ANNUAL REPORT

2023–2024 ACADEMIC YEAR

UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON
CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
HENRY M. JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The University of Washington Center for Human Rights is committed to interdisciplinary excellence in the education of undergraduate and graduate students in the field of human rights; promoting human rights as a core area of faculty and graduate research; and engaging productively with local, regional, national, and international organizations and policymakers to advance respect for human rights.

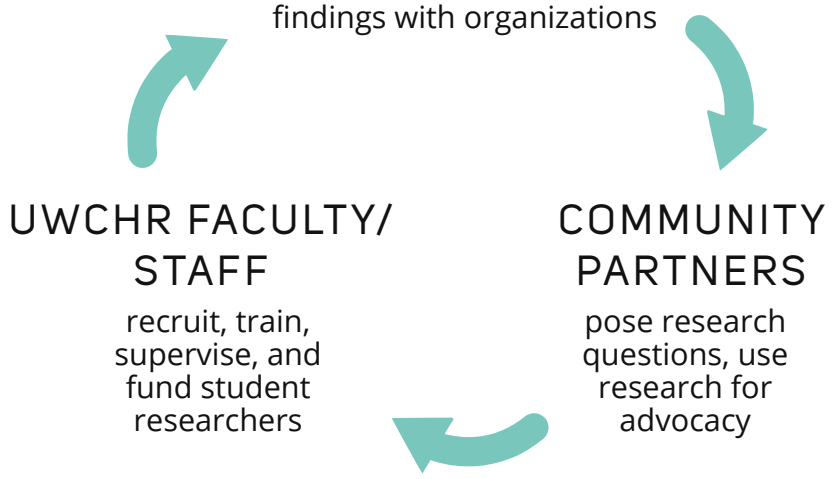
OUR MODEL

At the Center for Human Rights, our model aids us in the honor and responsibility of serving frontline movements for change, led by organizations on the ground who tell us what their research needs are.

It's then our job to find and support committed students and faculty who can deliver the research the changemakers need.

This means we have the amazing privilege of being at the nexus of this generation's leaders and the next generation's training, connecting students, faculty, and community organizations.

UWCHR MODEL



CELEBRATING FIFTEEN YEARS OF UWCHR

Founded in 2009, UWCHR celebrates fifteen years of research toward the advancement of human rights.

Dear Friends,

I'd like to think of this annual report as something like a time capsule. It recounts the activities our Center for Human Rights conducted in our fifteenth year. Having helmed our center since those early days when our existence was a bit more, shall we say, aspirational than actual, it's sometimes hard to believe the path we've taken to get here.

We were founded by the Washington State legislature in the 2008–2009 season, and we are still the only university-based human rights center in the nation with a mission inscribed in state law. That law mandates that we work in partnership with those on the frontlines of human rights struggles, here at home or anywhere in the world, and that we harness the energies of UW students and scholars to support real-world movements for change. The law, and the unique mission it contains, was achieved through the deployment of immense good will and political savvy by the late Peter Jackson, who championed our cause in Olympia and bolstered my own faith we could change the world armed only with big dreams and an unfunded mandate.

It turns out he was right! In preparing for our fifteenth anniversary celebration this May, we added up the support we've provided to students since our creation, and were stunned to discover it totaled over $1.8 million dollars culled from grants, community support, and countless donations small and large. The effects of this support have rippled across our campus, contributing to the careers of students pursuing BA, MA, and PhD degrees in fields as diverse as international studies, marine and environmental affairs, law, political science, public health, anthropology, education, and informatics. And these students, in turn, have helped shape human rights outcomes in locations from Seattle's International District and the Skagit Valley to far-flung sites including the Philippines, Colombia, Bangladesh, and Kenya.

Some students have received UWCHR grants in support of independent projects associated with their degree programs. Others have received funds as compensation for their involvement in UWCHR's own research partnerships, some of which are showcased within these pages. On pages 6 through 9, you can see the students in this year's group—an impressive bunch, indeed.

Of course, as important as it is to find joy and satisfaction in our work, in the field of human rights there's always something dissonant about adopting a celebratory tone when there is so much urgent work that remains to be done. These are terrible, fractious, painful times for those who believe in human rights; the very notion that inviolable principles should limit the actions of states is being openly and unabashedly violated by multiple governments, including our own.

At the UW Center for Human Rights, if we're to live up to the challenge inscribed in our founding legislation, we truly have our work cut out for us. So that's why I invite you to consider these pages as a time capsule: they illustrate the burgeoning potential of our work, but it's just a single snapshot of where we're at now in our path toward broader transformation. Looking to the future, I hope that our center will continue to generate opportunities for hands-on UW student, faculty, and staff engagement with the most challenging questions faced by our world, and that perhaps in another fifteen years, we'll marvel anew at how far we've come.

I hope that our center will continue to generate opportunities for hands-on UW student, faculty, and staff engagement with the most challenging questions faced by our world, and that perhaps in another fifteen years, we'll marvel anew at how far we've come.

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy
Helen H. Jackson Chair in Human Rights
Director, Center for Human Rights
Professor of International Studies and Law, Societies, and Justice

UWCHR STUDENT RESEARCHERS

Student researchers fuel the work of UWCHR. From filing FOIA requests, to documenting oral histories, to compiling legal documents—our researchers have done it all. Researchers are team-based and project specific. This year we funded ten student researchers working in four different project areas.

THOR BELLE

Originally from Maine, Thor is a photographer, educator, captain, storyteller, and part of the Indigenous Rights and Environmental Sustainability project. A current master's student at the School of Marine and Environmental Affairs, Thor's focuses on using media and digital storytelling to change public perceptions and actions surrounding fisheries, tribal sovereignty, and the future of our oceans. He hopes to make conservation a living, participatory process that brings individuals a shared feeling of accomplishment, belonging, inspiration, and joy.

K. JING HENG CHEN

Jing Heng is a junior double majoring in political science and gender, women, and sexuality studies with a minor in labor studies. They work with the Strategies for Massage Parlor Workers' Rights project, doing research on the criminalization of unlicensed massage workers and sex workers, and grassroots outreach for migrant Asian massage workers. In their free time, they enjoy playing electric guitar and watching films.

KATHERINE CHEN

Katherine is a senior at the UW majoring in political science and sociology, minoring in labor studies. As part of the Strategies for Massage Parlor Workers' Rights project, she assists with communication as well as research for "Know Your Rights" resources for massage parlor workers who have experienced police raids. In her spare time, Katherine enjoys singing.

ALEX CHUANG

Alex is a community organizer and a master's student in the School of Social Work. They are a researcher for the Strategies for Massage Parlor Workers' Rights project. Their work focuses on implementing infrastructure for language justice and creating internal political education curricula for members. In their free time, Alex also builds language justice practices with the International Migrants Alliance.

JINIE CHON

Jinie is a second-year honors student, double majoring in law, societies, and justice and philosophy. In addition to participating in research at UWCHR for the Immigrant Rights Observatory, Jinie is an intern with a WA State Human Rights Commissioner, a council member of the UW College of Arts & Sciences Dean's Advisory Board, a First-Year Interest Group Leader at UW Seattle, and the assistant program manager for an activism organization called TurnUp Activism. In her spare time, she loves to travel, visit art exhibits and museums, and read.

NICOLE GRABIEL

Nicole is a senior majoring in history and global and regional studies. She joined UWCHR in fall 2022 and works with the Unfinished Sentences project to document human rights violations stemming from El Salvador's armed conflict (1980–1992). With the center's support, she is also working on an undergraduate thesis about the international dimensions of conflict in Central America. For fun, Nicole loves spending time outside, reading, and playing with her pup, Indigo.

GUADALUPE ALEX GONZALEZ

Alex is an undergraduate student majoring in political science as well as law, societies, and justice, and minoring in human rights and labor studies. As a research intern for UWCHR, he primarily focuses on investigating the practices of ICE and its contractors. He is the president of Liberated Voices WA, a UW student group working to uplift and protect the rights of immigrants in Washington State, and he has previously volunteered as an interpreter for La Resistencia, the Washington Immigrant Solidarity Network, and the UW School of Law's Immigration Clinic.

PRIYA HENDRY

Priya studies drama with a focus on performance. She joined the UWCHR in spring 2022 working on the Immigrant Rights Observatory project, which monitors compliance with, and efficacy of, the Keep Washington Working Act and the Courts Open to All Act. Outside of research, she enjoys reading, writing poetry, and attempting new recipes.

CARLOS ALBERTO YAÑEZ NAVARRO

Carlos is a DACAmented PhD student in the Jackson School of International Studies focusing on domestic migrant rights, the evolving mechanisms of deportation, and the expanding border infrastructure. Carlos joins the UWCHR Immigrant Rights team in observing implementation of laws and tracking abuses in immigrant detention. In his free time, Carlos enjoys going to the gym and practicing the many languages he speaks including Portuguese, French, Persian, and Arabic in conjunction with his native Spanish.

ANDREW SHAW

Andrew is a junior double majoring in computer science and philosophy who is passionate about harnessing technology for justice. He joined the UWCHR in winter 2024 to support its data analysis work identifying human rights trends in ICE arrest records. In his free time, he enjoys baking, getting boba, and serving as an editor for the UW undergraduate philosophy journal.

One of the most important things I learned as a researcher at UWCHR was how to persistently engage in a long-term process of piecing together evidence to craft a cohesive story. ***In human rights work, there is always a story to be uncovered, and you never know what its impact can be until you dig deep to find the details.***

– RACHEL BLAIR
Former UWCHR student researcher

ENDOWED HUMAN RIGHTS FUNDS FOR STUDENTS

Thanks to the generosity of our community of donors, UWCHR has endowed funds to which students can apply for to suport projects of their own design.

This year, UWCHR supported eight students, dispensing a total of $29,600.

- UWCHR has **five funds available** to students across all three UW campuses.
- Over the last 15 years, UWCHR has **funded 85 students** through our endowed funds.
- Over the last 15 years, UWCHR has **awarded over $1,821,037 to students** doing human rights research and projects, including our endowed funds recipients.

LOLA BURTON

Lola, recipient of the Abe Osheroff and Gunnel Clark award, is an undergraduate student in law, societies, and justice, working to stop deportations from Boeing Field.

SAAD KHAN

Saad Khan, recipient of the Lisa Sable Brown award, is a PhD student in the Department of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, researching human rights activism among gender and sexual minorities in Bangladesh.

MARIELLE MARCAIDA

Marielle is the recipient of the Peter Mack and Jamie Mayerfeld award. She is a PhD student in the Department of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, researching drug wars in the Philippines.

MAYRA MURATALLA MUÑOZ

Mayra is a master's student in the School of Public Health. Mayra will use funds from the Lisa Sable Brown award to research disparities faced by disabled survivors of sexual abuse and domestic violence in Washington State.

MARISSA OLIVARES MORALES

Marissa is a PhD student in international studies, specializing in Indigenous human rights and Indigenous politics. She is an associate professor at the Universidad Centroamericana in Nicaragua. Funds from the Benjamin Linder award will further support her research on the Indigenous struggle to secure territorial rights, self-determination, and autonomy on the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua.

