CARR CENTER ANNUAL REPORT 2022-2023

HARVARD Kennedy School
CARR CENTER
for Human Rights Policy

A Year in Review

The past year has brought to light many of the challenges we still face in advancing and evolving the human rights landscape. The continued conflict between Russia and Ukraine; closing civic space and attacks against media freedom throughout the African continent; the dire situation for women's rights in Afghanistan and Iran; racial injustices across the United States; and the birth of ChatGPT and the subsequent re-envisioning of how AI will forever alter our lives—these events are only a small subset of radical recent changes that have made worldwide human rights advocacy and research more important than ever.

Our 2022-2023 annual report highlights the Carr Center's growing research and programming efforts over the past year to encourage and ensure a future of more robust worldwide human rights policies. Our latest research, publications, books, podcast episodes, and webinars over the course of the year—created in tandem with our faculty, fellows, and Harvard Kennedy School students—have reached hundreds of thousands of people in over 160 countries, widening the Carr Center's positive impact in the global human rights policy sphere.

Thank you to the community that has consistently made our work possible: the Carr Center's faculty, fellows, staff, and Advisory Board; the students of Harvard Kennedy School; and each one of you who has joined us this past year. To stay updated on the Carr Center's mission to provide human rights education and research, please sign up for our newsletter, follow us on social media, support our work, and tune in to our upcoming events and podcasts.

Mathias Risse
Faculty Director

Maggie Gates
Executive Director

The Carr Center held an advisory board meeting in Alabama earlier this spring, which included tours of many prominent sites from the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. The visit was a powerful reminder of the continued importance and urgency of our work promoting equal human rights.

Who We Are

LEADERSHIP

Mathias Risse
Faculty Director

Maggie Gates
Executive Director (July 2023–)
Interim Executive Director (February–June 2023)

Sushma Raman
Executive Director,
Term concluded February 2023

FACULTY COMMITTEE

Danielle Allen
Professor of Public Policy, HKS;
James Bryant Conant University Professor, FAS

Arthur Isak Applbaum
Adams Professor of Political
Leadership and Democratic Values

Jacqueline Bhabha
Professor of the Practice of
Health and Human Rights, HSPH

Cornell William Brooks
Professor of the Practice of Public
Leadership and Social Justice

Erica Chenoweth
Frank Stanton Professor of the
First Amendment

Dara Kay Cohen
Professor of Public Policy

Yanilda María González
Assistant Professor of Public Policy

Douglas A. Johnson
Lecturer in Public Policy

Zoe Marks
Lecturer in Public Policy

Kathryn Sikkink
Ryan Family Professor of
Human Rights Policy

Robert Wilkinson
Senior Lecturer in Public Policy
and Leadership

FACULTY ASSOCIATES

Graham Allison
Douglas Dillon Professor of Government

Desmond Ang
Assistant Professor of Public Policy

Gloria Yayra A. Ayee
Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy

Eric Beerbohm
Professor of Government

Gabriella Blum
Rita E. Hauser Professor of Human
Rights and Humanitarian Law, HLS

Claude Bruderlein
Adjunct Lecturer on
Global Health, HSPH

Martha Chen
Lecturer in Public Policy

I. Glenn Cohen
James A. Attwood and Leslie Williams
Professor of Law, HLS

Bonnie Docherty
Lecturer on Law, HLS

Susan H. Farbstein
Clinical Professor of Law, HLS

Archon Fung
Winthrop Laflin McCormack Professor
of Citizenship and Self-Government

Marshall Ganz
Rita E. Hauser Senior Lecturer in
Leadership, Organizing, & Civil Society

Tyler Giannini
Clinical Professor of Law, HLS

Deborah Hughes Hallett
Adjunct Professor of Public Policy

Kessely Hong
Senior Lecturer in Public Policy

Nien-hê Hsieh
Kim B. Clark Professor of
Business Administration

Sheila Jasanoff
Pforzheimer Professor of
Science and Technology Studies

Alan Jenkins
Professor of Practice, HLS

David C. King
Senior Lecturer in Public Policy

Jennifer Leaning
Senior Research Fellow, FXB Center

Steven Levitsky
David Rockefeller Professor of Latin American
Studies and Professor of Government

Stephen P. Marks
Francois Bagnoud Professor of Health
and Human Rights, Emeritus, HSPH

Timothy Patrick McCarthy
Lecturer on Education, HGSE

Martha Minow
300th Anniversary
University Professor, HLS

Gerald L. Neuman
J. Sinclair Armstrong Professor of
International, Foreign, and
Comparative Law, HLS

Pippa Norris
Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in
Comparative Politics

Joseph S. Nye Jr.
Harvard University Distinguished
Service Professor

Aminta Ossom
Lecturer on Law and Clinical Instructor in the
International Human Rights Clinic

Phuong Pham
Assistant Professor in the Department
of Global Health and Population, HMS, Harvard
Humanitarian Initiative

Christopher Robichaud
Senior Lecturer in Ethics & Public Policy

Bruce Schneier
Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy

Susanna Siegel
Edgar Pierce Professor of Philosophy

Sandra Susan Smith
Daniel and Florence Guggenheim
Professor of Criminal Justice

Michael Ashley Stein
Visiting Professor of Law, HLS

Michael VanRooyen
Director, Harvard
Humanitarian Initiative,
Lavine Family Professor of Humanitarian Studies

Patrick Vinck
Research Director, Harvard
Humanitarian Initiative,
Assistant Professor in the Department of
Global Health and Population

James H. Waldo
Gordon McKay Professor of the
Practice of Computer Science

Stephen M. Walt
Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of
International Affairs

Alex Whiting
Clinical Professor of Law, HLS

Who We Are

CARR CENTER FELLOWS

Luís Roberto Barroso
Senior Fellow

Kenneth Roth
Senior Fellow

Martha Davis

Phil Howard

HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS

Nicholas Opiyo

Sima Samar

RACIAL JUSTICE FELLOWS

Leslie M. Alexander

Simon Balto

Victor Ray

Allissa V. Richardson

TECH FELLOWS

Ziyaad Borat

Isabel Ebert

Mona Elswah

Albert Fox Cahn

Nnenna Ifeanyi-Ajufo

Dragana Kaurin

Carly Kind

Sebastián Lehuedé

Matthew Macdonald

Ella McPherson

Sharath Srinivasann

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE FELLOWS

Averell Schmidt

Sri Lestari Wahyuningroem

TECH ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Joan Donovan

Nien-hê Hsieh

Sheila Jasanoff

Sushma Raman

Mathias Risse

Bruce Schneier

James H. Waldo

Shoshana Zuboff

STUDENTS

Kelly Murphy
Transitional Justice Research Assistant

Laura Brisbane
Transitional Justice Research Assistant

Mykhailo Soldatenko
Transitional Justice Research Assistant

Sravya Tadepalli
Transitional Justice Research Assistant

STAFF

Helen Clapp
Research Coordinator and Faculty Assistant

Emma Costa
Events Assistant (as of August 2023)

Laryssa Da Silveira
Senior Program Coordinator

Emily Driscoll
Events Assistant (through Spring 2023)

Alexandra Gilliard
Director of Communications

Rachel Harris
Digital Content Specialist

Jay Ulfelder
Research Project Manager

Jasmine Walker
Finance and Operations Manager (through October 2022)

ADVISORY BOARD

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Advisory Board Chair

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Chair Emeritus

David Adler

Julie Allen

Derek Bandeen

Claudia Bobadilla

Clara Brillembourg

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Andrew Diiorio

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Joseph Frumkin

Vanessa Hallik

Belinda Juran

Camilo Justiniano

Joan LeMahieu

Doug Lober

Madeline McClure

David McCue

Alfredo Moreno Charme

Linda Orlans

Sushma Raman

Juan Enrique Rassmuss

Jose "JJ" Serra

Errol Taylor

Mario Valdivia

Richard Vogel

Bob Wyman

> "The good news is that, while human rights defenders were pretty exotic in the early days and few and far-between, today there are professional human rights activists working in every country... it has become a genuinely global movement.
>
> It doesn't mean that we always win, but there are people everywhere, watching.
>
> **Kenneth Roth**
> Senior Fellow

Impact 2022-2023

Metrics for the Carr Center's digital and multimedia platforms

WEBSITE

225k+ pageviews

195 countries

126k+ site users

976k+ all-time page views

SOCIAL MEDIA *(all platforms)*

33.7k+ total followers

12.1k+ new followers

36% new followers as a share of total

NEWSLETTER

4k+ new subscribers

12k+ total subscribers

42% of our subscribers are highly engaged

PODCAST

12k+ downloads

6 episodes

7k+ listeners

124 countries

WEBINARS

702k impressions

3.9k+ total followers

25 videos

New Leadership

Maggie Gates

Executive Director

Gates, newly appointed to the role in June 2023, comes to the Carr Center from the Edmond & Lily Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University. Gates served as the Safra Center's Assistant Director of Communications and Development and led the execution of the Center's communications strategy and fundraising initiatives. She also serves as the Co-Chair of the Executive Committee for Harvard University's Committee on the Concerns of Women, a university-wide group that strives to improve the professional and academic experiences of women at Harvard.

Q What are the human rights issues of today that you feel most passionate about?

I have long been interested in criminal justice reform and civil rights in the United States, and women's rights and immigration globally. I am particularly concerned by the widespread backlash against women's rights and civil rights that we are seeing right now. I am also extremely concerned about the impact of climate change and global warming on these issues, especially climate migration. People are increasingly vulnerable to extreme heat, extreme weather, rising water, and droughts, and the fight for safe places to live is only going to get worse.

There are enormous human rights challenges just ahead of us and we—the global "we" —are responding by turning inward and attempting to build literal and figurative walls instead of turning toward each other and our shared humanity to face this crisis. "Climate migration" is such a tidy, clean way to describe what is a global involuntary forced migration of millions of people to what they hope will be safer locations. I find it very scary—existentially so.

Q What inspired your interest in joining the Carr Center?

I've always admired the Carr Center's work. Mathias Risse is a highly engaged faculty member at the Edmond & Lily Safra Center for Ethics, and I have worked with him on a couple of big projects in the past. We also collaborated frequently on events, fellowships, and discussion paper series, and it was always fantastic to collaborate with Mathias, Sushma Raman, and the team. When Mathias reached out to see if I was available to step in as Interim Executive Director in January, I was surprised but immediately said yes. Within a couple of weeks in the Interim role I knew this was the right next move for me. I love it here!

We recently had a strategic planning staff retreat and I led a values exercise. Across the team, the number one shared value was "making a difference." The Carr Center is an amazing place where the community is working tirelessly to make a difference in the world by tackling some of the world's thorniest, most devastating, most important issues, like genocide and transitional justice, the climate crisis, the human rights implications of technological innovations, and racial justice. The work of the Carr Center matters, and I am so happy to be working with this team that is dedicated to improving the world.

Q Have you always been interested in the field of human rights? How have your personal and professional lives led you to this field of work?

I have always been interested in movements and activists that have recognized our shared humanity in the world and have fought for change. Personally, I have been committed to women's rights and gender rights throughout my life: supporting abortion access in the US and working for women's leadership in government and at the university. Professionally, while my path has been more of a winding road, there have been some common threads throughout.

My (unfinished) dissertation for Harvard's American Studies Program was about the Cuban Children's Program in the early 1960s, an incredible federal program that facilitated the immigration, foster care, and family reunification of over 14,000 Cuban children following the Cuban Revolution. It was an incredible historical moment that united federal and state child support agencies, welfare agencies, and expanded the foster care system in an explicit effort to battle communism in Cuba.

Another long-running thread has been policing reform and criminal justice reform. I made my way to the Center for Ethics by project managing a research project on police reform, and then helped to launch a project looking at drug diversion programs in Massachusetts as a promising intervention point for criminal justice reform. I worked on that until the Center leadership pulled me into the communications and development role that I held through the remainder of my time at the Center.

Q Where do you hope to take the Carr Center in the next five years? Which projects are particularly interesting to you?

I hope that the Carr Center has robust student engagement, thriving fellowships (hopefully with a residential component), and a bigger financial footprint that will enable us to do more across the board. I hope to create a formal program for Human Rights Defenders, in collaboration with Harvard's Scholars at Risk program, and I hope our faculty will feel a strong affiliation with the Carr Center.

Q Which human rights leaders and defenders do you find inspiring?

I have a deep personal admiration for Nelson Mandela. He was the first human rights leader I was aware of as a child, and he opened my eyes to global human rights when he was released from prison in 1990. And then he went on to co-design the desegregation of South Africa, win the Nobel Peace Prize, lead the country as president, and advocate for global peace and justice for the rest of his life... Incredible!

I was nine years old when he was released from prison, and my family was living in North Carolina at the time. My parents woke me and my sister, Liza, to witness the event because it was either very late at night or very early in the morning. That day stands out in my memory. We watched in silence as he walked through the gates, hand in hand with Winnie, and held up his fist to the crowd. I remember my parents crying. It was a formational moment in my life.

This interview has been edited for length.

Read the full interview online.

The Future of the Carr Center

Mathias Risse

Faculty Director

Mathias Risse is the Faculty Director at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy and the Berthold Beitz Professor in Human Rights, Global Affairs and Philosophy at the Harvard Kennedy School. His work primarily addresses questions of global justice ranging from human rights, inequality, taxation, trade, and immigration to climate change, obligations to future generations, and the future of technology.

Q In December 2023, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will celebrate its 75th anniversary. In those 75 years, what do you think has been successful in global human rights policy, and what still needs work?

