Contents

The Human Rights Program - Engaging with the World 1
HRP Around the World 3
Between Failure and Redemption: The Future of the Ethiopian Social Contract 4
A Year in the Life of a Tireless Advocate for Children’s Rights 6
For Madrigal-Borloz, a Chapter Comes to a Close 8
How Should Human Rights Law Deal With Chronological Age Discrimination? 11
Defending Democracy Against Autocrats 13
Mitläufer: Not-So-Innocent Bystanders 15
Judge Yuji Iwasawa Highlights Key Enforcement Mechanisms in International Law 17
HRP Fellowships 19
   Spotlight on Visiting Fellow 20
   Keeping Hope Alive: Rights-Based Lawyering Under the Taliban 22
HRP Events 24
Speaking and Other Engagements 28
Coursework by HRP Members 30
HRP Publications 31
Faculty and Staff 2022-2023 33
Research Assistants 2022-2023 34
Remembering a Human Rights Luminary: Benjamin Ferencz ’43 35
Acknowledgments 36
The Human Rights Program
Engaging with the World

Established by Professor Emeritus Henry J. Steiner ’55 in 1984, the Human Rights Program (HRP) at Harvard Law School (HLS) is on the cusp of a significant milestone. As HLS enters the 2023-2024 academic year, HRP is stepping into its 40th year. This remarkable journey has cemented HRP’s status as one of the earliest and most renowned academic centers of human rights legal scholarship in the world. As we reflect upon this four-decade journey, we find ourselves in a year of particular significance for the international human rights community. December 10, 2023, marks the 75th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document that has guided our work and inspired HRP’s mission since its inception.

Since the beginning, HRP has been at the forefront of expanding the horizons of human rights research, pedagogy, and practice. Over the years, HRP has cultivated an environment that fosters self-reflective thinking and deep engagement with the complex and evolving landscape of human rights. HRP is proud to be part of the larger human rights community at Harvard, collaborating closely with faculty, clinics, fellows, graduate students, and research centers across the University. Moreover, our joint initiatives with the UN, fellow research centers or human rights organizations extend beyond borders.

For the past four decades, the mission of HRP has been to inspire critical engagement with issues of human rights.

HRP’s commitment to critical thinking is reflected in its broad array of activities. We organize conferences and events that facilitate dialogue and collaboration among scholars and practitioners. We publish working papers and books that contribute to the body of human rights scholarship. The summer and post-graduate fellowships help accelerate the careers of students dedicated to advancing human rights around the world. So far, thanks to HRP more than three hundred HLS students have completed human rights internships in dozens of countries. More than 80 graduates have gained in-depth hands-on research and advocacy experience with major organizations like Human Rights Watch or smaller, local...
organizations. Through the Visiting Fellows Program, since 1985 we have provided a platform to over two hundred human rights scholars from 58 countries.

Throughout its history, HRP has been a place where countless leaders in the field of human rights have found their intellectual home. Whether as permanent staff, visiting fellows, or professors, numerous individuals have left an indelible mark on our program and the broader human rights community at Harvard. HRP’s enduring commitment to original thought and reflection, bridging the gap between academia and practice, has been at the core of our activities.

As HRP Director and J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor of International, Foreign and Comparative Law, Gerald L. Neuman, JD ’80, puts it:

“For the past four decades, the mission of the Human Rights Program has been to inspire critical engagement with issues of human rights. This mission extends beyond merely addressing human rights problems; it also involves examining human rights law itself, identifying its shortcomings, and seeking ways to improve it in the face of novel challenges. HRP remains resolute in its ambition to inspire engagement with the global human rights project, both within Harvard and on a broader scale. Our dedication to impartial, innovative, and rigorous research informs and shapes developments in the field and will continue to do so in the future.”

In a world overwhelmed with crises, the importance of spaces and opportunities for thoughtful reflection on how to protect and expand human rights cannot be overstated. Dr. Abadir M. Ibrahim, HRP’s Associate Director, underscores this significance, remarking that “As history unfolds before our eyes, whether in the form of the internet revolution or the advent of artificial intelligence, or in the form of existential threats to democracy, climate change or extreme inequality, it is of utmost importance to create avenues to think about the nature of these events, their implications to human rights, and how to respond to them.”

Entering HRP’s 40th year, we look forward to the next chapter in our history, one that promises to be as dynamic and impactful as the previous four decades. The groundbreaking nature of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its persistence as the guiding document for human rights serve as a reminder of the enduring relevance of our mission, and HRP remains dedicated to its role in fostering critical thinking and inspiring progress towards equal dignity and solidarity in the world.
HRP student fellows, faculty, staff and visiting fellows work on projects that cross a variety of geographic regions. The map below displays the extent of HRP’s global reach in 2022-2023. In addition to the geographically-focused work shown below, HRP is involved in many areas of work that cross borders and have global and comparative implications.
Ethiopia was at war when a group of Ethiopian scholars met in Addis Ababa in May 2022. The conference was held during a lull in fighting that resulted from a ceasefire. However, it was not lost on the group that Ethiopia was facing enormous challenges. To borrow a collage of descriptions from conference participants, the country was in “a state of war”, “a political unsettlement”, “a revolutionary situation”, “an inflection point”, “a transitional moment”, and “a state nearing failure”. The ceasefire would collapse in August and fighting would resume until another ceasefire in November 2022.

But why was Ethiopia at war in the first place? What can it do to transform the current truce into a stable and just future?

Co-edited by HRP Associate Director Abadir M. Ibrahim, the book “Between Failure and Redemption: The Future of the Ethiopian Social Contract” captures an attempt of conference attendees to grapple with these questions. The book contains papers, essays, transcribed speeches, and proceedings of the conference, merging the perspectives of Ethiopian scholars from a wide variety of fields including constitutional law, federalism, history and political science. It addresses the social and political challenges that ought to be addressed in Ethiopia, the strengths and weaknesses of its constitutional structures as pertinent to these challenges, and ways of building a resilient polity. The book came about through a collaboration between HRP, Addis Ababa University’s College of Law and Governance Studies, Northwestern University’s Pritzker School of Law, and the Roberta Buffett Institute for Global Affairs.

