, London: African Books (forthcoming). The other is based on more than 30 lectures and papers he gave on democratic rights within human rights in Africa. It is called *Omo Omoruyi and Democracy in Nigeria*, by Drs. Femi Akinola (Harvard), Victor Manfredi (Boston) and Adesina Sambo (Lagos).

Mark Osiel '87 is professor of law at the University of Iowa, where he teaches international humanitarian law, legal ethics and remedies. He is author of *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory, and the Law* (1997), and *Obedying Orders: Atrocity, Military Discipline and the Law of War* (1999).

Daniel Owen, M.P.A. '91, works in Washington, D.C., in the Social Policy Unit of the International Finance Corporation, part of the World Bank Group. Previously, he acted as an advisor to

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

Raul C. Pangalangan, LL.M. '86, S.J.D. '90, is dean at the University of the Philippines Law School. Last year, he was a visiting professor at HLS. He participated in the drafting of the statute for the international criminal court as a delegate for the Philippines and served on an International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) panel of experts that examined the status of humanitarian rules as international custom. His publications include a forthcoming essay, "Territorial Sovereignty: Command, Title and the Expanding Claims of the Commons," which will appear in *Boundaries, Autonomy and Justice: Diverse Ethical Views*.

Morris Panner '88 is deputy chief of narcotics for the U.S. Department of Justice. In 1998, he was resident legal advisor in the U.S. Embassy in Bogota, Colombia, advising on the creation of task forces to combat narcotics, corruption, human rights violations and money laundering, among other things. Previously, he was an assistant U.S. attorney in the Southern District of New York and a member of the Organized Crime and Terrorism Unit.

Wendy Patten '94 works as special counsel to the director of the Violence Against Women Office at the U.S. Department of Justice, which oversees implementation of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994. In the recent past, she has worked on projects to address trafficking in women, and has provided training and technical assistance to prosecutors, judges and NGOs on domestic violence in Mongolia and Russia. Prior to joining the Justice Department in 1997, she provided legal services to immigrant and refugee women in domestic violence, family law and

immigration matters at Ayuda in Washington, D.C.

Jehan Perera '87 is media director at the National Peace Council of Sri Lanka, which is engaged in promoting a negotiated settlement to that country's long civil war. Last year, he was an international fellow at Brandeis University. He is a weekly political columnist at a national newspaper. He has contributed a chapter to *Negotiating Peace in Sri Lanka*, Kumar Rupasinghe, ed., London: International Alert 1998.

Nancy L. Perkins '87, a special counsel at Arnold and Porter in Washington, D.C., represents the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in litigation, and as project leader for a study on abuses associated with the expedited removal provisions of the Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. She also is assisting the International Human Rights Law Group in producing a report on the implementation of U.S. obligations

under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

Ruth B. Philips '89, a former public defender, is visiting assistant professor at the University of Connecticut School of Law. She attended the 1998 Rome

drafting conference for the international criminal court as a member of the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice, an NGO instrumental in negotiating provisions regarding the investigation and prosecution of sexual and gendered violence during armed conflict. Her article, "The International Criminal Court Statute: Jurisdiction and Admissibility," 9 *Crim. L.F.* (1998), is forthcoming.

Carol Pier '98 is continuing her 1999-2000 fellowship at Human Rights Watch in Washington, D.C. She recently published "Labor Rights in Chile and NAFTA Labor Standards: Questions of Compatibility on the Eve of Free Trade," 19 *Comp. Lab. L.*

and *Policy J.* 185 (Winter 1998).

Nina Pillard '87 is associate professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center. On a two-year leave from the center, she is deputy assistant attorney general at the Office of Legal Counsel in the Department of Justice. Pillard recently co-authored "Skeptical Scrutiny of Plenary Power: Judicial and Executive Branch Decision Making in *Miller v. Albright*," with T. Alexander Aleinikoff, 1999 *Sup. Ct. Rev.* 1; and "Taking Fiction Seriously: The Strange Results of Public Officials' Individual Liability Under *Bivens*," 87 *Geo. U. L. Rev.* 1, 1999 forthcoming.

