THE CARR CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY

JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

A N N U A L R E P O R T

We are guided by a **commitment** to

make **hum**an **rights** principles central

to the formulation of sound **public policy**.

CARR CENTER | MISSION STATEMENT

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A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

The Carr Center for Human Rights Policy has a unique approach to addressing human rights challenges. While academic in its mode of inquiry, the Center is deeply concerned with practical results. We start with tough questions. Should states intervene militarily in Darfur? How can the U.S. armed forces avoid harming civilians in counterinsurgency operations? Are there meaningful metrics to measure efforts to promote human rights? By taking advantage of our unconventional partnerships, as well as our location in a school of government, we work towards providing comprehensive and pragmatic solutions to human rights problems.

The Carr Center helps bridge the gap between ideas and action.

In addition to the Center's academic and policy work, our vital events program brings human rights perspectives to the Harvard and broader communities. Highlights included a discussion with UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Louise Arbour and a screening of the film *Innocent Voices*, with producer Lawrence Bender. Additionally, the Center worked with students to develop a special three day training session called *Human Rights and the Media: The New Campaigns*, featuring accomplished journalists and human rights activists.

The Center's Fellowship Program brings both practitioners and scholars to expand and enrich the Center's community. The Ryan Family Foundation made it possible for us to host such diverse individuals as the renowned Iranian human rights activist and lawyer Mehrangiz Kar and U.S. Air Force Major William Casebeer, who wrote and lectured on ethics and terrorism. Our fellows are a vital part of the Carr Center's contribution to the Harvard and Kennedy School of Government communities, and help us to integrate practitioners' perspectives into our work.

2005-2006 PROGRAM

Through its National Security and Human Rights (NSHR) Program, the Center continues its unique role at the nexus of the military and human rights communities. Generously supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the NSHR Program adopted a new focus on counterinsurgency this year, and will continue to work with the military community to infuse humanitarian principles into the use of force. The Carr Center community continues to enjoy an outsized impact on the public debate, whether writing about the endgame in Iraq, the election of Hamas or genocide in Sudan. Our faculty, fellows, and affiliates are experts quoted frequently in news articles and programs. From op-eds in *The New York Times* to contributions in international human rights journals, the Center continues to make human rights issues a central part of the public debate.

I was honored in January 2006 to become the second Director of the Carr Center. The Center's first Director, Michael Ignatieff, steered the Center's evolution from a small research program to a leading voice in the field of human rights. He is now happily ensconced in the Canadian Parliament. He left an extraordinary legacy, and we wish him well in his new public role.

As always, other members of the Carr Center team are moving on and new faces are joining us. We welcome Diane Malcolmson, the Center's new Executive Director, whose impressive background in development and institutional leadership will serve the Center well in its next phase. We extend special thanks to Fernande Raine, who leaves the role of Executive Director to focus on Center research. Program Officer Eleanor Benko and Events Coordinator Christen Sewell leave the Center to pursue new educational endeavors. Earlier this year we bid farwell to Jill Clarke and Stephanie Wilson. We are grateful for their many contributions. We are excited to be joined by Jemma McPherson as Faculty Assistant, Tyler Moselle as NSHR Program and Research Associate, and Meghan Frederico as Events Coordinator. It is great to have them on our team.

2005-2006 PROGRAM

focuses on helping Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the donor community to effectively use research data and impact assessment tools to evaluate human rights work. Supported by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Program focused this year on assessing data and measurement tools related to human trafficking and police violence. It expects to examine the role of international financial institutions in measuring human rights in the coming year.

The still young Measurement and Human Rights Program

2005-2006 PROGRAM

Finally, the Carr Center remains an active voice for intervention in Darfur through its Program on **Responses to Genocide and Mass Atrocity**, sponsoring events and supporting action by students and human rights organizations. Samantha Power continued her active educational role through her writing and numerous public speaking events, helping to organize the "Rally to Stop Genocide" held on April 30 in Washington, D.C., and working to raise this issue in the media.

Of course, the Center's work would not be possible without the vision and financial support of key individuals and organizations, starting with the Center's founder and benefactor Greg Carr. We are also grateful to key supporters Vin Ryan, the inspirational Chair of the Advisory Board, and Cynthia Ryan, who has infused new energy into many of our efforts. They have recently established the Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights Practice to ensure continued human rights teaching at the Kennedy School. Additionally, I would like to thank James Mossman and the Pierre and Pamela Omidyar Fund for their continued generosity. We are grateful for our supporters' faith in the intersection of ideas and action.

I am honored to be working with such wonderful friends and colleagues on critical human rights challenges. The Center looks forward to your continuing support and involvement as we continue to help make human rights ideas take effect.

mpace

Sarah Sewall Director

NATIONAL SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The National Security and Human Rights (NSHR) Program examines national security issues through the prism of human rights, weaving humanitarian concerns into the fabric of traditional security studies.

Through research, publications, and dialogue among practitioners and academics, the Program addresses such issues as: how the conduct of war affects foreign civilians, international humanitarian law and military ethics, civil-military relations, the role of military leadership, training, doctrine, and capabilities in upholding human rights, and national and international judicial redress for abuses committed during armed conflict. The Program also examines human rights as a justification and outcome of national and international interventions (using both military and non-military tools) and the role of human rights in post-war reconstruction efforts.