“In this time of upheaval and polarization, a modest but by no means uncomplicated hope of the conference was to create a safe space for academic dialogue,” said Ibrahim. “Once we were able to achieve
that, the substantive insights of the conference recorded in this book proved to be more than just informative — they were truly heartening."

Getachew Assefa, associate professor and dean of the Addis Ababa University College of Law and Governance Studies, said in his opening remarks at the conference, "I hope the discussions in this conference and the papers that will be made public from it will contribute to informing policy makers and anyone who wants to benefit from the discussions." 

In the preface to the publication, Thomas F. Geraghty, Class of 1967 James B. Haddad Professor of Law Emeritus at Northwestern Law and Director Emeritus of the Law School’s Bluhm Legal Clinic, writes:

"Ethiopia is not alone in falling short of creating the conditions that support peaceful coexistence in its many diverse communities, this despite the fact that government officials, opposition leaders, concerned citizens, organizations and scholars strive to create an environment conducive to constructive dialogue."

The publication, noted HRP Associate Director Ibrahim, is “meant to bring this dialogue, including the specific insights, conclusions and disagreements within it, into the public sphere hoping that it will infuse nuance into the broader political discourse.”

"As an academic community we want to contribute to the betterment of the life of Ethiopians and the well-being of the Ethiopian society and promote the civilized undertaking of political discourse in the pursuit of stability and peace," Assefa said.
In the summer of 2023, we bade farewell to HRP’s Eleanor Roosevelt Visiting Fellow Benyam Dawit Mezmur, who returned to his regular position as Professor of Law and Deputy Dean at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, South Africa.

In his 16 months at Harvard Law School, Mezmur left a deep and lasting impact on the human rights community at HLS and Harvard. From guest lectures at the Harvard Law School Project on Disability and the Harvard Kennedy School, to panel discussions and lectures at the Chan School of Public Health, he was a highly sought-after expert on children’s rights. While at Harvard, he lectured on topics as varied as the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on children in Africa, migration, digital media, climate change and children’s rights, discrimination based on chronological age, and the protection of children of ISIS fighters in Syria.

In his contributions, Mezmur drew from his decades of experience as a leading academic on children’s rights and longtime member of the UN Child Rights Committee, the Pontifical Commission for the Protection of Minors, and former member of the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. “Benyam was an extraordinary enrichment for HRP and Harvard Law School. Faculty and students alike benefited tremendously from his incisiveness, unyielding inquisitiveness and deep generosity,” said HRP Director Gerald L. Neuman.

During his time at HRP, Mezmur pursued multiple academic projects - the main one being the completion of a volume about the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, the only existing comprehensive regional legal framework for children’s rights. As a former member of the Committee monitoring the implementation of the Charter, Mezmur is among the foremost experts on the subject. Coinciding with the Charter’s 30-year anniversary, the book project looks back at its achievements and engages with emerging child rights issues critical to Africa.
HRP Associate Director Abadir M. Ibrahim said, “Benyam embodies qualities one would hope for in a human rights colleague. He is principled, compassionate, brilliant, and objective in his analyses. He also manages to carry himself with admirable lightheartedness that weaves humorous, yet sharp, metaphors and allegories into thoughtful engagement.”

Mezmur described his stay at HRP and Harvard as “the best time of my academic career” and mentioned that he “looks forward to continuing his engagement in the future.”
Pushing for equal rights and dignified living conditions of LGBT persons is a fraught and contentious undertaking almost everywhere in the world. Since 2018, HRP Eleanor Roosevelt Senior Visiting Researcher Victor Madrigal-Borloz has been a key figure in this pursuit of equality on the global stage as the United Nations Independent Expert on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (IE SOGI). After six groundbreaking and intensive years at the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, this November Madrigal-Borloz will step down from his position as the Independent Expert to focus more on teaching and conducting research at HRP and Harvard Law School.

During his time as the IE SOGI, Madrigal-Borloz has gained recognition for his characteristic combination of graceful and skilled diplomacy with a relentless drive for truth and justice. His tireless efforts have helped to establish the IE SOGI mandate as an important part of human rights policy at the UN. In July 2022, the UN Human Rights Council approved the renewal of the IE SOGI mandate by three years in a heavily contested vote.

2022-2023 was yet another productive year for Madrigal-Borloz. He collaborated with the HLS International Human Rights Clinic in the production of a study on the impacts of climate change on LGBTIQ+ communities in small island states. The IE SOGI worked with an HLS student organization, Advocates for Human Rights, in the preparation of a background note regarding the rights of transgender and gender diverse people in sports. Finally, Madrigal-Borloz led two major collaborative projects between HRP and the IE SOGI mandate, one concerning the relationship between SOGI and peace and security, and the other on the relationship between SOGI and freedom of religion and belief (FoRB).
Last fall, he spoke at HLS to pre-launch his report about peace and security to the UN General Assembly. Compiled with the support of HLS student research assistants hired through HRP, the report found that LGBT persons are subjected to different forms of violence during armed conflict that range from systematic threats to the imposition of gendered norms of conduct aimed at regulating “normal individuals” in conflict-affected areas.

The IE SOGI’s efforts to disseminate the report’s findings culminated in his historic briefing of the UN Security Council in New York City. For the first time ever, violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity was taken up by world’s highest security organ as an issue affecting global peace.

“When we were drafting the peace and security report, we had the remote hope that someday there would be this kind of political backing for the insertion of the problems of LGBT persons in the UN peace and security architecture. But I never thought that it would come to pass during my time as Independent Expert,” explained Madrigal-Borloz.

Madrigal-Borloz tackled the report on SOGI and FoRB with similar rigor. In March 2023, HRP and the IE SOGI team convened more than a dozen leading scholars and activists of various geographical, religious,
and professional backgrounds for a two-day expert consultation in Lewis Hall at Harvard Law.

With the moderation of Madrigal-Borloz, the experts jointly unpacked the nexus of human rights, SOGI and FoRB around topics such as religious autonomy, proportionality in the balancing of rights, and “conscientious objection”. The discussions were spirited, inspiring, and fruitful. The HLS research assistants took notes during the consultation and integrated expert remarks into the Independent Expert’s draft report on SOGI and FoRB. Madrigal-Borloz himself presented the final product of the expert consultation and monthslong research at the 53rd session of the UN Human Rights Council in June 2023.

