

WHERE WE'VE BEEN IN 2015

HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER

Kampala, Uganda | Knoxville, Tennessee | New York,
New York | Nwoya, Uganda | Oakland, California |
Oslo, Norway | Pader, Uganda | Perth, Australia |
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania | Chicago, Illinois | The Hague,
Netherlands | Manila, Philippines | San Francisco,
California | Palo Alto, California

ATROCITY RESPONSE PROGRAM

Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire | Bunia, Democratic Republic of Congo | Chicago, Illinois | Gulu, Uganda | Manila, Philippines | Nwoya, Uganda | Pader, Uganda | Seattle, Washington | The Hague, Netherlands

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire | Bangkok, Thailand | Dakar, Senegal | Eloy, Arizona | Hood River, Oregon | New Delhi, India | San Francisco, California | San Salvador, El Salvador | Tegucigalpa, Honduras

6th of October City, Egypt | Addis Ababa, Ethiopia |
Ankara, Turkey | Cairo, Egypt | Chicago, Illinois |
Dakar, Senegal | Gaziantep, Turkey | Geneva, Switzerland |
Istanbul, Turkey | Johannesburg, South Africa | Kampala,
Uganda | Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia | London, United
Kingdom | The Hague, Netherlands

HUMAN RIGHTS AND TECHNOLOGY PROGRAM

Chicago, Illinois | Manila, Philippines | The Hague, Netherlands | New York, New York | Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

FORENSIC PROJECT

San Salvador, El Salvador | Santiago, Chile | Kraków, Poland

From the Directors

Dear Friends.

We began 2015 with the announcement that the Human Rights Center had won the MacArthur Award for Creative and Effective Institutions.

The award, given to nine organizations worldwide, marked the beginning of an extraordinary year of accomplishments from the official launch of our **Human Rights and Technology** Program to the publication of seminal research on accountability for sexual violence to a groundbreaking study of victim participants at the International Criminal Court. We wrapped up the year with the completion of our book *Hiding in Plain* Sight: The Pursuit of War Criminals from Nuremberg to the *War on Terror*, which will be released in April 2016.

And none of this work would have been possible without our students.

Alicia De Toffoli in the Master of Development Practice program spent endless hours transcribing and coding interviews with war crime survivors. Undergraduate Kevin Reyes conducted background research and scrupulously checked hundreds of footnotes for our publications. Meanwhile, Human Rights Center Fellows and sociology doctoral students Chris Herring and Dilara Yarbrough investigated the **criminalization of homelessness** in San Francisco, and graduate student Audrey Whiting helped organize HRC's workshop on sexual violence in Uganda.

Over 21 years, thanks to generous funding from Dr. Thomas J. White, we've supported 275 Human Rights Center Fellows. We have also engaged thousands of students in our work whether in the classroom or in our office or on research missions around the world.

We are thrilled that the cover of this annual report is a photograph taken by Human Rights Center Fellow and UC Berkeley Journalism School graduate Terray Sylvester. Terray photographed Mkyala Tahkeal while reporting on the challenges faced by members of the Yakama Nation who live along the Columbia River.

Thank you for making our work with students—and all of our work-possible.

Sincerely,

Eric Stover, Faculty Director

FRONT COVER: Mkyala Tahkeal, a member of the Yakama Nation, guides her family's boat on the Columbia River, along the border of Oregon and Washington. Terray Sylvester, UC Berkeley Journalism School graduate and 2015 Human Rights Center fellow, photographed members of tribes who are defending their fishing rights. This photograph appeared in The New Yorker online.

REPORT DESIGN: Nicole Hayward



Atrocity Response Program

I expect that this participation will provide a lot of evidence to the court. The judges will use this. They will tell [Joseph] Kony [leader of the Lord's Resistance Army]: 'See, this is what you have done. These are people from the community where vou went and committed atrocities. Hear and listen to their voices. This is exactly what the victims suffered as a result of the crimes you committed.'

Survivor interviewed for The Victims' Court?

I'm ready to provide testimony because the shoe wearer knows where it pinches. It really pinches me. I lost everything. I lost my wife because of the post-election violence, so it pinches me, even right now as we speak today.

