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### PRESENT POSITIONS:

Professor and Dean, Josef Korbel School of International Studies,  
University of Denver

Honorary Professor, Beijing University

Guest Professor, People's University (Beijing)

Director, Center for China-United States Cooperation (CCUSC),  
University of Denver

Executive Director, Social Science Foundation

Board of Editors, American Journal of International Law

Board of Editors, Human Rights Quarterly

Advisory Board, Human Rights Watch/Americas

Editorial Advisory Board, China Journal of International Law

Editorial Advisory Board, The International Spectator

### PREVIOUS ACADEMIC POSITIONS (latest to oldest)

1996 - Visiting Professor, Cambridge University

1988 – 96 Professor of Law and International Relations, Director of the Joint Degree Program in Law and International Relations, The American University

- 1994 (Spring) Visiting Professor, University of Nanterre
- 1992-93 Visiting Eberhard P. Deutsch Professor, Tulane Law School
- 1991 Visiting Professor, Harvard Law School
- 1986-88 Professor of Law, University of New Mexico
- 1985-86 President, University of New Mexico
- 1984 Visiting Professor, The John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies
- 1982-83 Visiting Professor of International Affairs and Latin American Studies, Princeton University
- 1971-4 Professor of Law, Rutgers (Camden) School of Law;  
1974-84 Distinguished Professor
- 1970 Visiting Professor, MIT Department of Urban Planning
- 1966-71 Assistant and Associate Professor of Law, Columbia Law School
- 1964 (Fall) Research Associate, MIT (Sloan School)

**POSITIONS HELD AND ACTIVITIES IN PRIVATE, PUBLIC AND INTER-GOVERNMENTAL SECTORS**

- 1994 Advisor on the drafting of the Ugandan Constitution
- 1993 Legal Advisor to the United Nations Mission in Somalia
- 1976-83 Member of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (President, 1980-82)
- 1976 Consultant on Human Rights for LA/AID
- 1975 Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs
- 1975 Senior Research Fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations

- 1974 Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment's International Fact-Finding Center
- 1965-66 Associated with the firm of Davis, Polk, Wardell, Sunderland and Kiendl
- 1963-64 Legal Advisor and self-defense instructor for the Police Force of the Somali Republic
- 1962-63 Special Assistant to the General Counsel, Department of Defense
- 1962 Policy Planning Staff Member and member of the Congressional Presentation Team for AID

## **EDUCATION**

- 1961 Harvard Law School, Magna cum Laude, Notes Editor, Harvard Law Review
- 1957-58 Fulbright Scholar in the United Kingdom.
- 1957 Princeton University, Phi Beta Kappa, Magna cum Laude

## **BOOKS**

Financing African Development. Tom J. Farer, ed. (MIT, 1965).

Warclouds on the Horn of Africa. (Carnegie Endowment, 1976; 2nd revised edition 1979).

Toward a Humanitarian Foreign Policy: A Primer for Policy, Tom J. Farer, ed. (NYU, 1980).

The Grand Strategy of the United States in Latin America, (Transaction Books, 1988).

U.S. Ends and Means in Central America. (Plenum, 1988) (with Ernest van den Haag).

Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Western Hemisphere. Tom J. Farer, ed. (John Hopkins University Press, 1996).

Transnational Crime in the Americas. Tom J. Farer, ed. (Routledge, 1999).

Confronting Global Terrorism and American Neo-Conservatism: The Framework of Liberal Grand Strategy (Oxford University Press, 2008)

### **MONOGRAPHS**

The Law of War 25 Years After Nuremberg, (Carnegie Endowment, 1971).

The Appellate Justice Project in New Jersey: A Report, (National Center for State Courts, 1974).

The Regulation of Foreign Intervention in Civil Armed Conflict, (The Hague Academy of International Law, 1975).

The Inter-American System: Are There Functions for Its Forms? (American Society of International Law, 1978).

### **ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS IN BOOKS (Partial List)**

“Corporate Liquidations: Transmuting Ordinary Income Into Capital Gains,” 75 Harvard Law Review 527 (1962); reprinted in The Monthly Digest of Tax Articles, (September 1962) p. 44.

“Obstacles to a Decade of Development,” Princeton’s University Magazine, (winter 1963) p. 9; reprinted in Issues of American Public Policy, edited by Professor J. Bunzel (Prentice Hall, 1964).

“Somali Democracy,” Africa Today, (May 1965) p. 5.

“Intervention in Civil Wars: A Modest Proposal,” 67 Columbia Law Review 266 (1967); reprinted in International Law and Vietnam, Falk, ed. (Princeton, 1968).