CARLOS ALBERTO YAÑEZ NAVARRO

Carlos, recipient of the Jennifer Caldwell Fellowship, is a DACAmented PhD student in the Jackson School of International Studies focusing on researching Latin American migration, domestic migrant rights, and the evolving mechanisms of deportation and expanding border infrastructures.

ISAAC SANDERS

Isaac is a PhD student in social work. Funds from the Peter Mack and Jamie Mayerfeld award will support Isaac in researching homelessness among Indigenous youth in Washington State.

SOFIA TORRES

Sofia Torres is an undergraduate student double majoring in history and political science. Sofia will use funds from the Abe Osheroff and Gunnel Clark award to organize activities opposing US military imperialism.

I am deeply appreciative of receiving funds from the UWCHR's Osheroff-Clark Award to support my work in a coalition-driven project to ensure access to unemployment services for excluded immigrant workers in Washington State. ***I believe, as do many of the amazing people I work with, that everyone deserves more than basic survival—we all deserve to thrive with joy, connection, safety, and opportunity. Our goal is to change the system so that this is in reach for all.***

– JULIE FENG
2023 Osheroff-Clark
Fund Recipient

AT SEATTLE'S BOEING FIELD, REAL-TIME VIDEO OFFERS A RARE GLIMPSE OF AMERICA'S TROUBLED DEPORTATION FLIGHTS

KEY DETAILS ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS INSIDE ICE AIR WOULD STILL BE HIDDEN IF NOT FOR A GROUP OF WASHINGTON ACTIVISTS AND RESEARCHERS WHO ARE NOW USING A LIVE VIDEO FEED FROM THE TARMAC TO DOCUMENT THE FLIGHTS

Reprinted with permission from *ProPublica*
By McKenzie Funk, photos by Jovelle Tamayo

Immigrant advocates and University of Washington students observe a live feed of a deportation flight boarding at King County International Airport, also known as Boeing Field, in January. The county allows observers from La Resistencia and other groups to view closed-circuit video from a room within the airport's terminal building. Photo credit/ Jovelle Tamayo

A closed-circuit video camera zoomed in on the tarmac of Seattle's Boeing Field one recent afternoon, buffeted by 30-mile-an-hour gusts as it captured the arrival of a charter jet. The jet rolled to a stop alongside two buses. Behind their tinted windows, still invisible to the camera, were people waiting to be deported from the United States.

"Windy," muttered a woman watching the video feed on a projector screen. Struggling to make out the plane's tail number from the shaky image, she stood up for a closer look.

On the screen, a stairway was wheeled over, and a cluster of men in bright yellow jackets descended from the

plane. Another man stepped out of an SUV that partly blocked the foot of the stairs from view. Soon the group lugged over black bags, opened them, and laid out something that looked like chains.

When detainees began emerging from the camera's blind spot, their ankles, waists, and wrists appeared to be shackled together, and they seemed unable to hold the handrails as they shuffled up the wet stairs in the wind.

"So dangerous," said another woman watching the video feed. People kept coming, and she and her partner kept count: "Seven … eight … nine … ten … eleven … twelve." One by one, the hunched figures disappeared into the plane. After an hour, it was gone.

The observation room at Boeing Field offers what is arguably America's best real-time window into our vast network of privately run deportation flights, a system that has generated troubling reports of passenger mistreatment and in-flight emergencies.

In 2017, passengers on a deportation flight to Somalia said they were left bound and shackled in their seats for 23 hours during a stopover, some forced to soil themselves because they were denied bathroom visits. A year later, the right landing gear collapsed as a plane carrying detainees touched down at an airport in Louisiana, sparking a fire on its wing, filling the cabin with the smell of burning rubber, and sending shackled passengers racing toward the three functioning evacuation slides after another slide failed to deploy. The next year, a detainee at the same Louisiana airport tumbled from the top of the boarding stairs and was rushed to the hospital.

While news organizations have reported on some of these incidents aboard what the government calls ICE Air, key details about how the system works would still be hidden were it not for a group of researchers who are now part of the work inside the observation room.

The University of Washington Center for Human Rights has spent the past six years trying to shed light on deportation operations, even as US Immigration and Customs Enforcement and its contractors and subcontractors have taken steps that shield their activities from view. (ICE declined ProPublica's requests for comment.) Now the human rights center is in close contact with the observers at Boeing Field, hoping their weekly vigil will yield new clues and drive further research.

Every scrap of information is hard won.

As the recent dramatic influx of immigrants has prompted a push among political leaders to accelerate expulsions, what Seattle's single shaky tarmac camera really shows is how little the public is allowed to know

UWCHR'S ICE AIR DEPORTATION FLIGHTS PROJECT

Since 2018, at the request of community research partners interested in learning more about deportation flights via King County International Airport (Boeing Field), UWCHR has conducted research on information regarding ICE Air locally and nationwide. UWCHR's findings have been published under our ICE Air Project.

PUBLICATIONS INCLUDE...

- **Hidden in Plain Sight:** ICE Air and the Machinery of Mass Deportation
- **ICE Air in King County:** Document Reveals Allegations of Deportation Flights Abuses
- **ICE Air in Yakima:** Yakima's Role in the Detention and Deportation Pipeline
- **Abuses in the Air:** Sports Travel and the Deportation Industry

about the nation's hidden deportation infrastructure.

The Washington human rights center's investigation of ICE Air began in 2018 with a modest goal: to prove that deportation operations took place at King County International Airport, as Boeing Field is officially known. Liberal local officials had enacted various "sanctuary" policies to insulate their residents from then-President Donald Trump's crackdown on immigrants, but they were unaware (or could at least claim to be unaware) of ICE flights at the county-owned airport. "They all played dumb," said Maru Mora Villalpando of the immigrant rights group La Resistencia. "All of them were like, 'Wait, what, there are deportations happening here?'"

The center began gathering documents that proved it and also hinted at the worldwide breadth of ICE Air's network. Their investigation grew. Through records requests to ICE, and after interventions by Washington's congressional delegation, researchers obtained an ICE Air database spanning eight years of global operations: 1.73 million passenger records from nearly 15,000 flights to and from 88 U.S. airports—Boeing Field indeed among them—and to 134 international airports in 119 countries around the world.

Students from the University of Washington protest Signature Aviation at King County International Airport. Signature services ICE deportation flights at the airfield. Photo credit/ Jovelle Tamayo

In April 2019, the center published this trove of raw data and a pair of reports cataloging a history of in-flight abuses and potential due process violations. The Washington human rights center reports also mapped the layers of contractors and subcontractors that provide ICE with planes, security guards, in-flight nurses, and access to local airports. "Over the past decade, the institutional infrastructure behind these flights has shifted from a government operation run by the US Marshals Service on government planes," the researchers wrote, "to a sprawling, semi-secret network of flights on privately owned aircraft." Their reports identified the charter companies by name.

A great majority of the deportation flights leaving Boeing Field were bound not for destinations overseas but for domestic ICE Air hubs closer to America's southern border, over 1,000 miles away, where detainees could be placed on connecting flights to countries of origin. The Washington researchers showed that Boeing Field was a busy part of the network, having hosted close to 500 ICE Air flights since 2010, collecting landing fees as the government shipped off at least 34,400 people for deportation.

Confronted with these findings, King County Executive Dow Constantine issued an order designed to eventually make it impossible for ICE Air to get any ground support, such as refueling, at Boeing Field. The company providing these ground services to ICE, which had also been named in the center's reports, decided to stop rather than wait until its contract came up for renewal. The flights suddenly ended. (The company, Clay Lacy Aviation, and its successor in Seattle, Modern Aviation, did not respond to requests for comment.)

A game of cat and mouse had begun, pitting the Trump administration—and later the Biden administration—against local sanctuary advocates.

First, ICE switched locations. It began charter operations out of a municipal airport in the small city of Yakima,

located in the farming region about three hours east of Seattle.

But activists began showing up at the Yakima airfield, recording tail numbers and keeping count of people being deported.

Second, ICE changed its flight numbering system. The human rights center had disclosed in its 2019 report that it used the federally assigned prefix "RPN-" for "repatriate" to plug information into free flight-tracking websites and obtain a plane's tail number and ownership. So ICE dropped the "RPN-" and adopted the call signs of its various charter companies.

Activists became more sophisticated. Thomas Cartwright, a retired financial executive in Ohio turned refugee advocate, figured out how to identify ICE Air missions by analyzing flight patterns, operators, and airport pairs. He began to track charter planes by the dozens, enabling the human rights center to issue a 2022 report linking specific deportation flights to the sports teams and musical acts that chartered the same planes.

"I'm retired, and I really do need to retire," Cartwright said. "I don't know who's going to do it after me."

Meanwhile, the US Department of Justice proceeded with a lawsuit against Constantine, the King County executive, to restart ICE flights at Boeing Field. Announcing the suit in February 2020, then-Attorney General William Barr had called it "a significant escalation in the federal government's efforts to confront the resistance of 'sanctuary cities.'"

A judge ruled against the county in March 2023, and ICE made preparations to return.

Signature Aviation, a ground-support company at Boeing Field with an $11.5 million new terminal building for its executive clients, agreed to service ICE Air out on a hard-to-see part of the tarmac. Two charter companies, iAero Airways and GlobalX, would do the flying. (None of the companies responded to ProPublica's requests for comment.)

La Resistencia, the local immigrant rights group, responded by pressuring King County officials to set up a viewing area. The county hastily opened a conference room and closed-circuit video feed for observers.

> ***The observation room at Boeing Field offers what is arguably America's best real-time window into our vast network of privately run deportation flights, a system that has generated troubling reports of passenger mistreatment and in-flight emergencies.***

On May 2, according to a spreadsheet kept by the observers, a white Boeing 737 with the tail number N802TJ arrived from Phoenix. The plane was known as the Straight Talk Express when used on Sen. John McCain's 2008 presidential campaign, photos and news reports from the time show. On this day iAero was using it for a deportation flight. ICE Air was back.

Volunteers now observe deportation flights every week at Boeing Field, usually on Tuesday mornings.

Coordinating their efforts along with La Resistencia's Maru Mora Villalpando is Stan Shikuma, a 70-year-old retired nurse and the co-president of the civil liberties group Tsuru for Solidarity.

"Tsuru" means "crane" in Japanese. The group consists of Japanese American survivors of U.S. incarceration

camps during World War II and their descendants. They first organized to protest what they saw as similar mass camps for immigrant families during the Trump administration. One, in Dilley, Texas, was just 45 minutes down the road from Crystal City, Texas, the site of an infamous camp that housed Japanese American families. In 2019, the group that would become Tsuru led a large rally outside the Dilley detention center, giving speeches and playing taiko drums and stringing tens of thousands of origami paper cranes along the fence. The cranes became their symbol. They rallied under the cry "Stop Repeating History!"

At Boeing Field, the volunteers record tail numbers and keep a count of how many people get on and off each plane. The observations can serve as "a check on ICE in case they do put out numbers," Shikuma says. "If they say, 'We've only deported 25 people in the last two months,' we can say, 'Well, we counted 85 in the last two weeks.'"