Survivor interviewed for The Victims' Court?

ABOVE: (Left to right) A student at the Pader Girls Academy holds a baby (photo by Stephen Smith Cody); Professor Sarah Freedman talks with Alice Achan, founder of the Pader Girls Academy (photo by Stephen Smith Cody); Atrocity Response Program Director Stephen Smith Cody presents findings from The Victims' Court? at an event with Berkeley Law Professor Jonathan Simon (photo by Andrea Lampros).







From rural farming communities in northern Uganda to the sprawling urban capital of Côte d'Ivoire, our researchers interviewed more than 600 survivors of grave international crimes to understand their experiences at the International Criminal Court (ICC). What motivates these men and women to participate in trials? Do they feel safe? Are they treated with dignity and respect? We asked them to share their thoughts about justice and the ICC. Nearly three years of research and analysis led by Stephen Smith Cody, director of the Atrocity Response Program, resulted in The Victims' Court? A Study of 622 Victim Participants at the International Criminal Court. The study was supported by grants from the National Science Foundation, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Ministry of Finland.

Cody presented study findings to diplomats, judges, prosecutors, and advocates gathered in The Hague for the ICC's annual meeting of the Assembly of States Parties. The study promises to shape reforms and make participation more meaningful to survivors.



Fellowship Program

My time in Honduras gave me a deeper understanding of the complex factors pushing migration and the heartbreaking circumstances of young people forced to leave their homes and families behind. They show such remarkable resilience and persistence—many will make multiple attempts to get to the U.S. even as they are turned back again and again. Yet when asked, they express the desire to be able to stay with their families in Honduras, if only the conditions were better and real opportunities to develop and thrive existed. We are looking at a refugee crisis in Central America one that the U.S. government still refuses to recognize and address from a human rights perspective.

Lyndsay Hughes, UC Human Rights Center Fellow who worked with Casa Alianza in Honduras

ABOVE: (Left to right) Human Rights Center Fellow Gabriel Sanchez talks with other fellows about his work documenting deaths in California prisons (photo by Andrea Lampros); At the 2015 Fellowship Conference (left to right) Thomas J. White, Chris Herring, Natalie Petrucci, Dilara Yarbrough, Rebecca Gourevitch, Terray Sylvester, Hayden Shelby, Robin Mejia, Lyndsay Hughes, Jason Ferguson, Gabriel Sanchez, Whitney Russell, Justine Davis, and Tõ Nhú Đào. Human Rights Center Fellow Nikhil Ranadive is not pictured (photo by Andrea Lampros).





Honduras is among the most violent countries in the world, with nearly a dozen murders per day. Similar to the region's civil wars in the 1980s, current upheavals in Honduras take the biggest toll on young people, including thousands who flee the violence only to be rejected by the United States. Lyndsay Hughes, a 2015 Human Rights Center fellow and UC Berkeley School of Social Welfare master's student, worked at Casa Alianza in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa last summer assisting children who had either attempted or were considering the perilous journey through Mexico to the United States. Natalie Petrucci, a 2015 fellow and UCLA law student, worked on the receiving end, advocating for the legal rights of immigrants and refugees detained in Arizona.

Twelve other HRC fellows worked in seven countries, defending sexual minority rights in Senegal, housing rights in San Francisco, voting rights in Côte d'Ivoire, and more. To date, our Fellowship Program has enabled 275 students from seven University of California campuses to work with human rights defenders around the world-learning skills, contributing expertise, and often being transformed into lifelong advocates for human rights.



Sexual Violence Program

In a time of chaos and upheaval, rape was the least concern in the eyes of law enforcement. To them, they were there to maintain order, maintain peace, and protect lives and property. But rape isn't visible . . .

Practitioner interviewed in Kenya for The Long Road

The workshop has been an eye-opener and an opportunity for me to be connected to other experts who have agreed to mentor me through the journey of responding to women's rights issues, especially sexual violence.