“The Enemy,” The Columbia University Forum, (spring 1967) p. 213.

“McNamara,” The Nation, (November 11, 1965) p. 501.

“Harnessing Rogue Elephants: A Short Discussion on Intervention in Civil Strife,” 82 Harvard Law Review 511 (1969).

“The Array of Sanctions,” in Student Protest and the Law, Homes, ed. (Ann Arbor, 1969).

“Justice Fortas and His Discontents,” 69 Columbia Law Review 320 (1969).

"The Nuremberg Trials and Objection to Service in Vietnam," Proceedings of the American Society of International Law, (1969) p. 140.

"Law and Economic Development: A Definition and Potpourri of Speculations," published in Industrialization and Development, H. Hoelscher and M. Hawk, eds. (San Francisco, 1969); reprinted in Development Digest (1969).

"Law and War," published in The Future of the International Legal Order: Conflict, Vol. III, C. Black and R. Falk, eds. (Princeton, 1971).

"United States Policy in the Third World," The Yale Review, (spring 1971).

"Humanitarian Law and Armed Conflict: Towards a Definition of International Armed Conflict," published jointly by the Revue Belge de Droit International and the Columbia Law Review, (January 1971).

"Economic Development Agreements: A Functional Analysis," 10 Columbia Journal of Transactional Law 200 (1971).

"International Law and Political Behavior: Towards a Conceptual Liaison," World Politics, (January 1973).

"On Professor Moore's Synthesis," in Law and Civil War in the Modern World, (John Hopkins, 1974).

"Humanitarian Intervention: The View from Charlottesville," in Humanitarian Intervention and the United States, Lillich, ed. (Charlottesville, 1983).

"Vietnam and Nuremberg Principles: A Colloquy on War Crimes," 5 Rutgers-Camden Law Journal (1973).

"United States Policy on the Law of the Sea," in Western Hemisphere Perspectives on the Law of the Sea, Zacklin, ed. (Sijthoff, 1974).

"The United States and the Third World: A Basis for Accommodation," Foreign Affairs, (October 1975).

"Dilemmas on the Horn," Africa Report, (March-April 1977).

"The Greening of the Globe: A Preliminary Appraisal of the World Order Models Project (WOMP)," International Organization, (winter 1977).

"On a Collision Course: Our Campaign for Human Rights and Our Anti-Radical Bias in the Third World," Society, (November-December 1978).

"Soviet Strategy and Western Fears," Africa Report, (November-December 1978).

"Defending Human Rights: Two Impediments for the West," Dialogue, No. 19 (fall 1978).

"The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights," International Human Rights : Law and Practice, Tom Farer and P. Rowles (ABA, 1978).

"Searching for Defeat," Foreign Policy, No. 40 (fall 1980).

"Reagan's Latin America," New York Review of Books, (March 19, 1981).

"On Stanley Hoffman's Duties Beyond Borders," American Journal of International Law, (fall 1982).

"How Critical is Our Condition? A Comment," Dissent, (winter 1982).

"Reaganism," New York Review of Books, (January 21, 1982).

"Manage the Revolution?" Foreign Policy, No. 52 (fall 1983).

"Human Rights and Human Welfare in Latin America," Daedalus, (fall 1983).

"At Sea in Central America: Can We Negotiate Our Way to Shore?" Anatomy of Conflict in Central America, R. Leiken, ed. (Pergamon, 1984).

"Contadora: The Hidden Agenda," Foreign Policy, No. 59 (summer 1985).

"Human Rights and Human Wrongs: Is the Liberal Model Sufficient?" Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 2, (May 1985).

"Drawing the Right Line," a comment on Nicaragua v. United States in the American Journal of International Law, Vol. 81 (January 1987) p. 112.

"The OAS at the Crossroads: Human Rights," 72 Iowa Law Review 401 (1987), to be published in Spanish in the Journal of the Institute for Juridical Research of the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

"The United Nations and Human Rights: More Than a Whimper, Less Than a Roar," Human Rights Quarterly, (fall 1987) and United Nations, Divided World, B. Kingsbury and A. Roberts, eds. (Oxford 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1993).

"International Law: The Critics Are Wrong," Foreign Policy, No. 71 (summer 1988).

"Looking At Nicaragua: The Problematique of Impartiality in Human Rights Inquiries," Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 10 (spring 1988) p. 141.

"The United States as Guarantor of Democracy in the Caribbean Basin: Is There a Legal Way?" Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 10, (spring 1988) p. 157 and The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1989) p. 40.