Navanethem Pillay, S.J.D. '88, has been president of the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, based in Arusha, Tanzania, since June 1999. She has also served on the tribunal as the only woman on the bench since 1995. Judge Pillay has lectured in public law at the University of Natal. She is the trustee of Lawyers for Human Rights and co-founder and honorary president of the Advice Desk for Abused Women in South Africa and Equality Now, a New York-based organization that takes action against violations of women's human rights.

Flavia Piovesan, V.F. '95, is the coordinator of the Human Rights Working Group at the General State Attorney Office in the State of Sao Paulo in Brazil. She continues to teach constitutional law and human rights at the Catholic University of Sao Paulo. She is also a member of the Latin American Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights (CLADEM), among other organizations. She has authored two books on human rights law, *Human Rights and the Constitutional International Law*, 1996, 3rd. ed., and *Human Rights Themes* (1998).

Renzo Pomi, LL.M. '98, is deputy secretary and director of

the legal department in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in San Jose, Costa Rica. Before that, he worked on the final drafting of the Guatemalan Truth Commission report.

Samantha Power '99 is the executive director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the Kennedy School. She is currently writing a book on American political and legal responses to genocide. She edited, with Kennedy School Professor Graham Allison, a book on human rights policy tools, which will be published in September 2000.

Francesco Presutti, LL.M. '89, is an administrator in the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union. He provides services to the council bodies responsible for developing a European migration policy.

Jamin B. Raskin '87 is a professor of law at American University's Washington College of Law and an active public interest lawyer. His recent law review article, "Is This America? The District of Columbia and the Right to Vote," in 34 *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties L. Rev.* 39 (Winter 1999), has led to a new movement for voting rights in the District of Columbia, and a lawsuit, *Alexander v. Daley*, filed in 1998 by the D.C. Corporation Counsel. Raskin has written a casebook for high school social studies classes on the Supreme Court's treatment of high school students called *The High School in the High Court*, which will be published in the fall of 2000.

Kerry Rittich, S.J.D. '98, is assistant professor at the Faculty of Law and Women's Studies Programme, University of Toronto. She is currently teaching labor law, feminist theory and critical race theory. Her research deals with globalization, gender, human rights and labor market regulation.

Deidre Roney '87 retired from the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office eight years ago, to raise her two children, now eight and five years old. She founded and operates the community service program at her children's public school, where she is also currently the PTA president. She is helping a friend start a charter K-8 school in the inner city for poor, immigrant children. She is an active member of Amnesty International and engaged in local work against corporations that pollute and in support of the homeless.

James Ross '85, V.F. '98, is a humanitarian affairs advisor for Médecins sans Frontières in Amsterdam, where he focuses on the interrelationship between humanitarian assistance and the promotion of human rights in Southeast Asia, West Africa and the Balkans. He was a visiting fellow at the Human Rights Program in 1998. Previously, he worked on rule of law issues for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Bosnia and with local NGOs in Cambodia for the International Human Rights Law Group.

Brad Roth '87 is assistant professor of political science and legal studies at Wayne State University in Detroit, where he teaches courses in human rights and international law. He is the author of *Governmental Illegitimacy in International Law*, Oxford University Press 1999; and co-editor with Gregory H. Fox of *Democratic Governance and International Law*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Vincent Rougeau '88 is associate professor of law at Notre Dame Law School. In July, he became associate dean for academic affairs. His work with human rights has been primarily through teaching courses in public international law and by coaching law students in the Jessup and Niagara Moot Court competitions. He is a member of the board of St. Elizabeth's hospital in Chicago, which primarily serves Latin American immigrants.

Raul M. Sanchez '86 continues to teach at St. Mary's University

School of Law in his hometown of San Antonio, Texas. He is associate professor and director of the Inter-American Legal Studies Program, which focuses primarily on human rights issues in the Americas. His recent publications include "To the World Commission on Dams: Don't Forget the Law, and Don't Forget Human Rights—Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Border," *Inter-American L. Rev.* (forthcoming); "Mexico's Cuchillo Dam Project: Development at the Expense of a Healthy Environment," *Borderlines* (July 1999). Sanchez is involved in numerous collaborative activities with the St. Mary's Human Rights Clinic, which is directed by his wife, Clinical Professor Monica Schurtman.