The NSHR Program comprises several complementary initiatives; the Project on the Means of Intervention is the core of the Program's activities. Through an ongoing dialogue between the military and human rights communities, conference reports and working papers, the Project helps insure that humanitarian considerations are factored into the conduct of war. Having completed a several-year effort focused principally on U.S. airpower, the Project recently began a new phase devoted to counterinsurgency operations and institutional learning. The Program collaborates with military institutions on issues of mutual interest and integrates human rights actors into formerly closed military discussions.



policy engagement

nontraditional partnerships

non **p**art**is**an





Director Sarah Sewall continued Program outreach through op-eds, media appearances, and public speaking engagements that included addresses at the Joint Service Conference on Professional Ethics, the Army's Annual Strategy Conference, and the Eisenhower National Security Series. The Program also developed and sponsored a seminar series throughout the academic year. (see page 20)

The Program hosts members of the military and human rights communities through its non-stipendiary Visiting Fellows program. Fellows contribute intellectually and participate in Program activities. This year's fellows included William D. Casebeer, Jeanne Guillemin, and Cris Stephen. (see page 12) Applications are accepted on a rolling basis.

MAJOR WORKSHOPS

Counterinsurgency in Iraq:

Implications of Irregular Warfare for the United States Government November 7 & 8, 2005 , Washington, D.C.

The Project on the Means of Intervention inaugurated a new focus on counterinsurgency in its Washington workshop series. The meeting, cosponsored by the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, placed the ongoing conflict in Iraq in historical context and considered the broader implications of irregular warfare for the U.S. Government. Speakers included LTG David Patraeus, Dr. Anthony Cordesman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Peter Maass of *The New York Times Magazine*. Some 90 participants from the military and international security communities and from human rights and humanitarian organizations debated the lessons of prior Western counterinsurgency campaigns and the strengths and weaknesses of U.S. efforts in Iraq. Participants stressed the critical importance of civilian protection and identified related areas in which the U.S.-led coalition could improve its performance. While workshop members offered differing prognoses on the Iraq war, most agreed upon the need for institutional reform in both the U.S. military and non-military agencies to more effectively address irregular challenges. The conference report was published in early 2006 and can be found on the Carr Center's website.

Developing a New U.S. Counterinsurgency Doctrine:

Counterinsurgency Field Manual Workshop

February 23 & 24, 2006, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

The Project on the Means of Intervention joined with the Army's Combined Arms Center to sponsor the Army and Marine Corps counterinsurgency doctrine review conference at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. This unprecedented partnership with human rights actors in doctrine development underscored the centrality of humanitarian principles for a successful counterinsurgency effort. As noted by George Packer in *The New Yorker*, the meeting was a milestone in the revision of the U.S. military's field manual. The workshop included members of the active and retired military community, civilian counterinsurgency experts, as well as representatives from U.S. government civilian agencies, human rights organizations, and the media. Participants' work is shaping the scope and substance of the forthcoming counterinsurgency manual, which is slated for completion in late 2006.

LOOKING AHEAD

The Program on National Security and Human Rights is launching a new series of public addresses, panels, and seminars on the meaning and implications of The Long War. This series will bring divergent perspectives on Iraq and terrorism more broadly to the Harvard community, catalyzing debate and inquiry on this vital topic.

The Project on the Means of Intervention will continue its ground-breaking work on humanitarian issues in counterinsurgency and stability operations. Current plans include: a fall conference in partnership with the U.S. Army Judge Advocate General School on the Rule of Law and Human Rights in Stability Operations and a winter workshop on the Escalation of Force and Civilian Harm in Military Operations. The Project will also continue working with the U.S. Army War College to examine other aspects of counterinsurgency operations.



The workshops fill a gaping hole.

They're the single most **valuable** thing I do all year;

I look forward to them like Christmas.

MARC GARLASCO | SENIOR MILITARY ANALYST FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

For an entire generation of students and young professionals,

Samantha Power's prophetic and probing assessments have

provided a **wake up call** to a world that feels more comfortable

standing by rather than standing up in the face of **mass** atrocity crimes.

JOHN PRENDERGAST | SPECIAL ADVISOR TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

RESPONSES





Photograph by Michal Safdie

TO GENOCIDE AND MASS ATROCITY

The Carr Center's Responses to Genocide and Mass Atrocity Program seeks to impact legal, political, and military responses to mass atrocity through teaching, writing, and advocacy.

During the 2005-2006 academic year, the Carr Center engaged Kennedy School students on the issue of genocide and encouraged sustainable activism in Darfur. The Carr Center's Executive Director, Fernande Raine, worked closely with a group of students to help broaden the impact of the Genocide Intervention Network, a non-profit organization dedicated to empowering individuals and communities with the tools to stop genocide. Additionally, the Carr Center hosted photographer Mark Brecke, who presented his photographs from a recent trip to Darfur.

In addition to enabling student activities, the Carr Center continued to support Professor Samantha Power's research, writing, and public outreach on Darfur. Power made numerous college visits, conducted some dozen interviews on national radio and television programs, and published related articles in *The New Yorker* and *The New Republic*. On April 30, 2006, Power joined Nobel Laureate Elie Wiesel, actor George Clooney, U.S. Senator Barack Obama and other prominent advocates in speaking before tens of thousands of Darfur activists at the "Rally to Stop Genocide" on the Mall in Washington, D.C. That same weekend, Power joined 700 college students for the inaugural advocacy training session of the Genocide Intervention Network and Students Taking Action Now-Darfur.