That something like a Universal Declaration of Human Rights was ever passed must count among the greatest achievements in human history. I think the main thing to see about human rights is how the Universal Declaration developed into a very broad-based movement over the decades. There's a lot of international and domestic law all around the world that created judicial realities around what originally was merely a Declaration by the General Assembly: institutions have been founded to protect human rights, ranging from regional human rights regimes on different continents to the International Criminal Court; human rights standards have been used for many performance assessments; and there has been a sprawling system of civil society organizations in the human rights domain, both domestically and internationally.

Obviously, human rights get violated all over the place, but among the accomplishments of the human rights movement certainly is the sheer fact that we know of many of these violations. And one can only imagine how bad things would be if it weren't for these various components of the human rights movement. That there is such a thing as a human rights movement means that these violations are not between the perpetrators and their victims, but that many individuals and institutions around the world care.

Q When the Carr Center was first created, it focused on the global human rights landscape in the years following the Cold War. Over time, the mission evolved to focus on a variety of subjects in human rights, from genocide and torture to the impact of AI on human rights. As we approach the Center's 25th anniversary, what are some new initiatives and activities you hope to carry out to take the next step in the Center's mission?

It is certainly true that over time the priorities of the Carr Center have very much reflected larger trends in the world. And indeed, when the Center was originally founded, one really central question to the world, and thus also in the human-right domain, was about the role of the United States in the world. The founding director, Michael Ignatieff, investigated American Exceptionalism and published a terrific edited volume on it.

The founding executive director, Samantha Power, around whose boundless energy and passion the Center really was created, wrote her celebrated book *A Problem from Hell* on American foreign-policy responses to genocides across the 20th century. Samantha's book was enormously sobering and created a lot of soul-searching at a time when many people were enthused by the fact that the US was the one remaining superpower.

And, yes, today we focus on other things. My own priority as director has been technology and how the enormous change that technological developments bring to the world will affect human rights. We've also developed a program on racial justice, which is of enduring relevance to so many societies around the world. And a third priority is on transitional justice.

It is in these domains especially that we want to make progress in the next few years, by doing research and by enabling others to bring change. And while as a small Center we definitely can't do everything, we also do work in areas like migration, corruption, and LGBTQ+ rights, though not as much, for now, as I think we should. My own interests in recent times have also very much included the concerns of indigenous people, on which I have started to do some work.

> "What is especially amazing about HKS is that at any given time there are hundreds of students enrolled in our programs who are all trying to figure out how to make the world a better place.

Q What makes the Carr Center unique in the world of human rights policy?

One thing that definitely stands out about the Carr Center is that, as a human rights center at a highly visible school of public policy that in turn is part of a highly visible university, we can create many productive links between the human rights world and some of the greatest talent that can be found at universities anywhere in the world. And by "talent," I mean faculty, fellows, and students. What is especially amazing about HKS is that at any given time there are hundreds of students enrolled in our programs who are all trying to figure out how to make the world a better place. We want to make sure that human rights are part of their thinking.

Q Where do you see the Carr Center in five years, and what do you hope will be accomplished between now and then?

We currently have big plans to grow the Center, plans that I have talked about under the heading of "Carr Center 2.0." That is, we seek to leverage the Center's expertise at bridging the gaps among practice, policy, and politics in ways that would markedly increase its contribution both to the world of human rights and to the community of students and faculty at HKS.

Key initiatives here include: (1) advancing intellectual leadership (again at the various levels of faculty, fellows, and with an increased focus on students); (2) tracking and developing innovation in human rights (i.e., focusing on urgent issues, such as Artificial Intelligence, technology and innovation, racial justice, transitional justice, corruption, indigenous peoples, and LGBTQ+ issues); and (3) revitalizing our convening power—that is, we aim to provide a gathering point for practitioners and policymakers to meet and exchange ideas to catalyze significant change.

We are currently looking for a broader range of supporters to make this all happen, but our plans are to make good on all these ambitions over the next five years!

Programs

The Carr Center employs a multidisciplinary lens to investigate pressing human rights issues around the world, with programs covering a wide range of human rights-related topics.

- Technology & Human Rights
- Transitional Justice
- Nonviolent Action Lab
- Racial Justice
- Human Rights Defenders

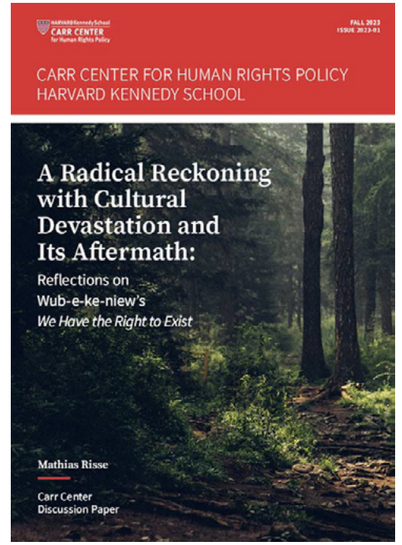
Technology & Human Rights

Technological advancements have profound implications for human rights. From a practical perspective, technology can help move the human rights agenda forward. Yet, for the multitude of areas in which emerging technologies advance the human rights agenda, technological developments have equal capacity to undermine efforts. Now, ethical and policy-oriented implications must be taken into consideration with the development of new technology.

> **Protecting individual privacy and autonomy are real concerns as modern technology continues to be exploited in the service of capitalist interests—but technology can also be a mechanism that brings about greater rights realization for the people.**
>
> **Martha Davis**
> **Fellow, Carr Center**

During the 2022–2023 academic year, the Carr Center's Technology and Human Rights Fellows and Director Mathias Risse authored numerous papers looking toward the future of technology in our society.

carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/publications



PUBLICATIONS

- A Radical Reckoning with Cultural Devastation and its Aftermath
  Mathias Risse
- Game Over: The Unintended Consequences of Video Game Moderation
  Albert Fox Cahn
- Technology Dependence and Racial Inequality: Theorizing 'Design Thinking' on Human Rights
  Nnenna Ifeanyi-Ajufo
- Automation Anxiety and a Right to Freedom from Automated Systems and AI
  Ziyaad Bhorat
- Online Platforms & Mental Health: A Policy Proposal
  Maria Carnovale

WEBINAR SERIES

Towards Life 3.0

Guest panelists this past year include:

- Sareeta Amrute
  Associate Professor of Strategic Design, Parsons School of Design, The New School
- Steve Feldstein
  Senior Fellow, Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Samuel Gregory
  Program Director, WITNESS
- Ethan Zuckerman
  Associate Professor of Public Policy, Communication, and Information and Computer Science, University of Massachusetts Amherst
- Gina Neff
  Professor of Technology and Society, University of Oxford
- Bruce Schneier
  Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School

Bruce Schneier

Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy,
Harvard Kennedy School

Schneier is an internationally renowned security technologist. He is the *New York Times* best-selling author of 14 books, including *A Hacker's Mind*. His newsletter *Crypto-Gram* and blog "Schneier on Security" are read by over 250,000 people.

Transcript : Towards Life 3.0
The Coming AI Hackers
Watch this complete webinar and others at youtube.com/user/harvardkennedyschool

Q What is our current understanding of the threat of Artificial Intelligence?

Artificial intelligence (AI) will hack humanity unlike anything that's come before. AIs will find vulnerabilities in all sorts of social, economic, and political systems, and exploit them at an unprecedented speed, scale, and scope.

None of this requires far future science fiction technology—I'm not postulating any singularity, I'm not assuming intelligent androids, not even assuming evil intent on the part of anyone. Most of the hacks don't even require major research breakthroughs in AI. They'll improve as AI gets more sophisticated, but we can already see hints of them in operation today. This hacking will come naturally, as AI has become more advanced at learning and problem–solving.

Q What do you mean by hacking?

First, let's generalize the term "hacking." The tax code isn't computer code, but it's code. It's a series of algorithms with inputs and outputs. That code has vulnerabilities and exploits—we call them loopholes and tax avoidance strategies. There is an industry of hackers that find vulnerabilities in the tax code, also known as tax accountants and tax attorneys.

A hack is something that a system permits but is unanticipated and unwanted by the designers. The hacks follow the rules of a system but subvert its goal or intent. And all systems of rules can be hacked: you can find hacks in professional sports, in consumer reward programs, financial systems, and in many other economic, political, and social systems. As long as there are people who want to subvert the goals of a system, there will be hacks. And AIs are becoming hackers.

Q What are the differences between human hackers and AI hackers?

To date, hacking has exclusively been a human activity. Searching for new hacks requires expertise, creativity, time, and luck. When AIs start hacking, everything will change. They won't be constrained in the same ways or have the same limits as people. They'll think like aliens. AIs will change hacking speed, scale, and scope. Computers are much faster than people, and a human creative process that might take months or years could get compressed to hours, days, or seconds. What might happen when you feed an AI the entire US tax code? Will it figure out without being told that it's smart to incorporate in Delaware or register your ship in Panama?

The problem is that in human language and thought, goals and desires are always underspecified. We never describe all the options, and we never include all the exceptions and caveats and provisos. We can't. Now, this is largely okay in human interaction because people understand context and act in good faith. We're all socialized and acquire common sense, and we fill gaps in understanding with that context. But we can't completely specify goals to an AI, and AIs won't be able to completely understand context.

The lesson here is that there will always be hacks the programmers will not anticipate, and the greatest worry lies in the hacks that aren't obvious and whose effects are subtle. We're already seeing the first generation of this with recommendation engines, and how they push people towards extreme content. They weren't programmed to do this—it's a property that naturally emerged. The algorithms learned to push extreme content because that's what people respond to. It didn't take a bad actor to create this hack, a pretty basic automatic system found it on its own.

Q What are some of the societal consequences we can expect as AI continues to advance?

Once AI systems start discovering hacks, they'll be able to exploit them at a scale we're not ready for. We're already seeing shadows of this with AI-generated text. Soon, they'll be replicated in millions across social media, engaging in issues around the clock, posting billions of messages, overwhelming any actual online human discussions. It'll be bots arguing with other bots, and that will influence what we think is normal and what we think others think.

The increasing scope of AI systems also makes hacks more dangerous. AIs are already making important decisions that affect our lives—decisions we used to

As long as there are people who want to subvert the goals of a system, there will be hacks. And AIs are becoming hackers.

believe were the exclusive purview of humans. They make bail and parole decisions, they help decide who receives bank loans, they screen job candidates, applicants for college, and people who apply for government services. As AIs become more capable, society will see more important decisions made by them. This means that hacking of these systems becomes more damaging, and hacking becomes a problem that we as society can no longer manage.

Q Is there anything that can be done to mitigate these consequences?

AI hackers might find hundreds of vulnerabilities in the existing tax code, but that same technology can be used to evaluate potential vulnerabilities in any proposed tax law or tax ruling. Imagine a new tax law being tested in this way. Someone, it could be a legislator, a watch organization, the press, could take the text of a bill and find all the exploitable vulnerabilities. That doesn't mean that loopholes will get fixed, but it means they become public and part of the policy debate. In theory, they can be patched before the rich and powerful exploit them. So, the transition period is dangerous. But while AI hackers can be employed by both the offense and the defense, in the end, the defense will prevail.

The overarching solution here is people: While it's easy to let technology lead us into the future, we are much better off as society if we together decide what technology's role in our future should be. And this is something we all need to figure out now, before these AIs come online and start hacking our world.

This interview has been edited for length.
Watch the full conversation online.

Racial Justice

As we continue the centuries-long journey of tackling racial injustice in the United States, the Carr Center's Racial Justice program focuses on reimagining systems, institutions, and movements to promote racial and economic equity for all. The program strengthens discourse connecting domestic civil rights to global human rights frameworks, and brings together faculty, fellows, students, and the broader University community to collaborate.

> **When African Americans have turned their phones toward injustices, they have created some of the largest social justice movements that the country—and the world—have ever seen.**

Allissa Richardson

Racial Justice Fellow, Carr Center

> **In the international human rights field, the concept of repair for past harm is fundamental. Thus, discussions about reparatory justice should go hand-in-hand with reflections on historical suffering and modern-day racial discrimination.**

Aminta Ossom

Clinical Instructor, Harvard Law School

RACIAL JUSTICE FELLOWS

Leslie Alexander

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Professor of History
Rutgers University

A specialist in early African American and African Diaspora history, she is the author of *African or American?: Black Identity and Political Activism in New York City, 1784-1861* and *Fear of a Black Republic: Haiti and the Birth of Black Internationalism in the United States*. Her current project, "How We Got Here: Slavery and the Making of the Modern Police State," examines how surveillance of free and enslaved Black communities in the colonial and antebellum eras laid the foundation for modern-day policing. She is an Executive Council member of the National Council for Black Studies and also serves on the Advisory Councils for the Journal of African American History, Black Perspectives, and The Black Scholar.

Simon Balto

Assistant Professor of History and College of Letters and Science Mary Herman Rubinstein Professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Simon Balto is the author of the multi-award-winning book, *Occupied Territory: Policing Black Chicago from Red Summer to Black Power.* He is currently at work on three new projects, including *White Innocents: Terror, Racism, and Innocence in the Making of Modern America* (Liveright), a history of White mob terrorism in the United States from Reconstruction to the civil rights era, and of the refusals and incapacities of the nations' assorted "criminal justice systems" to reckon with it.

Victor Ray

F. Wendell Miller Associate Professor,
Depts. of Sociology and Criminology and African American Studies, University of Iowa.

Victor Ray's research applies Critical Race Theory to classic sociological questions, and his work has won multiple awards, including the Early Career Award from the American Sociological Association's Section on Racial and Ethnic Minorities and the Southern Sociological Society's Junior Scholar Award. Ray has published commentary in outlets such as *The Washington Post*, *Harvard Business Review*, *CNN Opinion*, *Time*, and *Boston Review*. He is the author of *On Critical Race Theory: Why it Matters & Why You Should Care*.