Lobsang Sangay, S.J.D. candidate, is a Tibetan scholar and human rights activist; a former national leader of Tibetan Youth Congress (an NGO in the Tibetan Indian exile community); and a visiting scholar at the HLS East Asian Legal Studies Program and the Pacific Basin Research Center of Soka University.

Jennifer Schirmer, V.F. '86, teaches courses on violence, memory and reconciliation in both Social Studies and the Department of Anthropology at Harvard, and is a program associate at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Her book, *The Guatemalan Military Project: A Violence Called Democracy*, has been nominated for the PIOOM Human Rights Award in Leiden. Her current research is concerned with transitional justice, memory, truth commissions and reconciliation issues in Guatemala, Argentina, Bosnia and South Africa.

Jeffrey Selbin '89 is founder and director of the HIV/AIDS Law Project at the East Bay Community Law Center in Berkeley, California, where he works to provide civil legal services to low-income people with HIV/AIDS. He recently co-authored, with Mark Del Monte, "A Waiting Room of Their Own: The Family Care Network as a Model for Providing Gender-Specific Legal Services to Women with HIV,"

5:1 *Duke J. Gender L. and Policy* (Spring 1998).

Mortimer Sellers '88 is professor of law and director of the Center for International and Comparative Law at the University of Baltimore School of Law. The Center's Human Rights Law Initiative and Democratic Institutions Initiative have developed programs in Bosnia, Brazil, China, India, South Africa and Ukraine.

Francis T. Seow, V.F. '91, currently a research fellow at the HLS East Asian Legal Studies Program, monitors the sociopolitics of Southeast Asia, particularly of Singapore and Malaysia. His published works include *To Catch a Tartar: A Dissident in Lee Kuan Yew's Prison*, and *The Media Enthralled: Singapore Revisited*. He has several other works in progress, including one on the legal hounding of a political oppositionist in Singapore.

Raja Shehadeh, V.F. '88, practices law in Jerusalem and Ramallah. He continues to work in human rights, as chairman of the board of trustees of the Center for Palestine Research and Studies, and as a member of the board of the Democracy and Workers Rights Center. Both organizations are active in the Palestinian Territory. In 1997, he published *From Occupation to Interim Accords: Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, which includes a legal analysis of the Oslo Peace Accords.

Martin Shupack '92 works for the Washington Office of Mennonite Central Committee, an agency of the Mennonite and Brethren in Christ churches. He does public policy advocacy on international issues related to human rights, militarism and international economic justice. He has written "The Demands of Dignity and Community: An Ecumenical and Mennonite Account of Human Rights," *Conrad Grebel Review* 14:3 (Fall 1996): 241-58; and with Rachel Brett, "Human Rights: Dignity, Community, Freedom, Transforming Violence: Linking Local and Global Peacemaking," Robert Herr and Judy Zimmerman Herr, eds. 1998.

Dan Simon, S.J.D. '90, has joined the faculty of the law school of the University of Southern California. In the past, he taught a course on national security and human rights at the Faculty of Law, Haifa University, Israel.

Jean-Marie Simon '91 is counsel to the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) in Washington, D.C. She is responsible for writing and revising PAHO contracts for the supply of pharmaceuticals and vaccines to Latin American and Caribbean nations. Between 1989-99, Simon served on the Board of Human Rights Watch/Americas. Her book, *Guatemala: Eternal Spring/Eternal Tyranny*, is in its fourth printing. She is married to Ken Anderson '86. They are the very proud parents of Renee, their six-year-old daughter, who currently is obsessed with *To Kill a Mockingbird* and *Cyrano de Bergerac*.

Kim Slote '95 is founding co-director of the Women's Rights Network (WRN), an international human rights organization based at the Wellesley Centers for Women in Wellesley, Massachusetts. WRN is a human rights organization working to end domestic violence and sexual abuse and to strengthen the global women's human rights movement using a combination of training, organizing, public education and participatory research.

John W. Spellman, V.F. '89, is professor of Asian Studies and director of the Institute of Asian Cultures, University of Windsor, Ontario, Canada. His research focuses on alternative concepts of human rights in classical India. He serves as consultant to the Immigration and Refugee Documentation Centre, Ottawa, and has appeared as expert witness and consultant in cases before the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal, Ontario Human Rights Commission and the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board.