LOOKING AHEAD

In the coming year, the Carr Center will incorporate its work on issues of genocide prevention and humanitarian intervention into the National Security and Human Rights and the Measurement and Human Rights Programs. The Center will continue its robust events programming on genocide prevention and responses to genocide, including hosting a panel called "Obstacles and Options for Intervention in Darfur," featuring Sarah Sewall, Samantha Power, Carr Center fellow and Sudanese activist Omer Ismail, and Max Boot of the Council on Foreign Relations. Finally, the Carr Center will continue to support student activism and faculty research on this issue.

MEASUREMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Carr Center is one of the few research institutions devoted to critically examining the policies and actions of non-governmental organizations as they affect the realization of human rights. Beginning in 2004, with the generous support of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Program on Measurement and Human Rights began to address some of the most basic and yet most difficult questions in the field of human rights: How do we assess progress in promoting human rights, and how can organizations assess their own impact more effectively?

While there has been significant movement in the fields of development and governance to use quantitative indicators to supplement qualitative assessments of progress, the human rights community has lagged behind. The Carr Center is taking the lead in promoting this discussion; this year the Program focused on two specific issue areas, human trafficking and police violence, convening a group of experts, scholars, and practitioners in the summer of 2006 to examine current measurement practices within those fields.

This past fall, the Carr Center published its first conference report, *Measurement and Human Rights: Tracking Progress, Assessing Impact*, which was widely distributed to practitioners and academics. The report was a summary of the discussions that took place in the first conference on this topic during the summer of 2005 at the Carr Center, which featured participants from such organizations as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Human Rights First, and the American Civil Liberties Union. Drawing on the conference, Program Director Fernande Raine published "The Measurement Challenge in Human Rights," in *Sur: International Journal on Human Rights*.

Workshop on Measurement and Human Rights:

Human Trafficking and Police Violence

July 6-8, 2006 , Cambridge, MA

The Program deepened its examination of measurement and human rights by focusing in detail on the topics of human trafficking and police violence. The workshop provided an opportunity for small group discussion within the two separate thematic tracks. It also generated an integrated discussion of the special challenges of assessing human rights abuses that are covert in nature. Approximately 35 scholars and practitioners, all experts in their fields, identified innovative approaches to gathering and using data to assess the extent of human rights violations as well as the efficacy of an organization's attempts to combat them.

LOOKING AHEAD

In fall 2006, the Carr Center will publish a conference report detailing the discussions about human trafficking and police violence and providing tools for moving forward with measurement in those two issue areas.

The Program will also use the knowledge generated by the first two workshops to examine how international financial institutions (IFIs) gather and use human rights data to inform their aid decisions. While a government's human rights practices can be an illuminating source of information related to "good governance," gathering such data still presents a number of challenges. This contentious issue will benefit from a focused examination of the methodologies IFIs employ.

4



encourage accountability

measure impact

facilitate dialogue

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16	20	24	28	32	36	40	44	48

FELLOWS PROGRAM

The Carr Center Fellows Program brings international practitioners and scholars to the Kennedy School for a year of interdisciplinary dialogue, advanced research, and writing. During the 2005-2006 academic year, the Carr Center hosted four fellows.

CARR CENTER FELLOW



Mehrangiz Kar is an attorney, writer, and activist working towards the promotion of democracy, rule of law, and human rights within the Islamic Republic of Iran. While at the Carr Center, Ms. Kar continued to promote democracy in Iran through public lectures, articles and media appearances, including a number of events at the Carr Center. Her work was featured in *The Boston Globe* in March 2006. Before Iranian authorities banned Kar from making public appearances, she was a public defender in Iran's civil and criminal courts and published regularly in independent Iranian journals. In April 2000, following her participation in a symposium in Berlin, she was arrested and imprisoned on charges of acting against the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM FELLOWS



Jeanne Guillemin is a Senior Fellow at MIT's Security Studies Program and a Professor of Sociology at Boston College. While at the Carr Center, Professor Guillemin wrote "China's 1942 Allegation of Japanese Biological Warfare and the Suppression of War Crimes Evidence in the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal," to be published in *Identification, Characterization, and Attribution of Biological Weapons Use*, edited by Peter R. Lavoy, Anne L. Clunan, and Susan B. Martin. She has published widely on her twenty years of experience investigating biological weapons controversies. Her latest book, *Anthrax: The Investigation of a Deadly Outbreak* (University of California Press, 1999, pb 2001), was the definitive account of the 1992 team research of the largest inhalational anthrax epidemic in recorded history.



Major William D. Casebeer is an intelligence officer in the United States Air Force. While at the Carr Center, he researched ethical issues related to terrorism and armed groups. He holds degrees in political science from the U.S. Air Force Academy (BS), philosophy from the University of Arizona (MA), and cognitive science and philosophy from the University of California at San Diego (PhD). He is author of *Natural Ethical Facts: Evolution, Connectionism, and Moral Cognition* (MIT Press), and co-author of *Warlords Rising: Confronting Violent Non-State Actors* (Lexington Books). Major Casebeer has published on topics ranging from the morality of torture interrogation to the rhetoric of evil in international relations and has experience as a Middle East affairs analyst. He was formerly an Associate Professor of Philosophy at the Air Force Academy.



Cris Stephen is a United Nations de-mining official. Using mine action activities in Afghanistan as an illustrative case study, he examined and defined lessons learned from the growing overlap and friction between United Nations emergency humanitarian activities and peace operations, and the increasingly rapid entry of significant development partners into immediate post-conflict environments. He served with the New Zealand Army from 1988-1997 before becoming the Political Officer for the United Nations Mine Action Service within the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in 1999. Since September 2001, he has been the Programme Officer for Afghanistan and has been responsible for ongoing day-to-day support to the efforts of the United Nations, international community, NGOs and Government of Afghanistan in that country.