In his final report as the Independent Expert, Madrigal-Borloz will shine light on a particularly charged issue: the relationship between colonialism and SOGI. One does not have to look far to realize the consequences of this relationship linger on. S.J.D. student Rose Karoro is the main student in charge of supporting Madrigal-Borloz with the report on colonialism. Her home country Uganda was recently condemned by many states because its parliament passed a law making homosexual acts punishable by death under certain circumstances. Yet, it was British colonizers who had first planted the seeds of Uganda’s modern-day homophobia by introducing laws prohibiting same-sex acts.

When we look at the frightening homo- and transphobia taking hold in many places, one can easily lose hope. But we should not forget how far we have come and how many people have joined us in standing up for queer people’s equal dignity and humanity.

It is undeniable that queer individuals around the world continue to face dehumanization on a daily basis. But that’s only part of the story.

“When we look at the frightening homo- and transphobia taking hold in many places, one can easily lose hope,” said Madrigal-Borloz. “But we should not forget how far we have come and how many people have joined us in standing up for queer people’s equal dignity and humanity. It all depends on whether we decide to take the initiative and try to change people’s hearts and minds.”
Most legal systems use chronological age as a factor in setting milestones that define legal capacity or regulate governmental, medical, educational, employment, sports or other social practices. Legal systems, both domestic and international, also prohibit some forms of age-based distinctions that fall under the rubric of “age discrimination.” Some legal norms prohibiting discrimination expressly include age as designating a protected category, while others are interpreted as including forms of age-based discrimination within a general prohibition of discrimination. International human rights norms also deal with the nature of the international oversight of the application of nondiscrimination rules by national authorities.

Discussions at HRP’s November 2022 workshop included examination of questions related to chronological age in general and with regard to specific age ranges, including older persons and children.

Some of the questions discussed related to discrimination against older persons in various contexts ranging from elder abuse, to workplace and job discrimination, and discrimination in access to banking, healthcare, housing and social services. During the Covid pandemic, for example, severe disruptions and shortages in healthcare supply-chains led many countries and healthcare institutions to adopt a “life-years saved” policy which resulted in the exclusion of older persons from emergency care and ventilator therapy. Later in the pandemic, a cutoff age, usually favoring those above the age of 65, was adopted for the allocation of scarce vaccines and antibody treatments.

Participants discussed the strengths and weaknesses of minimum and maximum age cutoffs and the utility of replacing or supplementing criteria based on chronological age with different sociological criteria including vulnerability and a context-sensitive amalgam of variables such as physical limitations, mobility, economic circumstances, severity of illness, possibilities of recovery, and family situation.
The many thought-provoking topics discussed included that of younger people in democratic governance. Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the right to vote as a universal and equal right. This simple notion was, however, not taken for granted when states first started experimenting with democracy in the late 1700s. For example, many at the time believed that women had less developed brains which made them too emotional or irrational to be entrusted with the vote.

Today, although universal adult suffrage is considered to be uncontroversial, the one-third of the global population that is under the age of 18 is often denied the vote, in part because it is believed that they do not yet have sufficient intellectual capacity. But we could, once again, be wrong about our assumptions. Many 17-year-olds may be more mature than many 19- or 21-year-olds. Should the voting age be decreased, to 16 or to a lower age? Would it be appropriate to adopt an individualized competence test rather than a rule that draws a line at 18 for the purpose of defining eligibility for voting, or for other forms of legal capacity and independently managing one’s financial affairs?

Among the participants were 28 leading global experts from the human rights world, including former Justice of the Canadian Supreme Court Rosalie Abella, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador Luis Gallegos, and Member of the UN Human Rights Committee Laurence Helfer. The conversation proceeded in different segments touching on topics like the purposes of prohibiting direct and indirect discrimination, or the specific nature of chronological age discrimination, followed by a closing discussion of next steps to be taken.

The workshop was the fourth in an HRP series about discrimination in different contexts. The three past workshops respectively handled the topics of discrimination on the basis of religion (April 2020); on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity (October 2020); and impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on discrimination (February 2021). The Harvard Human Rights Journal collaborated with HRP in the workshop organization. In addition to publishing 10 articles on its online journal, it is set to publish its 36th Volume which will be dedicated to the topic of discrimination on the basis of chronological age. The proceedings and working papers were published in April 2023 and are available for download on the HRP website.
Over the past decade, the widespread acceptance of ideas and strategies that challenge the foundations of American and Western European politics has caused deep concern about democracy’s ability to withstand the global rise of autocracy. However, according to Kenneth Roth, the former Executive Director of Human Rights Watch (HRW) and Senior Fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School Carr Center, this may not be entirely true. He argued that while autocratic leaders in countries like Russia, China, and Iran still wield power, many of them are now feeling threatened. Roth was speaking in front of a packed room at a February 2023 discussion moderated by HRP Director Gerald L. Neuman in Harvard Law School’s Wasserstein Hall.

Roth explained that the autocrats’ once absolute authority over their citizens and perceived invincibility on the world stage had eroded in the past few years. Moreover, he emphasized that autocrats tend to isolate themselves as they consolidate power, leading to poor decisions that weaken their positions. Fearing loss of control, they resort to brutal and reckless actions to suppress any potential opposition. Roth provided notable examples of this vulnerability. For instance, Russian President Vladimir Putin disastrously underestimated Ukraine’s fighting capabilities, resulting in an invasion that has cost thousands of Russian lives and exposed their military’s unpreparedness. Similarly, President Xi Jinping of China crushed a political uprising in Hong Kong, threatened Taiwan, and panicked in the face of protests against his COVID restrictions, leading to poorly planned policy changes with severe consequences for China’s people.

Professor Neuman asked Roth about how the human rights system could weigh in on local contests between democracy and authoritarianism. In response, Roth underlined how HRW had not only spotlighted authoritarian streaks in Poland and Hungary, both member states of the European Union, but had also tried to push for rule of law conditionality tied to EU subsidies for the two states – a measure recently confirmed by the European Court of Justice.