Allissa Richardson

Associate Professor of
Journalism, USC Annenberg

Allissa Richardson researches how African Americans use mobile and social media to produce innovative forms of journalism, especially in times of crisis. Richardson is the author of *Bearing Witness While Black: African Americans, Smartphones and the New Protest #Journalism*. She is considered a pioneer in mobile journalism, having launched the world's first smartphone-only college newsrooms in 2010, in the United States, Morocco, and South Africa. She holds a Ph.D. in Journalism Studies from the University of Maryland College Park.

Victor Ray

Racial Justice Fellow, Carr Center

Transcript of Justice Matters
Understanding Critical Race Theory

What is Critical Race Theory and why is it under attack? Victor Ray's research applies Critical Race Theory to classic sociological questions to show how race shapes social processes typically considered as race neutral. Ray is a fellow at the Carr Center and a nonresident fellow in governance studies at the Brookings Institution.

JUSTICE MATTERS

Listen to this complete podcast episode and others at carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/podcasts

Q What is Critical Race Theory, and how is it important?

Critical Race Theory is a body of research that tries to explain why racial inequality and structural racism is so intractable in the United States. It arose during the late 1970s and early '80s, as a group of legal scholars like Derrick Bell and Kimberly Crenshaw were trying to explain how civil rights activists had used the law and the legal system very effectively to open up rights and opportunities for Black Americans and Americans of color more broadly through the civil rights movement.

By the late '70s and early '80s, a lot of that progress had stopped or in some cases even started to reverse. Integration into schools and into workplaces had slowed down. There was massive resistance in many places to opening up opportunities. So, these legal scholars wanted to explain how the law could be kind of a double-edged sword and how the law was used to help stop and, in some cases, beat back those advances. It started in legal studies, but Critical Race Theory from its start drew from many other disciplines. It drew from history and the social sciences to argue things like "race is a social construction" or to point to the long continuity of racial inequality across the United States. One of the things that Critical Race Theory did that I think was pretty innovative was develop a set of concepts based on those disciplines and the law that were portable. After it was established in the law, key ideas started to spread to places like education or my home discipline of sociology.

Q As you are fully aware, Critical Race Theory has come under attack from a variety of corners. Why it is under attack and why is it in the news so often now?

I have two answers to this question. One is Christopher Ruppo, who has been credited with sort of spearheading the propaganda campaign against Critical Race Theory. He said that he was watching the massive protests to George Floyd's murder in 2020—which some folks have said were the largest civil rights mobilizations in US history—and it made him nervous. So, he said he started reading a number of books (I don't know if you remember that moment, but there are a number of books on race and racism that sort of shot up the bestseller charts) and he noticed citations to Critical Race theorists. He said when he heard the term "Critical Race Theory," he recognized it as a perfect weapon to beat back the progress that folks were attempting to make through the protests around George Floyd's murder.

So, he said for folks outside of academia, the words "critical race" and "theory" were somewhat threatening, and that had benefits over things like "woke" or "politically incorrect," because Critical Race theorists themselves adopted the name and use the name to describe their work. I think it's interesting that he chose a body of literature designed to explain a prior period of racial backlash to then attack and start a racial backlash against the kind of racial reckoning that some activists were trying to push for.

The other reason I think it's so effective this time around has to do with ideas from Critical Race Theory. Derrick Bell has a classic idea in interest convergence. He says, when you look at US history, most progress for People of Color has happened when their interests converged with White Americans. So, Bell says, look, White Americans and Black Americans knew for decades that school segregation in the South was immoral. They knew that it curtailed the agency of Black children and made it hard for them to compete. This was the entire point of segregation. And yet courts for many decades, including the Supreme Court, upheld segregation under the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. Bell looks at *Brown v. Board* and notes that what changed wasn't a moral awakening on the part of White Americans—instead, what was different was the context of the Cold War, and the Soviet Union was successfully using the existence of segregation and discrimination in the US to get decolonizing proxy states to join their side in the Cold War. So, the State Department agreed that we needed a victory in *Brown v. Board* to fight against propaganda.

> **"One of the things that Critical Race Theory does is it challenges the notion that things are always getting better in the United States. We can't assume that racial progress happens without having folks committed to pointing out where we have failed.**

Bell says White elite interests and the interests of Black Americans who had been fighting against segregation converged in that moment. I think the reason the panic has been so successful this time around is that we're in a moment of interest: there's been a profound reshuffling of the geopolitical order, and if you look at who elite White conservative Americans are looking to as models in the world, it's Orban's Hungary, and Putin's Russia prior to the invasion of Ukraine. It is rising authoritarian states that have very few protections for their internal minorities. When we look at recent Supreme Court decisions or Victor Orban speaking at CPAC, we can see a real yearning for that kind of authoritarian strongman persona and a kind of mask-off moment where certain segments of elite White Americans are looking to places with a very different set of ideals. I think that's why the moral panic has been so successful this time.

Q What is something about Critical Race Theory that often surprises people?

One of the things that Critical Race Theory does is it challenges the notion that things are always getting better in the United States about race. Slavery was bad, so we had a civil war. Jim Crow was bad, but then Martin Luther King Jr. marched, and Rosa Parks sat, and Obama was elected, and racism ended. But I think what Critical Race Theory shows us is that there were people committed to racial inequality and structural racism fighting each of these movements, and that we can't let our guard down, and we can't assume that racial progress or improvements happen without folks committed to pointing out where we failed and pushing back against it.

This interview has been edited for length.

Listen to the full conversation online.

Allissa Richardson

Racial Justice Fellow, Carr Center

Allissa Richardson is an award-winning scholar and assistant professor of journalism at USC Annenberg who studies how marginalized communities use mobile and social media to produce innovative forms of journalism. She's the author of *Bearing Witness While Black: African-Americans, Smartphones, and the New Protest Journalism*, published in 2020.

Webinar Transcript
Bearing Witness While Black
Watch this complete webinar and others at youtube.com/user/harvardkennedyschool

Q Can you tell us about Black witnessing, and what inspired you to write your latest book?

I remember visiting the Holocaust Museum as a kid in DC. The exhibit that got me most was the shoes—seeing that these were real people and knowing that I could no longer separate something that really happened from an abstract history lesson. That's what I wanted to create in people when they recognized that the Black Lives Matter movement was burgeoning, and that's why I set out to write this book, *Bearing Witness While Black: African Americans, Smartphones and the New Protest Journalism*.

Black witnessing is a form of surveillance by looking from below. Surveillance typically happens on high, with blue light cameras, helicopter cams, dash cams, and CCTV cams where it is something that is done by authorities and those who hold power. But this surveillance is glaring back from below. It's a feeling of, "I know you're looking at me, but I'm looking back at you, too."

Black witnessing leverages whatever technology exists at the time to transmit the message. I cannot simply say that cell phones empower African-Americans to do this work because, in fact, African-Americans have been trying to bear witness to human rights injustices for as long as they've been in the United States. Now that we are fully situated in this visual age, everybody has a tool in their pocket to tell stories. That's when you see these Black witnesses emerge. Black people are realizing that the only thing standing between you and death sometimes is a cell phone to keep you alive.

In my book, I conceptualized three overlapping eras of domestic terror against African-Americans, beginning with slavery, and then giving way to lynching as slavery is abolished, and then giving way to police brutality as the civil rights movement started to pick up. Throughout each of these eras, you find exemplars, people who are hacking the technology of the day to tell stories. As a journalism scholar, this became very exciting to me, this almost unbroken chain of Black people who are using technologies to tell Black stories.

Q What makes you passionate about this field of research?

I've been studying journalism, mobile journalism, for quite some time, even before cell phones came out. When I got into the newsroom at 21 or 22 years old, I didn't see many people who looked like me. I began to question how I could create a pipeline of a diverse set of journalists, because I kept seeing all these dismal reports about how the internet was going to crush journalism and how diversity hadn't spiked at all.

Those things created a passion in me to figure out how I could, in this small space of my home state in Maryland, create something that would lower the barrier of entry for Black students at the HBCU where I was teaching, while taking advantage of new tech. My students and I called our work the Mojo Lab—mojo is a mobile journalist, a student who reports using only mobile devices.

> **"African-Americans are the only ones who have to watch themselves die over and over again in the mainstream media. Let's create new policies in the newsroom where we stop that.**

One of my favorite times with my students was actually seeing how that barrier of entry to technology can be lowered. We didn't need fancy satellite trucks to get going—we had cell phones and some donated equipment. In one instance, we were in Nelson Mandela's hometown of Cape Town to do a story about what his passing would mean for South Africa, because he was very sick at the time. We went on a voyage, talking to young people on the street who were passing by, and soon everybody found out what we were doing and wanted to jump in and talk to us.

Q What are some challenges we face with mobile journalism technology?

When George Floyd was killed, I realized we were experiencing a new turn. Finally, people will believe us. We have this footage—we have proof. But I noticed my colleagues in the journalism industry playing the video over and over again, almost with the casual air of a sports highlight, oftentimes not blurring his face. I began to get very upset with this mobile journalism technology, because now we have a conundrum.

African-Americans are the only ones who have to watch themselves die over and over again in the mainstream media. Let's create new policies in the newsroom where we stop that. We've done it for many cases where White people have died violently. Can we promise that we will give African-Americans that same dignity in their last moments?

We're at this point where sometimes you will still need to see visual proof, because Black people's humanity is still not a given. As ugly as that sounds, it is true to many people. Many people still need a video to be certain that they can get behind a cause. And Africans and people of African descent know that. And so that's the double-edged sword: yes, I'm going to record this because I want justice, but I know it's going to re-traumatize my own community. It will cause harm to people who already know. But in other instances, it could save our lives.

It's for that reason that we can't get casual with this footage, and we can't just roll it when we have no other visual on the news. We must develop more robust policies that protect this kind of witnessing when laws all across the country are popping up to stop it. I hope for a day that we never have to see anymore footage like that.

This interview has been edited for length.

Watch the full conversation online.

Transitional Justice

The Transitional Justice Evaluation Team (TJET), an international team of scholars and practitioners, researches transitional justice in countries that have undergone a reckoning with past widespread human rights violations by state or armed opposition actors between 1970-2020. TJET collects data on criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparations policies, and amnesties established to address past human rights violations.

TJET's ultimate goal is to answer the question: what works to help societies successfully and stably transition out of periods of armed conflict, autocracy, and widespread human rights violations? The team conducts victim-centered, evidence-based research, which it shares with policymakers and practitioners around the world.

Above: In June 2023, the Transitional Justice Evaluation Team (TJET) held a workshop at the Harvard Kennedy School to showcase and discuss the team's research two years into their three-year grant from Global Affairs Canada.

RESEARCH TEAM: PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS

Kathryn Sikkink

Lead Principal Investigator; Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights Policy, HKS

Geoff Dancy

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto

Phuong Pham

Assistant Professor, Harvard Medical School and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health; Director of Evaluation and Implementation Science, Harvard Humanitarian Initiative

Patrick Vinck

Assistant Professor, Department Global Health and Population, Harvard School of Public Health and Department of Emergency Medicine, Harvard Medical School

LATEST WORK

Russia's Willing Collaborators: Ukraine Needs a Measured Lustration Policy to Strengthen Security and Rebuild Democracy, in *Foreign Affairs*

Geoff Dancy, Kathryn Sikkink, Mykhailo Soldatenko, and Patrick Vinck

Wanted: Vladimir Putin for Crimes Against Children in *Deep Dish on Global Affairs*, the podcast for the Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Kathryn Sikkink in conversation with Nathaniel Raymond and Brian Hanson

Transitional justice accountability is the opposite of impunity.

Transitional justice mechanisms are institutions—normally temporary—that are established to provide accountability for core international crimes such as genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, including acts of political violence against civilians. These mechanisms include measures such as prosecution, truth commissions, and reparations.

Patrick Vinck

Assistant Professor, Department Global Health and Population, HSPH, and Department of Emergency Medicine, HMS. Research Director of the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative

Phuong Pham

Assistant Professor, HMS and HSPH; Director of Evaluation and Implementation Science, Harvard Humanitarian Initiative

Q How do you approach your conversations with victims in conflict zones when you are performing survey research, since these victims are likely dealing with stress or traumas from their experiences? What questions are you asking them, and what information are you hoping to learn? Can you explain what transitional justice is and what its practice seeks to accomplish?

Conducting surveys and engagement with survivors in conflict zones demands a heightened sensitivity and ethical responsibility. Interactions with individuals, especially those who have been traumatized, require a deep understanding of the cultural, social, and emotional context. We collaborate with local organizations and experts who guide us in contextualizing our peace and justice surveys.

Among other aspects, we seek to understand what people have experienced and how it affects their daily lives. This includes uncovering experience of human rights violations and trauma, while understanding social cohesion and their daily interactions with others and with institutions. Perhaps more importantly, we try to gain insights into what survivors need or expect to rebuild their lives, and the effects of transitional justice. While the aims of this effort are global, how we assess these complex concepts varies from country to country, reflecting a nuanced understanding of the cultural and societal context.

Q In your interviews with victims who have experienced human rights violations, what kinds of justice do they want to see, and what is most important to them?

Having engaged in dialogue with survivors in situations of conflicts and other forms of violence, we can say that there is no “universal truth” about what victims want, or even what justice means. In fact, our effort started over 20 years ago in part as a reaction against a form of “victim language” that assumed that all victims want the same thing. That is not true. We see survivors with trauma who do not want to see memorials that remind them of their experience on a daily basis, and others who see this as an essential form of recognition and justice for the violence they experienced.