The Carr Center changed the way I think about human rights.

I learned that **meaningful** advocacy need not always be

adversarial and that it can be driven from the 'inside'.

KSG STUDENT | 2006

STUDENT SUPPORT

The awards and research opportunities provided by the Carr Center for students of the Kennedy School not only allow students to gain firsthand experience relevant to their studies, but also often prove to be life-changing experiences as well, inspiring future leadership and professional development in human rights protection and promotion.

POLICY ANALYSIS EXERCISE GRANTS

In the fall of 2006, the Carr Center continued its support for human rights-related Policy Analysis Exercises (PAEs), which form the basis for the major paper that each second-year masters student must produce. The Carr Center provides grants so that students are not discouraged from selecting not-for-profit PAE clients who may be unable to reimburse students for their expenses. This year, the Center was able to offer support to nine students.

Policy Analysis Exercise Grant Recipients

Negar Azimi investigated the ways that the United States can best support democratic change in Egypt.

Katharine Conn and Cecilia Mo performed case study research in Rwanda, assessing the success of the government's decentralized education policies and the resulting impact on communities.

Elizabeth Radin examined how NGOs assess human rights issues in order to properly scale their projects to the size of the problem.

Sean McFate developed a framework for vetting new security forces in post-conflict settings.

Chad Hazlett prepared a strategy for the Genocide Intervention Network to recruit and leverage a dues-paying membership base to effectively influence U.S. policy in Darfur, Sudan.

Deborah Murphy worked with the Global Equity initiative to identify and plan responses to threats to the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan.

Anjali Alimchandani and **Solome Lemma** worked with Project Hope International to produce a toolkit for the development of transitional housing units in support of survivors of human trafficking.

SUMMER INTERNSHIP GRANTS

The Carr Center also provides grants for first-year Kennedy School students wishing to obtain a summer internship in human rights. The Center awarded grants to two students for the summer of 2006.

Summer Internship Grant Recipients

Kristel Tonstad worked with UNICEF's Advocacy and Social Monitoring of Child Rights Program in Tbilisi, Georgia, to identify issues relating to child poverty and to improve the consideration given to children's rights in government policy.

Andrew Wehrley worked with the Afghanistan Investment Support Agency in Kabul, a cross-ministry agency tasked with promoting investment, generating employment opportunities, and raising the living standards of the Afghan people.

CARR CENTER HUMAN RIGHTS PAPER AWARD

In an effort to recognize academic excellence in the human rights field, the Carr Center granted its fourth annual award for the best human rights research paper in Spring 2006. The award (including a \$500 prize) was presented at the Class Day ceremonies to Marisa Bassett MPP '06 for her paper titled "Playing Politics with Human Rights: the Making of the Iraqi Special Tribunal."

TEACHING

Some of the human rights courses taught last year at the Kennedy School include:

Michael Ignatieff, "Human Rights and International Politics: The Basic Policy Dilemmas"

Sarah Sewall, "Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy"

Arthur Isak Applbaum, "The Responsibilities of Public Action"

Jacqueline Bhabha, "International Childhood, Rights & Globalization"

Marshall Ganz, "Organizing: People, Power and Change"

J. Bryan Hehir, "The Politics & Ethics of the Use of Force"

Juliette Kayyem, "Critical Issues in Homeland Security"

Alex Keyssar, "Understanding Democracy through History"

Christopher Stone, "Public Safety & Criminal Justice Policy in Global Context"

Monica Toft, "Civil Wars: Theory & Policy"





The Carr Center faculty have been a constant

base of **support** for the act**ivism** we have been doing

on this campus for Darfur— building up to the **vi**ctory

of getting Harvard to divest from doing business

with the government of Sudan.

KSG STUDENT | 2006

CARR CENTER FACULTY



Michael Ignatieff, Carr Professor of Human Rights Practice, was the Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy until December 2005. His academic publications include *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment; The Needs of Strangers: An Essay on the Philosophy of Human Needs; The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience; Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond; The Rights Revolution; Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry; Isaiah Berlin: A Life; The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror;* and *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (ed). He served on the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. His nonacademic work includes *The Russian Album: A Family Memoir* and *Scar Tissue*, short-listed for the Booker Prize in 1993. Professor Ignatieff holds a Ph.D. in history from Harvard University.



Sarah Sewall is the Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy and Lecturer in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government. She also directs the Program on National Security and Human Rights which currently focuses on ethical and operational aspects of counterinsurgency. Sewall served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Assistance during the Clinton Administration, receiving the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service. She served as Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell for six years, on the Democratic Policy Committee, and on the Senate Arms Control Observer Group. While at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Sewall edited *The United States and the International Criminal Court: National Security and International Law*, published by Rowman and Littlefield in 2000. She graduated from Harvard College and Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar and is currently writing a book on civilian harm in war.



Samantha Power is a Professor of Practice in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government and was the founding executive director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy (1998-2002). Her book, *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide*, was awarded the 2003 Pulitzer Prize for general non-fiction, the 2003 National Book Critics Circle Award for general non-fiction, and the Council on Foreign Relations' Arthur Ross Prize for the best book in U.S. foreign policy. From 1993-1996, Power covered the wars in the former Yugoslavia as a reporter for *U.S. News and World Report, The Boston Globe,* and *The Economist.* She is a contributor to the *New Yorker* and *The New York Review of Books* and the editor, with Graham Allison, of *Realizing Human Rights: Moving from Inspiration to Impact.* A graduate of Yale University and Harvard Law School, she moved to the United States from Ireland at the age of nine. She was a 2005-2006 foreign policy fellow for U.S. Senator Barack Obama and is currently at work on a political biography of United Nations diplomat Sergio Vieira de Mello.