A participant in the Missing Peace Practitioners' Workshop in Kampala, Uganda, co-hosted by the Human Rights Center, Uganda Fund, U.S. Institute of Peace, Peace Research Institute Oslo, and Women in International Security, in August 2015

ABOVE: (Left to right) Sexual Violence Program Director Kim Thuy Seelinger (left) with International Criminal Court Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda (far right) and co-panelists at the Africa Legal Aid symposium in South Africa (photo by Sam Shoamanesh); Sexual Violence Program Associate Director Julie Freccero and Director Kim Thuy Seelinger present research findings at the Missing Peace Practitioners' Workshop (photo by Steven Ruder, USIP); Ugandan Assistant Director of Public Prosecutions Susan Okalany and Gloria Atiba-Davies, head of the Gender and Children Unit at the International Criminal Court, discuss sexual violence as an international crime at the Missing Peace workshop in Kampala (photo by Steven Ruder, USIP).

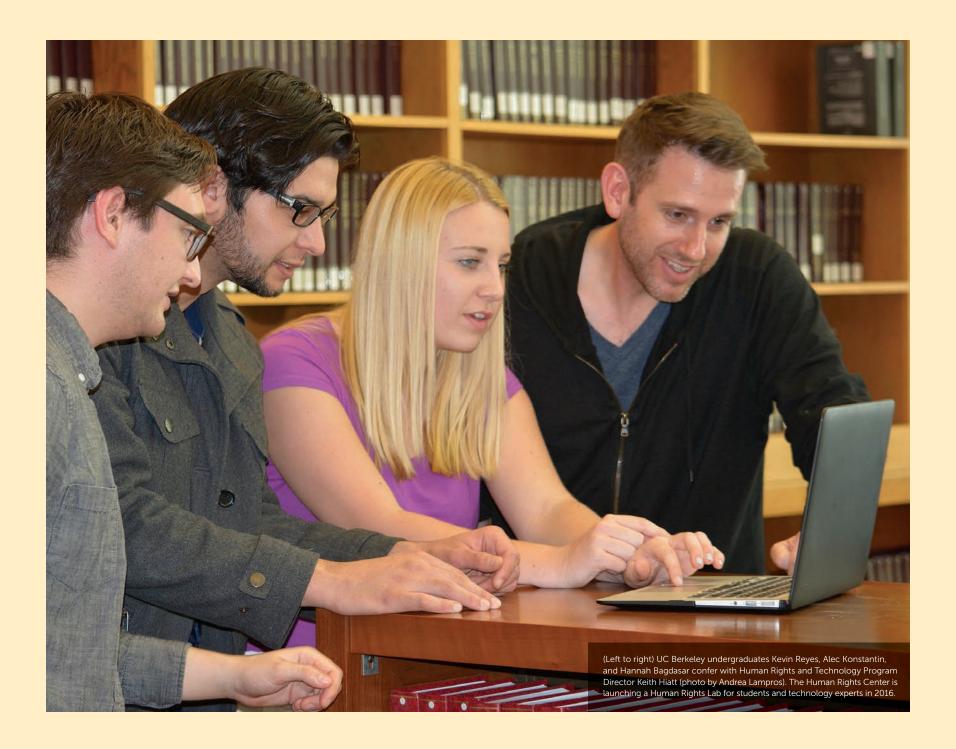






At the Missing Peace Practitioners' Workshop, held in Kampala, Uganda, more than 80 doctors, police officers, judges, prosecutors, forensic specialists, and advocates met for the first time to discuss concrete ways to improve the investigation and prosecution of sexual violence cases, including those that arise during armed conflict. The workshop, in August 2015, was framed by findings from our just-released study, The Long Road: Accountability for Sexual Violence in Conflict and Post-conflict Settings, which identifies challenges and promising strategies in the reporting, investigation, and prosecution of such crimes. Workshop participants discussed this research and ways to build upon their day-to-day work in order to address sexual violence as a war crime, crime against humanity, or act of genocide. $\overline{W}e$ also launched the Missing Peace Practitioners' Network, a new online community for sharing expertise and resources on sexual violence.

In November, Sexual Violence Program Director Kim Thuy Seelinger spearheaded a group of leading experts, including Justice Richard Goldstone, Dr. Kelly Askin, Mr. George Kegoro, Dr. Patricia Sellers, and Professor Beth Van Schaack, to submit an amicus brief in the case of former Chad dictator Hissène Habré, urging the Senegalese court to revise charges to include rape and sexual slavery. HRC researchers also traveled to Turkey, Egypt, Malaysia, and Ethiopia to begin research on human trafficking and refugees.



