

MICHAEL J. GLENNON

PROFESSIONAL:

Present

Professor of International Law September, 2002—present

Past

William & Patricia Kleh Visiting Professor of Law, Fall semester, 2015
Boston University Law School

Director, LL.M. Program May, 2007—August, 2010
Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Tufts University

Professeur invité, Panthéon-Assas (University of Paris II) Spring 2006 — 2013

Fellow September, 2001 – June, 2002
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
Washington, DC

Professor of Law July, 1987 – July, 2002
July, 1987 - present

Visiting Professor of Law July, 1986 - July, 1987
University of California, Davis
School of Law

Professor of Law September, 1983 - September, 1986
Associate Professor of Law September, 1981 - September, 1983
University of Cincinnati
College of Law

Adjunct Professor of Law September, 1985 - January, 1986
New York University September, 1976 - June, 1981
Law School

Attorney February, 1980 - March, 1981
Busby, Rehm & Leonard
Washington, D.C.

Legal Counsel March, 1977 - January, 1980
Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Assistant Counsel
Office of the Legislative Counsel
United States Senate

August, 1973 - February, 1977

Staff Assistant
Rep. Donald M. Fraser
U.S. House of Representatives

Summers, 1968, 1969, 1970

SELECTED CONSULTANTSHIPS:

U.S. Department of State, 2000, 2004.
International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, 1998.
American Society of International Law, 1998.
Committee on Foreign Relations, Special Subcommittee on War Powers, U.S. Senate, 1988.
Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 1987.

EDUCATION:

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota
J.D., 1973. Member, *Minnesota Law Review*.

College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota
B.A., *summa cum laude*, 1970 (political science). Class valedictorian (out of 270).

MEMBERSHIPS:

Council on Foreign Relations (since 2003).
American Law Institute (since 1988)(life member).
District of Columbia bar (since 1980).

PRINCIPAL HONORS AND AWARDS:

Senior Visiting Fellow, Academy of Philosophy and Letters (2018)

Director of the Research Centre, Hague Academy of International Law (English side), 2006.

Thomas Hawkins Johnson Visiting Scholar, United States Military Academy, West Point, April 2005.

The Seventeenth Annual Waldemar A. Solf Lecture in International Law, the Judge Advocate General's Legal Center and School, United States Army, Charlottesville, Virginia, March 3, 2004 ["Power, Law, and Use of Force," published at 181 *MILITARY LAW REVIEW* 138 (2004)].

The Rudolf B. Schlesinger Lecture on International and Comparative Law, University of California, Hastings, College of Law, February 12, 2004.

Scholar-in-Residence, Tufts University European Center, Talloires, France (Summer 2004).

Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC (September, 2001 – June, 2002).

Fulbright Fellowship, Visiting Distinguished Professor of International and Constitutional Law, Vytautas Magnus University School of Law, Kaunas, Lithuania (September - December, 1998).

City of Davis Annual Peace and Justice Award, presented by the Davis City Council, January, 1990.

Deák Prize, presented by the American Society of International Law (for best article by a younger author to appear that year in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW), April, 1984.

Certificate of Merit, presented by the American Society of International Law (for UNITED STATES FOREIGN RELATIONS AND NATIONAL SECURITY LAW (with Franck)), April, 1981.

COURSES:

Teach (or have taught) public international law, international use of force, foreign relations and national security law, constitutional law, democracy and the rule of law, international human rights, nuclear non-proliferation, international environmental law, jurisprudence, administrative law, criminal procedure, and legislative process.

PUBLICATIONS:

Books

FOREIGN AFFAIRS FEDERALISM: THE MYTH OF NATIONAL EXCLUSIVITY (with Robert D. Sloane), Oxford University Press (2016).

NATIONAL SECURITY AND DOUBLE GOVERNMENT, Oxford University Press (2014) (paperback with Afterword, 2016).

THE FOG OF LAW: PRAGMATISM, SECURITY, AND INTERNATIONAL LAW, The Woodrow Wilson Center Press and the Stanford University Press (2010)(co-published). Reviewed in the 124 HARVARD LAW REVIEW, 1837, 1838 (2011); FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Jan./Feb. 2011); 36 YALE JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 232 (2011); 43 NYU JOURNAL OF LAW & POLICY 1087, 1101 (2011).

UNITED STATES FOREIGN RELATIONS AND NATIONAL SECURITY LAW, 4th ed. (with Thomas

M. Franck. Sean Murphy and Edward Swaine), West Publishing Company (2011).

LIMITS OF LAW, PREROGATIVES OF POWER: INTERVENTION AFTER KOSOVO (St. Martin's Press [Palgrave], 2001).

A CONSTITUTIONAL LAW ANTHOLOGY, 2nd ed. (with co-authors), Anderson Publishing Company (1997).

WHEN NO MAJORITY RULES: THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE AND PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION , Congressional Quarterly Press (1992).

CONSTITUTIONAL DIPLOMACY, Princeton University Press (1990)(foreword by J. William Fulbright). Reviewed in *The New York Times* [Herbert Mitgang], Aug. 25, 1990 at p. 10, col. 1; *Political Science Quarterly* (Winter, 1990-91) at p. 654; *The New York Review of Books* [Theodore Draper], Sept. 26, 1991 at p. 64.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE U.S. CONSTITUTION, Transnational Publishers (1990)(co-edited with Louis Henkin and William D. Rogers).

UNITED STATES FOREIGN RELATIONS LAW (five volumes; with Prof. Thomas M. Franck), Oceana Publications (September, 1980).

Articles and Chapters

How Not to End War, LAWFARE (October 17, 2017), <https://lawfareblog.com/how-not-end-war>.