Attitudes toward forgiveness, punishment, or reparations also vary greatly. We do consistently find needs and expectations that are complex and beyond a narrow focus on retribution. Perhaps the most common elements are a desire to be recognized and a need to understand what happened and why. Equally fundamental is rebuilding a sense of security and confidence in the future by guaranteeing non-repetition.

We know that at the global level there is convincing evidence about the positive effects of criminal accountability or vetting programs, for example. However, such findings are often at odds with how mechanisms are being perceived by survivors on the ground. What we find is that “how you do it” may matter as much as “what you do” when it comes to transitional justice. Mechanisms that are not seen as fair, impartial, inclusive, and genuine are unlikely to have a transformative effect for survivors.

Q Do you feel that the victims’ desires are represented when transitional justice efforts have been made at a state or international level?

Too often, survivors do not feel that their needs or expectations are taken into consideration in designing and implementing transitional justice. That is because they are not. There are no systematic efforts to gather their views and transitional justice mechanisms are often extractive, sidelining survivors. They are a source of testimony, little more. Efforts to communicate are often one-way “down” messages that fall short of a genuine dialogue.

As a result, across countries, we have seen survivors and others in situations of conflicts who are uninformed or feel completely excluded from transitional justice efforts. In response, we advocate for victim-centered transitional justice. This does not mean that transitional justice mechanisms must be designed according to victims’ perspectives and specifications, but rather that decision-makers must consider victims’ perspectives and what is in the best interest of victims.

Q With the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine, can you anticipate particular issues that are likely to come up in future attempts at transitional justice?

The Russia-Ukraine conflict raises a myriad of challenges, from questions of responsibility and crimes of aggression to territorial restoration and broader geopolitical implications. However, central to our work is the pressing need for a victim-centric approach, an area that currently seems grossly neglected.

Despite the magnitude of the conflict, there's been a remarkable lack of effort to initiate a dialogue with the affected communities, truly engaging with and understanding their perspectives on accountability and justice. This matters in a context where hundreds of thousands of individuals could be branded as "collaborators" with Russian forces—some willingly, others out of sheer necessity. There is a potential for these individuals to face disproportionate repercussions or even vigilante or mob justice.

> “Decision-makers must consider victims’ perspectives, and what is in the best interest of victims.

Compounding these challenges, Ukraine's existing mistrust in its judicial institutions, rooted in corruption and historical disregard for due process, could further erode survivors' faith in any justice process. Such a climate not only risks miscarriages of justice but may also embolden opportunists to exploit the system for personal gains. Moving forward, it is imperative to establish inclusive dialogue platforms that prioritize the voices of victims, ensuring a more balanced, transparent, and ultimately restorative approach to justice.

Nonviolent Action Lab

The Nonviolent Action Lab produces and disseminates up-to-date knowledge on nonviolent action, including how it works and global trends. By studying and amplifying nonviolent resistance and synthesizing lessons learned from movements around the globe, the Lab will make it easier for the public and practitioners to embrace nonviolent action as a means of transforming injustice.

RECENT ARTICLES AND PUBLICATIONS

"A Civil Resistance Expert on the Protests in China and Iran" *NPR*: Ari Shapiro, Erica Chenoweth

"The Patriarchs' War on Women"
Ms. Magazine: Zoe Marks, Erica Chenoweth

"Iran's Women on the Frontlines"
Foreign Affairs: Zoe Marks, Erica Chenoweth, Fatemeh Haghighatjoo

"Why Empowered Women Are Authoritarianism's Targets—and How They Can Be Its Undoing"
HKS PolicyCast: Erica Chenoweth, Zoe Marks, Ralph Ranalli

"We Don't Need a Civil War to Be in Serious Trouble"
Harvard Gazette: Jay Ulfelder, Christina Pazzanese

Erica Chenoweth

Frank Stanton Professor of the First Amendment

Erica Chenoweth studies political violence and its alternatives. At Harvard, Chenoweth directs the Nonviolent Action Lab, an innovation hub that provides empirical evidence in support of movement-led political transformation.

Zoe Marks

Lecturer in Public Policy

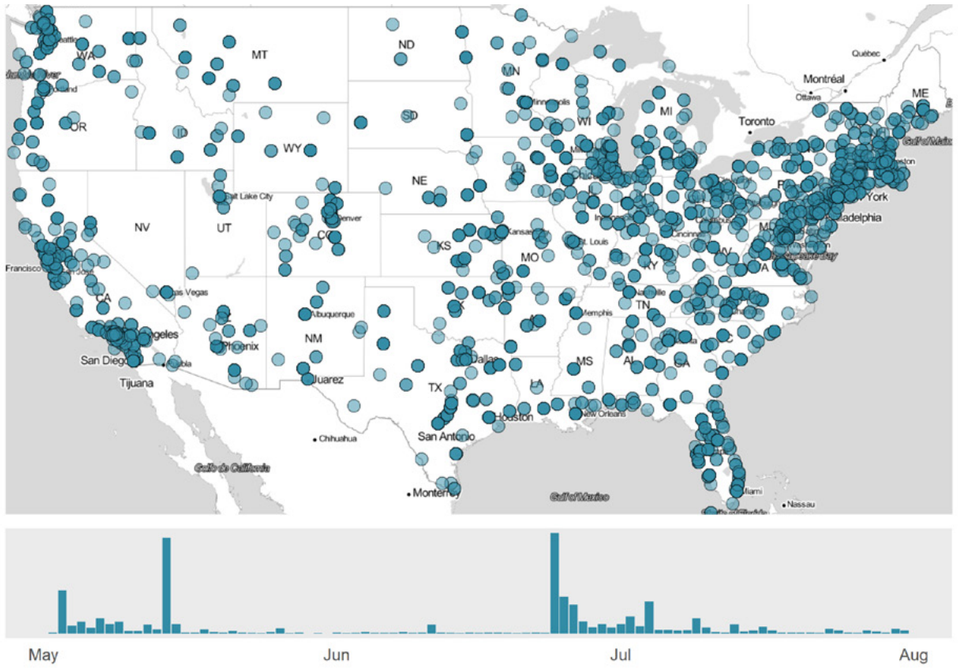
Zoe Marks is a Lecturer in Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School. Her research and teaching focus on the intersections of conflict and peacebuilding; gender and intersectional inequality; and African politics.

Jay Ulfelder

Program Director, Nonviolent Action Lab

Jay Ulfelder has two decades of experience working at the intersection of social science and data science, with a particular focus on protest, collective action, human rights, democracy, and forecasting.

In 2022, nearly 3,000 of the roughly 37,000 events recorded by Crowd-Counting Consortium were protests or rallies for reproductive rights that occurred in the three months following the May 2nd leak of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that would reverse *Roe v. Wade* on June 24.



> “When women-led movements like this succeed, the prospects for democratic transitions are high, but when such campaigns are defeated, retaliation against women as a social group can be very extreme. That is part of why it is so powerful to see so many women continue to defy the laws that try to subjugate them. In most countries, including Iran, mass movements are the only real catalyst for transformative change.”
>
> **Erica Chenoweth**

In early 2023, Lab faculty leads Erica Chenoweth and Zoe Marks collaborated with researchers at the United States Institute of Peace on a report for the United States Agency for International Development that used WiRE data to analyze trends in youth and LGBTQ+ participation in nonviolent action. Among other things, this report showed that, while youth participation has remained consistent over time, LGBTQ+ participation on the front lines of nonviolent movements was rare from 1990 to 2006 but has increased dramatically in recent years.

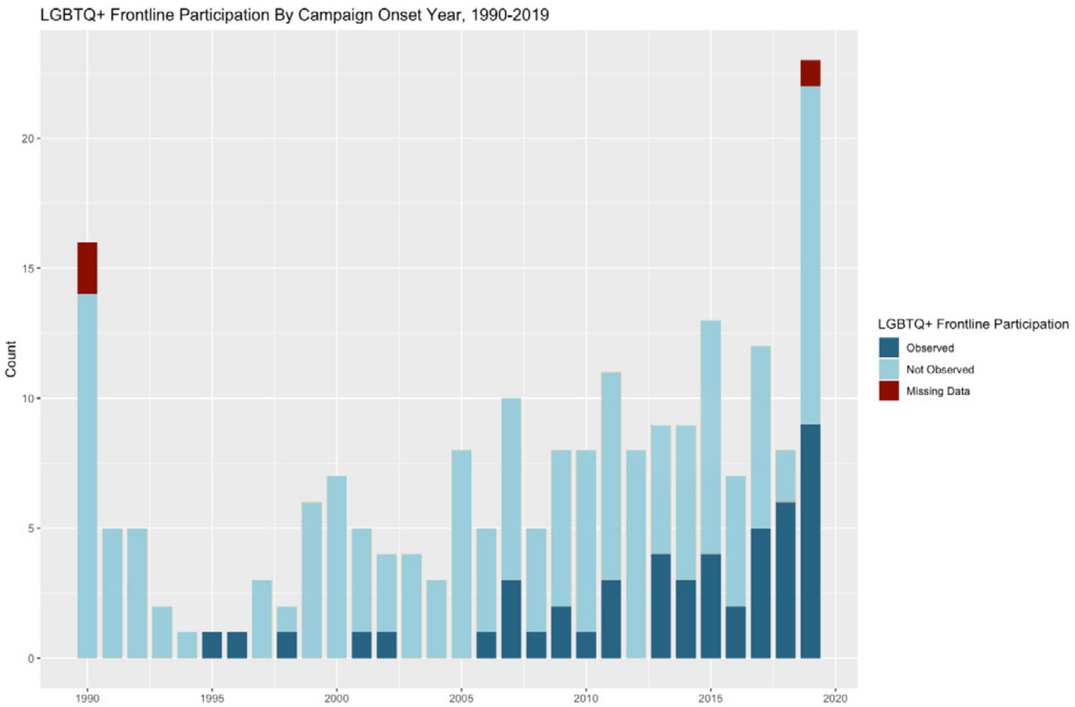


Chart from the WiRe+ Dataset, the United States Institute of Peace, and Nonviolent Action Lab

Human Rights Defenders

The Carr Center has had a long history of hosting scholars at risk and human rights defenders, including individuals from Afghanistan, Cambodia, Hungary, India, Uganda, and Venezuela who are working to improve human rights in their home country. These scholars stay for a semester or a year at the Carr Center, and are often involved in organizing educational programs and events around the pressing concerns facing human rights defenders and the organizations they lead.

Frontline human rights defenders—those seeking to protect and promote the rights of vulnerable and marginalized communities in the face of state or corporate repression—are increasingly under attack around the world. Such attacks can take many forms: attacks on individual defenders and their credibility, security, and even their lives; closure and censure of civil society organizations and closing of civic space to limit freedoms of assembly, expression, and association; orchestrated and coordinated attacks through social media and other technologies to disempower and harass defenders and spread disinformation; and more.

During the 2022-2023 academic year, the Carr Center hosted Nicholas Opiyo, a human rights lawyer from Uganda, and Sima Samar, former Minister of Women's Affairs in Afghanistan.

Sima Samar

Former Minister of Women's Affairs in Afghanistan

Sima Samar is an Afghan women's and human rights advocate, activist, and a social worker who is active in national and international forums. She served as the Minister of Women's Affairs of Afghanistan from December 2001 to 2003. Samar was appointed as a member of the United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement in December 2019. In addition to her role as a Panel member, she is a member of the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Advisory Board on Mediation. She held positions as Special Envoy of the President of Afghanistan and State Minister for Human Rights and International Affairs. She has also served as Chairperson of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC), Minister of Women's Affairs, and as one of the only two women in the transition government at that time.

Nicholas Opiyo

Executive Director and Lead Attorney, Chapter Four Uganda

Nicholas Opiyo is a Ugandan human rights lawyer commonly known for campaigning for civil rights and political freedoms in Uganda, specifically concerned with electoral law, the restriction of freedom of assembly, and the clampdown on freedom of speech and freedom of the press. He is also known for representing LGBTQ+ people. He is the current Executive Director and Lead Attorney at Chapter Four Uganda. Until 2017, Opiyo was a member of the Team of Experts for the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Peaceful Assembly and Association. He is the Board Chair of Action Aid Uganda, and a member of the Human Rights Advisory Board of BENETECH and of the African Middle Eastern Leadership Project (AMEL).

AFGHANISTAN

With the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan for the second time in August 2021, the country again became the biggest open prison in the world for the female population. Women have been erased almost completely from public life. The Taliban does not have a governance strategy. Instead, they issue decrees to restrict the freedom and rights of women in Afghanistan.

The humanitarian crisis in the country is one of the worst, and will deteriorate further. Women, children, and other vulnerable groups are at higher risk. The violation of the human rights of women is not only a problem for women in Afghanistan, but it represents the commission of major international crimes against human dignity, with full impunity. The Afghan case was a collective failure of the Afghan government, the people, and the international community, and requires collective action to end the culture of impunity for these crimes against humanity.

Sima Samar

On the current situation of human rights for women in Afghanistan

UGANDA

Uganda is a country that has not seen a peaceful transfer of power since gaining independence from the British in 1962. Every other subsequent regime has always been overthrown by a force of arms. In 1986, a rebel group took over, and President Yoweri Museveni has been in power since then – since I was a 5 year old kid in Uganda. Now, the impact of his prolonged stay in power is that dissent has begun to grow and ferment, especially in a country where 78% of the population are below the age of 35. The young people are becoming impatient.

The response of the state has included heavy-handed approaches. Elections are held, but they are merely a ritual to affirm President Museveni as the head of state, and they are characterized by violence. Extrajudicial killings, abductions, disappearances, the jailing of politicians, and the manipulation of the vote in favor of President Museveni explains the human rights situation in Uganda. If you look at the records of the country, it is sliding into authoritarianism, and there's deep concern about the state of our rule of law, governance, and democracy.