Maria Stavropoulou, LL.M. '93, is protection officer at the UNHCR Branch Office of Athens. Previously she worked at the United Nations Centre for



Nancy Perkins



Kerry Rittich

Human Rights on internally displaced persons. She has done extensive legal research and writing in the area of refugee and human rights law. Her recent publications include "Displacement and Human Rights: Reflections on UN Practice," 20 *HRQ* 515-552 (1998) and a contribution to *The Forsaken People*, Roberta Cohen and Francis M. Deng, eds. 1998.



Maria Stavropoulou

publications include "The Helsinki Accords and Political Change in Eastern Europe," in Thomas Risse et al., eds.; *The Power of Human Rights*, Cambridge University Press 1999, and *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights and the*

Demise of Communism, Princeton University Press, forthcoming.

J. Steven Svoboda '91 is founder and executive director of Attorneys for the Rights of the Child, where he works to protect male and female children from all forms of genital mutilation. In July, he addressed an audience of 3,000 physicians on the human rights implications of male circumcision. Recent publications include (with F. Hodges and R. Van Howe) "Physician Abuse and the Public Health Exception: Balancing Human Rights with Public Health," *British Medical J.* (July 1999).

Marlyn Tadros, V. F. '99, was deputy director of the Legal Research and Resource Center for Human Rights in Cairo, for which she managed *People's Rights*, a human rights journal. She currently is director of International Programs at the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee.



Marlyn Tadros

Mariko Takeda, V. F. '97-'98, continues to teach constitutional law, human rights and gender and law at Kinjo Gakuin University in Nagoya, Japan. She is also a member of the National Network Against Campus Sexual Harassment.

Daniel Thomas, V. F. '95, is assistant professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Chicago, where he teaches seminars on human rights and on ethnic conflict and genocide. His

David Thronson '94 is an instructor in the Lawyering Program at New York University School of Law. He recently completed two years as the Gibbons Fellow in Public Interest and Constitutional Law, during which he litigated cases involving the Convention Against Torture; the scope of federal habeas jurisdiction to review immigration matters; the constitutionality of educational opportunities provided to urban children in New Jersey; discrimination in New Jersey State Police hiring practices and the use of secret evidence in immigration proceedings. Thronson also has served as adjunct professor at Seton Hall Law School, where he taught immigration law, and as a staff attorney at The Door's Legal Services Center.

Leonid Tonogin, V. F. '90, LL.M. '92, is currently completing his Ph.D. dissertation at the Department of Human Rights at the Institute of State and Law in the Russian Academy of Science. His research focuses on the protection of rights in times of national security crisis.

Lee Tucker '92 is a consultant to Human Rights Watch and a criminal defense attorney representing the indigent in federal court in Tucson, Arizona. She authored a report for Human Rights Watch on human rights violations against farm-

worker teens in the United States (1999).

Deepika Udagama, V. F. '98, is on the faculty at the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka, where she teaches courses on international human rights law. She remains extensively engaged with the University's Centre for the Study of Human Rights. She was elected as Alternate Member from Sri Lanka to the UN Sub-Commission on Human Rights in 1998. She serves on the International Advisory Board of the Human Rights Advocates based in Berkeley, California.

Takemi Ueno '93 does *pro bono* asylum work for the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. She has handled a case involving a student activist from the Ivory Coast, and is currently advising more junior associates at her firm on a case involving a political activist from Kosovo.

Alexander M. Vasilescu '87 was most recently an election supervisor in Bosnia with the OSCE. Currently, he is a senior trial counsel with the Division of Enforcement at the United States Securities and Exchange Commission in New York.

Jose Miguel Vivanco, LL.M. '90, 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 countries including Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Brazil and Cuba. He is also adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center and the School of Advanced International Studies of John Hopkins University.

Philip Warburg '85 is deputy director of the Israel Union for Environmental Defense, the country's leading environmental advocacy group, since January 1999. Prior to taking this post, he was environment director of the Israel Cooperative Program (ICP), a joint funding initiative of the Dorot and Nathan Cummings foundations. Joint Jewish-Arab initiatives were an important focus of this work, both within Israel and in a trans-

boundary context (Israel-Palestine-Jordan).