"The United States and Human Rights in Latin America: On the Eve of the Next Phase," International Journal, (summer 1988) pp. 473-97.

"Reinforcing Democracy in Latin America: Notes Toward an Appropriate Legal Framework," Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 3 (1989).

"Elections, Democracy, and Human Rights," Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 4 (1989).

"Bush's Choice," London Review of Books, Vol. 11 (October 12, 1989) p.16.

"The Integrity of States and the Rights of Minorities," Les Droits de L'Homme: Universalite et Revouveau 1789-1989, G. Braibant and G. Marcou, eds. (Editions L'Harmattan Paris, 1990) p. 228.

"Panama: Beyond the Charter Paradigm," 84 American Journal of International Law 503 (1990).

"Human Rights and Scientific and Technological Progress: A Western Perspective," in Human Rights and Scientific and Technological Progress, (UN University, Tokyo, 1991).

"Human Rights in Law's Empire: The Jurisprudence War," 85 American Journal of International Law 117 (1991).

"The United States and the Use of Force," 1 Transnational Law and Social Problems 15 (1991) (with C. Joyner).

"Israel's Unlawful Occupation," Foreign Policy, (spring 1991) p.37.

"Human Rights Investment in Hispanic South America: Retrospect and Prospect," 13 Human Rights Quarterly 99 (1991).

"Diplomacy," Routledge Encyclopedia of Government and Politics (Jonathan Price, Routledge, 1992).

"Finding the Facts: The Procedures of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of the American States," Fact –Finding Before International Tribunals, R. Lillich, ed. (Transnational, 1991) pp. 275-87.

"Human Rights and Foreign Policy: What the Kurds Learned (A Drama in One Act)," 14 Human Rights Quarterly 62 (1992).

"An Inquiry into the Legitimacy of Humanitarian Intervention," in Law and Force in the New International Order, L.F. Damrosch and D. Scheffler, eds. (Westview, San Francisco, 1991) pp. 185-99.

"Continuity or Change in U.S. Perspectives on Superpower Competition," in Beyond Superpower Rivalry, J. Weeks, ed., (NYU, New York, 1991) pp. 45-64.

"Collectively Defending Democracy in a World of Sovereign States: The Western Hemisphere's Prospect," Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 15 (1993) pp. 716-750.

"The Future of International Law Enforcement Under Chapter VII: Is There Room for 'New Scenarios'?" in The Future of International Law Enforcement, J. Delbruck ed. (Berlin, Duncker R. Humblot, 1993) pp. 39-56.

"The Role of Regional Collective Security Arrangements," in Collective Security in a Changing World, T. Weiss ed. (Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 1993) pp. 153-188.

"The UN and Human Rights: At the End of the Beginning," (With Felice Gaer) in United Nations, Divided World, A. Roberts and B. Kingsbury eds., (Oxford University Press, 1993) pp. 240-296.

"A Paradigm of Legitimate Intervention," in Enforcing Restraint, L. Damrosch, ed. (NY, Council on Foreign Relations, 1993) pp. 316-347.

"How the International System Copes with Involuntary Migration: Norms, Institutions, and State Practice," Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1995) pp. 72-100.

"Law and the Transition to Democracy in Latin America," in Democracy, Market Economy and the Law: Legal Problems of Transition to Democracy, Werne Ebke and Detlev Vagts, eds. (Heidelberg, Verlag Recht und Wirtschaft, 1995).



"New Players in the Old Game: The De Facto Expansion of Standing to Participate in Global Security Negotiations," American Behavioral Scientist, (spring 1995).

"Collectively Defending Democracy in the Western Hemisphere," in Beyond Sovereignty, Tom Farer, ed. (Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1996).

"The Rise of the Inter-American Human Rights Regime: No Longer a Unicorn, Not Yet an Ox," Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 19 (1997) pp. 510-546.

"The Future of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights: Promotion vs. Exposure," Inter-American Dialogue, Occasional Paper No. 4 (Washington, DC, 1998).

"Conclusion: What Do International Lawyers Do When They Talk About Ethnic Violence And Why Does it Matter?," in David Wippman, ed., International Law and Ethnic Conflict (Ithica: Cornell University Press 1998)

"Human Rights and Community: Dancing or Clashing Paradigms," in Los Derechos Humanos en un Mundo Dividido (Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 1999).

"Making War on International Organized Crime: Planning Not to Win," in Transnational Crime in the Americas (N.Y. and London; Routledge, 1999), Tom Farer, Ed.