The second goal, Shikuma says, is to "let the people on the plane know that we're out here and that someone cares." In this effort, the groups, hidden away as they are in the observation room, have been less successful.

When Shikuma is on duty, he sits with one or two other observers in the conference room and stares intently at the closed-circuit video screen on the wall. He sips coffee and checks FlightAware, a popular plane tracking app, on his phone. He watches the buses roll in from the 1,575-bed Northwest ICE Processing Center in nearby Tacoma, run by private-prison contractor Geo Group.

When Shikuma is on duty, he sits with one or two other observers in the conference room and stares intently at the closed-circuit video screen on the wall. He sips coffee and checks FlightAware, a popular plane tracking app, on his phone. He watches the buses roll in from the 1,575-bed Northwest ICE Processing Center in nearby Tacoma, run by private-prison contractor Geo Group.

After the ICE Air flight arrives, usually from Phoenix but sometimes Las Vegas, San Antonio, or El Paso, Shikuma marks in his notebook the time, the plane's tail number, how many detainees exit, and how many board.

Planes meet buses behind a large hangar, almost entirely out of view from a perimeter road. There are often three buses, but only two of them, Shikuma said, ever unload passengers. The third parks along a fence line, blocking any remaining view from the road. While the county's closed-circuit camera can still capture the boarding process, the positioning of the SUV and two passenger buses means that detainees are generally visible on the camera only for the seconds it takes them to ascend the stairs.

Twice in recent months volunteers witnessed what they considered unusual activity during boardings on the tarmac, prompting the human rights center to request records of internal ICE documentation on those two flights under the Freedom of Information Act.

Activists say that King County, despite its left-leaning reputation, has been a more reluctant partner in keeping tabs on deportation flights than was Yakima, which had regularly shared passenger tallies.

But Cameron Satterfield, a county spokesperson, said officials are doing what they can within a limited set of options. "We have a federal judge saying, 'No, this is a public airport,'" he told ProPublica.

The county logs ICE Air's arrivals and departures on its website, though the page was missing for weeks this winter after an update. Local officials have been unable to obtain passenger

Maru Mora Villalpando, leader of La Resistencia, views a deportation flight on a live feed. Photo credit/ Jovelle Tamayo

data from ICE, not even a head count. "They have told us: you can send a FOIA request," Satterfield said.

This means that the only practical way to get numbers is the volunteers' flight-by-flight paper tally. In 2022, ICE's average processing time for what it deems "complex" requests hit a record high: 186 days. At the end of that year, it had a backlog of 16,902 unresolved cases, a fourfold jump from 2021.

ProPublica's review of deportation videos posted online by ICE shows what a difference the unvarnished view from Boeing Field can make. The agency began routinely posting the productions in May.

The 97 videos ProPublica examined, ranging in length from 22 seconds to almost 3 minutes, show signs of careful framing and editing. While detainees are commonly shown climbing the steps in handcuffs and the waist chains that secure them, the videos often cut to a new shot before leg shackles can make an appearance. When leg shackles are visible, they are typically out of focus, discernible only if you know to look for them.

It is common on ICE Air to place passengers in five-point restraints—wrists, ankles, and waists in chains—even as the agency's own statistics show that less than half of the people deported in 2023 had any kind of criminal conviction, let alone for serious felonies that could suggest a possible risk to others on board.

Carrier names and tail numbers are blurred or absent in the videos, consistent with tail-number redactions in documents the Washington human rights center has gradually received from ICE in the years after its 2019 reports. The agency cites an exemption to the Freedom of Information Act protecting records that would reveal "techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions" or "could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law."

The agency did not respond when asked by ProPublica how disclosing tail numbers could pose such risks, nor when asked to explain the use of five-point restraints. When the California news organization Capital & Main wrote in 2021 about ICE flights that went badly, it quoted a spokesperson saying the agency required safety reports from flight brokers and that "ICE retains the ability to hold the vendor accountable if there are performance issues."

The spokesperson also told Capital & Main that the agency "utilizes restraints only when necessary for the safety and security of the detainee passengers, flight crew, and the aircraft."

What ICE's online videos don't show is revealing in its own right. In spring 2023, the center obtained a series of ICE Air incident reports detailing various accidents during charter operations, including the one in which a detainee in Alexandria, Louisiana, tumbled down the boarding stairs. Agency investigators recommended that contractors and subcontractors avoid such accidents in the future by placing a guard midway up the stairs to help detainees board and to catch any who lose their balance.

Yet in most of the ICE Air videos, including 32 of the 33 shot over the last year at the Louisiana airport where the man fell, ICE's contractors did not heed the investigators' suggestion.

At Boeing Field, observers have documented the same practices. Week after week, rain or shine, including the

Stan Shikuma, left, and Margaret Sekijima observe a departure, recording the number of people they see board the plane. Photo credit/ Jovelle Tamayo

recent gusty day when the tarmac camera shook in 30-mile-an-hour winds, chained detainees continue to climb aboard the planes alone.

On a calmer day this winter, Shikuma shared the observation room with Mora Villalpando and with fellow Tsuru volunteer Margaret Sekijima. FlightAware showed an inbound Airbus A320 operated by the ICE Air subcontractor GlobalX. Buses from the detention center, which normally arrive well in advance, had yet to appear on the screen. "Very unusual," Shikuma said. "I wonder if they've changed up the protocol."

A few weeks prior, Mora Villalpando had led a group of protestors who intercepted the buses outside the gates of the airport, waving at the detainees inside and unfurling a banner that read "You are not alone" in three languages spoken by recent groups of Northwest detainees: English, Spanish, and Punjabi.

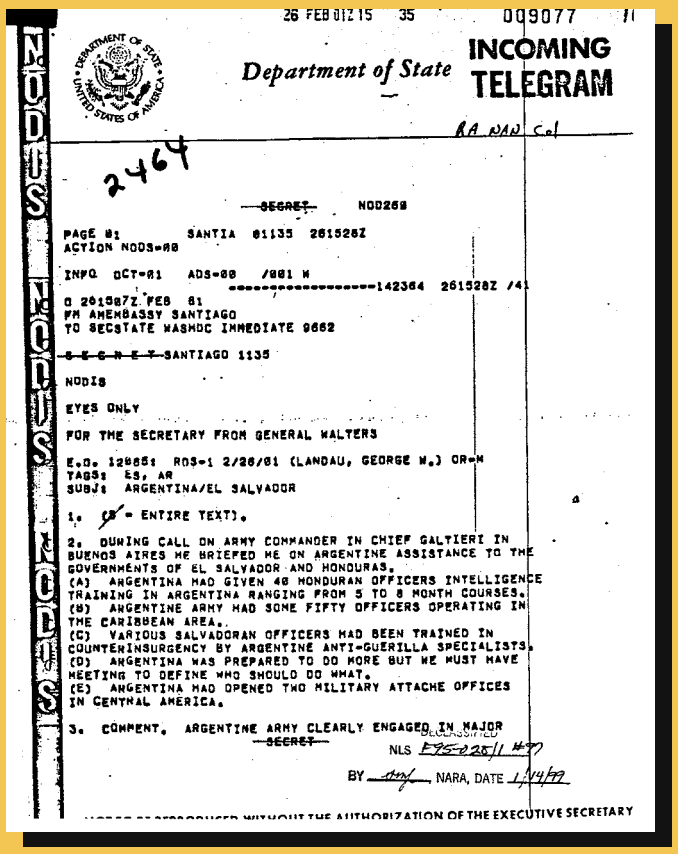
Minutes later, two buses traversed the video frame from left to right. A young woman burst into the room. "They changed the entrance and came from the north!" she said. She was a student from the University of Washington, there to lead a demonstration in front of Signature Aviation's gleaming terminal building. "I'm going to go round up the troops."

The Airbus landed. The observers took down its tail number. They counted 29 detainees getting on, zero getting off.

Shikuma and Mora Villalpando went outside to join the protesters. Sekijima stayed in the conference room, her expression tight, her eyes on the screen until the plane left for El Paso, its next destination in ICE Air's endless loop of deportation flights. ■

Week after week, rain or shine, including the recent gusty day when the tarmac camera shook in 30-mile-an-hour winds, chained detainees continue to climb aboard the planes alone.

UNFINISHED SENTENCES



26 FEB 81 Z 15 35 009077 11

Department of State INCOMING TELEGRAM

RA NAN Col

2464

~~SECRET~~ NOD268

PAGE 01 SANTIA 01135 261528Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 /001 W
142364 261528Z /41

O 261987Z FEB 81
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9662

~~S E C R E T~~ SANTIAGO 1135

NODIS

EYES ONLY

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM GENERAL WALTERS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 2/26/81 (LANDAU, GEORGE W.) OR-M
TAGS: ES, AR
SUBJ: ARGENTINA/EL SALVADOR

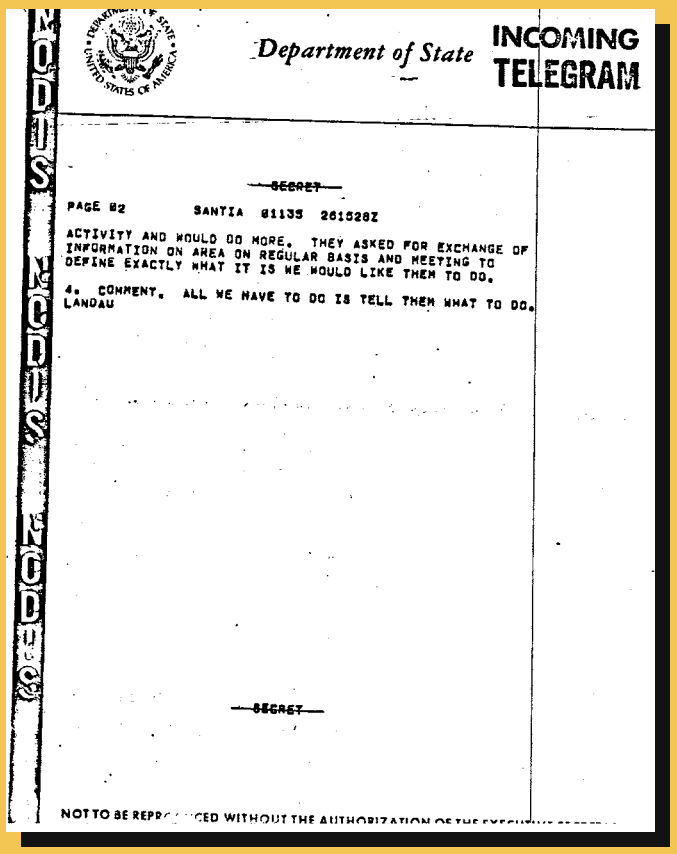
1. (~~S~~ = ENTIRE TEXT).