Human Rights and Technology Program

The Human Rights Center's work has been invaluable in helping to create strategic partnerships with technology experts to improve our ability to prosecute perpetrators of the world's most grave crimes.

Cristina Ribeiro, Investigations Coordinator, Office of the Prosecutor, International Criminal Court

Working with people at the court, I found their clear dedication to the mission of the International Criminal Court inspiring. They understand the importance of building their own tech capacity, because it will help them further the court's mission of investigating international crimes. And they were universally generous with their time, openness, and curiosity with how data analytics could help the way they work.

Amos Budde, Applied Data Science Manager at Civis Analytics and one of the Human Rights Center's first Technology and Accountability Project Fellows at the International Criminal Court

ABOVE: (Left to right) Executive Director Alexa Koenig presents at RightsCon in Manila (photo by Aj Molina); the international Criminal Court in The Hague moves to a new home (photo by Keith Hiatt).





The Human Rights Center's newly launched Human Rights and Technology Program works to develop next-generation tools and methodologies for investigations, examines how new and existing technologies affect human rights worldwide, and puts technology experts to work on the most serious human rights problems.

In 2015 we worked to improve the technological capacity of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague, which investigates and prosecutes war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. Keith Hiatt, program director, spent two months embedded in the ICC's Office of the Prosecutor, assessing the court's technology needs and helping implement smart solutions for efficiency and effectiveness. Keith also recruited experts from Silicon Valley and beyond to advise ICC investigators and staff. Already this work is strengthening cases before the ICC. Because of this leadership and the center's longstanding work in this field, Keith and HRC Executive Director Alexa Koenig were selected to administer the court's new Technology Advisory Board.

In 2016, HRC is launching a Human Rights Lab to bring students, tech experts, and scholars together to examine and solve human rights challenges. The lab will serve as a hub for the growing community of Bay Area software engineers and data specialists who are committed to using their skills to advance human rights.

Forensic Project



Cristián Orrego Benavente, former director of the Forensic Program and now HRC Senior Research Fellow, continues to work with the Asociación Pro-Búsqueda de Niñas y Niños Desaparecidos to pioneer life-changing DNA analysis to reunite families torn apart by the civil war. This year, an Oakland mother who fled El Salvador in the late 1990s found the biological daughter she was forced to give up—thanks to Pro-Búsqueda's investigative team and the Human Rights Center's outreach in the United States. Pro-Búsqueda investigators also used key DNA evidence to reunite Germán Zamora, who was raised in Australia, with his mother Milagro del Pilar Martínez. Zamora was a 5-year-old boy when he was captured 35 years ago by the Salvadoran military during a massacre in La Quesera, Usulután.

Orrego is also coordinating a team of thirteen experts to use DNA and advanced microbial genomics to investigate the cause of death of the poet Pablo Neruda (winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature and former Senator from the Chilean Communist Party) who died days after the Chilean military coup in 1973. The expert panel convened by a court in Chile also includes HRC Senior Research Fellow and forensic mathematician Charles Brenner and UC Berkeley Professor George Sensabaugh.

This is the most beautiful symbol of compensation for damage done.

Pro-Búsqueda Director Eduardo García upon the reunion of Germán Zamora and his mother. Milagro del Pilar Martínez



ABOVE: (Left) Pro-Búsqueda investigators used DNA evidence to help reunite Germán Zamora with his mother, Milagro del Pilar Martínez, in an emotional community celebration in Usulután, El Salvador. Zamora was a 5-year-old boy when he was captured 35 years ago by the Salvadoran military during the massacre in La Quesera. He was raised in Australia (photo by Félix Eduardo Melendez Cardoza); (Top) Senior Research Fellow Cristián Orrego Benavente is pictured in front of a mural of Father Jon de Cortina, the founder of Pro-Búsqueda (photo by Robin Mejia). Human Rights Center Fellow Robin Mejia, a UC Berkeley doctoral candidate in biostatistics, spent the summer working with Pro-Búsqueda.