The Sad, Quiet Death of Missouri v. Holland: How Bond Hobbled the Treaty Power, 41 YALE JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 51 (2015)(with Robert D. Sloane).

The Executive's Misplaced Reliance on War Powers "Custom," 109 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 551 (2015).

The Limitations of Traditional Rules and Institutions in THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF THE USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW (Marc Weller, ed., Oxford, 2015).

Torturing the Rule of Law, THE NATIONAL INTEREST (Nov.-Dec. 2014).

National Security and Double Government, 5 HARVARD NATIONAL SECURITY JOURNAL 1 (2014).

Du structuralisme, de la sécurité nationale et du double gouvernement des Etats-Unis, XV ANNUAIRE FRANÇAIS DE RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES (AFRI) 33 (2014).

Law, Power, and Principles, 107 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 378 (2013).

Cyberconflict and the Incompleteness of International Law, Essays in Honor of Serge Sur (Julian Fernandez and Nicolas Haupais, editors)(2014).

The Road Ahead: Gaps, Leaks, and Drips, 89 INT'L L. STUD. 362 (2013)(NAVAL WAR COLLEGE BLUEBOOK series, symposium on cyber-security and the ISRAEL YEARBOOK ON HUMAN RIGHTS (2013).

The Dark Future of Cyber-Security Regulation, 6 JOURNAL OF NATIONAL SECURITY LAW & POLICY 563 (2013).

Preempting Proliferation: International Law, Morality, and Nuclear Weapons, 24 EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 109 (2013).

The Crime of Aggression in COMMENTAIRE DU STATUT DE ROME DE LA COUR PENALE INTERNATIONALE, JULIAN FERNANDEZ & XAVIER PACREAU, eds. (Pedone, Paris)(2012).
The Limitations of Traditional Rules and Institutions Relating to the Use of Force, in HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (Marc Weller, ed., Oxford University Press)(in press).

State-Level Cybersecurity, POLICY REVIEW, March-April, 2012.

The Cost of 'Empty Words': A Comment on the Justice Department's Libya Opinion, HARVARD NATIONAL SECURITY JOURNAL FORUM (April 14, 2011).

The Blank-Prose Crime of Aggression, 35 YALE JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 71 (Winter, 2010).

Le Crime D'agression, Un Crime Sans Rime Ni Raison, 2010 REVUE GENERALE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC.

The War Powers Resolution, Once Again, 103 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 75 (2009).

Tacit Commitments, Constitutional Limits, and the Iraq Security Arrangement, 49 HARV. INT'L L. J. ONLINE 56 (2008)(with Garth Schofield).

A Conveniently Unlawful War (POLICY REVIEW, No. 150, August & September 2008).

Building Liberty: The Right Side of the Law, THE AMERICAN INTEREST (with Peter Ackerman) (Sept.-Oct. 2007).

Democracy Promotion, Interventionism, and Regime Change, ANNUAIRE FRANÇAIS DE RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES (with Peter Ackerman)(vol. VIII, 2007).

Terrorism and International Law, Center for Studies and Research in International law and International Relations, The Hague Academy of International Law 105-161 (Martinus Nijhoff : 2006).

Congress, the President, and Iraq, POLITIQUE AMERICAINE (2006).

Peremptory Nonsense in LIBER AMIRCORUM, LUZIUS WILDHABER: HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW (2007).

De l'absurdité du droit impératif 2006 REVUE GÉNÉRALE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC 529-536.

The Emerging Use-of-Force Paradigm, THE JOURNAL OF CONFLICT AND SECURITY LAW (2006).

NPT Withdrawal, 2006 THE FLETCHER FORUM OF WORLD AFFAIRS 43 (special issue).

Platonism, Adaptivism, and Illusion in UN Reform, 6 CHICAGO JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 613 (Winter, 2006).

Un Combat Sui Generis and Droit, Légitimité, et Intervention Militaire in JUSTIFIER LA GUERRE? (Gilles Andréani & Pierre Hassner, eds., *Sciences Po les presses*: 2005).

How International Rules Die, 93 GEORGETOWN LAW JOURNAL 939 (2005).

Idealism in the U.N., 129 POLICY REVIEW 3 (2005).

Teaching National Security Law, 55 JOURNAL OF LEGAL EDUCATION 49 (2005).

Does International Law Matter? 21 JOURNAL OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS 89 (2004).

United Nations: Time for a New "Inquiry"? 5 INTERNATIONAL LAW FORUM *DU DROIT INTERNATIONAL* 283-287 (2003).

Sometimes a Great Notion, WOODROW WILSON QUARTERLY (Fall, 2003).

The Case That Made the Court, WOODROW WILSON QUARTERLY (Summer, 2003).

Why the Security Council Failed, FOREIGN AFFAIRS (May/June, 2003) [reprinted in *AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: CASES AND CHOICES* (James F. Hoge Jr. & Gideon Rose, eds.), Foreign Affairs Books, 2003].

Glennon: Presidential Power to Wage War Against Iraq, 6 THE GREEN BAG 183 (Winter, 2003).

The United States: Democracy, Hegemony, and Accountability in DEMOCRATIC

ACCOUNTABILITY AND THE USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW (C. Ku & H. Jacobson, eds.)(Cambridge University Press, 2003).

The Electoral College, ENCARTA (Microsoft Encyclopedia, 2003).

Terrorism and the Limits of Law, WOODROW WILSON QUARTERLY 2 (Spring, 2002) [excerpted in William Lasser, PERSPECTIVES ON AMERICAN POLITICS (Houghton Mifflin, 2003)].

The Fog of Law: Self-Defense, Inherence, and Incoherence in the United Nations Charter, 25 HARVARD JOURNAL OF LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY 539 (2002).