2. DURING CALL ON ARMY COMMANDER IN CHIEF GALTIERI IN BUENOS AIRES HE BRIEFED HE ON ARGENTINE ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EL SALVADOR AND HONDURAS.
(A) ARGENTINA HAD GIVEN 40 HONDURAN OFFICERS INTELLIGENCE TRAINING IN ARGENTINA RANGING FROM 5 TO 8 MONTH COURSES.
(B) ARGENTINE ARMY HAD SOME FIFTY OFFICERS OPERATING IN THE CARIBBEAN AREA.
(C) VARIOUS SALVADORAN OFFICERS HAD BEEN TRAINED IN COUNTERINSURGENCY BY ARGENTINE ANTI-GUERILLA SPECIALISTS.
(D) ARGENTINA WAS PREPARED TO DO MORE BUT WE MUST HAVE MEETING TO DEFINE WHO SHOULD DO WHAT.
(E) ARGENTINA HAD OPENED TWO MILITARY ATTACHE OFFICES IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

3. COMMENT. ARGENTINE ARMY CLEARLY ENGAGED IN MAJOR
~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
NLS E95-025/1 #37
BY dnf NARA, DATE 1/14/99

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



Department of State INCOMING TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 SANTIA 01135 261528Z

ACTIVITY AND WOULD DO MORE. THEY ASKED FOR EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON AREA ON REGULAR BASIS AND MEETING TO DEFINE EXACTLY WHAT IT IS WE WOULD LIKE THEM TO DO.

4. COMMENT. ALL WE HAVE TO DO IS TELL THEM WHAT TO DO.
LANDAU

~~SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

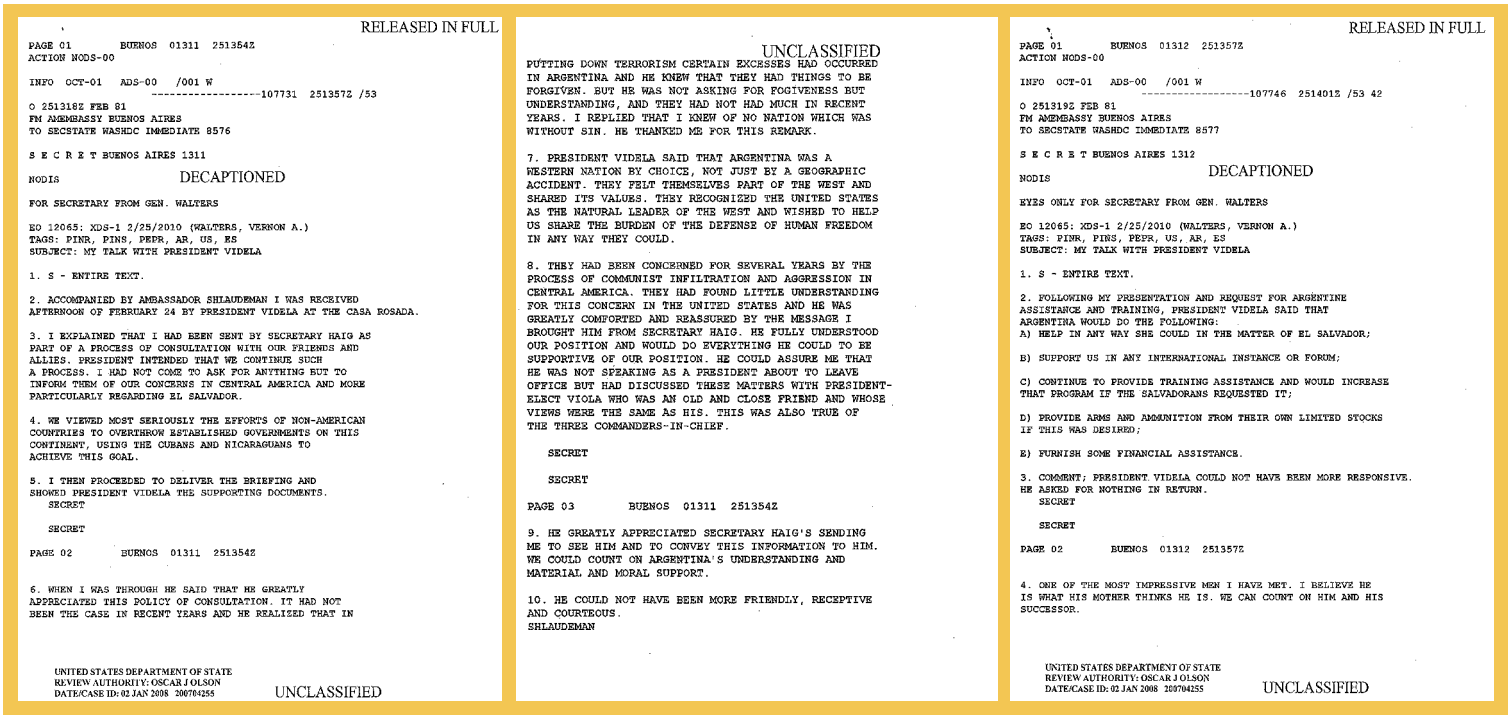
Declassified documents from February, 1981 relaying communications between the former deputy director of the CIA, Vernon Walters, and Argentine dictator Jorge Rafael Videla. Image credit/ UWCHR

By Angelina Godoy

Since 2012, UWCHR researchers have been working in partnership with Salvadoran human rights defenders to uncover new documentation about atrocities committed in the context of the Salvadoran armed conflict. We began this work at the urging of former political prisoners in El Salvador, who were urgently pressing their government to allow access to its records in the interest of truth, justice, and reparations for wartime abuses; they knew that, given US support for the Salvadoran counterinsurgency, US government archives were also likely to contain relevant information. A dozen years into this work—and over 40 years since the events in question—UWCHR researchers have filed almost 800 FOIA requests of nine different federal agencies, obtaining thousands of pages of documents. And our efforts continue to uncover new information, even from some surprising sources.

In the past year, we've gained access to two troves of relevant documents, each of which offers the prospect of important new insights—but also the promise of hours of painstaking labor for the student researchers processing the newly-obtained information.

First, we're working to process documents the Defense Intelligence Agency is declassifying as a result of our latest lawsuit. In 2019, we discovered the existence of a previously unknown set of documents collected by the Central America Joint Intelligence Team, a "fusion



RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01311 251354Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 /001 W
----------107731 251357Z /53
O 251318Z FEB 81
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8576

S E C R E T BUENOS AIRES 1311

NODIS DECAPTIONED

FOR SECRETARY FROM GEN. WALTERS

EO 12065: XDS-1 2/25/2010 (WALTERS, VERNON A.)
TAGS: PINR, PINS, PEPR, AR, US, ES
SUBJECT: MY TALK WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR SHLAUDEMAN I WAS RECEIVED AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY 24 BY PRESIDENT VIDELA AT THE CASA ROSADA.

3. I EXPLAINED THAT I HAD BEEN SENT BY SECRETARY HAIG AS PART OF A PROCESS OF CONSULTATION WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES. PRESIDENT INTENDED THAT WE CONTINUE SUCH A PROCESS. I HAD NOT COME TO ASK FOR ANYTHING BUT TO INFORM THEM OF OUR CONCERNS IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND MORE PARTICULARLY REGARDING EL SALVADOR.

4. WE VIEWED MOST SERIOUSLY THE EFFORTS OF NON-AMERICAN COUNTRIES TO OVERTHROW ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENTS ON THIS CONTINENT, USING THE CUBANS AND NICARAGUANS TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL.

5. I THEN PROCEEDED TO DELIVER THE BRIEFING AND SHOWED PRESIDENT VIDELA THE SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS.
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01311 251354Z

6. WHEN I WAS THROUGH HE SAID THAT HE GREATLY APPRECIATED THIS POLICY OF CONSULTATION. IT HAD NOT BEEN THE CASE IN RECENT YEARS AND HE REALIZED THAT IN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: OSCAR J OLSON
DATE/CASE ID: 02 JAN 2008 200704255

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PUTTING DOWN TERRORISM CERTAIN EXCESSES HAD OCCURRED IN ARGENTINA AND HE KNEW THAT THEY HAD THINGS TO BE FORGIVEN. BUT HE WAS NOT ASKING FOR FOGIVENESS BUT UNDERSTANDING, AND THEY HAD NOT HAD MUCH IN RECENT YEARS. I REPLIED THAT I KNEW OF NO NATION WHICH WAS WITHOUT SIN. HE THANKED ME FOR THIS REMARK.

7. PRESIDENT VIDELA SAID THAT ARGENTINA WAS A WESTERN NATION BY CHOICE, NOT JUST BY A GEOGRAPHIC ACCIDENT. THEY FELT THEMSELVES PART OF THE WEST AND SHARED ITS VALUES. THEY RECOGNIZED THE UNITED STATES AS THE NATURAL LEADER OF THE WEST AND WISHED TO HELP US SHARE THE BURDEN OF THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN FREEDOM IN ANY WAY THEY COULD.

8. THEY HAD BEEN CONCERNED FOR SEVERAL YEARS BY THE PROCESS OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION AND AGGRESSION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THEY HAD FOUND LITTLE UNDERSTANDING FOR THIS CONCERN IN THE UNITED STATES AND HE WAS GREATLY COMFORTED AND REASSURED BY THE MESSAGE I BROUGHT HIM FROM SECRETARY HAIG. HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD OUR POSITION AND WOULD DO EVERYTHING HE COULD TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF OUR POSITION. HE COULD ASSURE ME THAT HE WAS NOT SPEAKING AS A PRESIDENT ABOUT TO LEAVE OFFICE BUT HAD DISCUSSED THESE MATTERS WITH PRESIDENT-ELECT VIOLA WHO WAS AN OLD AND CLOSE FRIEND AND WHOSE VIEWS WERE THE SAME AS HIS. THIS WAS ALSO TRUE OF THE THREE COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BUENOS 01311 251354Z

9. HE GREATLY APPRECIATED SECRETARY HAIG'S SENDING ME TO SEE HIM AND TO CONVEY THIS INFORMATION TO HIM. WE COULD COUNT ON ARGENTINA'S UNDERSTANDING AND MATERIAL AND MORAL SUPPORT.