Publications

Hiding in Plain Sight: The Pursuit of War Criminals from Nuremberg to the War on Terror

by Eric Stover, Victor Peskin, and Alexa Koenig

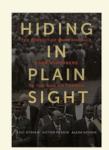
University of California Press, forthcoming 2016

The Human Rights Center's

Faculty Director Eric Stover and Executive Director Alexa Koenig, together with Arizona State University Professor Victor Peskin (Human Rights Center research fellow) tell the provocative stories and delve into the complex politics of pursuing war criminals.

The cycle of impunity for atrocity crimes is closing slowly but surely. This book documents how that steady progress has been achieved, but also how hard it was and how difficult it is to maintain its momentum. Telling a complex story in a highly readable way, the authors make their own significant contribution to accountability and justice for human rights crimes. The torturer still runs, but he can no longer hide.

Juan Méndez, UN Special Rapporteur on Torture



The Victims' Court? A Study of 622 Victim Participants at the International Criminal Court. November 2015

by Stephen Smith Cody, Eric Stover, Mychelle Balthazard, and Alexa Koenig

This multi-country study

interviews 622 survivors of war crimes and crimes against humanity about victim participation at the International Criminal Court.

The Long Road: Accountability for Sexual Violence in Conflict and Post-Conflict Settings, August 2015

by Kim Thuy Seelinger and Julie Freccero



THE VICTIMS' COURT?

This report examines the

ways in which health professionals, law enforcement personnel, prosecutors, and judges respond to cases of sexual violence committed during or in the aftermath of armed conflict or periods of political violence in Kenya, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Uganda.

Extreme Punishment: Comparative Studies in Detention, Incarceration and Solitary Confinement

edited by UC Irvine Professor Keramet Reiter (a former Human Rights Center fellow) and HRC Executive Director Alexa Koenig



Palgrave Macmillan, 2015

The book investigates the physical architecture, legal administration, and lived experiences of 21st-century prisoners in the U.S., Canada, and the United Kingdom.

Groundbreaking in its research and documentation, this bracing collection forces us to think again—and in unexpected ways—about how law abets and sustains a global network of military, immigration, and penal polices, unprecedented in their severity and reach.

Vanderbilt University Professor Colin Dayan



A BBC reporter conducts an interview with Dr. Joan Nyanyuki at the Missing Peace Practitioners' Workshop in Uganda in August 2015. Sexual Violence Program research was also covered by The Guardian.

Students

From the start of the semester, it was clear that Professors Stover and Koenig were not only interested in lecturing about human rights but were invested in developing the next generation of human rights activists. Through personal experience, after Professor Stover's health and human rights lecture and many office hours with Professor Koeniq, LS 154 helped me discover my passion for medicine and human rights, allowed me to critically and skillfully apply lecture material to research projects at the Human Rights Center, and introduced me to a summer internship in New York with Physicians for Human Rights that changed and consolidated my life pursuits.

Sayaka Ri, UC Berkeley student in HRC's inaugural Legal Studies course on human rights

Teaching students and training future human rights researchers and advocates is at the heart of the Human Rights Center's work. In 2015, we engaged more than 200 students through teaching, research, and events on campus. We also received two competitive university grants for 2016—the Presidential Chair Fellows Award and the American Cultures Engaged Scholarship grant—to strengthen UC Berkeley's undergraduate teaching and research in 2016.

Our 2015 classes and mentorship included:

- International Human Rights Law (Legal Studies 154)
- Perpetrators, Victims, and Bystanders: Justice After Mass Atrocity (Law 262)
- · Health and Human Rights (Public Health 211 & Law 264)
- · International Human Rights Workshop

Eric Stover, faculty director, and Alexa Koenig, executive director, taught international human rights law in spring 2015.



Students celebrate the Human Rights Center's MacArthur Award for Creative and Effective Institutions during an event at Berkeley Law.



Alexa Koenig talks with a student following a human rights law class. (Photos by Andrea Lampros.)