Nicholas Opiyo

On the state of Uganda in 2022–2023

Sima Samar

Sima Samar is a fellow at the Carr Center and was appointed as a member of the UN Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement in December 2019. She's held the positions of Special Envoy of the President of Afghanistan and State Minister for Human Rights and International Affairs, and also served as the Chairperson of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission and the Minister of Women's Affairs.

JUSTICE MATTERS

Listen to this complete podcast episode and others at carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/podcasts

The Taliban takeover of Afghanistan has deepened the country's human rights and humanitarian crises. More and more Afghans struggle to meet basic needs, including food and access to healthcare. According to the UN, more than half of the country's 38 million population suffers from acute hunger, with nearly 9 million Afghans at risk of famine. Women and girls are particularly affected by the severe restrictions placed on their freedom of assembly and association, as well as access to education and employment. Female activists are being abducted and indefinitely detained, while so-called unauthorized protests are banned.

Q Can you share a bit about your background and your motivations to fight for human rights and women's rights in Afghanistan?

I personally faced discrimination in Afghanistan as a woman and as a minority. So, that's why I started quite early in this field of human rights advocacy during the Russian invasion. I was involved in some activities like distributing night letters and participating in the demonstrations against the Russian invasion in the country and against the internal regime in the country.

In the district where I come from, I saw the level of poverty and the lack of freedom and facilities for women. I worked for more than two years in that area but had to move to Pakistan as a refugee because it was time for my son to begin school. I moved there for 17 years, and refugees were not involved in any policymaking or in any decision-making. It was hostile, there was no education for women, and not many health facilities.

I started fighting for women's rights, equality for everybody, and for the inclusion of women. Women were excluded by the international community and also by, of course, the Mujahideen group in Afghanistan and the regime in Kabul. Women's rights were used as tools not to empower women, but only on very superficial issues. That's why I became an advocate of human rights.

I then became the Minister of Women's Affairs after the Taliban regime in 2001 and became one of President Karzai's deputies. I began calling for accountability

and justice, particularly for war crimes and crimes committed in the country, crimes against humanity by all sides—not only by the government and Russia, but by the Mujahideen also. Then, of course, they didn't like me. Who wanted to support someone calling for justice and accountability?

I was forced to resign from the Ministry of Women's Affairs, but I became the chairperson of the Human Rights Commission, where I stayed for 17 years. We did a lot of work on transitional justice there, but warlords and fundamentalists started to shout against me and wanted to close down the Commission. It took a long time to add the Commission to the Constitution, making it a permanent institution in the country.

And then everything collapsed, unfortunately, on August 15, 2021. I think one of the reasons for that was corruption. With the Taliban coming back after 20 years, we see history repeating itself in Afghanistan. The Afghanistan case is a collective failure of everyone.

Q What are the connections in Afghanistan between corruption, human insecurity, and human rights violations?

Transparency International ranked Afghanistan among the lowest in the world in terms of corruption perception. This challenge is one that is often perceived by the international community as either the "cost of doing business" or as a financial issue, but it is not always seen through a human rights lens. Corruption is a disease that eats everything from inside. It was one of the reasons that Afghanistan's government failed. And it was corruption not only within Afghanistan, but corruption within the members of the international community who were involved in Afghanistan.

In a corrupt society, justice can be bought and sold. But then who is benefiting from the justice system and judiciary system? The one who has money. And it's always, unfortunately, women who are the poorest in every way. And the poor people were not able to access justice. Access to education was the same, because those who had money had the ability to send their daughters and sons to quality educational facilities in India or elsewhere. But for the poor, they had to go to public schools, and the quality of education in public schools was unfortunately quite low.

If the security operators and the law enforcement operators are corrupt, then you cannot provide security to people. My personal view of security is not simply to end the use of suicide attacks in the war, but security is to have food. Now, they are saying that the Taliban brought security—but this is not security. People are selling their daughters to feed the rest of their children. Is that security? Of course not.

In 2021, we said if the US does not learn from the past, Afghan women and girls will pay the price—and if the world abandons Afghanistan, the country faces catastrophe.... After 20 years of active involvement of everyone in Afghanistan, should we finally learn from history? Should we admit that we made a mistake?

Q What is your hope for the future of Afghanistan?

My hope is that we all realize that [the current situation in Afghanistan] was a failure of all of us.... I wish they would also support education in Afghanistan in any possible way, particularly the education of women and girls. We have done it before, we will do it again. Either homeschools, mosque schools, even sitting under a tree, we need to educate them. That would be a strong tool against ignorance and the misuse of culture and religion to control, restrict, and violate people's human rights.... Afghanistan is a traditional country, but that does not mean we should support traditions that violate human rights.

This interview has been edited for length.

Listen to the full conversation online.

JUSTICE MATTERS

Listen to this complete podcast episode and others at carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/podcasts

Nicholas Opiyo

Nicholas Opiyo is a Ugandan human rights lawyer commonly known for campaigning for civil rights and political freedoms in Uganda. He is the current Executive Director and Lead Attorney at Chapter Four Uganda, and a fellow at the Carr Center.

Q Can you describe the human rights situation in Uganda, and what motivated you to become a human rights defender?

With the benefit of hindsight, I can now tell you confidently that my life's work was inspired by my experiences as a child. I was born and raised in northern Uganda in the district called Gulu during a very brutal conflict between the Ugandan Government and a notorious rebel group called the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). I grew up as a front-row witness to hideous human rights violations by both Uganda's government forces and the rebel group led by a wanted war criminal, Joseph Kony.

That conflict was characterized by the abductions of young children, with many young girls turned into sex slaves, including my own sister who was abducted and spent eight years in the ranks of the LRA as a wife. The "rebel commander" had people's lips and hands cut off by the rebels. In some instances, the rebels would cut people into pieces and force the villagers to cook them in pots.

I was among the young kids that became known as night commuters, who would trek miles, sleeping in open public spaces. As a child, these experiences set me on a path of exploration: what could I do to help myself and my family? Later, that grew into a desire to help the general public. When I got the chance to go to law school, I dedicated myself to defending human rights, and I have done so ever since the minute I left my last law class 15 years ago.

Uganda is a country that has not seen a peaceful transfer of power since gaining independence from the British in 1962. Every subsequent regime has always been overthrown by a force of arms. In 1986, a rebel group took power, and Museveni has been in power ever since. Now, the impact of his prolonged stay in power is that dissent begins to grow, especially in a country in which 78% of the population is below the age of 35.

The young people are becoming impatient, and the response of the state has been to use heavy-handed approaches, such as extrajudicial killings. Elections

Rwenzori Mountains at sunset in Fort Portal, Uganda. Image credit: Itote Rubombora

Aerial view of Kabul, Afghanistan. Image credit: Mohammad Husaini

are held, but they are merely a ritual affirmation of the President Museveni as the head of state, and they are characterized by violence: killings, abductions and disappearances, the jailing of opposing politicians, and the manipulation of the vote in favor of President. If you look at the country's record, it is sliding into authoritarianism and there's deep concern about the state of our rule of law, governance, and democracy.

Q Uganda, like many countries, is experiencing closing civic space, in which the government has targeted and criminalized civil society's activist organizations. Can you describe this closure in Uganda?

There is no doubt that the civic space in Uganda continues to close by the year. There are several means deployed by the Ugandan government to restrict civic space: first, the creation of legislation that constricts human rights enjoyment rather than promoting it. Civil laws have been passed to restrict the operations of the nonprofit sector in Uganda. It is now required in Uganda to register with four different government entities to be able to run an NGO. If the NGO does any work around sexual minorities, it will be prevented from doing any work and will be deregistered, or not registered in the first place. We also have legislation that requires notification of the authorities to hold a peaceful assembly. At any one time you're going to run afoul of that legislation, and that provides a very sound justification for the government to come down hard on you.

Another approach has been the use of anti–terrorism laws and money laundering laws largely informed by the Financial Action Task Force: regulations that seek to inhibit terror financing in Uganda have been misused to go beyond restricting terror financing to target the activities of civil society.

There's deep concern about the continued closing of civic space. I'm sure you probably noticed that I am at the Carr Center because I was arrested and sent to jail. Our organization has been suspended indefinitely. We are fighting to challenge that suspension, but the reason for our suspension was supposedly for failing to file our returns — yet we have filed all returns and comply with all the laws. But this is because we were involved in investigating extrajudicial killings at the height of the elections in 2021; we were exposing the use of the military, the peripheral organizations that kill people on the street for peaceful demonstration. We were incarcerated — inconveniencing our lives, suspending our work, freezing our bank accounts, and making it impossible for us to do our work.

Q What gives you hope for the future of Uganda?

The young people in Uganda give me a lot of hope. I'm desperate to imagine a new country. They are tired of the rhetoric of the past, because they want to see a better future for the country. With such a large portion of our population below the age of 35, I think that youthful energy, if channeled properly, provides an opportunity for our country.

But there's another thing. When leaders begin to lash out at the populous, it is not a sign of strength — it's a sign of weakness. It is an admission that they are at their weakest and therefore they have to use violent means to retain power. So, the silver lining of all of this is that they have to realize that the end is near, and that people are going to turn the page, and change will eventually come. Those two things give me hope. We're doing the right things: keep advocating for a peaceful country; keep advocating for a lawful and democratic society. I think that Uganda has a bright future.

This interview has been edited for length.

Listen to the full conversation online.

Human Rights in Action

The Carr Center brings its programs and research to life through its various publications and papers, *Justice Matters* podcast episodes, webinars, and more.

- Justice Matters Podcast
- Webinars
- Publications

Podcast

In the episode "Police Reform in the Americas," host Sushma Raman speaks with Dr. Yanilda María González about authoritarianism and policing, civil society's role in holding politicians and police accountable, and how to facilitate more representative dialogues around police reform.

JUSTICE MATTERS

The Justice Matters podcast explores a variety of human rights issues, from the ethics of artificial intelligence to identifying the underlying sources of systemic discrimination, and investigates these issues both in the United States and abroad.

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METRICS

Since the podcast began in 2018, Justice Matters has had...

47k+
total downloads

26k+
listeners from

53
podcast episodes

164
countries

EPISODE HIGHLIGHTS

Corporate Accountability for Human Rights

Mike Posner

Jerome Kohlberg Professor of Ethics and Finance, Stern School of Business, New York University

What is the responsibility of businesses to uphold human rights? What is the role of civil society to hold businesses accountable? And how well is the human rights movement equipped to deal with the emerging challenges of the digital age?

> “Governments around the world have discovered that global technology companies have gathered an unthinkable amount of data about each of us—and they're eager to get at it.

Black Witnessing, Smartphones, and the New Protest Journalism

Allissa Richardson

Associate Professor of Journalism, USC Annenberg

What is Black witnessing, and how does it connect to movements for racial equity and justice? Can capturing a moment shape a movement?

> “When [African Americans] have turned their phones toward injustices, they have created some of the largest social justice movements that the country—and the world—have ever seen.

The Rise of Human Rights Cities

Martha Davis

University Distinguished Professor of Law, Northeastern University School of Law

Where do universal human rights begin? On this episode of Justice Matters, host Sushma Raman speaks with Professor Martha Davis about local movements and human rights cities.

> “The concept of 'human rights cities' was originally more of a mindset... but then it became a way for cities to incorporate aspects of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or various UN treaties into the governing mechanisms of the city.

INTERVIEW

Leslie Alexander

Racial Justice Fellow, Carr Center

Transcript of Justice Matters
Haiti and the Origins of Black Internationalism

Leslie Alexander is a Carr Center Fellow, a historian, and author of *Fear of a Black Republic: Haiti and the Birth of Black Internationalism in the United States.*

JUSTICE MATTERS

Listen to this complete podcast episode and others at carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/podcasts

Q What is Black internationalism?

Black internationalism, probably over the past decade or more, has become a growing subfield in African-American history. It’s concerned with how Black activists in the United States interacted with and agitated for Black liberation outside of the boundaries of the United States. Essentially, to what extent did Black activists become interested in global Black liberation struggles? How did their activism manifest and how did they work collaboratively with other activists around the world to fight for social justice beyond the boundaries of the United States?

Q Can you describe the concept of transnational consciousness and the role it has played in shaping activism?

One of the distinctions that I want to make is the difference between a pan-African or transnational consciousness and what I consider Black internationalism in the United States. It's important to emphasize that a transnational or pan-Africanist consciousness existed from the very beginning of the transatlantic trade in humans. That consciousness was powerfully important as people were being dispersed across the diaspora, sold away from their family members and their loved ones, and they have a sense that these folks are being cast elsewhere in the diaspora, essentially never to be seen or heard from again. Even from the earliest years of the transatlantic trade in humans, enslaved Africans had a consciousness that they were deeply connected to people who had been cast across the diaspora.

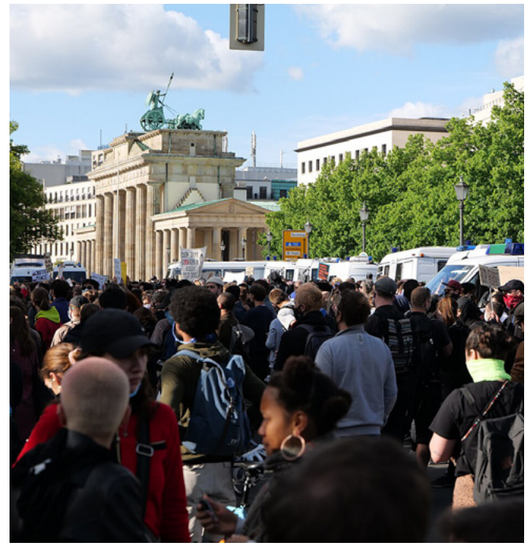
Breonna Taylor Memorial in Louisville, Kentucky. Image by FloNight.