Nine Ways to Avoid a Train Wreck: How Title 3 Should be Changed, 23 CARDOZO LAW REVIEW 1159 (2002).

The Failed Equilibrium, 25 THE YALE INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL 307 (2000).

American Hegemony in an Unplanned World Order, 5 THE JOURNAL OF CONFLICT AND SECURITY LAW 3 (2000).

Louis Fisher and Diplomacy: Foreign Affairs and Coordinate Review, in POLITICS AND CONSTITUTIONALISM: THE LOUIS FISHER CONNECTION, (R. Spitzer, ed.)(SUNY Press, 2000).

The New Interventionism: The Search for a Just International Law, 78 FOREIGN AFFAIRS 2 (May/June, 1999).

A Madisonian Perspective on International Institutions: Overcommitment, Undercommitment, and Getting It Right, 70 UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO LAW REVIEW 1589 (April, 1999).

Separation of Powers in SUPPLEMENT II OF THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION (L. Levy, K. Karst, and A. Winkler, eds.)(Macmillan, 1999).

Government Lawyering: Who's the Client? Legislative Lawyering Through the Rear-View Mirror, 61 LAW & CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS 21 (1998).

Congressional Access to Classified Information, 16 BERKELEY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 126 (1998).

The United States: Taking Environmental Treaties Seriously in ENGAGING COUNTRIES: STRENGTHENING COMPLIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ACCORDS (with A. Stewart; H. Jacobson & E. Brown Weiss, eds.)(MIT Press, December, 1998).

Process versus Policy in Foreign Relations: A Review of Foreign Affairs And The Constitution, by Louis Henkin (2nd ed., 1996), 95 MICHIGAN LAW REVIEW 1101 (May,

1997).

Too Far Apart: Repeal the War Powers Resolution, 50 UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI LAW REVIEW 17 (October, 1995).

Sovereignty and Community After Haiti: Rethinking Collective Use of Force, 89 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 70 (January, 1995).

Collective Security and the Constitution: Can the Commander-in-Chief Power Be Delegated to the United Nations?, 82 GEORGETOWN LAW JOURNAL 1573 (April, 1994)(with A. Hayward).

The War Powers Resolution, in THE OXFORD COMPANION TO THE POLITICS OF THE WORLD (1993).

The Senate and Foreign Policy, in THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION (Macmillan: 1993).

State-Sponsored Abductions: A Comment on United States v. Alvarez-Machain, 86 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 747 (1992).

The NATO Treaty; Little v. Barreme; The ANZUS Treaty; The Rio Treaty; Mutual Security Treaties; and The SEATO Treaty in AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY (1992).

The Gulf War and the Constitution, 70 FOREIGN AFFAIRS 84 (Spring, 1991)[reprinted in T. LOWI, B. GINSBERG & A. HEARST, READINGS AND STUDY GUIDE FOR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: FREEDOM AND POWER (2nd ed., 1992); C. FRENCH & H. BLUMBERG, THE GULF WAR: VIEWS FROM THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (1993); J. Roseti, READINGS IN THE POLITICS OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY (1997)].

The Constitution and Chapter VII of the UN Charter, 85 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 74 (1991).

Has International Law Failed the Elephant? 84 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 1 (1990)[reprinted in D. FAVRE, WILDLIFE LAW (2nd ed., 1992)].

Douglas as Internationalist: Separation of Powers and the Conduct of Foreign Relations, delivered at the William O. Douglas Commemorative Symposium, 1939-1989, Saturday, April 15, 1989, Seattle, Washington; published in HE SHALL NOT PASS THIS WAY AGAIN: THE LEGACY OF WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990).

Foreign Affairs and the Political Question Doctrine, 83 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 814 (October, 1989).

Publish and Perish: Congress's Effort to Snip Snepp, Before and AFSA, 10 MICHIGAN

JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 163 (1989).

Two Views of Presidential Foreign Affairs Power: Little v. Barreme or United States v. Curtiss-Wright?, 13 YALE INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL 5 (1988).

Constitutional Issues in Terminating U.S. Acceptance, in THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AT A CROSSROADS (L. Damrosch, ed.; Transnational Publishers, Inc., 1987).

Administrative Law, in I THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AMERICAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM 233, Macmillan Publishing Company (1987).

Interpreting "Interpretation": The President, the Senate, and When Treaty Interpretation Becomes Treaty Making, 20 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS, LAW REVIEW 912 (July, 1987), reprinted in THE ABM TREATY AND THE CONSTITUTION: JOINT HEARINGS BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEES ON FOREIGN RELATIONS AND JUDICIARY, 99th Cong., 2d Sess. 821-828 (1987).

Protecting the Court's Institutional Interests: Why Not the Marbury Approach?, 81 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 121 (January, 1987).

Can the President Do No Wrong? 80 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 923 (Oct., 1986).

United States Mutual Security Treaties: The Commitment Myth, 24 COLUMBIA JOURNAL OF TRANSNATIONAL LAW 509 (April, 1986); excerpts also appear as *The NATO Treaty: The Commitment Myth*, in FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, WHO DECIDES? (P. Raven-Hansen, ed.; Greenwood Press).

Raising The Paquete Habana: Is Violation of Customary International Law by the Executive Unconstitutional? 80 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 321 (Nov., 1985).

Nicaragua v. United States of America: Constitutionality of U.S. Modification of ICJ Jurisdiction, 79 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 571 (July, 1985).

The War Powers Resolution Ten Years Later: More Politics Than Law, 78 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 571 (July, 1984).

Personal Autonomy in DEMOCRACY AND DISTRUST, 1 CONSTITUTIONAL COMMENTARY 229 (Summer, 1984).