Events



I think that we need to understand something: When our society refuses to react, when society chooses to deny, it means that it accepts anything, even the unimaginable. Because as a father, grandfather even, I perform surgery in tears because [rape of children] is something that I can't understand. It has nothing to do with sex. It is simply a deliberate desire to destroy a people, and so we destroy someone before they can even be a part of society.

Dr. Denis Mukwege, winner of the 2014 Sakharov Prize, speaking about the rape of children in the Democratic Republic of Congo during his Q & A with Sexual Violence Program Director Kim Thuy Seelinger



A student poses for a photo with Ben Ferencz, who spoke at Berkeley Law about his work prosecuting war criminals at Nuremberg.





Parents applaud Alexa Koenig's talk on drones during UC Berkeley's homecoming celebrations. (Photos by Andrea Lampros.)

Awards

The Human Rights Center combines rigorous, leading-edge scientific research with on-the-ground work, yielding valuable contributions to our understanding of rights violations and our collective commitment to hold perpetrators accountable. MacArthur applauds the Human Rights Center's creativity and effectiveness, and we hope this recognition and investment will help sustain its work and expand its impact.

MacArthur Vice President Elspeth Revere

The Human Rights Center was one of nine nonprofit organizations around the world to receive the 2015 MacArthur Award for Creative and Effective Institutions from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Known for its "genius awards" to individuals, the MacArthur Foundation also honors extraordinary organizations—in this case, recognizing the Human Rights Center's investigations and research on war crimes and human rights abuses in more than a dozen countries and spotlighting the center's recent work on wartime sexual violence. The MacArthur Foundation awarded the center \$1 million to establish an endowment and support its Sexual Violence Program.



Kim Thuy Seelinger received the 2015 Kathi Pugh Award for excellence in mentorship of Berkeley Law students.



Dean Sujit Choudhry laughs with HRC's Faculty Director Eric Stover during Berkeley Law's celebration of the MacArthur Award for Creative and Effective Institutions.



The Human Rights Center's Stephen Smith Cody, Julie Freccero, Alexa Koenig, Keith Hiatt, and Kim Thuy Seelinger accept the MacArthur Award for Creative and Effective Institutions on behalf of HRC during the ceremony in Chicago in July 2015.



Alexa Koenig is interviewed by a Bay Area television station about the MacArthur Award for Creative and Effective Institutions. News coverage of the award spanned major outlets nationwide (photo by Alexey Berlind).

Staff

Directors

Eric Stover, Faculty Director and Adjunct Professor of Law Alexa Koenig, Executive Director and Lecturer in Residence Stephen Smith Cody, Atrocity Response Program Director Keith Hiatt, Human Rights and Technology Program Director Kim Thuy Seelinger, Sexual Violence Program Director

Staff

Khaled Alrabe, Researcher Alexey Berlind, Programs Administrator Naomi Fenwick, Associate Researcher Julie Freccero, Sexual Violence Program Associate Director Julie Lagarde, Fellowship Program Coordinator Andrea Lampros, Communications Manager Kat Madrigal, Fundraising Coordinator

Student Researchers and Staff

Alicia De Toffoli, Graduate Student Researcher Haf Esuf, Intern Jasmine Hennessey, Work Study Peggy O'Donnell, Graduate Edward Huang, Intern Aynur Jafar, Work Study Dipin Kaur, Intern Natalia Krapiva, Researcher Alec Konstantin, Work Study Michelle Lee, Intern

Nikita Mehandru, Volunteer Robin Mejia, Graduate Student Researcher Student Researcher Darlene Olmedo, Work Study Kevin Reyes, Work Study Sayaka Ri, Intern Audrey Whiting, Graduate Student Researcher



Human Rights Center staff members following a planning retreat in Mendocino, California include: (behind) Keith Hiatt, Eric Stover, Stephen Smith Cody, and Julie Freccero; (front) Andrea Lampros, Alexa Koenig, Kim Thuy Seelinger, Kat Madrigal, Julie Lagarde, and Alexey Berlind.



Eric Stover, faculty director, speaks about the Nuremberg trials.