Veronica M. White '85 is president and chief executive officer of the New York City Housing Partnership, a nonprofit organization that develops low- and moderate-income housing in New York City. The Housing Partnership works to mobilize private sector resources to address housing and community needs, primarily through the redevelopment of city-owned land and buildings.

Elizabeth Wilcox '98, an honors attorney at the U.S. Department of the Treasury, has worked on community development with the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund, which provides grants and loans to community-based institutions that provide low-income people in the U.S. with access to credit.

John Witte Jr. '85 is Jonas Robitscher Professor of Law and Ethics and Director of the Law and Religion Program at Emory University in Atlanta. Professor Witte has published widely on legal history and comparative religious liberty. Among recent titles are *Religion and the American Constitutional Experiment* (1999); *Proselytism and Orthodoxy in Russia: The New War for Souls*, with Bourdeaux 1999; and *Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective*, 2 vols, with van der Vyver 1996.

Alicia Ely Yamin '91 is a staff attorney and assistant professor at the Law and Policy Project at Columbia University School of Public Health. She is currently on a fieldwork assignment for the Law and Policy Project in Lima, Peru, working with local NGOs to document health-related human rights violations. She is also on the board of directors of Physicians for Human Rights, and on the Committee for Scientific Freedom and Responsibility of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. She continues to publish widely on issues of health and human rights.

Katie Zoglin '85 continues to teach International Human Rights Practice at Stanford Law School. ■

NEWS (Continued from page 1)

activists and lawyers from Chad and Senegal. In the summer of 1999, Genoveva Hernandez and Nicolas Seutin, both '99 LL.M.'s, traveled to Chad as HRP-sponsored interns, working in a discreet collaboration between HRW and Chadian human rights organizations. Through persistent efforts in an extremely complex and war-torn environment, they were able to gain the confidence of Habre's victims and collect basic information necessary for a trial.

The next step was equally delicate—bringing the evidence to court in Senegal without sending Habre into flight. This task fell largely to another HRP alumnus, Pascal Kambale LL.M. '99. "Pascal is the unsung hero of this affair. If it weren't for him, we would never have been ready to take the case to court," said Brody. Kambale had spent the prior months traveling for HRW, first to Chad to collect victim testimonies and then to Senegal to work with local counsel.

Today, Habre is under house arrest in Dakar. A Senegalese judge is preparing for a trial that may eventually include the crimes of torture and crimes against humanity that the HRP-HRW collaboration worked to document.

Henigson Gift to Fund Fellowships

Helping graduates to begin human rights careers has long been one of the Human Rights Program's prime goals. Thanks to a substantial gift from Robert '55 and Phyllis Henigson, the program can now start to do that. In the academic year 2000-2001, HRP will initiate attractive fellowships abroad for graduating J.D. students. It will offer two Henigson Human

Remembering Neelan Tiruchelvam

On July 29, 1999, Neelan Tiruchelvam S.J.D. '73 was blown up in his car by a suicide bomber in Colombo, Sri Lanka. The murder was most likely carried out by the Liberation Tamil Tigers of Eelam (LTTE), the unbending rebel movement fighting for Tamil independence. The tragedy sent shock waves through the many communities touched by his life—political, academic and human rights.

Tiruchelvam was a beloved and admired figure who had studied at Harvard Law School and was to have been a visiting professor at Harvard last autumn. He founded an internationally known institution in Sri Lanka to study ethnic conflict and served as a member in the Sri Lankan Parliament. His public and relentless work as a Tamil disagreeing with the LTTE demand for sovereign independence and strategy of terrorism, put him at constant risk for his life. So did his support for a constitutional strategy of devolution of power. He had a worldwide reputation for his efforts within UN bodies and elsewhere to find solutions to ethnic conflicts.



GUSTAV FREEDMAN

At a memorial service organized by HRP at Harvard Law School last September, his family joined about seventy-five guests in commemorating his life. Dean Robert Clark, Anthropology Professor Stanley Tambiah, President Clarence Dias of the International Centre for Law in Development, HLS Professor Roberto Unger, HRP Director Henry Steiner and Tiruchelvam's son, Mithran Tiruchelvam, gave short tributes. "The schemes of reform I liked to discuss with him he considered with benevolent skepticism," said Professor Unger, his classmate from HLS. "He understood, intuitively and from the outset, what it has taken me so long to appreciate: that all such plans come to nothing unless we achieve them on the ground of human reconciliation."