The War Powers Resolution: Sad Record, Dismal Promise, 17 LOYOLA OF LOS ANGELES LAW JOURNAL 657 (1984).

The Use of Custom in Resolving Separation of Powers Disputes, 64 BOSTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 109 (1984).

Liaison and the Law: Foreign Intelligence Agencies' Activities in the United States, 25 HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL 1 (Winter, 1984).

Treaty Process Reform: Saving Constitutionalism Without Destroying Diplomacy, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI LAW REVIEW 84 (April, 1983).

The Senate Role in Treaty Ratification, 77 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 257 (April, 1983).

Review Essay, *War Powers of the President and Congress*, by Taylor Reveley, 22 VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 911 (Summer, 1982).

Investigating the Intelligence Community: The Process of Getting Information for Congress, in THE TETHERED PRESIDENCY 140 (T. Franck, ed.; NYU Press, 1981).

Strengthening the War Powers Resolution: The Case for Purse-strings Restrictions, 60 MINNESOTA LAW REVIEW 1 (November, 1975).

Other

“Populism, Elites, and National Security,” *Humanitas* (forthcoming), 2018.

“The New American Exceptionalism” (forthcoming), *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June, 2018.

Brief for The Constitution Project as *amicus curiae* in *Smith v. Trump* (United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, USCA Case #16-5377)(constitutionality of use of force against ISIS), filed April 10, 2017.

Brief for The Constitution Project as *amicus curiae* in *Smith v. Obama* (federal district court Case 1:16-cv-00843-CKK)(constitutionality of use of force against ISIS), filed Aug. 19, 2016.

“The Permanent Security State: Presidents come and go, but the national security bureaucracy never leaves.” Review of POWER WARS, by Charlie Savage, *Reason Magazine*, May, 2016.

“Recognizable Power: The Supreme Court Deals a Blow to Presidential Authority,” *Foreign Affairs* (snapshot), June 23, 2015.

“The Vague Crime of Aggression,” *International Herald Tribune*, April 6, 2010.

“In Memoriam: Thomas M. Franck (1931-2009), 84 *New York University Law Review* 1385 (Dec., 2009).

“Trying Terror: Two books on how our legal system is adjusting to terrorism,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 14, 2008.

“Hill Approval Required Before Attacking Iran,” *Roll Call*, Dec. 4, 2007.

“Go Big? Go Long? Go Back To Congress,” *Washington Post*, Dec. 7, 2006.

“La réforme des Nations Unies: mythe ou projet?”, interview, *Questions internationales*, (Janvier-Février 2005).

“A Stronger Security Council Is No Solution,” *Financial Times*, December 13, 2004.

“Welche Rolle spielt das Völkerrecht wirklich?“, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Sept. 27, 2004.

“How U.S. Lawyers Read the Constitution: Sanctioning Torture,” *International Herald Tribune*, June 18, 2004.

“Louis Henkin,” *Yale Biographical Dictionary of American Law*, Yale University Press (2004).

“Der Traum,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 26, 2003.

“The UN Security Council, Europe, and American Hegemony,” *Aspenia* (published by Aspen Institute Italia), June, 2003.

“A Fractured Planet Needs Pragmatism,” *International Herald Tribune*, April 23, 2003.

“Krieg im Irak: Bricht Amerika das Völkerrecht?” *Focus*, March 24, 2003.

“How War Left the Law Behind,” *N.Y. Times*, Nov. 21, 2002 at A33.

Letter to Hon. Robert C. Byrd concerning legal authority of the United States to attack Iraq, *Congressional Record*, Oct. 10, 2002, p. S10282.

“Preempting Terrorism: The Case for Anticipatory Self-Defense,” *The Weekly Standard*, Jan. 28, 2002 (vol. 7, issue 19)(cover article).

“The Catch: Justice Demands Different Treatment for Those Who Wage War Against Us,” *Washington Post* (Sunday Outlook Section), Dec. 23, 2001, at page B1.

“Forging a Third Way to Fight: ‘Bush Doctrine’ for combating terrorism straddles divide between crime and war,” *Legal Times*, Sept. 24, 2001, at page 68.

“There’s a Point To Going It Alone: Unilateralism Has Often Served Us Well,” *Washington Post* (Sunday Outlook Section), Aug. 12, 2001, at page B2.

“It’s Not Over Till It’s Over, and Maybe Not Then,” *Washington Post* (Sunday Outlook Section), Nov. 19, 2000, at page B02.

“Yes, There Is an ABM Treaty,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 4, 2000, at page A25.

“The Charter: Does It Fit?”, 36 *The United Nations Chronicle* 32 (No. 2, July, 1999).

The IAEA Model Law on Nuclear Safety, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, 1998.

“The Perfect World Heritage Site: Lake Tahoe,” *The Tahoe Daily Tribune*, July 14, 1997.

“The UN Security Council Can't Substitute for Congress,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 20, 1990.

Brief for American Civil Liberties Union as *amicus curiae* in *Dellums v. Bush* (Civ. Action 90-2866 [HHG])(D.D.C.)(constitutionality of use of offensive force against Iraq), filed Nov. 28, 1990 (with K. Martin).

“A Legitimate Gulf Policy—Spell It Out,” *The Sacramento Bee* (Sunday Forum Section), Nov. 25, 1990.

“Bush Was Wrong to Ignore Congress,” guest interview, *USA Today*, Sept. 12, 1990.

“War by Default?”, *New York Newsday*, Sunday, Sept. 9, 1990 (p. 1 of “Ideas” Section).

“Congress’ Shrinking Role in Waging War: Lessons from Another Gulf,” *The Sacramento Bee*, Aug. 22, 1990.