10. HE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE FRIENDLY, RECEPTIVE AND COURTEOUS.
SHLAUDEMAN

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 BUENOS 01312 251357Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ADS-00 /001 W
----------107746 251401Z /53 42
O 251319Z FEB 81
FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8577

S E C R E T BUENOS AIRES 1312

NODIS DECAPTIONED

EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY FROM GEN. WALTERS

EO 12065: XDS-1 2/25/2010 (WALTERS, VERNON A.)
TAGS: PINR, PINS, PEPR, US, AR, ES
SUBJECT: MY TALK WITH PRESIDENT VIDELA

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FOLLOWING MY PRESENTATION AND REQUEST FOR ARGENTINE ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING, PRESIDENT VIDELA SAID THAT ARGENTINA WOULD DO THE FOLLOWING:
A) HELP IN ANY WAY SHE COULD IN THE MATTER OF EL SALVADOR;

B) SUPPORT US IN ANY INTERNATIONAL INSTANCE OR FORUM;

C) CONTINUE TO PROVIDE TRAINING ASSISTANCE AND WOULD INCREASE THAT PROGRAM IF THE SALVADORANS REQUESTED IT;

D) PROVIDE ARMS AND AMMUNITION FROM THEIR OWN LIMITED STOCKS IF THIS WAS DESIRED;

E) FURNISH SOME FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

3. COMMENT; PRESIDENT VIDELA COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE RESPONSIVE. HE ASKED FOR NOTHING IN RETURN.
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BUENOS 01312 251357Z

4. ONE OF THE MOST IMPRESSIVE MEN I HAVE MET. I BELIEVE HE IS WHAT HIS MOTHER THINKS HE IS. WE CAN COUNT ON HIM AND HIS SUCCESSOR.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: OSCAR J OLSON
DATE/CASE ID: 02 JAN 2008 200704255

UNCLASSIFIED

Declassified documents relaying 1981 communications between the former deputy director of the CIA, Vernon Walters, and Argentine dictator Jorge Rafael Videla. Image credit/ UWCHR

center" established in 1982 to facilitate the exchange of military intelligence between the US Army's Southern Command and its allies, including the Salvadoran military. Comprising some 90 cubic feet of records stored in 50 large boxes, this collection was languishing in a storage warehouse in Suitland, Maryland, and slated for destruction in 2023. After multiple fruitless attempts to gain access through FOIA requests, UWCHR brought suit last year under FOIA, aiming to avoid the documents' destruction and beginning a lengthy process of negotiations to gain access to them. We are now working with the DIA to review indices of each box, identify our highest priorities for declassification, and analyze the records as they come in via monthly installments.

Second, last December we dispatched a UWCHR research team to Buenos Aires in the hopes of uncovering new information in the archives of the Argentine Foreign Ministry. We knew the archive possessed some documents pertaining to the Argentine role in advising counterinsurgency efforts in Central America, because some portion had already been digitized, but the archivists had told us there were other records that remained undigitized—and furthermore, that they were concerned about their preservation in a changing political climate. We were intrigued, but as Nicole Grabiel describes on page 27, we didn't know what we'd find.

During the 1970s and '80s, the government of Argentina provided significant counter-insurgency assistance to El Salvador, partly at the urging of US anticommunists. Among other things, the Argentines trained Salvadorans in urban counterinsurgency,

> ***A dozen years into this work—and over 40 years since the events in question—UWCHR researchers have filed almost 800 FOIA requests of nine different federal agencies, obtaining thousands of pages of documents. And our efforts continue to uncover new information, even from some surprising sources.***

interrogation, and other skills they had honed during their own dirty war against leftists in Argentina; indeed, some of the former political prisoners we have worked with in El Salvador report having been tortured by men who spoke with a distinct Argentine accent.

Featured in this article are a couple of relevant US government documents memorializing conversations held in early 1981 between US Ambassador-at-large Vernon Walters, then a former deputy director of the CIA, and Argentine dictator Videla. In these documents, Videla said that Argentina had been worried by what they perceived as the Carter administration's lack of concern about "communist infiltration" in Central America, but was greatly heartened by the messages they were now receiving from the Reagan administration, and eager to help: "They recognize the United States as the natural leader of the West and wish to help us share the burden of the defense of human freedom," Walters reports, later waxing eloquent about how impressed he was by Videla: "I believe he is what his mother thinks he is." The second document is more pithy, concluding, "All we have to do is tell them what to do."

In Argentina, our research did not yield documents of Argentines acting on US orders. But we did find ample evidence of Argentine awareness of, and tolerance for, abuses happening in El Salvador. Indeed, among the records we came across were lists of suspected subversives shared with the Argentine ambassador, who in turn sent the lists to his superiors in Buenos Aires; many of the individuals listed were subsequently targeted by the security forces, and some remain "disappeared" to this day. We continue to analyze these documents in collaboration with our Salvadoran partners, including, where possible, those named in the documents, or their family members, and we anticipate sharing them with the broader public in the year ahead.

In July, UWCHR director Angelina Godoy travelled to El Salvador to explore the possibility of deepening our existing partnerships with Salvadoran organizations in ways that would permit the broader sharing, in El Salvador, of the US and Argentine government documents obtained through our research. We look forward to continuing this work to ensure that these historic records, painful as their details may be, are placed at the service of human rights work in El Salvador and beyond. ■

To access more information about this project:
TINYURL.COM/UNFINISHEDSENTENCES

UNFINISHED SENTENCES

Unfinished Sentences is an initiative of the UWCHR that aims to document and share stories of survivors of crimes against humanity committed in the context of El Salvador's armed conflict, and to support Salvadoran efforts for truth and accountability.

SINCE 2013, PROJECT MILESTONES INCLUDE...

- **Publication of the Yellow Book,** a secret document from the civil war era cataloging the Salvadoran military's "enemies," many of whom were killed or disappeared.
- **Creation of the Unfinished Sentences Testimony Archive,** a free online collection of oral histories by survivors of the Salvadoran armed conflict from the community of Arcatao, Chalatenango.
- **Publication of a collection of 200+ US government documents,** declassified via the Freedom of Information Act, relating to human rights violations during the armed conflict in El Salvador.
- **Documentation of the 1981 Santa Cruz massacre** in a research report and 17-minute video, "God Alone Was with Us."

INDIGENOUS RIGHTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY PROJECT

INDIGENOUS RIGHTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY PROJECT

The Indigenous Rights and Environmental Sustainability project aims to center the rights of Indigenous peoples in discussions about climate change and environmental sustainability in Washington through partnerships with tribal communities to support recovery of the Salish Sea.

PROJECT PARTNERS

- Chief Leschi Schools
- Nisqually Culture Center
- Washington Department of Natural Resources - Forest Resilience Division
- Nisqually Land Trust

By Patrick Christie and Jonathan Warren

The 2023–24 academic year brought new opportunities and deepened relationships among the Indigenous Rights and Environmental Sustainability project's students, faculty, and community partners. During the summer and fall of 2023, we brought two new University of Washington School of Marine and Environmental Affairs (UW SMEA) graduate students onto the project: Thor Belle and Kayley Pingeon. During these seasons, we spent time filming various participants of the Fish Wars (a 1960s-70s-era series of protests and efforts, led by Native American Tribes in the Puget Sound area, pressuring the US government to recognize Native fishing rights), especially those who participated in a famous battle at Frank's Landing in March 1965.

Recently graduated UW SMEA student and former UWCHR student researcher Jessica Rose helped to edit these interviews into a few short videos that we have shown at various events, including at the World Fisheries Conference held in Seattle in March 2024, where Patrick Christie, Binah McCloud, and Hanford McCloud gave a joint presentation on the Fish Wars and their impact on co-management in the Pacific Northwest. Additionally, Jonathan Warren presented the interviews in an Indigenous Politics and Indigenization in the Pacific Northwest micro-seminar he taught to Indigenous Brazilians in Brasilia.

As fall and winter of 2024 approached, we switched gears. With generous funding from the UW EarthLab, we are excited to collaborate with UW and Chief Leschi Schools (CLS) students working on establishing two food forests—one on the campus of Chief Leschi Schools and the other near the Nisqually Culture Center and Billy Frank National Estuary. The focus of the project has multiple layers. By engaging students in food forest creation and stewardship we hope to

support and enhance existing Tribal health and wellness initiatives, particularly in relation to climate change and Native and non-Native youth; foster educational ties between Indigenous youth and elders; deepen understandings of native plants for medicinal, culinary, and other purposes; and braid Traditional Ecological Knowledge and science in plant and site selection. Food forest planting events will be filmed to capture the collaboration between CLS and UW students and teachers. It will be shown at UW, CLS, and Nisqually Tribal headquarters to raise awareness about Tribal leadership and the potential for intercultural collaborations. We are in the process of seeking additional funding from the US Geological Survey.

Wrapping up the academic year, in spring 2024 we focused on preparing for the food forest project, which will begin in summer 2024. In addition, with funding from the Nisqually Tribe, we continued working on the Fish Wars film—figuring out details such as processing with our Coast Salish partners about the film's direction and which additional footage we would like to shoot. We look forward to completing and sharing the film in the near future. ■

To access more information about this project:
TINYURL.COM/INDRIGHTSENVSUSTAIN

UW graduate students walking through Nisqually River estuary scouting potential food forest restoration sites. Photo credit/ Jonathan Warren

> ***We are excited to collaborate with UW and Chief Leschi Schools students working on establishing two food forests—one on the campus of Chief Leschi Schools and the other near the Nisqually Cultural Center and Billy Frank National Estuary.***

STRATEGIES FOR MASSAGE PARLOR WORKERS' RIGHTS

MASSAGE PARLOR WORKERS' RIGHTS PROJECT

This project centers community-led campaigns and research to find systemic ways to improve Asian migrant massage and sex workers' living and working conditions in the Chinatown/International District and the greater Seattle area.

PARTNER ORGANIZATION

Massage Parlor Outreach Project: MPOP is a grassroots formation of Asian/Asian American community members organizing to provide support for migrant Asian massage parlor workers, sex workers, and care workers in the Seattle Chinatown/International District and greater Seattle area. MPOP builds worker power through organizing and leadership development, connecting workers to local resources, assisting with language access, and providing political education and other training.

By Chandan Reddy

Over the past year, the Strategies for Massage Parlor Workers' Rights Project has experienced huge strides in connecting students, faculty, staff, and the larger UW research community to the Seattle region's mostly unlicensed Asian immigrant massage workers.

Deepening collaborative research practices that began in 2022–2023, this project, led by Massage Parlor Outreach Project in collaboration with the UWCHR, and supported by a partnership with Social and Environmental Entrepreneurs, conducts community-based research on how state laws and other regulations impact the living and working conditions of Asian migrant workers in the greater Seattle area. For the past two years, UW students supported by UWCHR have played a key role in empowering workers to become researchers in their own right.

As part of this collaboration, MPOP launched a cohort-model worker political education series to introduce workers to topics around systemic oppression and its impacts on their experiences as migrant workers. Our student interns shaped the series, creating presentations and workshops on intersectionality and power, Asian American and Pacific Islander histories, and solidarity with Black organizing, as well as political contextualization on homelessness. Workers engaged in reflection activities to better understand how their positionalities determine the ease or difficulty with which they navigate social systems. The series included a tour of the Wing Luke Museum to connect workers with the history of early migrant struggles and experiences in Seattle's Chinatown-International District. Our undergraduate interns, Katherine Chen and Kimmy Chen, worked with faculty, MPOP organizers, and the workers to establish working translations of US political vernaculars and terms like "intersectionality." By co-creating a shared research lexicon in Chinese, students learned about how context-specific language for human rights can be shared in ways that empower rather than marginalize the "target" language and "distant" community.

Our research project's main focus this year has been to share the results of our detailed regional study of how various cities in King County treat unlicensed massage work in their city code. Our student interns learned about the variable ways that immigrant massage work is managed and made "illegal" by these codes, at times as a public health ordinance, in other instances as a violation of business licensing, or even as part of an "anti-trafficking" city effort. Presenting these findings in Chinese after months of practicing, our student interns empowered workers to reflect on how licensure is both a barrier to and a mechanism for migrant workers' rights. Likewise, students learned about the profound importance of advanced fluency in a culturally specific language for gaining workers' confidence in our research findings.