A video version of the memorial is available at www.law.harvard.edu/Programs/HRP.

Some 350 people (above) observed a moment of silence for Neelan Tiruchelvam (below) at the opening of HRP's anniversary celebration.



Rights Fellowships annually. Each will carry an award of about \$20,000 to enable the student holder to spend at least ten months as an intern at a human rights nongovernmental organization in a developing country. In a few circumstances, such as commitment to a judicial clerkship for the year after graduation, the program will allow students to defer the work abroad for one year.

The program anticipates intense student interest in these fellowships, given their intrinsic importance and their capacity

to heighten their holders' chances for finding ongoing human rights work.

Joffe's Dedication Inspires Others

Students sometimes look for role models among graduates who have achieved a great deal in the profession, while maintaining their deep commitment to the public interest. Robert Joffe '67, presiding partner at Cravath, Swaine and Moore in New York City, fits the bill.

Joffe manages a career that moves from one demanding task for his clients to another. But he's never been too busy to give time to his *pro bono* litigation and other work on human rights issues. It was natural for him to become interested in HRP and human rights at the Law School. It was equally natural for the program to ask him to participate in its celebration as a panelist on issues of globalization and human rights.

Joffe has also become a valued alumni advisor. "Three



JUSTIN FREEDMAN

Robert Joffe cheers for the Human Rights Program," he says. "It's great news for legal education, for the legal profession and for human rights."

Among his other public-interest commitments are memberships on the board of directors of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, the advisory board of Human Rights Watch/Africa and (as a Clinton appointee) the board of the Romanian American Enterprise Fund.

Steiner-Alston Issue 2nd Edition

First published in 1996 by Oxford University Press, *International Human Rights in Context*, by Henry Steiner and Philip Alston, has become the world's leading coursebook on the universal human rights movement. Widely known and consulted, the book has been used as the assigned text for

classes in universities in a surprising number of countries—dominantly the United States, the United Kingdom and Commonwealth countries, but also on the continent and elsewhere. The second edition of about



1,300 pages will be published this summer. The Human Rights Program will distribute the book without charge to several hundred leading human rights academics, activists and NGOs in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

Committee Boosts Campus Network

The University Committee on Human Rights Studies, established by Harvard's Provost in 1994, is responding to the recent growth in human rights activities at Harvard by promoting cooperation and networking among university faculties and departments, according to its chair, Henry Steiner.

The committee has started work on an agenda that includes such proposals as 1) having a visiting professor appointed and shared by two or more faculties; 2) arranging for visiting fellows to spend time at different faculties during their stay; 3) devising research projects involving fellows and graduate students at different faculties, departments and centers; and 4) creating an interactive community of faculty, graduate students and visiting fellows from all over the university who look at human rights questions from different perspectives.

"Rooting human rights work in individual faculties remains vital," says Steiner. "That's where teaching is based, where communities of interest can best grow and where scholarship can become a tradition. But there's also much that we can do at the university level to expand the courses and other activities that students in any one faculty can draw on, to facilitate interdisciplinary research proposals and to avoid wasteful duplication."

When HRP was formed in 1984, it was the only such cen-

(Continued on page 40)

Behind the Scenes

Reflecting on Life at HRP

By CATRIONA DREW
PHOTOGRAPHS BY
JUSTIN ALLARDYCE KNIGHT

Boarding the plane home in a post-sabbatical haze, 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 Anje Van Berckelaer and Susan Culhane?

Like most visiting fellows at HRP, I first encountered Anje through her patient and polite use of email. Yes, I had missed every possible deadline for submitting forms for the dreaded United States visa application. Yes, she would do everything she could to accelerate the process on my behalf. Yes, she would send me a replacement for my (lost) list of affordable housing in the Cambridge/Boston area. No, really, I wasn't being any trouble.

One flight later than expected, I finally arrived at the end of July 1999 to discover Anje (pronounced

Anya not Angie) 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. And as I unpacked my things in my spacious and, as yet, unpopulated 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 fifteenth-year anniversary celebration to be held that September. The second, discussed in sad tones, was the impending departure of Program Administrator Susan and Program Assistant Anje, both of whom were due to leave HRP in 2000. And in the weeks that followed, as I (always the unhelpful spectator) witnessed the two women's mammoth deployment of logistical support for the September celebration, I began to share in the institutional sense of alarm that life in HRP could not possibly go on without them.