Review of *IN THE NAME OF WAR: JUDICIAL REVIEW AND THE WAR POWERS SINCE 1918*, by C. May, in 76 *JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY* 1302 (1990).

“In Memoriam: Leonard B. Boudin (1912-1989),” 23 *U.C. Davis Law Review* 773 (1990).

“The Archaic Practice of ‘Recognition,’” *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 23, 1990.

“No. 1 refusenik talks to UCD prof on human rights” [interview with Anatole Sharansky], 3 *Dateline/UCD* 1, Jan. 12, 1990.

“The Good Friday Accords: Legislative Veto by Another Name?” 83 *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW* 554 (editorial)(July, 1989).

“Dukakis’ Pledge of Allegiance to the Constitution,” *The Sacramento Bee*, September 1, 1988.

“Combining House, Senate Intelligence Committees a Simple-Minded Idea,” *Atlanta Constitution*, October 21, 1987 (with L. Johnson).

“In Foreign Policy, The Court Is Clear: President Is Subject to Will of Congress,” *Los*

Angeles Times (Sunday Forum Section), July 19, 1987 (reprinted in *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 29, 1987).

“The Boland Amendment and the Power of the Purse,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 15, 1987.

“The Administration’s Reinterpretation of the ABM Treaty,” *The Sacramento Bee*, April 7, 1987.

“Mr. Sofaer’s War Powers ‘Partnership,’” 80 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 584 (editorial)(July, 1986).

Book Review, THE MAKING OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS: CONGRESS CONFRONTS THE EXECUTIVE, by Loch Johnson, 80 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 1005 (October, 1986).

“Disinvestment: Is It Constitutional?” *The Sacramento Bee*, September 25, 1986.

“Terrorism and ‘Intentional Ignorance,’” *Christian Science Monitor*, March 20, 1986.

REPORT CONCERNING ABUSES AGAINST CIVILIANS BY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES OPERATING IN NICARAGUA (with Donald T. Fox), published and sponsored by the International Human Rights Law Group and the Washington Office on Latin America, April, 1985.

Interview, *The Today Show*, by Bryant Gumbel (with Enrique Bermudez, contra military commander), March, 1985.

“In Cuba, A Belief US Must Face Reality” (with Prof. Burns Weston), *The Boston Globe*, June 8, 1984 and *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 9, 1984.

“Some Compromise,” *Christian Science Monitor*, October 24, 1983.

“War Powers Act and Common Sense,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 15, 1983.

“Playboy and the Constitution,” *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 10, 1983.

“The War Powers Resolution: More Loophole than Law,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, November 17, 1982.

“AWACS, Reagan and the Law,” *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, October 21, 1981.

Author of record of numerous memoranda of law appearing in Committee hearings and reports, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and the DIGEST OF UNITED STATES PRACTICE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS:

“Populism and Governance,” keynote address, annual meeting, Academy of Arts and Philosophy, June 2, 2018.

“Who’s Checking Whom?” keynote address, Center on National Security Symposium, “Re-Imagining the National Security State,” Fordham Law School, New York, March 7, 2018.

“The National Security State and the Constitution,” Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, November 29, 2017.

“Double Government—and the “Best Truth” about the Assassination,” conference on *The National Security State and JFK*, June 3, 2017, video at <https://www.fff.org/freedom-in-motion/video/double-government-best-truth-assassination/>.

“National Security and Double Government,” Legal Theory Workshop, Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, January 28, 2016.

“Power Wars: Inside Obama’s Post-9/11 Presidency” (with Charlie Savage), Cato Institute, Washington, DC, January 5, 2016.

“Double Government and the Senate Torture Report,” the 2015 Kleh International Law Lecture, Boston University Law School, October 29, 2015, Boston, MA.

“Post-Church Oversight and Congress’ Responsibility to Know and to Inform the Public,” Levin Center Conference on The 40th Anniversary of the Church Committee, Washington, DC, October 20, 2015.

“Who Guards the Guardians? A Discussion of the Senate Torture Report,” World Affairs Council, Providence, RI, April 2, 2015.

“Double Government and the Great Man Theory of History,” President’s Day Address, Northeastern University, Feb. 17, 2015.

“Torturing the Rule of Law,” Chatham House, London, Dec. 11, 2014.

“National Security and Double Government,” Harvard Law School, Nov. 19, 2014 and Cato Institute, Washington DC, Nov. 21, 2014.

“Balancing the Risks, Benefits and the Economic, Political and Moral Costs of a Modern National Security State,” Symposium Sponsored By Loyola University Chicago School of Law National Security & Civil Rights Program, Chicago, Illinois, February 7, 2014.

“Educating the next generation of national security decision makers,” American Bar Association, Syracuse University Law School, September 15, 2012.

“Cyberwar and International Law: The Road Ahead,” symposium of the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, June 27, 2012.

“Weaknesses of the International Legal System,” International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences, Siracusa, Italy, May 25, 2012.

“The Cyber-Drone Attack on Law,” Keynote Address, The World Affairs Council of Rhode Island, Providence, RI, March 1, 2012.

“International authorization and Domestic War Powers,” Columbia Law School, New York City, January 31, 2012.

“The Nicaragua Case 25 Years Later: Its Impact on the Law and Court,” The Hague Academy of International Law, The Hague, Netherlands, June 27, 2011.

Keynote Address, “Law, Libya, and Credibility,” Fletcher/World Economic Forum Symposium on International Law, Medford, MA, April 29, 2011.

“With Libya, the Security Council Is Not Congress,” Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, April 6, 2011.

“Pragmatism and International Law,” George Washington Law School, Washington, DC, March 9, 2011.

“Terrorism and the Use of Force,” Duke Law School, Durham, NC, April 16, 2010.

“The United States, the Rule of Law and the Use of Force: The Practice of States since the Adoption of the UN Charter,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, December 16, 2009.