These workshops have resulted in a substantial increase in worker-led organizing with MPOP volunteers and worker leadership around licensing research. Through surveying, presentations, and focus groups, our team identified a need for greater language access in testing and obtaining massage licensure. Workers attended presentations about different legislative options for language access from other states. Focus groups were conducted to provide workers with a report back on our investigation into licensing laws and get feedback from workers. Most recently, the licensing team has rolled out a three-part Know Your Rights training to equip workers with their rights during raids and police encounters. A worker core team was established to consult on organizing direction and initiating a legislative campaign.

At the end of April, we worked with MPOP to hold a week-long series of events centering the experiences of visiting organizers from Taiwan and China. Workers were invited as panelists for two events, sharing their stories on migration and migrant organizing. Workers shared their experiences of displacement and exploitation and learned about the human rights violations experienced by migrant workers (mostly from Southeast Asia) in Taiwan and rural workers in China. These connections and comparisons helped migrant workers understand the structural mechanisms of their marginalization in the United States.

As MPOP continued to conduct monthly outreach, mutual aid needs cropped up, including post-raid response and supporting workers who had experienced hardships such as robberies or a neighborhood fire. In the beginning of 2024, UWCHR students helped conduct four additional oral histories.

With the enormous increase in worker programming emerged the need for centering language justice. This, too, has been an outgrowth of the involvement of multilingual UW students in our outreach and research efforts; their skills have helped bridge divides but have also helped the organization think more sustainably about language justice. While we continue with trial and error with expanding language access, we've received feedback from a worker leader about feeling more integrated within MPOP, the English-dominant community around them, and our research team. ■

To access more information about this project:
TINYURL.COM/MPOPUWCHR

> ***As our work grows, UWCHR's involvement has enabled deeply relational and transformative community-based research that documents workers' histories and supports their own advocacy.*** *While traditional research methods are carefully controlled and contained within a predictable environment, our research is set in the community and aims to cultivate workers' leadership to increase their power.*
>
> **– ROSANNA SZE**
> MPOP member

HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME

Updates by Phil Neff

HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME

UWCHR's Human Rights at Home initiative is a longstanding effort to examine the human rights implications of immigration policy in our state.

MAJOR RESEARCH AREAS INCLUDE...

- **Immigrant Rights Observatory:** In partnership with a coalition of advocacy and grassroots organizations, our team works to monitor compliance with Washington State laws protecting immigrant rights.
- **Immigration Detention in the Pacific Northwest:** Alongside organizations led by people impacted by immigration detention, we work to document human rights conditions and concerns.
- **ICE Air Deportation Flights:** Our research examines the operations of ICE Air globally and in Washington State.

PROGRESS ON COMPLIANCE WITH KEEP WASHINGTON WORKING

In August 2024, we published an update from our Immigrant Rights Observatory project monitoring implementation of pro-immigrant legislation in Washington State, finding both signs of progress and ongoing concerns. With provisions restricting many forms of collaboration between local and state agencies and federal immigration enforcement, the 2019 Keep Washington Working (KWW) act was a major victory, but without strong enforcement mechanisms, it was up to immigrant rights advocates to secure compliance with the law.

Since our first report on the early implementation of KWW in 2021, UWCHR staff and student researchers have filed hundreds of public records requests and reviewed thousands of pages of documents to assess compliance with the law. When we found evidence of potentially problematic practices, we shared them with our partner organizations, like the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington and Northwest Immigrant Rights Project, who wrote letters to law enforcement agencies across the state raising concerns about KWW violations. In some cases, this outreach led directly to improved policies. For example, in Spokane, the County Council canceled an illegal contract to detain people in the county jail on behalf of Border Patrol.

In other cases, as our recent report reveals, the Washington State Attorney General's Office got involved, citing UWCHR research in its own advocacy with jurisdictions including Adams, Clark, and Grant counties and the city of Kent. Read our full report to learn more about efforts to uphold pro-immigrant laws in Washington State! ■

To access more information about this project:
TINYURL.COM/HROBSERVATORY

SHARING STORIES OF WASHINGTONIANS FACING DEPORTATION

This year we embarked on a new collaboration between immigrant rights group La Resistencia, UWCHR, and Hinton Publishing to showcase the stories of people in deportation proceedings in Washington State. A team of 17 students worked to gather the stories of people facing deportation through Boeing Field (and in some cases, folks already deported). As UWCHR director Angelina Godoy said during our May 2024 Spring Symposium where we featured the stories gathered, "This project was born of the idea that while we fight for policy changes, we also work to share the stories from people themselves, to humanize those forced into detention and deportation systems that dehumanize them, to find ways to uplift the humanity of those who struggle for justice."

UW students share stories of people facing deportation through Boeing Field at the UWCHR Spring Symposium in May 2024. Photo credit/ Nate Gowdy

With the collaboration of Hinton Publishing, we hope to shepherd their stories onto the page and share them, so we might take stock of what we're losing when we allow these people to be silently expelled from our communities every Tuesday. This past March, we shared the stories for the first time in a reading at the Seattle Rep Theater before the evening's performance of the play *Sanctuary City*. ■

Hear stories from this project:
TINYURL.COM/VOICESOFRESISTENCIA

> ***This project was born of the idea that while we fight for policy changes, we also work to share the stories from people themselves, to humanize those forced into detention and deportation systems that dehumanize them, to find ways to uplift the humanity of those who struggle for justice.***

CONDITIONS OF CRISIS AT THE NORTHWEST DETENTION CENTER

In 2024 we continued to monitor conditions at the Northwest Detention Center (NWDC) in Tacoma, documenting emergent crises affecting people detained at the NWDC, including the death of Charles Leo Daniel and a series of suicide attempts at the facility during the first quarter of the year. In both cases, these crises were first reported by La Resistencia through the organization's relationships with detained people; UWCHR worked to surface additional information and highlight the systemic nature of ongoing abuses at the facility.

We found that Charles Leo Daniel, who died on March 7, 2024, while held in segregation at the NWDC, had experienced the second-longest stay in segregation of any person in ICE custody nationwide since at least 2018, despite being identified by ICE as having significant mental illness. ICE data obtained by Physicians for Human Rights showed that five out of the ten longest segregation placements nationwide occurred at the NWDC. Compounding the tragedy of Charles Leo Daniel's experience at the NWDC, media reports also revealed that he had also spent an extraordinarily long time in solitary confinement while in prison in Washington State before being transferred to ICE custody.

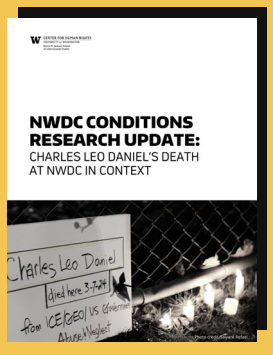
Throughout early 2024, La Resistencia shared reports from currently detained people regarding a disturbing pattern of suicide attempts at the facility. In response, UWCHR obtained 911 calls documenting at least six suicide attempts at the detention center during the first three months of 2024. The calls also revealed details of serious medical incidents and a fire at the facility. We continue to monitor emergency conditions and responses at NWDC.

While the crises reported at the facility during 2024 were disturbing, they were neither new nor unique. Detained people and their allies have denounced inhumane conditions at the NWDC for many years, often through hunger strikes, one of the few forms of protest available to those in detention. These efforts have brought increasing attention to the systemic issues at the NWDC, operated by the for-profit private prison company GEO Group. ■

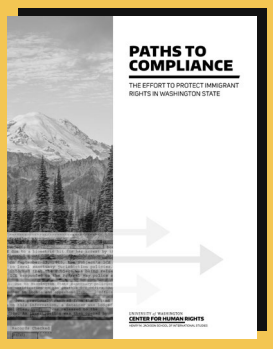
Explore reports related to conditions at the NWDC:
TINYURL.COM/NWDCCONDITIONSREPORT

While the crises reported at the facility during 2024 were disturbing, they were neither new nor unique. Detained people and their allies have denounced inhumane conditions at the NWDC for many years, often through hunger strikes, one of the few forms of protest available to those in detention.

2023–2024 PUBLICATIONS



NWDC Conditions Research Update: Charles Leo Daniel's Death at NWDC in Context



Paths to Compliance: The Effort to Protect Immigrant Rights in Washington State

HOW ARCHIVES IN ARGENTINA SHED LIGHT ON HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN EL SALVADOR

Nicole looks at an exhibit at the Escuela de Mecanica de la Armada, a former Argentine Navy torture site during the civil-military dictatorship of 1976–1983. Photo credit/ Nicole Grabiel

By Nicole Grabiel

Buenos Aires is hot in December. I knew this, theoretically at least, before UWCHR director Angelina Godoy, associate director Gai-Hoai Nguyen, and I boarded our flights to the Argentine capital. I had packed linen pants, my lightest tops, sunscreen, a water bottle, and my trusty pair of Wayfarer sunglasses, but nothing could prepare me for the climatic shock that is hopscotching from Seattle's cold and gloomy winters to spending all day in a small, sweltering reading room, windows shut to keep papers from flying away and the sun beating in. For all that I had read about and wrestled with history during my undergraduate career, I had never actually set foot in an archive. This one was smaller, dustier, and hotter than I had imagined, but as I stood there in the summer heat and stared down at the pages laid out before me, my only thought was "I'm here! I'm really here!"

We had traveled to Buenos Aires to consult a set of diplomatic cables relevant to Unfinished Sentences, the UWCHR project that documents human rights abuses stemming from El Salvador's armed conflict (1980–1992). Argentina, much like the United States, supported the government of El Salvador during the war, and we knew, thanks to an online database called Colección Forti, that Argentine cables from that period contain potentially useful information about Central America. After exchanging emails with archivists at the Historical Archive of the Chancellery (Archivo

To get to see these cables, to hold them, and, if we are doing our job correctly, to put them at the service of human rights is something that most students can only imagine, and so there I was, sweating through my shirt in that tiny, sun-drenched room, loving every minute of it.