Black internationalism became sort of the next significant step in Pan-Africanist consciousness. It's one in which people start to think: how do I actually agitate for and promote liberation struggles that are happening in other countries? How do I mobilize this sense of interconnectedness? It's that difference between thought and action.

Q In the aftermath of the killings of several unarmed Black men and women by police and vigilantes, we saw massive protests in 2020, not just in the US, but around the world. How would you characterize what was accomplished then, and what still needs to be done?

This is the question that has been consuming my thoughts a great deal because, as you know, the newest project that I'm working on is about the long history of policing in Black communities and how we got here relative to the contemporary crisis around policing. I will say that I found at the time a great deal of hope and inspiration in the protests that broke out across the world following the murders of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, and a whole series of folks. I was quite frankly stunned by the size, the scope, the volume, and the diversity of the protests that were taking place, certainly in the United States. In rural towns and small villages where people probably have tried to avoid the topic of race or have found the issue of race irrelevant, they found themselves polarized and grappling with questions of race and policing.

As you said, we also saw an extraordinary outpouring of support for the Black Lives Matter movement around the world. I remember sitting on the couch and watching on television as these massive protests were taking place in New Zealand and in South Korea, in these places that I had not imagined you would see tens of thousands of people taking to the streets to protest the killing of a Black person in the United States. I think that says a lot right about the power of internationalist consciousness.



Left: Black Lives Matter protest in Auckland, New Zealand. Around 5,000 were present. Image by WBPchur. Right: BLM protest in Berlin. Image by Leonhard Lenz.

I continue to believe that there are more people in the world who believe in the value of humanity and who want to see the creation of a just, fair, and peaceful and harmonious world than the folks who would like to see the conflict and tension continue. I continue to believe that there are more people on the side of good in the world than not. And I think those protests proved that. But the challenge is that we do have to figure out how to sustain a movement.

How do we move from a situation where we are largely reactive in response to a particular incident, like the murder of George Floyd, to one where we actually create and sustain a truly just society? How do we channel that energy so that it's not just an explosive response to a particular event, but it becomes a sustained movement that ultimately leads to justice?

One of the things that concerns me is that when you look at the data, over 2,000 people in the United States have been killed by the police since the murder of George Floyd. We have seen a change in consciousness on a daily level, but we actually have to transform the process and the functioning of policing. That's an issue of extraordinary concern to me, especially when you see the continuation, for example, of policies like the no-knock warrants that simply allow the police to burst into people's homes unannounced and wreak havoc on whatever they assume is happening in there. We saw, for example, just recently the murder of Amir Locke by police as the result of a no-knock warrant. Breonna Taylor's death was the result of a no-knock warrant. While we have this inspiring movement that is transforming people's consciousness, we need to take it to the next step where we actually see a change in practice as well.

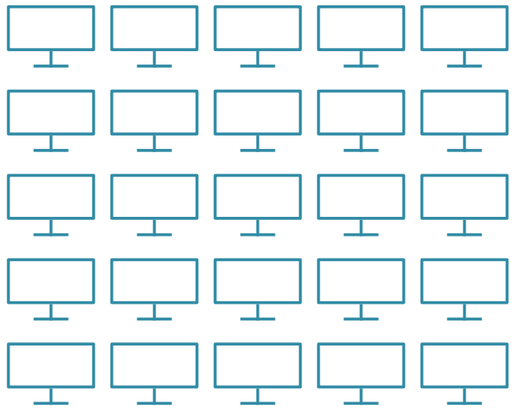
This interview has been edited for length.

Listen to the full conversation online.

Webinars

25

webinars released this past academic year



3,893

hours of content watched

by the Carr Center's audience, covering a range of topics from women's rights in Afghanistan and Iran to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

26,972 views

TOP THREE WEBINARS

Human Rights: A Perspective from Russia

> In the years before the war... independent media was shrinking year-to-year. Part of the independent media was put on the list of foreign agents, and part of them were taken under the control of the authorities by changing the owners.

Sergey Lukashevsky
Director, Sakharov Center in Moscow

Women's Rights in Afghanistan

> In Afghanistan... women don't have any rights—their right to work is taken from them, and their right to education is taken from them. But despite harsh conditions, there are still young female generations who resist.

Sima Samar
Former Minister of Women's Affairs, Afghanistan

Human Rights in Hard Places: Human Rights in Iran

> These current protests in Iran are different in terms of the duration; it's now being called a revolution. It's very high stakes, and people inside the country are asking us to make sure that what they are doing is amplified.

Gissou Nia
Director, Strategic Litigation Project, Atlantic Council

Publications: Books

Political Theory of the Digital Age

Mathias Risse

With the rise of far-reaching technological innovation, from artificial intelligence to Big Data, human life is increasingly unfolding in digital lifeworlds. While such developments have made unprecedented changes to the ways we live, our political practices have failed to evolve at pace with these profound changes.

In this path-breaking work, Mathias Risse establishes a foundation for the philosophy of technology, allowing us to investigate how the digital century might alter our most basic political practices and ideas. Risse engages major concepts in political philosophy and extends them to account for problems that arise in digital lifeworlds, including AI and democracy, synthetic media and surveillance capitalism, and how AI might alter our thinking about the meaning of life. Proactive and profound, *Political Theory of the Digital Age* offers a systemic way of evaluating the effects of AI, allowing us to anticipate and understand how technological developments impact our political lives—before it's too late.

SELECT REVIEWS AND EXCERPTS

> "Once there is general AI smarter than us, it might well produce something smarter than itself, and so on, perhaps very fast. That moment is known as the singularity, an intelligence explosion that could alter the course of human history in ways nothing else has ever done.

"Risse could not be more right that we need to do political theory for a digital age, to come to grips with the political dimensions of our social lives as the very notion of social life is transformed by advances in AI in both the near and far terms. Weaving together insights from the philosophy of technology, rights theory, science and technology studies, and traditional political theory and political philosophy, Risse reveals both the depth of challenges we face across a spectrum of issues in the immediate and distant future."

John Basl
Northeastern University

"Human beings are unprepared for the consequences of AI and big data analysis. Drawing on a range of political theories and welcome common sense, Risse briskly frames the agenda to prepare for a world of 'deepfakes,' surveillance capitalism, and machines that alter human lives while operating without human supervision. This book points the way toward preserving both individual and social lives of meaning and deliberate choices."

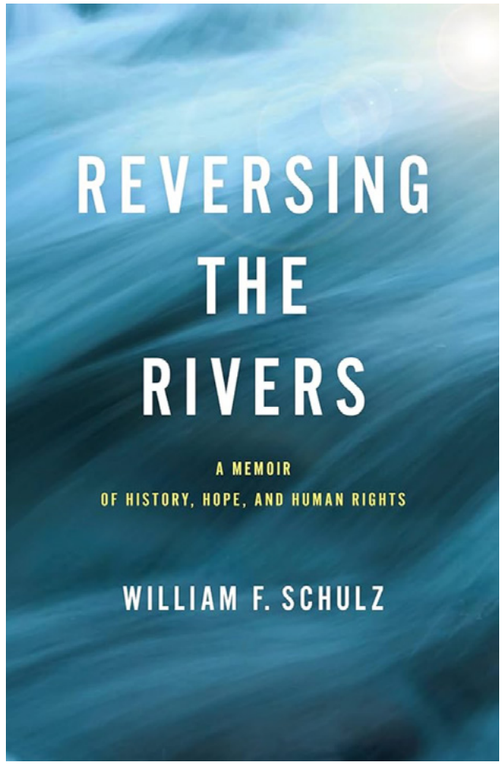
Martha Minow
Harvard Law School

Preface: The Need to Do Political Theory for the Digital Age

Political thought explores how we should live together. Our lives increasingly unfold in digitally interconnected ways, and so at this stage, political theory must investigate how to inhabit this digital century. Much innovation in the digital domain is driven by machine learning, a set of methods that analyze the myriads of available data ("Big Data") for trends and inferences. Unlike conventional programs, machine-learning algorithms are based on so-called "neural networks," programs that imitate the ways in which brain cells interact with each other. Typically, such algorithms are what efforts at creating artificial intelligence (AI) amount to today. Owing to their sophistication and sweeping applications, these techniques are poised to alter our world dramatically. In some circles, there is much enthusiasm about what might be possible: "No objective answer is possible to the question of when an 'it' becomes a 'who,'" writes one engineer, "but for many people, neural nets running on computers are likely to cross this threshold in the very near future."

At the time of writing, the production of AI models appeals to be moving into its own kind of industrial age... These advances have drawn on breakthroughs from around 2010—in the words of a Google Senior Vice President for Research, "the 2010s were truly a golden decade of deep learning research and progress"—when computers became powerful enough to run enormously large machine-learning models and the Internet started to provide the humongous amount of training data such algorithms require to go through their learning process. Since then, conceptual breakthroughs in programming have led to the creation of ever more complex and sophisticated software—and the supercomputers required to enable the most advanced AI models to unfold their full power have become so expensive that, short of well-funded governmental AI strategies in the wealthiest countries, the field is likely to end up being dominated by the research agendas of private companies with substantial resources.

Publications: Books



Reversing the Rivers: A Memoir of History, Hope, and Human Rights

William F. Schulz
Former Senior Fellow, Carr Center

From 1994 to 2006, William F. Schulz headed Amnesty International USA. During this time, he and the organization confronted some of the greatest challenges to human rights.

These included genocides in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Sudan; controversies over the prison camp at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and the use of torture by the United States after 9/11; as well as growing concern about inequities in the American justice system, from police misconduct to the death penalty. Drawing upon his encounters with tyrants and the inspiration of brave human rights heroes, *Reversing the Rivers* discusses the day-to-day realities of struggling with life-and-death human rights crises.

SELECT REVIEWS

"Where would we be without human rights organizations? Do we want to live in a world in which torture is normative, or in which inequities are not called to account? What kind of a world would that be?

"Schulz has given us a powerful book that reveals profound philosophical lessons for a new generation grappling with complex human rights issues. At a time when hope seems elusive, Schulz's human rights journey, with its horrors and victories, heroes and villains, is an intriguing story of how to retain hope in humanity."

Katrina vanden Heuvel
Editorial Director and Publisher of *The Nation*

William F. Shulz

"A story of great leadership, action, kindness, and compassion, told with sharp prose and candid humor. Through his own extraordinary tale and those of the multitudes of people he met as Executive Director of Amnesty International, Schulz's memoir shines a bright torch on the importance of human rights and our collective power to create a safer and greater world for all."

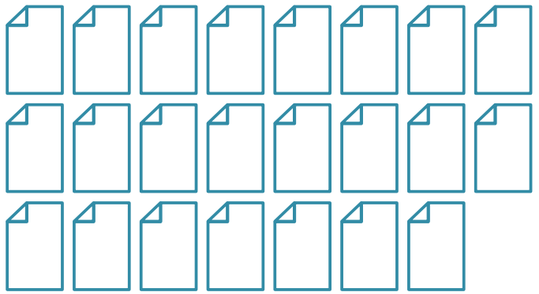
Loung Ung
Author of *First They Killed My Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers*

Publications: Papers

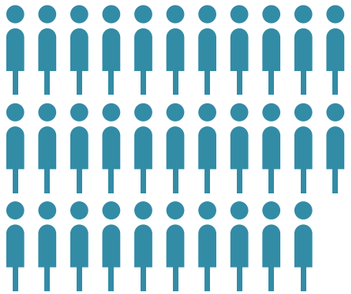
Over the past year, the Carr Center has released 23 new publications by 32 authors, including faculty, fellows, students, and prominent guests from both academia and industry. These publications have explored numerous subjects within the human rights realm, from the evolution of the human rights movement to artificial intelligence and women's rights.

BY THE NUMBERS

23
new publications



32
authors



The Critical Human Rights Issues of 2022

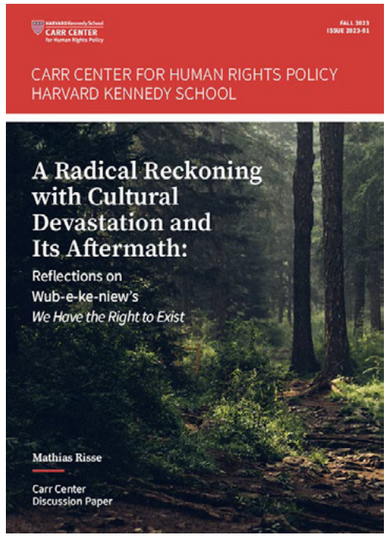
Various authors

As new developments unfold in the political, social, economic, and technological spheres, the strategies by which we protect our fundamental rights must continue to evolve and adapt to our changing world. For Human Rights Day in December 2022, the Carr Center's faculty and fellows reflected on events and issues around the world that continue to shape our approach to protecting human rights, including challenges to democracy, racial equality in the US, the Russia-Ukraine War, Iran's women's rights movement, and more.