Who else, for example, would be able to cope with the inimitable working habits of Peter? As associate director, Peter heads up the clinical side of HRP, teaches a seminar on human rights advocacy and receives a daily deluge of phone calls and visitors, from student transiting activists returning from the field. How did one

man deal with so much?

If Anje maintained the visible order, it was Susan who was responsible for all that seemed to happen without human intervention. She was famous in the Law School for her deft handling of the world's prickliest personalities. Rooms were arranged, funds shifted, events organized, all in a seemingly effortless way. Unless, of course, you happened to be there after hours to witness all that went on behind the scenes.

As for the "solitary" period of research, I am thankful to say it was more research than solitude. For starters, there were the other visiting fellows, each with a research project to discuss more compelling than my own.

I even got an officemate, a Japanese Fulbright Scholar who was studying the rights of the child together with (or so it seemed to me) the collected works of Harvard Law Professor Martha Minow. Then there was the unexpected presence of Henry who, driven from his own office by building renovations, had sought refuge in the makeshift conditions of HRP's library. And just when the unthinkable happened and I began to miss my students back home, there appeared the (student) editorial team of the *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, enriching our lives with a never-ending supply of tales fresh from the human rights field—and cookies fresh from the stove. My own

research project benefited immeasurably from the contributions of these colleagues—from the rigorous questioning and debate of the fortnightly fellows' lunches to the more daily discourse over a cup of coffee.

As I took my seat on the plane back to Glasgow, sad to be leaving, I realized I had forgotten to set up my auto-response and email forwarding systems. Would Anje or Susan do it for me? I would email them when I got home.

Catriona J. Drew is Lecturer in Public International Law at the School of Law, University of Glasgow, Scotland.



top left): Anje Van Berckelaer and Peter Rosenblum prep for the day's onslaught; visiting fellows, including this story's author, Catriona Drew (second from left), pause for a group grin; Susan Culhane juggles two things at once; *Harvard Human Rights Journal* co-editor Mirna Adjami (left) gets feedback on a brief from clinic director Deborah Anker; fellow Daniela Dohmes-Ockenfels stares down her paperwork; Van Berckelaer offers a helpful ear; and students Sabrineh Ardan and Melanca Clark discuss future internships.

The Speakers' Roster

Major events like the release of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Report or the arrest of General Augusto Pinochet drew large audiences to talks sponsored by HRP last year. HRP also helped to organize a series of talks, exhibits and "happenings" across the university campus for the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Some of the year's speakers were:

Upendra Baxi, former Vice Chancellor, University of Delhi

Reed Brody, Human Rights Watch

Gerald Gillerman '52, Massachusetts Court of Appeals, on his mission to Arusha

Julia Harrington '95, Institute for Human Rights and Development, the Gambia

Leroy Littlebear, Harvard University Native American Program

Theodor Meron, New York University School of Law

Aryeh Neier, President, Open Society Institute

Francois-Xavier Nsamenang, former Chief Prosecutor of Kigali

Dimitrina Petrova, Director of European Roma Rights Center

Paul van Zyl, Executive Secretary, South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Ka Hsaw Wa, Founder and Director, EarthRights International (Burma)

Bostjan M. Zupancic, Justice of the Constitutional Court of Slovenia

(Continued from page 38)

ter or program at Harvard. In 1993, the François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights was established at the School of Public Health, and six years later the Kennedy School created the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy. An impressive number of professors in other faculties now give much of their time and thought to human rights issues. Student involvement throughout the university has greatly increased over the last decade.

The composition of the eleven-member committee illustrates the growth in Harvard's involvement in human rights. The committee draws on the Law School and on ten other faculties and departments, from the Divinity School to the Business School, from the Anthropology Department to the Government Department, from the School of Public Health to the Kennedy School.

Susan Culhane Departs HRP

After five years with the Human Rights Program, Susan Culhane left in February to give birth to her second child and to become a fulltime mother. Susan P. Sessler, who has worked elsewhere at Harvard University, replaces her as program administrator.