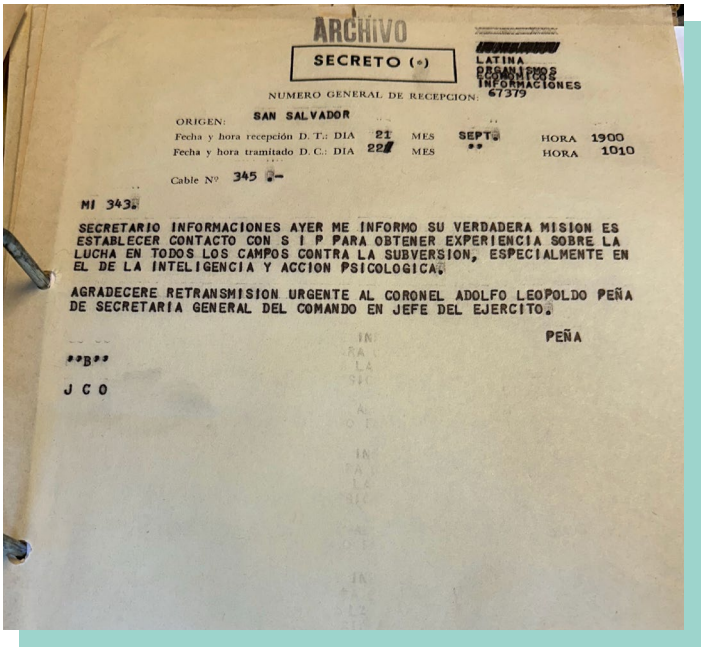
NICOLE GRABIEL

Nicole joined UWCHR in fall 2022 as a student researcher and works with the Unfinished Sentences project to document human rights violations stemming from El Salvador's armed conflict. Nicole is the recipient of both the 2024 UW Library Research Award for Undergraduates and the UW Department of History's Thomas M. Power Endowed Prize for Outstanding Undergraduate Essay for her thesis, "Nadie Ganaba / Nobody Won: El Salvador, Argentina, and the Transnational Roots of State Terror."

Histórico de la Cancillería) and confirming that there were indeed more cables available in Buenos Aires, we decided the only thing for it was to go down there and see them ourselves.

During the week that we were in Argentina, we settled into a kind of surreal research routine. Every morning at 9:30 a.m., the archive's passenger van, or kombi, whisked us from the city center to a tired industrial building in the heart of Buenos Aires's little-traveled port zone. Between then and the kombi's reappearance at 3:30 p.m., we stood around a large central table in the reading room and read and read and read. As we worked, flipping through cables that were so thin as to be see-through and torn along the edges where they passed through rusty binder rings, we called out our more interesting finds. "Have you ever seen a document with a burn notice?" Hoai might ask, holding up a cable that instructs the reader to burn it if at risk of discovery. Whenever we got too excited and started to work in the same space or pass around a document, archivists Laura and Juan chastised us from behind their desks. I would like to think that they tacitly admired our enthusiasm, as they also readily lent their energy and expertise to our search. They often took the kombi back with us, and after waving goodbye, Angelina, Hoai, and I would stroll back to our hotel and chatter about all that we had seen and all that we had to dig into when we got back to Seattle.

In total, we brought home images of more than one thousand documents about Argentina's relationship with El Salvador during the late 1970s and early 1980s. As I write this I am still in the middle of processing them all, but already we have made several important discoveries. There is, for example, a cable that says Rafael Flores Lima, El Salvador's wartime deputy minister of defense, traveled to Buenos Aires at the height of Argentina's "dirty war" to learn about "the fight against subversion, especially intelligence and psychological action." Other cables reference Arcatao, a village in El Salvador where UWCHR researchers have documented several massacres, and in at least one case, a cable names dozens of alleged Salvadoran "subversives" who later became victims of state violence. Based on these documents,



ARCHIVO

SECRETO (*)

LATINA ORGANISMOS ECONOMICOS INFORMACIONES 67379

NUMERO GENERAL DE RECEPCION:

ORIGEN: SAN SALVADOR

Fecha y hora recepción D. T.: DIA 21 MES SEPT. HORA 1900

Fecha y hora tramitado D. C.: DIA 22 MES " HORA 1010

Cable Nº 345

MI 343.

SECRETARIO INFORMACIONES AYER ME INFORMO SU VERDADERA MISION ES ESTABLECER CONTACTO CON S I P PARA OBTENER EXPERIENCIA SOBRE LA LUCHA EN TODOS LOS CAMPOS CONTRA LA SUBVERSION, ESPECIALMENTE EN EL DE LA INTELIGENCIA Y ACCION PSICOLOGICA.

AGRADECERE RETRANSMISION URGENTE AL CORONEL ADOLFO LEOPOLDO PEÑA DE SECRETARIA GENERAL DEL COMANDO EN JEFE DEL EJERCITO.

PEÑA

"B"

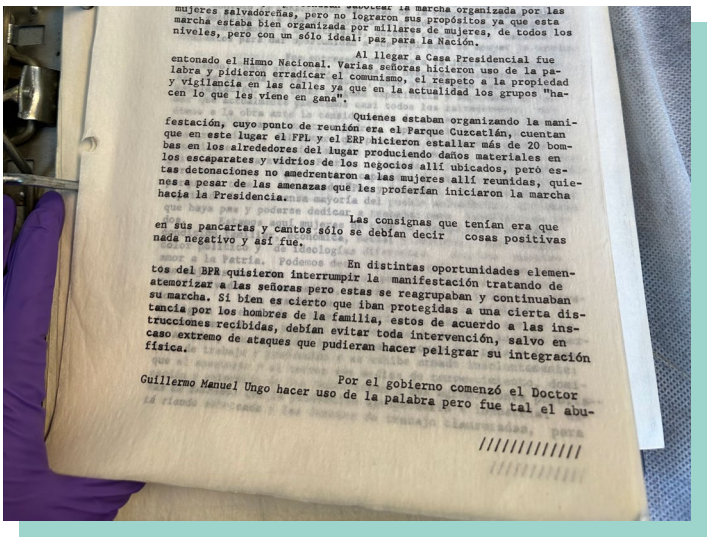
J C O

A cable found in the Archivo Histórico de la Cancillería in Buenos Aires saying Rafael Flores Lima, El Salvador's wartime deputy minister of defense, traveled to Buenos Aires at the height of Argentina's "dirty war" to learn about "the fight against subversion, especially intelligence and psychological action." Photo credit/ Nicole Grabiel

we have been able to share new information with a family from El Salvador about their loved one's disappearance, and I have written an award-winning undergraduate thesis about Argentina's influence on El Salvador from 1978 to 1980. The bottom line is that whenever money, arms, and training are coordinated across international borders, they create a paper trail. UWCHR has long taken advantage of the paper trail between El Salvador and the United States to document human rights abuses, and we are finding that expanding our search to include countries like Argentina gives us more opportunities to pinpoint the information that human rights workers need.

For me, these documents will always be colored by the memory of my first big international research trip, by the thrill of traveling farther from home than ever before, the smell of jacaranda trees in the summer, the thrum of the kombi, the weight of our visit to a former torture-site-turned-memorial-space, and the kindness of several Argentine researchers and archivists who shared their visions of historical memory and human rights with us. On our last day in the archive, one of those archivists, Marcos, gave us a hard time for having traveled all the way to Argentina only to spend most of our time cooped up in the reading room. "You should be sightseeing," he joked as we scrambled to photograph the last few cables. What we all understood, however, Marcos perhaps better than any of us, is that we had traveled all the way to Argentina because historical memory is precious. To get to see these cables, to hold them, and, if we are doing our job correctly, to put them at the service of human rights is something that most students can only imagine, and so there I was, sweating through my shirt in that tiny, sun-drenched room, loving every minute of it. ■

> ***"Have you ever seen a document with a burn notice?" Hoai might ask, holding up a cable that instructs the reader to burn it if at risk of discovery.***



mujeres salvadoreñas, pero no lograron sus propósitos ya que esta marcha estaba bien organizada por millares de mujeres, de todos los niveles, pero con un sólo ideal: paz para la Nación.

Al llegar a Casa Presidencial fue entonado el Himno Nacional. Varias señoras hicieron uso de la palabra y pidieron erradicar el comunismo, el respeto a la propiedad y vigilancia en las calles ya que en la actualidad los grupos "hacen lo que les viene en gana".

Quienes estaban organizando la manifestación, cuyo punto de reunión era el Parque Cuzcatlán, cuentan que en este lugar el FPL y el ERP hicieron estallar más de 20 bombas en los alrededores del lugar produciendo daños materiales en los escaparates y vidrios de los negocios allí ubicados, pero estas detonaciones no amedrentaron a las mujeres allí reunidas, quienes a pesar de las amenazas que les proferían iniciaron la marcha hacia la Presidencia.

Las consignas que tenían era que en sus pancartas y cantos sólo se debían decir cosas positivas nada negativo y así fue.

En distintas oportunidades elementos del BPR quisieron interrumpir la manifestación tratando de atemorizar a las señoras pero estas se reagrupaban y continuaban su marcha. Si bien es cierto que iban protegidas a una cierta distancia por los hombres de la familia, estos de acuerdo a las instrucciones recibidas, debían evitar toda intervención, salvo en caso extremo de ataques que pudieran hacer peligrar su integración física.

Por el gobierno comenzó el Doctor Guillermo Manuel Ungo hacer uso de la palabra pero fue tal el abu-

UWCHR researchers wear gloves to protect documents they are reviewing at the Archivo Histórico de la Cancillería. Photo credit/ Gai-Hoai Nguyen

SCHOLAR HIGHLIGHT: INTERVIEW WITH MAHIR HAZIM

In 2023–24, UWCHR supported multiple scholars who came to UW after fleeing violence in their home countries. These included Mahir Hazim, who shares his experience as an Afghan legal scholar in the interview below.

Mahir Hazim outside of Smith Hall at the University of Washington. Photo credit/ UWCHR

Interview with Mahir Hazim by Andrea Marcos

Andrea: Mahir, thank you so much for sitting down to talk to us. Can you start off by telling us a little bit about yourself and your work, and what sparked your interest in human rights?

Mahir: My work covers many topics, but let me start from the beginning. I grew up in Afghanistan. By the time I was in high school I was really interested in human rights issues, based on what was going on in the country. At that time, the Taliban was in power but they were not able to control the whole country. The area we lived in was controlled by a resistance force and there was a war going on. From childhood to now, I have seen, like millions of other Afghans, massive human rights violations in the country. Human rights and fighting for justice were some of the main reasons I was interested in studying law and that's why I went to law school in Afghanistan. I did my degree in law and political science, and right after my graduation I did the bar exam and started practicing law as a lawyer. I worked for Justice for All Organization at that time as a lawyer and legal trainer, representing women who were victims of domestic violence.

While the organization still functions today, they are not very visible because of the political situation and the Taliban restrictions. In fact, many in the organization, particularly the executive team, have been forced to leave Afghanistan because of the risks.

Later, I worked for a DC-based organization called Global Rights: Partners for Justice. That organization had many programs that provided free legal services and legal education with a focus on international human rights, teaching fourth-year law students practical skills in lawyering and introducing students to international human rights concepts, comparing Afghan law with international human rights conventions. We hoped that when students became lawyers, they would incorporate a human rights approach to their law practice—whether they became judges, prosecutors, lawyers, or legal advisors.

I started teaching at Afghanistan's Alberoni University as a lecturer in 2013 while working with Global Rights. In December 2014, Global Rights closed, and I got the opportunity to come to the University of Washington to obtain my master's in law. After graduation and completing an internship at the Law Library of Congress in Washington DC in 2016, I returned to Afghanistan to resume teaching at Alberoni University and worked with the International Law Development Organization, working on capacity building and human rights programs in Afghanistan.