> "Only in stable democracies are human rights robustly protected, and only regimes that reliably protect human rights are enduringly democratic. Polarization makes democracies unstable, and to that extent, threatens human rights.
>
> **Kathryn Sikkink**

> "The human rights abuses [in the Russia-Ukraine conflict] highlight the extreme difficulty in holding violators accountable and the limitations of international human rights law.
>
> **Audrey Comstock**

> "In the international human rights field, the concept of repair for past harm is fundamental. Thus, discussions about reparatory justice should go hand-in-hand with reflections on historical suffering and modern-day racial discrimination.
>
> **Aminta Ossom**

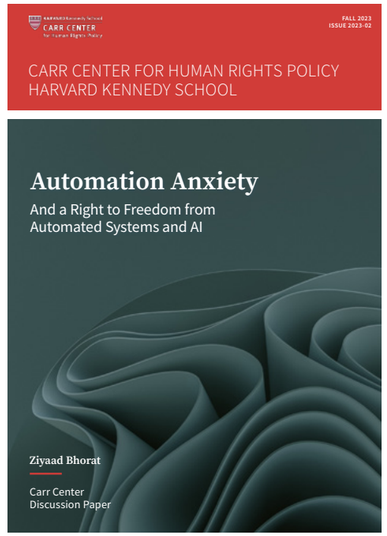


A Radical Reckoning with Cultural Devastation and Its Aftermath: Reflections on Wub-e-ke-niew's *We Have the Right to Exist*

Mathias Risse

Wub-e-ke-niew's enormously unsettling book *We Have the Right to Exist* presents a version of indigenous philosophical thought as an alternative way of being human in the world that creates profound insights in times of ecological crisis and technological disruption. His insights about Western civilization connect to internal criticisms articulated by thinkers like Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Latour and so make his text an excellent entry point for genuine engagement between Western and indigenous thought.

> **Many indigenous peoples around the world have a self-understanding of having inhabited certain places since times immemorial, and over generations have developed sustainable ways of relating to ecosystems. Such views deserve much respect.**



Automation Anxiety and a Right to Freedom from Automated Systems and AI

Ziyaad Bhorat

Rapid advances in AI have created a global sense of urgency around the ways that automated systems are changing human lives. Not all of these changes are necessarily for the better. On what basis, therefore, might we be able to assert a right to be free from automated systems and AI? Such a right does not call for dismantling the technological age, but rather designates what we ought to contest and protect in a world with a precarious dependence on technology.

> **On what basis might we be able to assert a right to be free from automated systems and AI? One of the things that makes automation such a striking phenomenon in human history is the anxiety and unease it continues to elicit in us, even as it promises a release from labor.**

Events

The Carr Center enjoyed an upswing of in-person events and other programming over the past academic year.

- Civil Rights Tour
- Conferences
- Forums

Advisory Board
Civil Rights Tour: Alabama

Montgomery, Selma, and Birmingham are profoundly significant sites in the history of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. Our visit with members of the Carr Center Advisory Board this spring reminded us of the continued importance and urgency of our work in promoting equal human rights.

The Advisory Board trip to Alabama included visits to the 16th Street Baptist Church and the Civil RIghts Institute in Birmingham, as well as the Legacy Museum, the National Memorial for Peace and Justice, and the Mothers of Gynecology Park Memorial in Montgomery.

Ethics & Solar Geoengineering

In February, the Carr Center co-hosted the Ethics and Solar Geoengineering Conference with the Center for the Environment at Harvard University. The conference brought together philosophers and experts in related fields to create a forum for interdisciplinary and inclusive discussion, with a special focus on the communities who stand to be most impacted by the climate crisis.

Solar geoengineering is a set of proposed technologies that aim to mitigate the impacts of ongoing climate change by reflecting a small amount of incoming sunlight back into space. This increasingly divisive technology raises important questions concerning the justice, legitimacy, and governance of the technology—questions considered at the conference by panels of political philosophers and ethicists.

> The prospect of solar geoengineering is a relatively new phenomenon, and the ethical dimensions of the technology have not been extensively studied. As such, there is disagreement not only about whether to research and potentially deploy the technology, but about how to frame and understand the ethical questions raised.... The Ethics and Solar Geoengineering conference at the Carr Center was an important step towards filling this gap, and I was left with a deepened understanding of how different disciplines and perspectives are approaching this new technology, as well as an improved ability to recognize the assumptions that my own work takes for granted.
>
> **Britta Clark**
> Ph.D. Candidate in Philosophy, Harvard University

KEYNOTE LECTURES:

Solar Geoengineering: A Dangerous Distraction in an Unequal World

Aarti Gupta
Wageningen University

Solar Geoengineering's Counterfactuals: Putting Geoengineering into the Context of Decarbonization Efforts

Holly Jean Buck
SUNY Buffalo

Transitional Justice Evaluation Team

In June 2023, the Transitional Justice Evaluation Team (TJET) held a workshop at Harvard Kennedy School to showcase and discuss the team's research two years into their three-year grant from Global Affairs Canada. The workshop's 33 attendees included policymakers and scholars, notably Beth Van Schaack, US Ambassador-at-Large for Global Criminal Justice, joined by her State Department colleagues, as well as two high-level officers and an advisor from Global Affairs Canada.

The first session of the workshop focused on current trends in transitional justice. TJET members Tadesse Metekia and Mykhailo Soldatenko discussed the ongoing conflicts in Ethiopia and Ukraine, respectively, and the outlooks for transitional justice in those countries. TJET Principal Investigators Phuong Pham and Patrick Vinck tied the victims' perspective into the discussion, previewing early results from their surveys of conflict victims in Ethiopia and Ukraine. The workshop then turned to transitional justice efforts in Colombia, Indonesia, and Myanmar, drawing on the expertise of TJET members Daniel Marin-Lopez and Ayu Wahyuningroem.

A later session delved into TJET's newly updated global database of transitional justice mechanisms, with early findings on human rights trials from the database presented by TJET Principal Investigator Geoff Dancy and TJET postdoc Oskar Timo Thoms. Various team members presented two draft papers on gender and transitional justice, a key foreign policy concern for the Canadian government.

Kathryn Sikkink, TJET Principal Investigator, and Pablo de Greiff, the first Special Rapporteur on the Promotion of Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Guarantees of Non-Recurrence at the United Nations Human Rights Council, rounded out the workshop with a deeper exploration of the root causes of human rights violations and potential preventive tactics, leading to a practical discussion on how prevention initiatives could be effectively implemented into national and international policy.

Forum Lecture

Kenneth Roth

Senior Fellow, Carr Center

Kenneth Roth is a Senior Fellow at the Carr Center. Previously, Roth served as the Executive Director of Human Rights Watch for over 30 years. He discusses the evolution of human rights work, the strategic challenges and opportunities facing Human Rights Watch, and the future of human rights.

Q How has the human rights movement evolved over the past few decades, globally?

The breadth of our concerns in human rights has changed dramatically over the years. Let me begin with Amnesty International, because early Amnesty did three things. They fought executions and the death penalty, they fought torture, and they fought political imprisonment—particularly prisoners of conscience. When Human Rights Watch came along, the big innovation we had was to look at the full range of civil and political rights, not just imprisonment. But that was still quite narrow.

Over time, Human Rights Watch added the laws of war, using international humanitarian law to monitor how wars were fought. We then added economic and social rights. But I think the most important thing we did was to add thematic programs. One thing I noticed early on is that, if you're a researcher assigned to a country, you tend to focus on the big political issues happening in the capital, which ignored huge sectors of society.

We began to recognize that we needed to deliberately supplement our country-focused researchers with people who would focus on thematic issues. We added programs on women's rights, on children's rights, on LGBTQ rights, on the rights of people with disabilities, refugee rights, et cetera. Each of these people would develop their own network and expertise. Suddenly, we were able to address a much broader set of people who were facing human rights problems.

We gradually started building advocacy and media offices in a range of cities around the world. Today we have them in Tokyo, Sydney, Beirut, Johannesburg, Kenya, San Paolo, Toronto—and then in Europe we have them in Brussels, London, Paris, Berlin, Stockholm. We have the UN offices in New York and Geneva.

There was nothing on the international justice front for basically 50 years after Tokyo and Nuremberg. I remember in the early '90s trying to get any government to sue Saddam Hussein before the International Court of Justice for his 1988 Anfal genocide against the Kurds, and nobody would do it. They were all afraid—it was just too unconventional. Today, Gambia has sued Myanmar for genocide against the Rohingya. Things are

Kenneth Roth speaks at a JFK Jr. Forum event on February 8th, 2023, with additional remarks by Mathias Risse and Kathryn Sikkink. Photography by Martha Stewart.

getting better in that sense. We finally had the tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. These were consolation prizes for not having stopped the genocide, but nonetheless, they did bring to justice most of the architects of the slaughter in Bosnia, the architects of the genocide in Rwanda, yet not Kagame or his senior leaders for summarily executing 30,000 people as they stopped the genocide.

Q What enabled the human rights movement to become a global phenomenon?

I was fortunate to serve as Director of Human Rights Watch for three decades, and I've been involved in the movement for four decades. And in that time, I have seen the human rights movement significantly evolve due to communications technology. And that is because the essence of what we do is to shame governments, to spotlight the discrepancy between their pretense of respect for human rights and the often-ugly reality that falls short. But to do that, we need to know what's going on.

In the earliest days of the human rights movement, information moved by steamship or by sailboat, very slowly. That meant you could only know about big, slow-moving things. The first real human rights movements were the anti-slavery movement and the women's suffrage movement. Very important things, but things that were not changing day by day. Now, in the early days of the modern human rights movement, international phone calls were very expensive—you didn't do it very often. International travel was even rarer. For the most part, you wrote letters. So, while it was possible to report, it was slow.

I remember when this revolutionary technology emerged: the fax machine. What the fax machine let you do was send an entire page of information for the price of a quick phone call. That was revolutionary. We would sneak fax machines into the Soviet Union. Now, when email came along, that was really transformative. It enabled, suddenly, a global campaign. The campaign that Human Rights Watch helped lead to abolish anti-personnel landmines was possible because we built a global coalition, initially of NGOs and ultimately of governments, using email. It had never been done before.

> **“It is the duty of the human rights movement to always push back, to raise the cost of human rights violations, and to change the cost-benefit analysis of repression.**

Email also made possible real-time reporting. Up until then, human rights reports were retrospective. You would write something that happened about the last year’s worth of events. It would come out a few months later—and it was still big picture. Email meant that we could write about what happened today to try to influence it tomorrow. That was a huge shift.

Of course, today we have social media, meaning that it’s much harder for governments to hide what they're doing because everybody has a mobile phone and can post on social media. It is much easier for us to convey information. But it’s a double-edged sword, because the bad guys can also convey information without having to go through the medium of a more responsible journalist or editor—they can just disseminate misinformation.

Q After spending four decades in human rights work, what do you believe is essential to a successful human rights movement?

What the human rights movement has shown is that you need people who are professionally dedicated to collecting information in a reliable way, then writing it up and disseminating it in a way that will move governments. That's not a movement in the sense that a bunch of people have mobilized in the street—it really does take a professional staff.

From left: Kathryn Sikkink, Maggie Gates, Kenneth Roth, Sushma Raman, and Mathias Risse. Photography by Martha Stewart.

Martin Luther King Jr. is famous for saying, “The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.” With all due deference to Dr. King, I don't believe that. I actually believe that it is in the nature of governments to violate human rights. It's always convenient to repress the opposition, to violate human rights, and to stay in power. It is then the duty of the human rights movement to always push back, to raise the cost of human rights violations, and to change the cost-benefit analysis of repression.

Additionally, the entire concept of shaming governments for human rights violations depends on public morality. If you shine a spotlight and people applaud, you get nothing. That's actually one of the dangers of populist autocrats, who are able to engender that kind of applause.

The good news is that between our stronger movement and our strengthened tools, we are much better able to push back today than when I started this work four decades ago. While human rights defenders were pretty rare in the early days, today there are professional human rights activists working in every country. It has become a genuinely global movement. It doesn't mean that we always win, but there are people, everywhere, watching.

This interview has been edited for length.

Read the complete conversation online.

LGBTQIA+ Activism Summit

Diego Garcia Blum

Social Change Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School,
Summit Organizer

The first International LGBTQIA+ Activism Summit took place at Harvard on April 28th, hosted by the Harvard Kennedy School. This groundbreaking event brought together nine global activists dedicated to expanding LGBTQIA+ rights in challenging and dangerous contexts, and provided a unique opportunity for these courageous individuals to receive training and engage with esteemed Harvard faculty members and fellows.

The conditions for LGBTQIA+ individuals remain perilous worldwide, with 66 countries criminalizing same-sex relationships, for which six impose the death penalty. In these regions, LGBTQIA+ people face harassment, persecution, and violence from both society and state authorities. The International LGBTQIA+ Activism Summit was envisioned to train and empower the brave activists that are fighting for LGBTQIA+ dignity and human rights where this work is often dangerous.

The training sessions adapted the robust curriculum at HKS on movement building, organizing, and strategizing for human rights to the context of advancing LGBTQI+ rights. It also included sessions created for this summit that focused on analyzing the systemic drivers of social acceptance for LGBTQIA+ people. The participants praised the summit for its transformative impact, empowering them with valuable frameworks and knowledge.

The event was co-sponsored by the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy and the Center for Public Leadership at the Kennedy School, with support from the Open Gate and David Bohnett Foundations.

People

The Carr Center community includes leading scholars and practitioners from a variety of disciplines who explore issues ranging from artificial intelligence and nonviolent action to racial justice and transitional justice. Our experts have backgrounds in diplomacy, business, social responsibility, technology and ethics, and more.

- Affiliated Faculty
- Fellows
- Students
- Staff

Affiliated Faculty

51

faculty members involved with the Carr Center

11

Faculty Committee Members

40

Faculty Associates

TOPICS OF INTEREST

include but are not limited to:

- Authoritarianism
- Civil resistance
- Democracy and society
- Economic inequality
- Gender and violence
- International negotiation
- International norms & institutions
- International security
- Peace-building
- Race, gender, and inequality
- Racial justice
- Refugee protection
- Transnational child migration
- Voting rights

Fellows

During the 2022–2023 academic year, the Carr Center hosted fellows who have worked to support the research and activities of the Racial Justice Program, the Technology and Human Rights Program, the Transitional Justice Program, and more.