In 1995, Culhane was hired as program assistant, but within a year had assumed the role of program administrator. Her life changed dramatically during her years at HRP. She was married in 1996 and had her first child, Jack, in 1998. Her second, Andrew James Culhane, was born on Feb. 9. "Susan was such a vital part of HRP," said Director Henry Steiner. "It

wasn't just that she was so super-competent as administrator. Susan was a great, cheerful, humane companion who made life better for all who worked with her."

Sessler brings to HRP a varied background in printing production management, engineering contract management, edu-

cational market research and software development administration. She worked as computer coordinator for Harvard University Division of Continuing Education in the 1980s. She was employed at the University Library Preservation Center and the Harvard-Yenching Library before joining HRP.

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 several times to Africa for various organizations, including the InterParliamentary 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, Hisssein Habre, and the complex advocacy surrounding the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project—grew out of his travels. Another project on national human rights commissions has evolved as a collaboration with Human Rights Watch, involving many current and former HRP students.

Rosenblum has also lectured on humanitarian law and human rights across the country and abroad during the past year. He taught 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 novel African LL.M. program at the University of Pretoria.



PETER ROSENBLUM

Images from a recent visit to Cameroon include women from the northwest province (above) and Peter Rosenblum (below), who met with leaders of the area to discuss conflict, human rights and traditional authority and left with new a robe.



PETER ROSENBLUM

Funds FOR THE Future

Why does the Human Rights Program need \$10 million in endowment funds? The answer leaps out of every page of this publication. With significant exceptions, particularly teachers' salaries for the human rights curriculum, HRP's funds must cover the school's human rights activities: the costs of HRP staff and the human rights work the program promotes, including fellowships, internships, conferences, publications, research and career advice.

Human rights work at Harvard Law School has grown greatly during the program's life, to the point where the annual budget approaches \$400,000. Regular activities and special projects have expanded, students and visiting fellows have grown in number and staff has increased. Human rights at Harvard is no longer an unproved venture; it is part of the school, entrenched and productive, a valued addition to education and training for careers. The program's achievements have earned it the respect of the international human rights community.

HRP has built a modest endowment that helps toward meeting the budget. A substantial increase in endowment funds is now needed to ensure the program's survival. To achieve that goal, Harvard Law School has launched a drive to raise \$10 million to \$12 million for HRP over the next few years. In hand are a matching pledge of \$1 million and a deferred gift funded at \$2.25 million. These are great starts that we hope will spur others to help HRP meet its goal.

What purposes will the increased endowment serve?

A professorial chair in human rights: In practical terms, a chair commits HLS to keep the program and its initiatives alive through successive professorial appointments. It also has symbolic importance, demonstrating to our students and to the outside community the high regard that one of the world's leading academic institutions attaches to human rights work.

Student summer human rights internships and post-graduate fellowships: Internships cover out-of-pocket costs (or costs not covered by other school programs) that enable about twenty students annually to work during the summer with human rights organizations around the world. Funds are needed to increase the number of internships and to open internships fully to the program's foreign graduate students.

Visiting fellows: Most fellows come from developing countries and are generally without resources to finance their stay of four to eighteen months at HLS. Currently, HRP can offer only modest help. In the past, extraordinary people have been accepted as fellows but have been unable to attend for lack of adequate funds. The program must do better to attract the most promising applicants.

Clinical work and related student research: As interest in clinical experience has increased, so have the opportunities offered by HRP. Students work with a variety of organizations, providing research, sharing ideas and participating in everything from writing briefs to organizing meetings to presenting position papers. Additional funds will improve this kind of hands-on experience.

HRP projects and scholarly contributions: The roundtable discussions, conferences, retreats and their related publications require special funding outside the regular budget. HRP seeks to supplement projects that have foundation support and to fund other projects independently.

Fellowships for graduate students doing human rights work: The success of HRP depends partly on the ability of the school to attract excellent foreign students who will return to their countries to pursue human rights careers. LL.M. and S.J.D. students often require substantial support for tuition and living expenses. These funds will be allocated in cooperation with the school's Graduate Committee and will supplement Harvard financial aid, thus securing for HRP and the school outstanding students who otherwise could not attend.

For information on how to participate in the campaign, please contact the Human Rights Program office at 617-495-9362 or by email at HRP@law.harvard.edu.