I then returned to Seattle, to UW, to complete my PhD. At the same time that I was working with these organizations, I was also working as a lecturer in different universities, particularly at Alberoni University. I taught different courses: family law, international law, criminal procedure, and so many others.

After my PhD, I went back to Afghanistan in 2020, where I resumed working as a lecturer as well as started a new job with Afghanistan Legal Research and Development Organization. There we focused on capacity building and human rights development in the country. Particularly, we had a program with the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, helping them improve their capacity in documenting human rights violations and conducting human rights awareness trainings. We also worked with the Afghan Women Judges Association, trying to help Afghan women judges to establish their own institution and association, to have their own voice in shaping the judicial system in the country.

MAHIR HAZIM

Mahir Hazim is an assistant professor of law at the University of Washington School of Law. Previously he was a visiting associate research professor at Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law, Arizona State University; taught law and political science courses at several universities, including Alberoni University in Afghanistan; and worked with numerous national and international development organizations.

He completed his PhD (2020) and his LLM (2016) at the University of Washington School of Law, where he also served as an editorial member for the *Washington International Law Journal.*

In 2021, I was in the country when the government collapsed and I had to flee. I ended up in Germany, evacuated by the German military during the chaotic evacuations in August 2021 in Kabul Airport. Prior to returning to the US, I briefly worked as a human rights officer with the United Nations Development Programme/Afghanistan. While in Germany, I was granted a fellowship by the Institute of International Education's Scholar Rescue Fund, which co-sponsored my visit at Arizona State University Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law. I spent two years there as a visiting scholar until I returned to the University of Washington.

A: How does it feel to be back at the UW? What differences or similarities are there—working on human rights issues in the US versus in Afghanistan?

M: I'm very excited to be back at UW Law. As a student I loved everything about the UW and have a lot of memories; I'm a proud UW Double Dawg. This time, I am returning not as a student, but as an instructor. I am thrilled to see and work alongside many of my wonderful professors and mentors from whom I have learned so much and to whom I am deeply indebted.

I'm still engaged with many organizations that I've worked with in the past, but in a very informal way. It's a very challenging environment right now. As you know, the Taliban has established an extreme authoritarian and gender-apartheid regime, banning women from education, work, and public life, in addition to committing other massive human rights violations.

It's very difficult to influence the situation from afar. Anyone who raises their voice or talks about human rights violations in the country will be persecuted. All the human rights activists and lawyers I have known for many years, they have all fled from Afghanistan.

> ***The main hope is that our work as academics or human rights practitioners will influence policies and bring positive changes.***

And those who could not flee have to be silent because the risk is too high and there isn't any sort of accountability in the country if they are arrested, tortured, or in many cases killed. So the influence right now, in terms of changing the situation, it's small–we can do very small things, maybe helping one woman, or helping another human rights activist to just keep their hope alive at this point.

At the UW now, I teach a course on transnational criminal law and policy but am focusing more on research and publication. I just co-authored an article that was published in the *Journal of International Criminal Justice* related to human rights violations and international crimes investigations in Afghanistan. In that article we cover how the International Criminal Court (ICC) has used third-party evidence to make the decision whether to initiate investigations into the situation in Afghanistan.

In addition to human rights focuses, I also study international law, specifically different international treaties and Afghanistan's compliance with those treaties; for example, areas of transnational law like the UN Convention Against International Organized Crime, the UN Convention Against Corruption, and those kinds of international treaties. Some of my other work relates to constitutional law. I wrote an article, which will be published in the *Journal of International and Comparative Law*, about executive authoritarianism, which is framed as constitutional law but also as a human rights issue because when we talk about authoritarianism there is always a possibility of violating human rights in authoritarian contexts.

Since the beginning of summer this year, I've been working on the topic of prosecuting transnational disinformation in the United States, mentored by Professor Mary Fan at the UW Law School. I'm in a state of transitioning my scholarship from an Afghanistan context to a US and international arena, although most of my work has had a comparative aspect. I realize disinformation is a very controversial and very challenging topic and it really needs more time. When you talk about disinformation and prosecution, the First Amendment and freedom of speech come in, and it is very difficult to strike a balance between the two.

In addition to that, I'm working on an article with an Indonesian scholar, Choky Ramadhan, who is a PhD candidate at UW Law studying mutual assistance legal mechanisms—how the Indonesian government combats transnational crime and how the country's mutual legal assistance mechanisms are effective both in theory and practice. In 2019 I was a visiting scholar at the University of Indonesia and I conducted empirical research interviewing many officials: the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, the attorney

general's office, the National Police, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I'm trying to publish my research findings supplemented by new empirical data we are collecting now.

> ***From childhood to now, I have seen, like millions of other Afghans, massive human rights violations in the country. Human rights and fighting for justice were some of the main reasons I was interested in studying law and that's why I went to law school in Afghanistan.***

A: What would you say are some of the biggest challenges of doing this work, or biggest rewards?

M: I think, in terms of rewards, it's always fulfilling for me to work on something and see my work being published and, in many cases, attending conferences and presenting my work to legal academia in the United States and receiving feedback and appreciation. The main hope is that our work as academics or human rights practitioners will influence policies and bring changes. As academics, we can provide ideas, we can identify problems, we can propose solutions.

The biggest challenge for me, after returning to the US, is changing my scholarship and academic focus after realizing I may not return to Afghanistan soon.

A: As a human rights practitioner, how do you measure the effectiveness of your work? Are there specific times when you've seen your work directly contribute to advancing human rights? This is a question about your particular work and also a broader question of how we, as international human rights advocates, measure efficacy. How do you think about that?

M: I think this is the hardest question for human rights organizations or practitioners because, based on my experience, the question of effectiveness is always there—from within the organization, but also from donors, from a programmatic perspective, and so on. This is really a hard question. In my view, it really depends on the nature of the work that a person is doing to advance human rights.

For example, if I work as a human rights lawyer, I think the more people whose rights are violated that I can help, the more effective I am, right? Because we would see an immediate result.

Another way to look at it is, for example, when I worked with the Afghanistan Human Rights Commission training their trainers on human rights law and documentation, if we taught them something new, some new skills that they could use—which had been the goal for any trainings that we did—that would be something effective for that purpose.

In another example, if the goal of human rights advocates is to change some human-rights–restricting policies or laws, and they succeed, that may show their effectiveness in their work.

But generally speaking, in any human rights situation, in any context, I think keeping pressure on, raising your voice, and calling out human rights violations—this is an effective way of advancing human rights anywhere in the world. For example, even in the current context in Afghanistan, even the Taliban, although they don't care about any sort of human rights violations, when human rights activists who are now out of Afghanistan call out the Taliban and name human rights violations, providing reports and documenting those violations, the Taliban gets angry. Even though the effect might be really minimal, still you could say that you may have prevented the Taliban from doing the worst things because they felt pressure. Plus, the international community, the states that are engaged with the Taliban, they too feel the pressure from that advocacy, resulting in them wanting to put more pressure on the Taliban. Here I'm just talking about Afghanistan, but generally anywhere, being vocal about human rights violations and raising your voice will have some effects.

But generally speaking, in any human rights situation, in any context, I think keeping pressure on, raising your voice, and calling out human rights violations—this is an effective way of advancing human rights anywhere in the world.

A: Do you have advice for students who are interested in pursuing human rights work?

M: Well, I notice that students taking a course on human rights—it's very different from being at the helm of things and trying to change something for the better. After graduation from law school, when I started working, I felt like I didn't know anything! Depending on the school curriculum, there might be a huge gap between theory and practice. Seeing events across the globe, particularly massive human rights violations, is disappointing and depressing. As a person, as an academic, as a human rights practitioner who wants to see human rights respected, as anyone who potentially wants to work in this area, we may lose hope or interest after being disappointed by real-world human rights violations. I think anyone who wants to pursue their passion in a human rights field has to get engaged in human rights early on. They should be able to see what they learn in theory and what they see and feel in practice, so they can close that gap, so they aren't disappointed when they see, at some point in their career, human rights violations and give up quickly without being persistent and continuing to work to better the situation. If students can get involved with human rights organizations or institutions while they're also studying, that would make a lot of changes in their perspectives, in their work, and also in their general view of human rights. For students here at UW, there are many human rights organizations in the Seattle area that are working locally as well as globally. Get involved with these organizations, maybe as an intern, or talk to a human rights practitioner. See the real challenges and real-world issues. I think that would be extremely helpful. ■

EXPLORE DR. HAZIM'S RECENT PUBLICATIONS:

- "An Urgent Need for Justice: Expediting the International Criminal Court's Afghanistan Investigation," *The Diplomat,* 2022.
- "Going Back to Zero: How the Afghan Legal and Judicial System Is Collapsing Under the Taliban Regime," *JURIST*, 2022.
- "Epistemic Injustice at the ICC? An Empirical Analysis of the Use of Third-Party Evidence in the Afghanistan Situation," *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 2024.
- "Digital Evidence Collection at the Int'l Criminal Court: Promises and Pitfalls," *Just Security*, 2023.

MANY THANKS!

The UW Center for Human Rights would like to thank the individuals and organizations that made contributions to our center. Your monetary donations and your gifts of time help make our work possible. Thank you! To make a contribution today, please see below for more information.

Your tax-deductible donation helps support events, programs, and projects like the ones in this report. Please consider making a gift in one of the following ways:

- Check: Make checks payable to "University of Washington Foundation" and indicate "Center for Human Rights" in the memo line. Mail to UW Center for Human Rights, Box 353650, Seattle, WA 98195
- Online: Using your credit or debit card, you can make a gift at giving.uw.edu/chr
- Phone: Call the UW Foundation at 1-877-894-4387 and indicate that your gift is intended to benefit the UWCHR

STAFF

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy, Director
Gai-Hoai T. Nguyen, Associate Director
Phil Neff, Project Coordinator
Andrea Marcos, Communications Manager

STEERING COMMITTEE

Katherine Beckett
Michael Forman
Vanessa Freije
Emily Keller (Ex Officio)
Ron Krabill
Glenda Pearson (Emeritus)
Chandan Reddy
Camille Walsh

ADVISORY BOARD

Paula Clapp
Martha Kongsgaard
Magdaleno Rose-Avila
Katrin Wilde

FOUNDATION SUPPORT

The Puffin Foundation
The Henry M. Jackson Foundation

PRO BONO SUPPORT

Davis Wright Tremaine LLP

AWARDS & RECOGNITIONS

UWCHR steering committee member Chandan Reddy has been named a 2023 "Freedom Scholar" by the Marguerite Casey Foundation.

Chandan is an associate professor of gender, women, and sexuality studies and of comparative history of ideas at the University of Washington. He joined the Center for Human Rights' steering committee in 2022 and co-leads the center's research project and collaboration Strategies for Massage Parlor Workers' Rights. As a 2023 Freedom Scholar, Chandan receives an unrestricted $250,000 award to support his work.

CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
HENRY M. JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON

CELEBRATING FIFTEEN YEARS *of the* CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

/uwchr @uwchr uwchr@uw.edu (206) 685-3435
/uwchr @uwcenterforhumanrights