Julie Lagarde, Khaled Alrabe, and Leila Ullrich

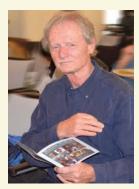


Kim Thuy Seelinger, Audrey Whiting, Ketty Anyeko, and Julie Freccero at the Missing Peace Practitioners' Workshop



Alexey Berlind, programs administrator

Advisory Board and Fellows



Dr. Thomas J. White, Fellowship Program benefactor

The Human Rights Center's Fellows have partnered with many other nonprofit organizations to study a broad range of abuse and infringement of rights, not only in foreign countries, but also on a national, statewide, and local level here in the United States. The projects and reports have improved public awareness of atrocities,

sexual violence, and injustice and the Fellows have often proposed novel ways to alleviate or prevent future abuses. There should be a Human Rights Center at every university in the nation.

Dr. Thomas J. White, longtime supporter of the Human Rights Center whose generosity makes the Fellowship Program possible.

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We've been supporters of the Human Rights Center since we first discovered the amazing work of Eric Stover and his wonderful team in 2006, when the center was part of International and Area Studies. We have been delighted



to continue our support ever since—through the move to Boalt and an increase in visibility, prominence, and national and world-wide impact. It's been inspiring to watch as HRC continues to grow in importance, and we look forward to seeing what you all come up with in the future.

Liz and Greg Lutz are longtime supporters of the Human Rights Center whose matching gift in 2015 inspired new donations and significantly contributed to the center's global impact. Liz also serves on HRC's Advisory Board.

Monique Olivier, in honor of

Kim Thuy Seelinger

Victor and Neva Keret Peskin

Tsipora and Harvey Peskin

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(continued on next page)

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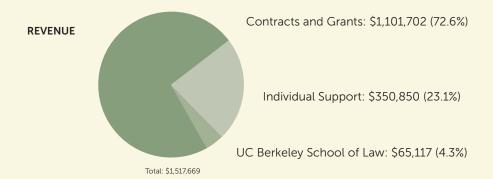
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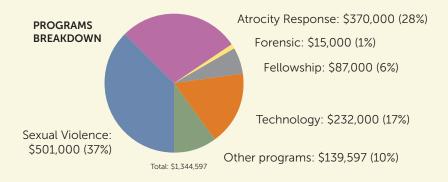


San Diego Law Professor Bert Lazerow and Berkeley Law Professor Richard Buxbaum join the Boalt Hall celebration of the Human Rights Center's MacArthur Award for Creative and Effective Institutions.

2015 Financial Report







The Human Rights Center raises approximately 96 percent of its budget from individuals and foundations each year. The majority of funding comes from private foundations and government entities and a smaller yet substantial amount from individual donors. Nearly 80 percent of expenses corresponds directly to Human Rights Center programs.

HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER

The numbers

622 interviews conducted for Victim Participation Study | 2 in-depth, multi-year research reports | 2 books | 23 countries visited or reported on | **14** human rights fellows in **7** countries | More than **200** students enrolled in **4** classes | **2** new awards for human rights education | 19 events on the UC Berkeley campus with more than **400** attendees | **80** Missing Peace Workshop participants from 6 African countries | **81** donors | **22** new donors | **\$350,850** raised from individuals | 10 foundation grants totalling more than \$1.1 million | \$15,505 raised in just 24 hours on BIG GIVE! | 13,331 Twitter followers | **1,131** likes on Facebook | **5,344** newsletter subscribers | 1 MacArthur Award with a \$1 million endowment

EXCERPT FROM

Hiding in Plain Sight: The Pursuit of War Criminals from Nuremberg to the War on Terror

Eric Stover, Victor Peskin, and Alexa Koenig UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

On a bright May afternoon in 1982, twelveyear-old Nic Dunlop sat on a sofa in the living room of his parents' home in Dun Laoire, Ireland, fascinated by a National Geographic article about Angkor Wat, the vast complex of ancient temples in Cambodia built between the ninth and fifteenth centuries for the Hindu god Vishnu and his consort, Lakshmi. Dunlop turned the page. He paused, lingering on a photograph of a palm-lined hill, its tropical undergrowth split open by a large brown crater. On the crater's rim, embedded in brown mud, were shards of clothing and hundreds of human skulls and other skeletal remains, white-washed by the sun. The gruesome pit that had so absorbed young Dunlop's imagination was called Choeung Ek; it was one of thousands of mass graves that were dug when the Khmer Rouge ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979. In those 1364 days, nearly 2 million people, fully one quarter of Cambodia's population, were killed.