While some autocracies may be faltering, Roth cautioned against assuming that democracy is without
its own weaknesses. Acknowledging the issue, he believed that addressing these weaknesses is crucial for democracy to succeed in the long run. Certain vulnerable communities worldwide are particularly susceptible to populist appeals due to factors such as rural backgrounds, lower education levels, and cultural voting patterns. These groups often feel ignored and disrespected, making them easy targets for those who exploit their discontent with anti-rights messages. Roth underlined the urgency of addressing their needs and concerns as part of revitalizing democracy and countering populist attacks from within.

Roth (right) speaking at the February panel discussion while seated next to Neuman (left).
In the context of Nazi Germany, Géraldine Schwarz’s grandparents, like many, did not actively support the genocidal war machine, but they did not oppose it either. They were Mitläufer—those who went along with the status quo. This inadvertent support, Schwarz explained in an HRP book talk event in February 2023, contributed to the Holocaust.

Addressing an audience at Harvard Law School in an event organized by HRP and moderated by HRP Associate Director Abadir M. Ibrahim, Schwarz, a Berlin-based journalist, shared her motivation for writing “Those Who Forget: My Family’s Story in Nazi Europe” – a book which, according to the Washington Post, “deserves to be read and discussed widely”. Schwarz aimed to enrich Germany’s culture of remembrance, emphasizing the duty to confront the Holocaust’s horrors and societal responsibility.

Co-panelist Cass R. Sunstein, Robert Walmsley University Professor at Harvard, described the book as “a transcendent achievement” because of its ability to inspire and move the reader while being an accurate and powerful account of history. Sunstein presented the book as a response to France’s wartime leader and post-war president Charles De Gaulle’s allusion to hope as the basis upon which Europe was to be rebuilt. According to Sunstein, Schwarz’ answer to De Gaulle is that people need both “truth and hope”.

Schwarz stressed that Europe often categorizes World War II society into three groups: perpetrators, heroes, or victims, overlooking the Mitläufer, who played a significant role in the Third Reich’s consolidation.

Highlighting the importance of remembering those who passively support government crimes, Schwarz hopes her family’s story will illustrate how any citizen can become complicit in acts of terror.
Her research revealed that her grandfather, a Nazi Party member in 1938, exploited anti-Semitic policies to acquire a Jewish-owned business at a low price, later refusing to make reparations. This denial of responsibility was widespread in post-war Germany.

German citizens benefitted from Nazi policies by taking over jobs and businesses previously held by Jews and participating in auctions of Holocaust victims’ belongings, a disturbing finding during Schwarz's research.

Schwarz decided to write her book in 2017 when far-right parties like AfD gained power, fearing that Europe was forgetting the lessons of WWII.

To prevent history from repeating itself, Schwarz emphasized the need to remember and acknowledge past complicity and atrocities, arguing that conforming to political convenience or indifference poses a significant threat to democracy and peace.
Judge Yuji Iwasawa
Keynote Lecture at the Harvard International Law Journal Symposium

Judge Yuji Iwasawa LL.M. ’78, of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), was invited by HRP to deliver the Edward A. Smith Lecture as the keynote speech at the 2023 Harvard International Law Journal Annual Symposium. In addition to having served as a member and Chairperson of the UN Human Rights Committee, the treaty body that monitors the implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Judge Iwasawa is the Vice-Chair of the International Law Association, the President of the Japanese Society of International Law, and a member of the Institut de Droit International. He held the chair of international law at the Faculty of Law in the University of Tokyo prior to his election to the ICJ and is a leading scholar and author in the field of international law.

Judge Iwasawa launched his lecture, “Reassessing Enforcement: Strengthening Compliance with International Law,” by posing the classic question of whether international law is law at all given its perceived lack of “sanctions”—measures that can be imposed on international actors, usually states, that breach its rules. After outlining possible responses, he posited that international law does encompass legal sanctions and means of enforcement. The fact that these sanctions are not identical to those applied in domestic law should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that international law is not law—it is simply a different type of law.

The judge went on to outline seven means of enforcing international law, including domestic implementation and application; enforcement actions of the UN Security Council; self-help; law of state responsibility; international dispute settlement; international supervision; and enforcement of international criminal law. He underscored the importance of enhancing the available enforcement mechanisms of international law and called for their improved utilization to encourage states
to act in accordance with their international obligations. While the lecture proceeded to elucidate important features of these mechanisms and processes, it frequently returned to the overarching question as to the role and nature of sanctions in international law.

Some of the outlined mechanisms, such as international tribunals or dispute settlement mechanisms, find easy parallels in both international and domestic law. International and domestic mechanisms can also overlap to the extent that state agencies and domestic judiciaries can apply international law. Such application can be direct, as in the case of self-executing treaties, or indirect, where enforcement legislation is required to incorporate international legal norms and standards into domestic law.

Mechanisms and institutions such as a standing body of law enforcement agencies and officials, which are taken for granted by domestic legal systems, do not have exact counterparts in international law. Mechanisms such as self-help, peace-keeping operations, the use of military force, or the imposition of sanctions, emanate from unique aspects of international relations.

Judge Iwasawa advised against a linear understanding of the settlement of international disputes, which would require states to go through negotiations, good offices and mediation, inquiry, conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement, in a specific order. Instead, he advocated for a “multiple-track model” in which the most appropriate mechanisms are utilized in a context-sensitive manner.

He stressed that the ICJ serves as a crucial component of this multiple-track system. Yet, he also noted that non-judicial means of dispute settlement play a valuable role and should be developed, improved, and utilized. After all, who would be more credible than a judge at the World Court to advise that international adjudication is “not necessarily the best way of settling an international dispute”?

Judge Iwasawa’s Smith Lecture will be published in early 2024 by the Harvard International Law Journal.
HRP Fellowships

HRP offers an array of fellowships for students interested in human rights work. Senior scholars and practitioners are invited to HRP as visiting fellows during the academic year and engage in research.

**Summer 2023 Fellowships**

Chinaza Asiegbu JD’25 interned with a West African organization, supporting their development of transitional justice mechanisms.