“Torture, Terrorism, and Ticking Time Bombs,” address to the American University of Armenia, Yerevan, Armenia, Sept. 30, 2008.

“The United States and the International Criminal Court,” Harvard Weatherhead Center conference, “World Order as a U.S.-European Issue,” Talloires, France, June 13, 2008.

Testimony, “War Powers in the 21st Century: The Constitutional Perspective,” Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights and Oversight, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC, April 10, 2008.

Testimony, “Negotiating a Long-Term Relationship with Iraq,” Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Washington, DC, April 10, 2008.

Testimony, “U.S. Security Commitments to Iraq,” Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights and Oversight, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of

Representatives, Washington, DC February 8, 2008.

“Force and the Settlement of Political Disputes” (debate with Alain Pellet), The Hague Colloquium on Topicality of the 1907 Hague Conference, September 7, 2007.

“Constitutionality of Congressional Efforts to End the War in Iraq,” Panthéon-Assas (Paris II), Paris, March 20, 2007.

“Peremptory Nonsense,” Panthéon-Assas (Paris II), Paris, March 24, 2006.

“International Rules and American Pragmatism,” Sciences Po, Paris, March 23, 2006.

“The Emerging Use-of-Force Paradigm,” Utrecht University, December 15, 2005.

“International Legal Rules and Institutions: Why Do They Succeed or Fail?,” Atlantic Council of the United States, Washington, DC, November 2, 2005.

“A Non-Withdrawable NPT?,” The Fletcher School, October 21, 2005.

“Legitimacy and the Use of Force: Discussion on the United Nations High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change,” Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, March 23, 2005.

“UN Reform and the Use of Force,” Georgetown University, Washington, DC, February 24, 2005.

“United Nations Reform: Challenges Ahead,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, December 14, 2004.

“The Future of the United Nations,” National Defense University, Washington, DC, November 22, 2004.

“Intervention, Preemption and the UN Charter,” Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, India, June 22, 2004.

“Preemption of Threats to Security,” International Conference sponsored by the Aspen Institute, United Nations Foundation and Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The United Nations and New Threats: Rethinking Security*, Rome, May 28, 2004.

“The U.S. and Europe: Two Models for a New Political World Order,” debates with Prof. Herfried Münkler (Humboldt University, Berlin) at the Goethe Institut, New York (May 11, 2004) and Boston (May 13, 2004).

“Forging a Common Understanding: The United States and UN Reform,” conference sponsored by the U.S. Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency, National Intelligence Council, Washington, DC, May 6, 2004.

“Does International Law Matter?”, plenary session, American Society of International Law, Washington, DC, April 2, 2004.

“Glennon and His Critics,” panel discussion, International Studies Association, Montreal, March 19, 2004.

“The Coalition of the Willing: A (Mostly) Unilateral Exercise of Preventative Self-Defense,” New York University Law School, February 27, 2004.

“The Rise and Fall of the UN’s Use of Force Rules,” the Rudolf B. Schlesinger Lecture on International and Comparative Law, University of California, Hastings, College of Law, February 12, 2004 [published at 27 HASTINGS INT’L & COMP. L. REV. 497 (Spring, 2004)].

“Triggers of War,” World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, January 22, 2004.

“Authority and Legitimacy in Use of Force,” Symposium on Moral Dilemmas of Military Intervention, *Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales*, Paris, January 16, 2004.

“The Collapse of the UN Charter’s Use-of-Force Rules,” International Law Society, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, December 4, 2003.

“American Primacy,” Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, November 18, 2003.

“Using Military Force: Duties and Restraints,” Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, New York City, November 14, 2003.

“The American Approach To Unilateralism and Multilateralism in International Law,” Institute for Legal Policy, University of Trier, Germany, October 9, 2003.

“Can the United Nations Survive?” World Policy Institute, New School, New York City, October 2, 2003.

“The Future of International Law in Achieving Security,” George C. Marshall Center, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, September 26, 2003.

“Law, Intelligence and Security,” CIA Intelligence Fellows Program, Wye River, Maryland, August 7, 2003.

“The UN Security Council in a Unipolar World,” Fletcher Alumni Association, Medford, May 15, 2003; and Talloires, France, June 7, 2003.

“Preemption: The Policy Implications,” Council on Foreign Relations, Harvard University, May 15, 2003.

“Global Risks and Realities: The Role of the UN,” John F. Kennedy School of

Government, Harvard University, May 3, 2003.

“Why the Security Council Failed,” Foreign Policy Roundtable, New York City, April 30, 2003.

“Self-defense in a Age of Terrorism,” American Society of International Law, Washington, DC, April 4, 2003.

“Who Can Order War?” American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, January 23, 2003.

“The Role of the United Nations in Maintaining International Peace and Security in the 21st Century,” American Branch, International Law Association, New York City, October 25, 2002.

“Reflections on J. William Fulbright,” keynote address to incoming Fulbright scholars, Roosevelt Hotel, New York City, March 7, 2002.

Testimony, “Applying the War Powers Resolution to the War on Terrorism,” Subcommittee on the Constitution, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, April 17, 2002.

Interview, “The Supreme Court and Presidential Powers,” C-SPAN *Washington Journal*, February 10, 2002.

“The Detention of Guantanamo Prisoners and the Geneva Conventions,” George Washington University Law School, Washington, DC, February 13, 2002.

“The Use of Force,” Marshall-Wythe School of Law, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA, February 5, 2002.

“Balance and Limits in Post-September 11th America,” address to incoming Ron Brown Scholars, Wyndham City Hotel, Washington, DC, January 25, 2002.

“The United Nations Charter and the War Against Terrorism,” Georgetown University Law School, Washington, DC, November 26, 2001.