[Eventually, Dunlop] attended art school but spent most of his time gazing out of the window dreaming of Cambodia, thinking that one day he would go there.

Dunlop's first visit to Tuol Sleng [the Cambodian prison turned museum] would haunt him for years to come. As he walked through the musty concrete corridors

and empty cells, snapping photographs and jotting down notes, he struggled to comprehend the sheer horror of the place. He found rows of iron shackles bolted to the walls of prison cells and, in one room, what appeared to be a large pool of dried blood below a metal bed frame. Dunlop entered a large room with tall windows and cracked terra cotta tiles. On all four walls were rows and rows of black-andwhite photographs.

Moving slowly around the room, Dunlop paused to snap photographs of a few of the portraits: a boy of eight or nine, his face bloodied and swollen; a woman cradling a sleeping baby. Dunlop came upon a photograph of what appeared to be a group of prison guards standing shoulder to shoulder in front of the prison gates. Next to the picture was a smaller photograph encased in a narrow wooden frame. Just below the picture a faded label read, in English: "Comrade Duch, Commandant, S=21." Dunlop aimed his Nikon and snapped the shutter.

PAGE 238 On his repeated trips to Cambodia, where he eked out a living as a freelance photographer, Dunlop carried the prison commander's photograph in his shirt pocket on the off chance that he might encounter him or, more likely, someone who knew of his whereabouts. Dunlop traveled throughout Cambodia, interviewing Duch's family members, S-21's few survivors, and former prison guards. He learned that Duch's real name was Kaing Guik Eav and that he had been a high school math teacher before joining the Khmer Rouge.



Photographer Nic Dunlop holds a photo of Comrade Duch, which he carried with him and ultimately led to the capture the Khmer Rouge commander.

PAGE 243 In early 1999, Dunlop received a commission to photograph landmineclearance teams in Samlaut. He was excited, as he knew from interviews with Duch's relatives that the former Khmer Rouge commander was probably living somewhere in the area. He walked over to a Khmer Rouge soldier who was sitting on his motorbike chatting with some children. He asked in his rudimentary Khmer if he could photograph them, and they agreed. A small, older man approached the group and, noticing Dunlop, introduced himself as Hang Pin. He had once been a math teacher and had recently worked in a refugee camp on the Thai border. Dunlop could hardly believe his luck as he looked closely at the man. Before leaving, he surreptitiously snapped a photograph of him.

Back at his Bangkok apartment, Dunlop hurried to develop his film. "The negative was back lit, but clear enough," he recalled. "Emerging from the developer was Duch with a coy grin on his face. Behind him was the Khmer Rouge soldier looking directly at the camera. I compared it to the creased picture

that I had carried in my pocket for so long. There was no doubt in my mind. His hairline, although graying, remained the same and his stretched lips revealed identical teeth."

Feeling slightly out of his depth and uneasy about security, Dunlop approached Nat Thayer, a fellow correspondent, to accompany him to Samlaut. The two journalists met Duch at his home and accompanied him to a nearby beer stall. "It was clear we had caught Duch completely unawares," Dunlop recalled. "But when he knew why we had come, he seemed to accept it."

Duch sighed in resignation. "I have done very bad things in my life," he said. "Now it is time for les représialles [to bear the consequences] of my actions." The two journalists were stunned; it was almost as if the aging Khmer Rouge commander had wanted to be caught.

On May 10, 1999, Hun Sen [Cambodia's prime minister] ordered the Cambodian police to arrest Duch. That afternoon, Duch was apprehended and placed in a highsecurity prison, not far from Tuol Sleng.



Students at the Pader Girls Academy in northern Uganda, a school established for young mothers who had escaped the Lord's Resistance Army, take a break from classes. The school now serves women from throughout northern Uganda (photo by Stephen Smith Cody).



A message stenciled on a home in Suchitoto, El Salvador, translated to English: In this house, we want a life free of violence against women (photo by Robin Mejia).

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