Sabrina Ochoa JD’24 interned with the Center for Justice and International Law in Washington, D.C., supporting their advocacy within the Inter-American Human Rights System.

Krister Rasmussen JD’25 interned with the U.N. Special Rapporteur for Extreme Poverty and Human Rights in Belgium, working to prepare the office’s 2023-24 reports to the U.N. General Assembly.

**Winter 2023 Fellowships**

Jessica Graham JD’23 conducted research on current mining practices and regulations, with a focus on the role of “conflict minerals”.

Alex Trivella JD’23 conducted research on the role that communal governance structures currently play in Venezuela, in order to help predict how these structures are likely to evolve in the near future.

Ennely Medina JD’23 worked in the Hague, Netherlands, with Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA), an international organization of lawyers and legislators dedicated to advancing human rights and the rule of law.

**Post-Graduate Fellowships**

Henigson Fellow 2022-2023

Seher Aftab LL. M. ’22 worked with the International Legal Foundation to provide quality legal aid to vulnerable populations in Afghanistan.

2023 summer fellows from left to right: Chinaza Asiegbu, Sabrina Ochoa, Krister Rasmussen.
At only 34 years, María Cecilia Ercole, the 2022 Wasserstein Fellow in Residence at HRP and the HLS Office of Public Interest Advising (OPIA), has already established herself as a seasoned human rights practitioner with over eight years of experience at the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) under her belt. With postings in Geneva, Beirut and La Paz, Ercole’s time at OHCHR has led her to a wide range of human rights work – from monitoring and reporting of presidential elections in Bolivia, to advocacy for victims of torture and modern slavery, to investigations of human rights violations in Yemen and Sri Lanka. Her outlook on human rights was formed by the history of her home country, Argentina, where civilian opposition against the military dictatorship morphed in time to include a push for economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights.

From a young age, and before becoming a lawyer, Ercole was actively involved in community and volunteer work in Argentina. Later, she tutored inmates who were studying law at the Devoto Prison in Buenos Aires and helped in a center for addicted adolescents fighting “paco”, a by-product of cocaine. Following law school, Ercole initially worked in the private sector in Buenos Aires on investment and commercial arbitration cases. But she quickly realized her passions lay elsewhere and left her position in order to work in human rights.

On leaving the private sector, Ercole said, “I felt relief that day while leaving the law firm building. But I was also feeling insecure. Not only was I a fresh graduate at the time, but my father’s conviction was that pursuing a human rights career was snobbish and unrealistic. I would often catch myself questioning this early career turn, swapping a lucrative career in arbitration for a human rights one.”

Her next career stop marked a major shift away from arbitration law. Ercole briefly worked with the Center for Justice and International Law in Washington, D.C., representing victims before the Inter-American Human Rights System. Following this, she accepted a coordinator position at a grassroot NGO providing legal aid to victims of domestic violence and asylum seekers living in slums on the outskirts of Buenos Aires. “The NGO office was in the small attic of an insurance company”, Ercole noted. “Despite
that, we were making a difference through the legal profession. And, as a young lawyer, I also had my first experience managing a small team of lawyers and volunteers."

From Buenos Aires, Ercole moved to Geneva, the heart of the international human rights system. Throughout the many countries she has worked in, a particular commitment has stayed with her: defending and expanding the rights of women, children, migrants and LGBTIQ+ individuals. On this, a notable victory stands out. As OHCHR gender focal point in La Paz, Ercole’s unrelenting advocacy vis-à-vis the government authorities and OHCHR’s strong alliance with a vibrant national civil society contributed greatly to the state’s recognition of the country’s first civil union of a same-sex couple in December 2020, thereby setting a precedent for the advancement of LGBTIQ+ rights in Bolivia.

As the HRP-OPIA Wasserstein Fellow, Ercole juggled different tasks. At HRP, she aimed to bring answers to challenges Ercole encountered when investigating violations during armed conflict and beyond. A product of this scholarly interest was an article commenting on the IE SOGI report about the rights of LGBTQ+ persons in armed conflict published on the blog of the European Journal of International Law. As an adviser at OPIA, Ercole assisted HLS students interested in human rights careers in navigating the intricacies of the international legal arena. “Empowerment should always be the starting point with young people”, said Ercole. “All in all, advising has been my chance to give back.”
Keeping Hope Alive: Rights-Based Lawyering Under the Taliban

It has now been two years since the chaotic withdrawal of the U.S. and its allies from Afghanistan and the subsequent Taliban takeover. Ruling with an iron grip, the all-male theocratic regime was quick to impose restrictive laws and policies that struck devastating blows to women, girls, and other marginalized communities. Subjected to a system of formalized discrimination and segregation, women have found themselves banned from most public spaces and deprived of basic rights such as employment and education.

The systemic discrimination against women also extends to the judicial system. In addition to seeing their legal capacity limited by the Taliban, women were prohibited from having access to male lawyers, thereby erecting steep barriers to their access to legal representation. Female lawyers, already in short supply, were also subjected to a broad range of restrictions, including on their ability to collaborate with male counterparts.

Faced with this extremely dire situation and the widespread repression of rights defenders, many lawyers have been forced to flee and exit from human rights work in Afghanistan. External actors have also ceased their human rights operations in Afghanistan. 2022-2023 Henigson Fellow Seher Aftab LL.M. ’22 is one of those who were resolved to swim against the tide as she began her work in legal advocacy for women and girls within the justice system in Afghanistan.

From the start, Aftab’s Henigson Fellowship project was premised on finding opportunities to implement a rights-based approach even within the Taliban’s version of ultra-conservative fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) and positive law. She continuously conducted baseline studies of substantive rules and procedures, of judicial biases, case outcomes and trends, and any other relevant developments, all in pursuit of space for the promotion of human rights.

Based in Pakistan, Aftab gathered up-to-date information about the often-changing legal landscape confronting their clients through virtual conversations on a routine basis with lawyers on the ground. Thanks to her comprehensive expertise gained at law school, she was able to furnish her colleagues in Afghanistan
with human rights-based interpretations of Islamic law to strengthen clients’ cases. Aftab further supported
the establishment of a gender justice unit composed of female lawyers providing specialized legal aid services
to women and girls in judicial proceedings. With Aftab’s guidance and support, her Afghan colleagues have
managed to successfully argue for due process rights within Sharia, including the right to be treated with
equality and dignity, filed pretrial motions for the release of clients and argued along the lines of presumption
of innocence - practices that had halted under the Taliban regime.