CARR CENTER FACULTY AFFILIATES

Arthur Isak Applbaum, Professor of Ethics and Public Policy

Jacqueline Bhabha, Jeremiah Smith, Jr. Lecturer in Law at Harvard Law School, Executive Director of the Harvard University Committee on Human Rights Studies and Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government

L. David Brown, Lecturer in Public Policy

Martha Chen, Lecturer in Public Policy

Marshall Ganz, Lecturer in Public Policy

Ryan Goodman, Rita E. Hauser Professor of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law Director of the Human Rights Program at Harvard Law School

J. Bryan Hehir, Parker Gilbert Montgomery Professor of the Practice of Religion and Public Life

Frances Kamm, Littauer Professor of Philosophy and Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government and Professor of Philosophy at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Juliette Kayyem, Lecturer in Public Policy

Alex Keyssar, Matthew W. Stirling, Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy and Chair, Democratic Institutions and Politics

Jennifer Leaning, Professor of the Practice of International Health at the Harvard School of Public Health and Co-Director of the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative

Jonathan Moore, Associate, Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy

Mathias Risse, Associate Professor of Public Policy and Philosophy

Frederick Schauer, Frank Stanton Professor of the First Amendment

Jessica Stern, Lecturer in Public Policy

Christopher Stone, Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Professor of the Practice of Criminal Justice

Monica Toft, Associate Professor of Public Policy

CARR CENTER STAFF

Fernande Raine continued as Executive Director of the Carr Center during the 2005-2006 academic year and also directed the Carr Center's Measurement and Human Rights Program. Prior to joining the Carr Center, she started several programs at Ashoka—Innovators for the Public, including a program on reforming the social capital market and Ashoka's national programs in Germany and France. Prior to that, Fernande worked at McKinsey for several years as a management consultant in the health care and financial services industries. After undergraduate studies in Germany, she completed her Ph.D. in history at Yale.

Diane Malcolmson became the Carr Center's Executive Director in July of 2006. Diane has spent much of her career creating and executing marketing and fundraising strategies for non-profit organizations and universities. Diane first joined Harvard University under the office of the Provost as the chief fundraiser for the Presidential Interfaculty Initiatives and other campaign projects. She is a graduate of Regis College and has an MBA and a Masters of International Affairs with a concentration in human rights from Columbia University.

Eleanor Ilus Benkő, Program Officer

Jill Clarke, Faculty Assistant

Ilana Fischer, Research Assistant and Coordinator of Strategy, Research and Program Development

James Fleming, Administrative and Financial Officer

Jemma Lohr McPherson, Faculty and Research Assistant

Ben Renda, Summer Project Coordinator, Project on the Means of Intervention

Christen Sewell, Events Coordinator

Hillary Schrenell, Research Associate

Melissa Baumann Siebert, Film Series Coordinator

Stephanie Wilson, National Security and Human Rights Program Fellow

CARR CENTER INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

Over the past year, the Center has received tremendous help from those who have participated in our internship program. Our interns volunteer their time to the Carr Center and become an integral part of the team. We extend our sincere gratitude to: Meghan Frederico, Daisy Fung, Ann Hopper, Laura Klivans, Ilan Liebner, Maggie Morgan, Emily Oswell, Jaime Padgett, Kate Potterfield, Tracy Roosevelt, Lily Shapiro, and Robert Terenzi, Jr.



CARR CENTER EVENTS

HUMAN RIGHTS & MEDIA: THE NEW CAMPAIGNS

Over the course of three Saturdays in April, students, faculty, and media professionals joined Stanley Cohen, Samantha Power, David Rieff, anti-corporate activists The Yes Men, advocates from Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, filmmakers, architects, photographers, and artists to address challenging issues surrounding human rights and media. Recent revelations surrounding torture were a point of departure for evaluating the successes and failures of the relationship between the media and the human rights community. Thomas Keenan, Director of the Human Rights Project at Bard College, served as moderator throughout.

The conference opened by surveying and challenging the traditional models of human rights storytelling. The second session examined how to frame human rights issues in the media in order to overcome obstacles such as the psychological resistance of a wary audience and the dangers of politically hostile environments. The third session featured presentations that assessed the efficacy of current technologies and tactics used to monitor, portray, and distribute information on human rights issues. The event concluded with an evening screening of *The Yes Men* and an update on recent Yes Men actions. *Cosponsored event*

The Carr Center has **top-notch** policy makers coming through on a regular basis - just a few days ago, I had the **opportunity**

to sit around a table of less than 10 people and talk with Juan Mendez.*

Through these kinds of opportunities, students get to test out how well their

ideas stand up to the scrutiny of those who we propose should implement them!