Each of the Carr Center's fellowships offer scholars and practitioners the opportunity to work with Harvard's faculty and students to explore critical human rights issues.

> **It's not an exaggeration to say that the Carr Center helped save my life, bringing me to Cambridge to escape the persecution I was experiencing in Uganda for the work I do as a human rights lawyer to advocate for civil liberties that should be enjoyed by all.**

Nicholas Opiyo
Carr Center Fellow

TOPICS OF INTEREST

include but are not limited to:

- Authoritarianism and democracy
- Black internationalism
- Civil rights
- Climate and environmental justice
- Corporate accountability
- Critical Race Theory
- Ethics of artificial intelligence
- Equality and discrimination
- Freedom and moral agency
- International human rights law
- Law and justice
- LGBTQIA+ rights
- Misinformation / disinformation
- Non-governmental actors
- Privacy and surveillance
- Transitional justice
- Women's rights

Technology and Human Rights Fellows Ella McPherson, Sebastián Lehuedé, and Sharath Srinivasan present their work at cohort convening in 2023.

FELLOWSHIPS

Carr Center Fellowship

This fellowship allows post-docs, scholars, senior leaders in international organizations, human rights defenders, and heads of human rights organizations to write and perform research, audit classes, meet faculty, lead study groups for students, and more.

Racial Justice Fellowship

This cohort of fellows explores the various dimensions of racial justice in the United States and around the world, with focuses ranging from Critical Race Theory to the history of Black internationalism.

Scholars at Risk

Artists, writers, and public intellectuals from around the world come to Harvard to escape persecution and continue their important work.

Technology & Human Rights

Fellows examine how technological advances over the next several decades will affect the future of human life, and delve into the protections of the human rights framework.

Transitional Justice Fellowship

Fellows evaluate the effectiveness of transitional justice policies such as prosecutions, truth commissions, reparations, and vetting and lustration.

Kenneth Roth

Carr Center Senior Fellow

Kenneth Roth is the former executive director of Human Rights Watch, one of the world's leading international human rights organizations, which operates in more than 90 countries. Prior to joining Human Rights Watch in 1987, Roth served as a federal prosecutor in New York and for the Iran-Contra investigation in Washington, DC. A graduate of Yale Law School and Brown University, Roth has conducted numerous human rights investigations and missions around the world.

Justice Luís Roberto Barroso

Carr Center Senior Fellow

Justice Luís Roberto Barroso is a Brazilian law professor, jurist, and Justice of the Supreme Federal Court of Brazil. Justice Barroso has also served as President of the Superior Electoral Court. Justice Barroso graduated with a law degree from the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ). He also has a Master's Degree in law from Yale University and a PhD from UERJ. Justice Barroso is a Professor of Constitutional Law at UERJ, while also doing post-doctoral studies in the Harvard Law School.

> “Within the broader academic debate, the Carr Center fills a pretty unique position: it has both the [human rights] theoreticians and the people who have spent time on the ground, who are not afraid to get their hands dirty, [and] understand how human rights campaigns unfold.”
>
> **Kenneth Roth**

Mona Elswah

Carr Center Fellow

Mona Elswah is a DPhil candidate at the Oxford Internet Institute (OII), where she examines the nexus between digital repression and movements' tactical innovations in the Arab World. She is also a researcher and a core member of the Computational Propaganda project (COMPROP) with a focus on the MENA region and authoritarian regimes. Her work focuses on disinformation in non-Western contexts, including Russia, Iran, and Arab countries.

Martha Davis

Carr Center Fellow

Professor Martha Davis is a Carr Center Fellow who teaches constitutional law, US human rights advocacy, and professional responsibility at Northeastern University. In 2015-2016, she held the Fulbright Distinguished Chair in Human Rights and Humanitarian Law at the Raoul Wallenberg Institute (RWI) at Lund University. She is also a member of the expert committee for HumanRight2Water, a Geneva-based non-governmental organization that advocates for water and human rights.

In Conversation: Environmental Human Rights and Water Security

Q What are the biggest issues and challenges facing water security today and how is water security connected to our human rights?

In the United States, we've seen a dramatic increase in concerns about water quality, something that many of us have long taken for granted. Water unaffordability is also increasing. And some pockets of the US, particularly on Native American reservations, simply do not have ready access to potable water at all.

Some of these issues are the result of neglect. For decades, the federal government has been cutting back the assistance it provides to communities for maintenance of water infrastructure, and local governments have not been able to make up the difference. Now, with aging systems, we are paying the price. At the same time, dramatic weather events have increased flooding, which further stresses our water systems. These problems will not go away without some significant attention and investment. It goes without saying that the human right to water is fundamental to supporting the full range of rights–e.g., housing, food, civic participation, and so on. Recognition of water as a human right would obligate governments at all levels to take concrete steps to realize that right.

Q What can governments do to ensure water security for citizens? Will international or regional organizations need to take a larger role in ensuring citizens around the world have equal access to clean water?

Water rights are necessarily implemented at the local level, and community participation is key to ensuring that water systems operate in ways that are effective at the community level. A national law will only go so far. It must be backed up by support for community-level initiatives to increase water access, taking into account social and cultural norms. When international or regional organizations are involved, they are often able to share creative new ideas and innovations for water access, but it is important that any new initiatives are sustainable by the community over the long term.

> "The federal government has been cutting back the assistance it provides to communities for maintenance of water infrastructure, and local governments have not been able to make up the difference.

Q When the UN General Assembly voted to recognize the human right to water and sanitation in 2010, the United States abstained—the same as it did more recently for the right to a healthy environment. What does this mean for US citizens? How does this impact progress internationally when one country—a powerful one—will not abide by international norms and expectations?

The US refusal to recognize the human rights to water and sanitation, and the human right to a healthy environment, is shameful. Unfortunately, this stance is consistent with the American attitude of exceptionalism, i.e., the idea that we are so unique and exemplary that we can stand outside of the global community. The US has been particularly resistant to recognition of economic, social, and cultural rights, like the right to water.

But environmental issues like water security are not confined within national boundaries. This is an arena where the entire international community must work together to ensure that water is sufficient, safe, acceptable, physically accessible, and affordable for all. Human rights norms provide an important framework for that collaboration and coordination. We hurt ourselves and our children by rejecting that framework.

Q What issues could we expect to see within the next 10-15 years if we do not do more to recognize environmental rights as human rights? What must be done to ensure that these rights are protected, especially in the face of climate change?

Climate change is already affecting everyone to some degree, but it is not evenhanded. Rather, it exacerbates inequalities, with devastating results for communities and individuals that are already marginalized. Implementation of the human rights framework is key to addressing such consequences before they happen, or redressing them if needed.

Q Can you tell us a little about your work at the Carr Center, and what you hope to accomplish during your time with the Center?

Earlier in this year, I completed work on the 3rd edition of my co-authored casebook, *Human Rights Advocacy in the United States* (West 2023). My co-authors are Risa Kaufman, Johanna Kalb, and Rachel Lopez, also a recent Carr Center Fellow. We hope that the book will encourage law schools to give greater attention to the ways in which US advocates can use human rights law in domestic settings.

In the water arena, I've been working on several issues relating to water affordability. One exciting development is that my work has contributed to the introduction of a bill in the Massachusetts State legislature that would require local utilities to collect and publish information on water shutoffs, payment plans, liens, and other issues, categorized by zip code. New Jersey enacted a similar law last year, and efforts to increase the transparency around water policies are growing nationwide. Access to this kind of information about policy implementation is critical to ensure water justice as rates increase and local governments confront other complications from climate change.

This interview has been edited for length.

Read the full conversation online.

Students

Professor Marshall Ganz, who is the Rita E. Hauser Senior Lecturer in Leadership, Organizing, and Civil Society, gave the LGBTQIA+ Activism Summit attendees a powerful account of his time as a Freedom Rider in Mississippi during the summer of 1964, when three fellow civil rights activists from his group were abducted and murdered.

Each academic year, the Carr Center works with numerous students who join as fellows, research assistants, grant recipients, and interns. These students support the ever-growing activities and programs of the Carr Center, from research support to scholarly papers that advance our understanding of the state of human rights around the world.

STUDENT SPOTLIGHT

Britta Clark

Ph.D. Candidate in Philosophy,
Harvard University

Britta Clark is a Ph.D. Candidate in Philosophy at Harvard University. Her research addresses a range of ethical and political issues raised by the climate crisis and the green energy transition. In particular, she is interested in the intergenerational dimensions of solar geoengineering, a technology that could abate some short-term impacts of climate change, yet also comes with significant long-term risks.

Diego Garcia Blum

MPP '21
Harvard Kennedy School

Diego Garcia Blum is a Carr Center student grant recipient and a graduate of the Harvard Kennedy School. He is currently a Fellow at the Center for Public Leadership at HKS. Blum is a community leader, activist, researcher, and engineer focused on issues disproportionately affecting underserved and discriminated populations. His work focuses on fighting for the safety and acceptance of LGBTQ people living in places where they are unsafe.

2023 PAE Winners

Policy Analysis Exercise (PAE) Winner:
From Recognition to Action: Policy Responses after US Genocide Determination in Myanmar

"On March 21, 2022, Secretary of State Antony Blinken made a historic determination that members of Myanmar's military committed genocide against the Rohingya people in the Rakhine State. This announcement is significant because the US government has only made such a determination during ongoing genocides three other times: Darfur (2004), the areas under control of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (2016), and China (2021). While this determination is an important acknowledgment, the specific legal and policy implications of a genocide declaration are unclear. The goal of this report is to analyze the current US policies after a genocide determination and recommend options that promote victim support, ensure accountability, and set a strong precedent for how the USG can act in future genocides."

Christian Allard

MPP '23 | Harvard Kennedy School

Christian Allard is a MPP '23 graduate of HKS and a graduate of George Washington University where he studied Arabic and spent time learning about the regional diplomatic environment of the Levant while in Amman, Jordan. His research primarily focuses on regional security issues, with a specific emphasis on the Gulf countries and the Levant.

Isabella Paternostro

MPP '23 | Harvard Kennedy School

Isabella Paternostro is a MPP '23 graduate of HKS and a 2021 Thomas R. Pickering Foreign Affairs Fellow. She holds a B.A. in China & Asia-Pacific Studies from Cornell University, and has interests in regional and comparative politics, U.S. foreign policy, and international affairs.

"

The U.S. has continually failed to take meaningful policy actions after declaring genocides... The US risks undermining the weight and legitimacy of its genocide designations if it once again has an underwhelming response to Myanmar's genocide against the Rohingya. This would be a disservice to the Rohingya, who have been the victims of state sponsored genocide, and to all future victims of genocide who cannot rely on the world's strongest power for policy actions and support.

Excerpt of Allard and Paternostro's PAE paper

Staff

The Carr Center's staff members bring a wide range of skills and experience to the Center, helping to manage its events, administration, fellowships, communications, programs, digital media, and more.

Jieun Baek

Research Project Manager

Jieun Baek is the Research Project Manager on Technology and Human Rights in North Korea at the Carr Center. She is the author of *North Korea's Hidden Revolution: How the Information Underground Is Transforming a Closed Society.*

Helen Clapp

Research Coordinator and Faculty Assistant

Helen Clapp joined HKS after completing a Master of Science in International Relations from the London School of Economics. She also worked as a Case Assistant for Foley Hoag LLP within the Global Business and Human Rights practice.

Emma Costa

Events Assistant (since August 2023)

Prior to joining the Carr Center, she worked as a historian and research assistant for Tuft's Feinstein International Center. She was also a member of the American Enterprise Institute's Academic Programs Department. Emma earned a BA in Political Science from BU, and a MA in International History from Tufts.

Emily Driscoll

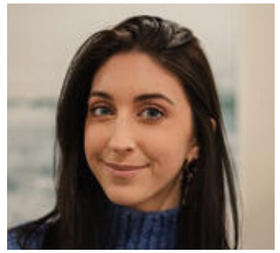
Events Assistant (through Spring 2023)

Emily Driscoll graduated from Franklin and Marshall College and has worked in marketing, hospitality, and content promotion.

Laryssa Da Silveira

Senior Program Coordinator

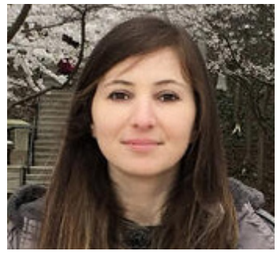
Prior to joining the Kennedy School, Laryssa Da Silveira was an intern for UNICEF: USA and a development intern at The Institute of Eastern Mediterranean Studies. She is fluent in Portuguese and Spanish.



Alexandra Gilliard

Director of Communications

Prior to joining the Carr Center, Alexandra Gilliard was the Communications Manager at the Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute. She also serves as a Senior Editor for the International Affairs Forum, which provides analysis of international issues.



Rachel Harris

Digital Content Specialist

Prior to joining the Carr Center, Rachel Harris was a designer for the HKS Office of Communications and Public Affairs. She has a MFA in graphic design from RISD and fifteen years of experience in the field.

Jay Ulfelder

Research Project Manager

Jay Ulfelder has two decades of experience working at the intersection of social and data science, with a focus on protest, collective action, human rights, democracy, and forecasting.

Special thanks also to Peter Coccoma for his production work on the *Justice Matters* Podcast, and to Phil Hamilton for his sharp editorial eye on our publications, including this annual report.

Acknowledgments

Thank you to the Carr Center's faculty, fellows, students, advisory board, guest speakers, staff, and our global audience. Our work to bring human rights policy and practice to the next generation of leaders worldwide is possible thanks to your unwavering support of our mission.