In Herat, women and girls are most commonly charged with moral crimes, the most frequent of which is the
hudd offense of adultery, and the punishment for which is the inhumane act of stoning to death. To prevent
adultery convictions, Aftab’s colleagues, with her guidance, have been invoking the burden of proof arguments
that make it extremely difficult to prove hudd offenses, thus mitigating their sentences to imprisonment
under a lesser tazir offense.

“Human rights work is not about bringing change overnight, but about continuing to strive for betterment of those who need it the most.”

Aftab’s evidence-based work also demonstrates that every situation presents itself with its own ambiguities
and surprises. For example, contrary to widespread reporting that the Taliban revoked divorces dating back
two decades, current case outcomes indicate that judges have become more lenient and grant comparatively
more divorces and on more grounds.

In Herat province, despite an initial spike, public trials and floggings for moral crimes, phenomena that
disproportionately affect women and girls, have been discontinued since the beginning of 2023.

In the process of reclaiming lost terrain in the field of gender equality in Afghanistan, the work of Aftab and
her colleagues has changed the lives of concrete individuals. By representing clients in the lowest courts
where most of the injustice happens, they have been able to impact the lives of many. Women and girls who
might have otherwise been condemned as irredeemable outcasts, to permanent destitution, or to slow death
by stoning, have regained their dignity thanks to the tireless efforts by Aftab and others.

While there is no doubt that the rights of women and other vulnerable groups have drastically worsened
following the Taliban takeover, Aftab notes that “human rights work is not about bringing change overnight,
but about continuing to strive for betterment of those who need it the most.” Aftab and her team’s fleeting
successes must be seized upon as levers for more far-reaching change. Aftab’s work and her ongoing research
have identified many such levers that can be pulled to cement incremental victories for women’s rights.
HRP Events

HRP organized and co-sponsored a number of events in 2022-2023. Our partners have included Harvard research programs and student organizations, the United Nations Human Rights Special Procedures and research programs at other leading universities. Below is a selection of HRP events from the year.

The event “Human Rights and Humanitarian Law: Just the Basics” was an introductory event on international human rights and humanitarian law. The discussion was led by Professor Neuman and Dustin Lewis, Research Director of the Program on International Law and Armed Conflict.

Maria Stavropoulou LL.M. ’93, Deputy Representative of UNHCR Syria, was the guest speaker at a student-focused coffee chat about careers in refugee protection, the humanitarian situation in Syria and the effectiveness of remote UN missions.

The book launch event for the volume “Human Rights in a Changing World Order: Contemporary Challenges to the International Rights Regime” covered emerging world challenges and discussed policy recommendations on how best to respond to them in order to shore up the global rights regime. The panelists were Alexander Cooley, Solomon Ayele Dersso, Aslı Ü. Bâlî, and Gerald L. Neuman.

In fall of 2022, UN IE SOGI and HRP Senior Visiting Researcher Victor Madrigal-Borloz headed a pre-launch event of his report on armed conflict and SOGI to the UN General Assembly at Harvard Law School.
In the discussion “Condemned to Serve for Life? A Snapshot of Political Trends in Africa”, the panelists Semir Yusuf, Lana Salman, and Ibrahima Kane addressed recent coups and broader authoritarian trends in Africa while taking a deep dive into some of the structural factors and local dynamics behind political developments in Ethiopia, West Africa, and Tunisia.

Havva Guney-Ruebenacker, Omar Abdel-Ghaffar and Abadir M. Ibrahim analyzed the varied historical and contemporary positions of Islamic law on slavery and how these positions interact with and influence broader Islamic conceptions on freedom in the event “Rethinking Slavery and Freedom in Islamic Law”.

In November 2022, HRP convened leading international academics and practitioners for a full-day workshop exploring in a comparative and cross-disciplinary manner the phenomenon of discrimination on the basis of chronological age, including discrimination against the young and against the old and against any ages in-between, and including both direct and indirect discrimination.

Joined by discussants Alicia Ely Yamin and Fatema Z. Sumar, Dorothy Estrada-Tanck and Melissa Upreti, respectively Chair and Member of the UN Working Group on Discrimination against Women and Girls, spoke at HLS to preview the focus “Women and Girls in Poverty and Inequality” of the report the Working Group presented to the UN Human Rights Council and the UN General Assembly.
HRP Events

With the moderation of Gerald Neuman, panelists Benyam Dawit Mezmur, Jo Becker, and Allan Rock discussed the question "Are we keeping the promise we made to children affected by armed conflict?" on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Former Human Rights Watch Executive Director Kenneth Roth spoke about democracy's ability to withstand the global rise of autocracy at a February 2023 discussion moderated by HRP Director Gerald L. Neuman in the HLS Wasserstein Hall.

In March 2023, acclaimed author Géraldine Schwarz presented her memoir "Those Who Forget: My Family’s Story in Nazi Europe" in conversation with HLS Professor Cass Sunstein and HRP Associate Director Abadir M. Ibrahim.

In March 2023, HRP and the UN IE SOGI mandate convened more than a dozen leading scholars and activists of various geographical, religious, and professional backgrounds for a two-day expert consultation about the nexus of human rights, sexual orientation and gender identity, and freedom of religion and belief at HLS.
**HRP Events**

HLS alum Andrew Leon Hanna presented his debut book "25 Million Sparks: The Untold Story of Refugee Entrepreneurs" about the story of three Syrian women entrepreneurs in the Za’atari refugee camp in Jordan, and the broader global refugee entrepreneurship phenomenon they represent.

In the event "Impossible Choices", MetaLAB Affiliate and TED Fellow Anjan Sundaram was in conversation with BBC editor and Nieman Fellow Ashish Dikshit about the tension between human rights journalism and personal obligations, and the toll such work can take on one’s life. The conversation centered on Sundaram’s book, "Breakup: A Marriage in Wartime".