KSG STUDENT | 2006

NATIONAL SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM: SPRING 2006 SEMINAR SERIES

This year's National Security and Human Rights seminar series explored the overlap between national security issues and human rights in the post–September 11th world. It included the following speakers and topics:

Legal Issues in the "War on Terror"

Jelena Pejic, Legal Adviser for the International Committee of the Red Cross

The Need for Change in the Global Response to Explosive Remnants of War

Cris Stephen, Program Officer at the United Nations Mine Action Service in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, responsible for the oversight and coordination of the UN's largest emergency mine action program; Carr Center Program Fellow

The New Private Military Industry

Sean McFate, Kennedy School of Government student specializing in security sector reform, peacekeeping, and post-conflict reconstruction

U.S. Military Training and Civilian Protection

Bonnie Docherty, Researcher in the Arms Division at Human Rights Watch and Clinical Advocacy Fellow at Harvard Law School

Learning Stability and Reconstruction Lessons from Iraq

LTC Dennis Cahill, served in Field Artillery assignments in Korea and Germany and in Civil Affairs *Col. Peter DeLuca*, U.S. Army combat engineer; directed a \$3 billion construction program in support of the Iraqi Security Forces

The Rise of 'Lawfare' and the Global War on Terrorism

BG Charles Dunlap, Staff Judge Advocate at Headquarters Air Combat Command (ACC) at Langley Air Force Base and principal legal adviser to the ACC commander and staff

The FBI's Approach to Interrogations

Special Agent Bill Corbet, Member of the FBI Counterterrorism's Operational Response Section; interviewed detained Islamic militants at Guantanamo Bay, captured Al-Qaeda operatives in the U.S., Afghanistan, Pakistan and Kenya, and senior members of Iraq's Ba'ath Party

INTERVENTION SEMINAR SERIES

The Edmond J. Safra Foundation Center for Ethics and the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy co-hosted the second year of the Intervention Seminar Series. The purpose of this series was to convene new ideas both within and beyond the Harvard community on the moral, philosophical, and legal issues surrounding intervention in contemporary global politics. The focus of the series went beyond coercive military intervention and Iraq and its aftermath—though these issues certainly have and will continue to occupy both Centers—to tackle also the problematic moral and legal status of the whole gamut of state and non-state interventions.

National Precommitment to Protect Democracy and Human Rights

Daniel Wikler, Saltonstall Professor of Ethics & Population Health, Harvard School of Public Health

Intervention, Sovereignty and Human Rights Stanley Hoffman, Buttenwieser University Professor, Harvard University

The Principle of Nonintervention and the Policy of Nonproliferation

J. Bryan Hehir, Montgomery Professor of the Practice of Religion and Public Life, Kennedy School of Government

Democracy, Prudence, Intervention

Jack Goldsmith, Shattuck Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

Living Up to Rules: When Should Soldiers (and Others?) Disobey Orders?

Martha Minow, Jeremiah Smith, Jr. Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

A Human Right to Democracy?

Joshua Cohen, Professor of the Humanities, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Humanitarian Intervention and Pretexts for War

Ryan Goodman, Professor of International, Foreign, and Comparative Law, Harvard Law School

Terrorism and Several Moral Distinctions

Frances Kamm, Littauer Professor of Philosophy and Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government





HUMAN RIGHTS FILM SERIES

"Yesterday"

An evening with speaker Dr. Bruce Walker, director of Harvard Medical School Division of AIDS and Partners AIDS Research Center. *Yesterday* tells the story of a young, black mother in rural South Africa who is battling AIDS and trying to secure a future for her daughter.

Darrell James Roodt, director; Anant Singh and Helena Spring, producers; 2004 Cosponsored event

"State of Fear"

Producers Paco de Onis and Peter Kinoy showed their award-winning film that dramatizes the human and societal costs that a democracy faces when it embarks on a war against terror. The film recounts the terrorist attacks by Shining Path guerillas in Peru and the military occupation and repression of the country that followed.

Skylight Pictures; Pamela Yates, Paco de Onis, Peter Kinoy, producers; 2005

"Innocent Voices"

Producer Lawrence Bender presented the true story of Oscar Torres, highlighting the recruitment of child soldiers as an issue of global concern.

Luis Mandoki, director; Lawrence Bender, producer; 2004

Witness Films - An Evening of Video Advocacy

WITNESS uses the medium of video to document human rights abuses in order to catalyze positive social change. Producer Sam Gregory presented five short films: *Mental Disability Rights International (MDRI) Video Petition to Inter-American Commission on Human Rights* (MDRI, Paraguay, producer); *Always on the Run* (Burma Issues/WITNESS, producers); *A Duty to Protect: Justice for Child Soldiers in the DRC* (Association des Jeunes pour le Developpement Integre a Kalundu, Ajedi-Ka/WITNESS, producers); *System Failure: Violence, Abuse and Neglect in the California Youth Authority* (Books Not Bars Project of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights/WITNESS, producers); *Following Antigone: Forensic Anthropology and Human Rights Investigations* (Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team/WITNESS, producers).

"The Torture Question"

The evening included a screening of the *FRONTLINE* report *The Torture Question* and a panel discussion. The film focuses on the internal power struggle underway inside the Bush administration in the weeks following September 11 as the administration sought to create a legal framework giving the president authority to aggressively interrogate enemy fighters in the War on Terror.

"No More Tears Sister: Anatomy of Hope and Betrayal"

Sharika Thiranagama presented the film, *No More Tears Sister* in which Sharika Thiranagama portrays her mother, Dr. Rajani Thiranagama, a renowned human rights activist. The film, set during the violent ethnic conflict that has enveloped Sri Lanka for decades, traces Dr. Thiranagama's journey from militancy to human rights activism and examines the difficult choices that individuals and communities face during war.