“Terrorism and International Law,” Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, DC, November 15, 2001.

Interview, *The Washington Post: Live On-Line* (the Electoral College), December 14, 2000 (http://discuss.washingtonpost.com/zforum/00/freemedia121400_glennon.htm).

Interview, *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio (deadline for selection of presidential electors), December 11, 2000.

Interview, *Nightline*, ABC Television (electoral college and Supreme Court litigation), December 8, 2000.

Interview, *The Today Show*, NBC Television (conflicting slates of presidential electors), December 1, 2000.

“The New Interventionism,” United Nations Association, Sacramento Chapter, Sacramento, February 28, 2000.

“International Law, NATO, and Kosovo,” World Affairs Council panel discussion with Abraham Sofaer, San Francisco, July 27, 1999 (broadcast on KQED-FM August 8, 1999).

“A Neo-Interventionism in a New International Order?,” Western European Union, Institute for Security Studies, Paris, June 29, 1999.

Interviewed by Rolin Post and Jane Wales (World Affairs Council) for “Our World This Week,” aired on Bay Area public television stations, June, 1999.

“The New Interventionism: What’s Next?,” Lawyers Alliance for World Security, Washington, DC, June 21, 1999.

“The Legislative Process,” The International Law Institute, June 11, 1999.

“The United States: Accountability and the Use of Force,” American Society of International Law, Glen Cove, New York, June 14, 1999.

“Use of Force in the Post Cold-War Era,” Academic Conference of the United Nations System, New York City, June 16, 1999.

Testimony, Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, May 25, 1999 (legal status of the ABM Treaty).

“A Madisonian Perspective on International Institutions: Overcommitment, Undercommitment, and Getting It Right,” University of Colorado Law School Symposium, Foreign Affairs Law at the End of the Century, January 23, 1999.

“Authority of the President to Use Force against Iraq,” panel moderator, American Society of International Law, Washington, D.C., April 3, 1998.

“Louis Fisher and Diplomacy: Foreign Affairs and Coordinate Review,” the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28, 1997.

“The Electoral College Today,” Young Executives of America, Los Angeles, May 2, 1996.

“Congress, the President, and the Authority to Initiate Hostilities,” University of Miami Law School, Miami, Florida, February 24, 1995.

“Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War Era,” United States Air Force Academy,

Colorado Springs, Colorado, February 15, 1995.

“The United States: Violator or Champion of International Law?” American Society of International Law, Washington, D.C., April 2, 1993.

Testimony, United States Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations, San Francisco, February 2, 1993.

Testimony, Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, United States House of Representatives, June 22, 1992 (international kidnapping and *United States v. Alvarez-Machain* [1992]). Published (in Spanish) in *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 9(1) (Winter, 1993).

“The Role of International Law in the United States Courts,” American Society of International Law, Chicago, April 2, 1992.

“War-Making Powers in a Constitutional Democracy,” the Douglas Adair Symposium, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona; December 7, 1991.

“The President, the Congress, and the Power to Make War,” University of California, San Diego, December 6, 1991.

“The Constitutional Power of the Senate to Condition Its Consent to Treaties,” Symposium on Parliamentary Participation in the Treaty-Making Process, Geneva, Switzerland, November 8, 1991.

“The Judicial Role in Maintaining the Balance Between Legislative and Executive Power,” Symposium on the Role of Law and Legal Institutions in the Promotion of Human Rights and Socio-Economic Renewal, organized by the Azerbaijan Lawyers Association; Baku, Azerbaijan; July, 1991.

Regular commentator for KOVR-TV (Sacramento ABC affiliate) during Persian Gulf Crisis, January, 1991.

“The Crisis in the Persian Gulf,” panel discussion, National Public Radio, January 9, 1991.

“International Wildlife Poaching and the Ivory Import Ban,” Conference on Humans, Wildlife and Habitat, University of California, Davis, March 3, 1990.

“International Law: The Year in Review,” American Society of International Law, Chicago, April 6, 1989.

“Legal Education and International Law,” State Bar of California, San Francisco, November 19, 1988.

“The Senate Role in Arms Control,” Stanford University Law School, October 19, 1988.

Testimony, Subcommittee on War Powers, Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Washington, D.C., September 29, 1988 (War Powers Resolution).

“The Constitution, Separation of Powers, and the Conduct of American Foreign Affairs,” The Washington State Bar Association, Vancouver, B.C., September, 1988.

Testimony, Subcommittee on Legislation and National Security Affairs, Committee on Government Operations, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., August 10, 1988 (Congress and the Administration's Secrecy Pledges).

“Executive, Congressional, and Judicial Power in Foreign Relations,” United States-Mexico Comparative Law Conference Celebrating the Bicentennial of the Constitution, Mexico City, June, 1988.

“War Powers and the Persian Gulf,” World Affairs Council of Sacramento, Annual Meeting, June, 1988.

“Implementing Foreign Policy: Congress and the Executive,” panel discussion, American Society of International Law, Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. (April, 1988).

“The War Powers Resolution,” UCLA Law School (February, 1988), and McGeorge Law School (March, 1988).

“Presidential ‘Private’ Foreign Relations,” American Association of Law Schools, Section on International Law, Miami (January, 1988).

“Who’s in Charge?: A Debate on the War Powers Act,” Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge (with Monroe Leigh)(December, 1987).

“The Constitution and Foreign Relations,” delivered to the German-American Lawyers’ Association, Nuremberg, FRG; the German-American Lawyers’ Association, Bonn, FRG; the University of Bonn Law School, Bonn, FRG; University of Frankfurt, Frankfurt, FRG; the Swiss Association of North American Studies, Zurich, Switzerland; the Swiss-American Club of Zurich; and the University of Basel Law School, Basel, Switzerland; November, 1987.