HRP and the Harvard International Law Journal welcomed Yuji Iwasawa, Judge at the International Court of Justice, to give the keynote Smith Lecture at the HILJ symposium “Reassessing Enforcement: Strengthening Compliance with International Law” in March 2023.

In March 2023, Dr. Fatima Essop, South African attorney and Visiting Fellow at the Program on Law and Society in the Muslim World, led a discussion on how South African citizens have navigated their religious and cultural rights within South Africa’s constitutional democracy.
Speaking and Other Engagements

María Cecilia Ercole

Presentation “Navigating YOUR international career in human rights (no Google Maps available)”
Harvard Law School, October 12, 2022

Interview “La protección de niños, niñas y adolescentes en los conflictos armados: el caso de Yemen” (Engl.: The protection of children and adolescents in armed conflicts: the case of Yemen)
with CESIUB - Universidad de Belgrano, November 29, 2022

Abadir M. Ibrahim

Guest lecture for course “Regional Systems of Human Rights Protection”
St. Thomas University School of Law, February 12-18, 2023

Interview “Is Ethiopia ready for transitional justice?”
on Deutsche Welle Amharic, March 17, 2023

Interview in article “Ethiopia’s new struggle over war crimes accountability”
on The New Humanitarian, March 29, 2023

Interview “Unpacking practical hurdles, concerns over Ethiopia’s transitional justice draft policy document”
on Addis Standard, June 7, 2023

Benyam Dawit Mezmur

Keynote address “Net Zero…Blah Blah Blah!: Assessing the concept through children’s rights”
at The Kempe Center, Anschutz Medical Campus, University of Colorado conference 2022 International Virtual Conference: A call to action to change child welfare, October 6, 2022

Interview in article “Children’s rights are human rights”
on HLS Today, October 22, 2022

Draft paper presentation “Children’s rights and health in conflict settings”
at a panel at the African Health Conference presented by the Harvard Chan Africa Health Students Forum, February 19, 2023

Draft paper presentation “Righting the wrongs? The children of ISIS fighters in camps in Syria”
at the Thursday Brown Bag Seminar Series, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, March 2, 2023
Expert Panel Member on “Human Rights Compliance Mechanisms: Assessment from Practice”
at Harvard International Law Journal 2023 Symposium Reassessing Enforcement: Strengthening Compliance with International Law on March 24, 2023

Gerald L. Neuman

Crash course in International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law
led by Professor Neuman and Dustin Lewis, Research Director of the Program on International Law and Armed Conflict; sponsored by HLS Advocates for Human Rights, September 19, 2023

Book talk “Constitutionalism and a Right to Effective Government?”
at Harvard Law School Library Book Talk with Professors Vicki Jackson and Yasmin Dawood about the edited volume The “Right to Effective Governance” and the Human Rights Baseline (Cambridge University Press, 2022) on November 8, 2023

Conversation with Jessica Stern, U.S. Special Envoy to Advance the Human Rights of LGBTQ+ Persons
with Professor Neuman as moderator, hosted by Lambda at Harvard Law School on February 23, 2023

Opening Remarks
at Harvard International Law Journal 2023 Symposium Reassessing Enforcement: Strengthening Compliance with International Law on March 24, 2023

Comment on “A Human Right to a Human Decision”
presentation at the Oxford Workshop on a Right to a Human Decision, Oxford Institute on Ethics in AI, responding to a paper by Professor John Tasioulas, on June 19, 2023
Coursework by HRP Members

Professor Neuman teaches introductory and advanced classes on human rights and human rights treaty bodies at HLS, while HRP Senior Visiting Researcher Madrigal-Borloz teaches a course on regional human rights law. Eleanor Roosevelt Fellow Mezmur is regularly invited to give guest lectures in classes at various professional schools at Harvard.

HRP Courses and Reading Groups, 2022-2023

- **Citizenship**  
  (Gerald Neuman, Fall 2022 Reading Group)

- **Human Rights and International Law**  
  (Gerald Neuman, Fall 2022 Course)

- **The Rights of the Child and Climate Change**  
  (Benyam Dawit Mezmur, lecture in course Human Rights and International Law, Fall 2022)

- **Regional Human Rights Law: The Inter-American Perspective**  
  (Victor Madrigal-Borloz, Spring 2023 Reading Group)

- **Human Rights in the UN Treaty Bodies**  
  (Gerald Neuman, Spring 2023 Seminar)

- **Immigration Law**  
  (Gerald Neuman, Spring 2023 Course)

- **Children's Rights in the context of Digital Media**  
  (Benyam Dawit Mezmur, lecture in seminar Human Rights in the UN Treaty Bodies, Spring 2023)

- **Disability Law and Policy**  
  (Benyam Dawit Mezmur, lecture at the Harvard Kennedy School, Spring 2023)
HRP Publications

Books

Journal Articles & Book Chapters


Benyam Dawit Mezmur, “From the margins to the mainstream? Bridging the scholarship gap on statelessness in Africa” (with C Fawole) (Editorial), African Human Mobility Review 8(3) (2022).


Harvard Human Rights Journal Special Issue Co-Sponsored by HRP
The forthcoming Volume 36 of the Harvard Human Rights Journal and a number of its online journal publications focusing on age discrimination were developed with HRP support. These publications are connected to or came out of HRP’s November 2022 Workshop on Discrimination on the Basis of Chronological Age and include the following articles:

• “Instituting Children’s Full Political Participation and Representation in the 21st Century United States” (by Warren Binford)
• “Discrimination and Children’s Right to Freedom of Association and Assembly” (by Nico Brando & Laura Lundy)
• “Voter Eligibility and Age Discrimination: The View from Aotearoa, New Zealand” (by Claire Breen)
• “Is Age Exceptional? Challenging Existing Rationales and Exploring Realities” (by Elaine Dewhurst)
• “Student Discounts and other preferential treatment on grounds of age: untangling scope, legitimate objectives, and proportionate responses” (by Elaine Dewhurst)
• “The International Framework of Children’s Rights Fosters Discrimination against Young People” (by Brian Gran)
• “Should the standards used to evaluate the claims of discrimination based on age vary depending on the field(s) of activity to which the norm applies? When to use age and when to use capacity based approaches” (by Jonathan Herring)
• “Based Solely on their Date of Birth? Rethinking Age Discrimination against Children under the Convention on the Rights of the Child” (by Benyam Dawit Mezmur)
• “Interrogating “Discrimination” on the Basis of
Chronological Age” (by Gerald L. Neuman)
• “When is Age Discrimination a Human Rights Violation?” (by Gerald L. Neuman & Abadir M. Ibrahim)
• “Minimum Age Cutoffs and the Fair Allocation of Benefits” (by Govind Persad)
• “Confronting Categorical Exclusions based on Age: The Rights of Children and Youth” (by Jonathan Todres)
• “Age Discrimination and the Personhood of Children and Youth” (by Jonathan Todres)
• “Adultism and Voting Age Discrimination” (by John Wall)
• “Children’s Rights and Voting Age Discrimination” (by John Wall)
• “Age discrimination exceptionalism?” (by Wouter Vandenhole)

Workshop Proceedings & Working Papers
• “I’ve a Feeling We’re Not in Addis Anymore: Age Discrimination in Age-Set and Generation-Set Societies” (by Abadir M. Ibrahim)
• “More questions than answers? Some thoughts on age-based discrimination among and against children” (by Benyam Dawit Mezmur)
• “Interrogating “Discrimination” on the Basis of Chronological Age” (by Gerald L. Neuman)

Opinion Pieces


Faculty and Staff 2022-2023

Gerald L. Neuman
Director, Human Rights Program, and J. Sinclair Armstrong
Professor of International, Foreign, and Comparative Law


Abadir M. Ibrahim, J.S.D.
Associate Director, Human Rights Program

Ibrahim plays a substantive and managerial role in innovating and implementing academic activities, including the speaker series, conferences, and HRP’s various fellowships. He is the co-editor of Righting Human Rights through Legal Reform: Ethiopia’s Contemporary Experience (Addis Ababa Univ., 2020) and of Between Failure and Redemption: The Future of the Ethiopian Social Contract (Northwestern Univ., 2022). Before joining the HRP, he was the Head of the Secretariat for the Legal and Justice Affairs Advisory Council where he was engaged in pro-democracy and pro-rights justice sector reform work in Ethiopia. His current research analyzes the evolution of human rights as impacted by Africa’s (post)colonial, religious and traditional heritages under the rubric of African approaches to human rights.

Kai Mueller
Program Coordinator, Human Rights Program

Prior to joining the Human Rights Program, Mueller worked, studied and lived in Rwanda, Morocco and Germany. His experience includes working as Political and Economic Advisor at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany and English Education Volunteer with the U.S. Peace Corps in Rwanda. He also has experience working for Oxfam, Ecologic Institute, the Environmental Policy Research Institute of the Free University in Berlin, the Headquarters of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin, and the Environmental Protection Agency in Washington D.C. He currently is an ALM candidate in sustainability at the Harvard Extension School.
Research Assistants 2022-2023

Harvard Law School students hired by HRP as research assistants to HRP Eleanor Roosevelt Senior Visiting Researcher and UN Independent Expert for SOGI Victor Madrigal-Borloz have been instrumental in supporting his UN mandate by conducting research and compiling reports for the UN General Assembly or Human Rights Council.

*Anderson Dirocie de Leon*
LL.M. ’23, Harvard Law School

*Iqra Saleem Khan*
S.J.D. Candidate, Harvard Law School

*Rosemary Karoro*
S.J.D. Candidate, Harvard Law School

*Sam Bookman*
S.J.D. Candidate, Harvard Law School

*Tobi Olasunkanmi*
LL.M. ’23, Harvard Law School

*Vanessa Daza Castillo*
S.J.D. Candidate, Harvard Law School
Remembering a Human Rights Luminary: 
Benjamin Ferencz ‘43

On April 7, 2023, the world lost a tireless champion in the cause of human rights and peace: Benjamin Ferencz ‘43. A decorated World War II veteran whose Jewish family had emigrated from Transylvania to the USA, Ferencz first gained international recognition when, at age 27, he was appointed as Chief Prosecutor in the Einsatzgruppen case of the Nuremberg trials against leading Nazi war criminals. Ferencz subsequently became one of the world’s foremost advocates for the establishment of an international criminal court, which finally came to fruition in 2002, and thereafter continued to press for accountability for the crime of aggression.

Humorous, brilliant, and a man of deep integrity, Ferencz was principled in his fight to hold all nations accountable for their violations of peace – including those of his home country, the United States. His publications include New Legal Foundations for Global Survival: Security Through the Security Council (1994), Less Than Slaves: Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation (1979), and An International Criminal Court: A Step Toward World Peace (1980).

Ferencz had last joined HRP for an event titled “Law Not War” in 2014 (the recording is available on the YouTube channel of Harvard Law School), when he was awarded the Harvard Law School Medal of Freedom. HRP is grateful to the Planethood Foundation and the Ferencz family for their past support of our work on international justice.
Acknowledgments

Donors

The global work of HRP is made possible by the generosity of its donors, including:

- The Arcus Foundation
- Norris Darrell LLB ’54
- Classmates and Friends of Clyde Ferguson LLM ’51
- Joseph H. Flom LLB ’48
- Rita E. Hauser ’58 and Gustave M. Hauser ’53
- Phyllis Henigson and Robert Henigson LLB ’55
- Family and friends of Mark DeWolfe Howe, A.B. ’28, LL.B. ’33
- The Honorable Bentley Kassal JD ’40 and Barbara J. Kassal
- Albert M. Sacks LLB ’48
- Muneer Satter JD ’87 and Kristen Hertel
- Lauren K. Saunders JD ’87
- David J. Segre JD ’84 and Marcy D. Segre
- Edward A. Smith LLB ’42
- Maria Stavropoulou LLM ’93
- Henry J. Steiner LLB ’55, HRP’s Founder
- Lynn Strudler MAT ’70
- Wellspring Philanthropic Fund
- The Winston Foundation

Credits

Design and layout by Kai Mueller and Abadir M. Ibrahim.

Photography throughout thanks to:

Lorin Granger
Kris Snibbe
Bringing knowledge to the service of human rights and equal dignity.