"Restraining the Barbarians: Can International Criminal Law Help?" Human Rights Quarterly (February 2000)

"Reflections on Affirmative Action and the American Constitution," in Auer, Delley, Hotellier and Malinverni, eds., Aux Confins du Droit: Essais en l'honneur du Professeur Charles-Albert Morand (Bale and Geneva, Helbing & Lichtenhahn 2001)

"Beyond the Charter Frame: Unilateralism or Condominium?" 96 American Journal of International Law 359 (2002)

"De-funding Civil Conflict, The Chuo Law Review, Vol. CIX, March 2003.

"Humanitarian Intervention Before and After 9/11: Legality and Legitimacy" Holzgrefe and Keohane, eds. in Humanitarian Intervention (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, January, 2003)

"The Ethics of Intervention in Self-Determination Struggles," Human Rights Quarterly 25 (2003).

“Structurer la politique étrangère de la nation: Luttres de domination parmi les experts américains des relations internationales, Diogene (RevueInternationales des Sciences Humaines) July-September 2003

“The Interplay of domestic politics, human rights, and U.S. Foreign Policy,” in Weiss, Crahan, and Goering, eds. Wars on Terrorism and Iraq: Human Rights, Unilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy (New York: Routledge 2004)

“Toward an Effective International Legal Order: From Coexistence to Concert?”  
Cambridge Review of International Affairs Vol. 17, 2004

“The Promotion of Democracy: International Law and Norms” in Newman and Rich, eds  
The UN Role in Promoting Democracy (Tokyo: United Nations University Press 2004)

“Contemporary Humanitarian Intervention: A five-Part Test,” International Relations  
Vol. 19, 2005

“The UN Reports: Addressing the Gnarled Issues of Our Time,” The International Spectator Vol XL, No. 2 2005

“The Two Faces of Terror,” in *Agora on Military Tribunals*, The American Journal of International Law, Fall 2007

Shorter pieces and reviews have appeared, among other places, in Newsweek, The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, and Political Science Quarterly.

## MISCELLANEOUS

1. Occasional Guest Lecturer: Naval War College, National War College, Foreign Service Institute
2. Member of the Bar Association of the City of New York’s Special Committee on War Crimes (1972)
3. Member of the Board of Review and Development of the American Society of International Law (1972-74)
4. Member of the Scientific Committee on the San Remo Institute for International Humanitarian Law (1970-74)
5. 1974 Carnegie Lecturer at the Hague Academy of International Law

6. Consultant on the Law of War to the Special Committee to investigate the military chaplaincy, established by the United Church of Christ
7. Member of the Carnegie Endowment's Inter-American Research Group
8. Vice-Chairman of the Human Rights Working Group of the Council on Foreign Relations 1980s Project
9. Member of the Council on Foreign Relations
10. Member of the Advisory Council of the United States Institute of Human Rights
11. Member of the Board of Trustees of PAIL (Procedural Aspects of International Law Institute)
12. Member of the Commission on U.S.-Brazil Relations
13. Aiken Lecturer, University of Vermont (1977)
14. Guest Lecturer, University of Munich (1978-1982)
15. Associate of the Lehrman Institute
16. Member of the Advisory Board for the United Automobile Workers International Affairs Department
17. Member of the UNA-USA Policy Studies Panel on International Disaster Relief (1977)
18. Member of the Executive Board of the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights (San Jose, Costa Rica, 1984-88)
19. Member of the Organizing Board of the Refugee Policy Group
20. Chair of the Board of the US-Azerbaijan Council (1990-96)
21. Member of the Board of Trustees, Albuquerque Academy (1985-88)
22. Cyril Smith Lecturer at Oxford University (1986)
23. Member of the Board of the International Human Rights Law Group 1989-96)

24. Member of the “group of experts” commissioned by the UN University to study “Science, Technology and Human Rights,” (1987-89)
25. Board of Directors of OEF International (1986-89)
26. Member of the Cosmos Club of Washington, D.C. (1976 - )
27. Member of the Salzburg Seminar Faculty – Law Session (1991)
28. Speaker at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (1993 and 1995)
29. Lecturer, Free University of Berlin (1995)
30. Fellow of the Wilson Center for Scholars of The Smithsonian Institution (1982)
31. Recipient of the Rutgers University President’s Award for Distinguished Public Service (1982)
32. Selected to deliver the General Course of Lectures at the European Law Academy’s Summer Institute (2005)
33. Selected Clerk for Judge Learned Hand (1961)