“The Implementation of Customary International Law by American Executive Organs,” University of Lausanne Law School, November, 1987.

“Individuality and Personhood under the United States Constitution,” delivered at the University of Geneva, and the University of Basel, November, 1987.

“The Iran-Contra Affair: A Need for Structural Change?” International Law Association, American Branch, and Association of the Bar of the City of New York, New York City, November, 1987.

“What We Have Learned: The Constitution and Foreign Policy-Making” (October, 1987); “Foreign Policy Making in the United States” (July, 1987); “*Nicaragua v. United States of America*” (May, 1987); World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco.

“The Constitution and Foreign Relations,” the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, Constitution Bicentennial, San Francisco (July, 1887).

Testimony, *Nicaragua v. United States of America*, International Court of Justice, The Hague, September 16, 1985 (contra human rights violations).

“Authority of the Executive to Violate Customary International Law,” American Society of International Law, Panel, Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. (April, 1986).

“The NATO Treaty and First Use of Nuclear Weapons,” Federation of American Scientists, Conference on First Use of Nuclear Weapons, Airlie House, Virginia (November, 1985).

Testimony, Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., February 7, 1985 (murder of Henry Liu).

“Is the War Powers Resolution Constitutional?” debate (against Monroe Leigh and John Norton Moore), American Bar Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago (July, 1984).

“Conflict Between the Fifth and Seventh Amendments in Complex Litigation,” American Association of Law Schools, Panel, Annual Meeting, Cincinnati (January, 1983).

“Constitutionality of Termination of the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Security Treaty,” debate (against Myres McDougal), Association of the Bar of the City of New York, New York City (May, 1979).

“The Taiwan Relations Act,” Association of the Bar of the City of New York, New York City (February, 1979).

“The Senate Role In Foreign Policy-Making,” The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. (June, 1978).

“Treaties and Executive Agreements,” Proceedings, 71st Annual Meeting, American Society of International Law, April 21-23, 1977 at p. 244.

“The Treaty Ratification Process in the United States,” American Society of International Law, Bellagio, Italy (April, 1977).

“Operation and Effectiveness of the War Powers Resolution,” John Basset Moore Society of International Law, University of Virginia Law School, Charlottesville, Virginia (February, 1977).

SELECTED ACTIVITIES:

Board of Advisers, John Quincy Adams Society (2018-present)

Counsel to the Republic of Armenia in *Chiragov v. Armenia*, European Court of Human Rights, 2012.

Board of Editors, American Journal of International Law (1986-99; honorary editor, 2013-present). Chair, nominations committee, 1992-93.

Member, Advisory Committee on the United States and the International Criminal Court, Council on Foreign Relations (2010).

Member, Global Agenda Council on the International Legal System, World Economic Forum (2008-2011).

“Issues before the UN’s High-Level Panel: Use of Force,” the UN Foundation/Stanley Foundation, Arden House, March 1-2, 2004.

War Powers Initiative Panel, the Constitution Project, Washington, DC (2002-2003)

Participant, Strategic Assessments Group, “Maintaining US Preeminence: Challenging Scenarios for 2020,” Nov. 6-7, 2003, Wilmington, Delaware.

Referee, 2003-2004 Fellowships, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Board of Editors, THE JOURNAL OF CONFLICT AND SECURITY LAW (1999-present).

Participant, The Atlantic Assembly, "Intervention and the Use of Force," Columbia University, March, 1994.

Editorial Board, AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY (1992).

Member of three-person team to consult with Albanian officials on constitutional revision (sponsored by American Bar Association), Tirana, Albania, October 7-12, 1991.

American Committee on United States-Soviet Relations (1982-1992).

Conferences on National Implementation of International Environmental Agreements, Social Science Research Council, Bermuda, March, 1990; Ann Arbor, 1991; Geneva, 1993.

Program Committee Chair, 1988 Annual Meeting, American Branch, International Law Association.

Board of Directors, Yolo County American Civil Liberties Union (1989-91).

Executive Committee, Section on International Law, American Association of Law Schools (1988-90).

Committee on the Role of the State Department Legal Adviser, American Society of International Law (1988-89).

Committee on Awards, American Society of International Law (1988-89).

Committee on the Special Bicentennial Issue, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (1989).

Co-counsel to 110 congressional plaintiffs in *Lowry v. Reagan*, challenging violation of War Powers Resolution in Persian Gulf (1987-88).

Committee on International Adjudication and the Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, American Society of International Law (1986).

Lectures in the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland in commemoration of the Constitutional Bicentennial, sponsored by the United States Information Agency (American Participants Program), November, 1987 (see "Principal Presentations").

Conference, "Contradictions and Conflicts between Sovereignty and International Stability: Problems of Intervention and Management in a Fragmented World," sponsored by the Ditchley Foundations, Ditchley Park, England, February, 1987.

Investigation of Contra Violations of Civilian Rights in Northern Nicaragua (sponsored by the International Human Rights Law Group and the Washington Office on Latin America), February, 1985.

Meetings with Cuban government officials (sponsored by the Union Nationale de Juristas de Cuba), Havana, Cuba, May, 1984.

Consultant, United States Information Agency (to help set up legislative training program for Nigerian legislators); while in Casablanca, Morocco, en route to Lagos, Nigeria, trip cut short by military coup; January, 1984.

Inter-Parliamentary Union, Caracas, Venezuela (congressional delegation), October, 1979.

Ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties (with presidential party), Panama City, Panama, June, 1978.

Congressional delegation to Madrid, Spain, to review implementation of the 1976 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, June, 1978.

North Atlantic Assembly, Brussels, Belgium (congressional delegation), June, 1978.