WOMEN AND HUMAN RIGHTS FILM SERIES

Co-Sponsored by the Women and Public Policy Program

"My Terrorist" & "My Land Zion"

Director Yulie Cohen Gerstel presented the first two films in his trilogy MINE, which explores Zionism, the moral dilemmas of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the difficulties of raising children in a war-torn nation. *Yulie Cohen Gerstel, director/producer; 2002/2004; Women Make Movies release*

"Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War and Women"

Emmy-award winning documentary *Calling the Ghosts* details the deliberate use of mass rape as a military tactic during the Balkan Conflict.

Mandy Jacobson and Karmen Jelincic, directors; Julia Ormond, executive producer; 1996; Women Make Movies release

"Divorce Iranian Style"

Carr Center Fellow Mehrangiz Kar introduced this documentary which profiles the lives of several Iranian women navigating their country's legal system in pursuit of freedom through divorce. *Kim Longinotto and Ziba Mir-Hosseini, directors; 1998; Women Make Movies release*

"The Peacekeepers and the Women"

The Peacekeepers and the Women, winner of the Arte-Documentary Award for Best German Documentary, explores how military formations and political organizations try to solve problems for which they are partly responsible. Guest Speaker Martina Vandenberg examined the connections between the UN peacekeeping forces, the local military, and the active sex-trafficking industry in Bosnia and Kosovo. *Karin Jurschick, director; 2003; Women Make Movies release*



Photograph by Jonathan Wiesner/IRC

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Emyr Jones Parry, British Ambassador to the United Nations

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Daphna Golan-Agnon, Human Rights Professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Director of the Human Rights Internship Program at the Minerva Center for Human Rights

Brandt Goldstein, Storming the Court

Brandt Goldstein, author, *Storming the Court*, a narrative account of the litigation filed by Harold Koh and his Yale law students to free Haitian refugees held by the U.S. government at Guantanamo Bay in the early 1990s.

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Dennis McNamara, Special Adviser to UN Emergency Relief Coordinator and Director, Inter-Agency Internal Displacement Division

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The 2005-2006 Rama S. Mehta Lecture: The Role of Iraqi NGOs in the

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Hanaa Edwar, Secretary General, Iraqi Al-Amal Association Cosponsored event

SEMINARS

Human Rights Framework for Peace Processes in the Context of Sri Lanka and Nepal

Hannes Siebert, International Peace Process and Conflict Intervention Consultant and Director, Media Peace Centre and Executive Director, Appeal Foundation

Hannes Siebert, an international consultant, trainer, facilitator and mediator, has worked in many of the world's most conflict-ridden societies: southern Africa, south Asia, Northern Ireland, the Middle East, and the Balkans. Siebert is both a peacemaker and media producer. He is currently facilitating and advising on aspects of the peace processes in Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Kosovo, and developing innovative interventions designed to help heal ethnic divides.

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Jimmie Briggs, Author

Jacqueline Bhabha, Executive Director of the University Committee on Human Rights Studies

It is estimated that at any given time, about 300,000 children, many girls as well as boys, are employed in armed conflict. In *Innocent's Lost: When Child Soldiers Go to War*, author Jimmie Briggs tells the personal and powerful stories of the lives of child soldiers. For the last seven years, Briggs has been talking to, writing about, and researching the plight of these young combatants. The horrific stories of these children reveal the devastating consequences of the global tragedy of child soldiers.

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The panel explored the following questions: how do we build alliances with Islamic societies to cultivate the establishment of political systems that respect, protect, and fulfill human rights? How do we recognize moderate Islam, what are its traditions, and what are its chances for the future? Can a tradition of moderate Islam be relied upon to carry forward the agenda of human rights?

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Amat al-Alim Alsoswa has spent her career "speaking truth to power" as one of the most recognized and respected women in Yemen and the Arab world. She is the first Minister of Human Rights in Yemen, part of a life-long pattern of "firsts," including the first woman ambassador from Yemen and the chairperson of the Yemeni National Women's Organization.

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"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" in the Post 9/11 World

A new debate about the rationality of the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy featuring veterans of Operation Iraqi Freedom, members of the US Intelligence Community, and discharged gay service members. The tour's kick-off event featured special guest speakers *Congressman Marty Meehan* (D-MA) and *Rear Admiral Alan Steinman* (Ret.).

Cosponsored event

The 12th Annual International Development Conference at Harvard - Fulfilling the Development Promise: Transforming Ideas into Action!

The International Development Conference (IDC) brought together leading thinkers, students, practitioners and advocates to address major development challenges across the globe. *Cosponsored event*

Managing your Health and Safety Abroad

Cris Stephen, Program Officer, UN Mine Action Service, Department of Peacekeeping Operations and National Security and Human Rights Program Fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy

Information Session on Summer Internships and Human Rights

Fernande Raine, Executive Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy provided an overview of human rights organizations and answered questions about how to find an internship. Second year students discussed their internship experiences in the human rights field.

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- -... "Defining Success." Boston Globe, January 22, 2006.
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Christopher Stone, "A Tale of Two Cities: Boston, New York, and Crime." Boston Globe, February 12, 2006.

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Sarah Sewall, review of Running the World: The Inside Story of the National Security Council and the Architects of American Power, by David Rothkopf. Parameters: U.S. Army War College Quarterly, Spring 2006.

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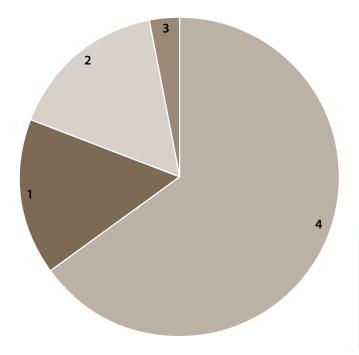
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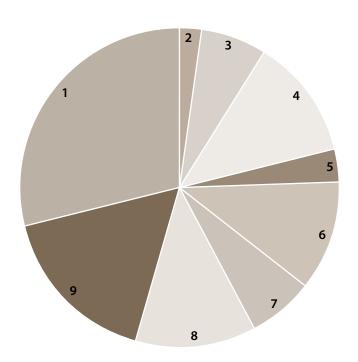
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Our Mission

The mission of the Carr Center, like the Kennedy School, is to train future leaders for careers in public service and to apply firstclass research to the solution of public policy problems. Our research, teaching, and writing are guided by a commitment to make human rights principles central to the formulation of sound public policy in the United States and throughout the world.

Since its founding in 1999 through a gift from Kennedy School alumnus Greg Carr, the Center has developed a unique focus of expertise on the most complex and pressing human rights challenges of the new century, including genocide, assessing human rights promotion efforts, and the ethics and politics of military intervention.

In approaching such challenges, we seek to lead public policy debate, to train human rights leaders, and to partner with human rights organizations to help them respond to current and future challenges. We also recognize that the solutions to such problems must involve not only human rights actors, but governments, corporations, the military, and others not traditionally conceived of as part of "human rights" efforts. Thus, we seek to expand the reach and relevance of human rights considerations to all who influence their outcomes.

The Center uses its convening power to create a safe space for human rights organizations and other policy actors to engage in constructive self-criticism and to forge new partnerships.

The Center uses its research capacity to evaluate the human rights policies of the United States and other governments and to analyze the dilemmas that need to be resolved when human rights principles are brought to bear on major public policy choices.

The Center uses its teaching capacity to inspire future leaders to make respect for human rights principles a central commitment of democratic leadership.

The Carr Center helps bridge the gap

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SARAH SEWALL | CARR CENTER DIRECTOR

THE CARR CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY

Kennedy School of Government Harvard University 79 John F. Kennedy Street Cambridge, MA 02138

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Photograph by Jonathan Wiesner/IRC

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"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" in the Post 9/11 World

A new debate about the rationality of the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy featuring veterans of Operation Iraqi Freedom, members of the US Intelligence Community, and discharged gay service members. The tour's kick-off event featured special guest speakers *Congressman Marty Meehan* (D-MA) and *Rear Admiral Alan Steinman* (Ret.).

Cosponsored event

The 12th Annual International Development Conference at Harvard - Fulfilling the Development Promise: Transforming Ideas into Action!

The International Development Conference (IDC) brought together leading thinkers, students, practitioners and advocates to address major development challenges across the globe. *Cosponsored event*

Managing your Health and Safety Abroad

Cris Stephen, Program Officer, UN Mine Action Service, Department of Peacekeeping Operations and National Security and Human Rights Program Fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy

Information Session on Summer Internships and Human Rights

Fernande Raine, Executive Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy provided an overview of human rights organizations and answered questions about how to find an internship. Second year students discussed their internship experiences in the human rights field.

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Sarah Sewall, review of Running the World: The Inside Story of the National Security Council and the Architects of American Power, by David Rothkopf. Parameters: U.S. Army War College Quarterly, Spring 2006.

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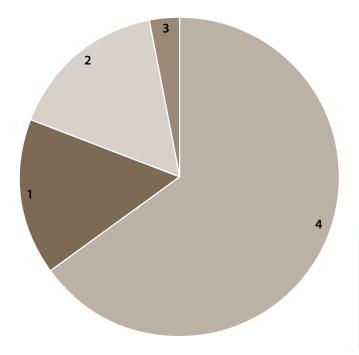
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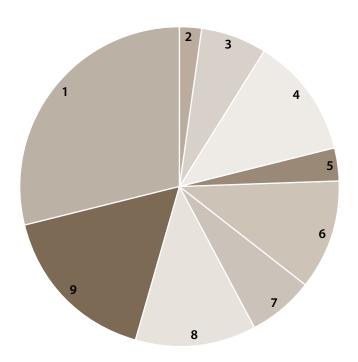
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Our Mission

The mission of the Carr Center, like the Kennedy School, is to train future leaders for careers in public service and to apply firstclass research to the solution of public policy problems. Our research, teaching, and writing are guided by a commitment to make human rights principles central to the formulation of sound public policy in the United States and throughout the world.

Since its founding in 1999 through a gift from Kennedy School alumnus Greg Carr, the Center has developed a unique focus of expertise on the most complex and pressing human rights challenges of the new century, including genocide, assessing human rights promotion efforts, and the ethics and politics of military intervention.

In approaching such challenges, we seek to lead public policy debate, to train human rights leaders, and to partner with human rights organizations to help them respond to current and future challenges. We also recognize that the solutions to such problems must involve not only human rights actors, but governments, corporations, the military, and others not traditionally conceived of as part of "human rights" efforts. Thus, we seek to expand the reach and relevance of human rights considerations to all who influence their outcomes.

The Center uses its convening power to create a safe space for human rights organizations and other policy actors to engage in constructive self-criticism and to forge new partnerships.

The Center uses its research capacity to evaluate the human rights policies of the United States and other governments and to analyze the dilemmas that need to be resolved when human rights principles are brought to bear on major public policy choices.

The Center uses its teaching capacity to inspire future leaders to make respect for human rights principles a central commitment of democratic leadership.