

## RESUME OF FRANCIS A. BOYLE

### EDUCATION

University of Chicago, A.B. (1971) in Political Science. One of seven students in my entering Class of 1972 elected to Phi Beta Kappa as a Junior; winner as a Junior of the Sigma Xi Certificate of Merit and Prize for Excellence in Undergraduate Scientific Research in Biology for 1971 for The Differential Effects of Three Simulated Systems of Inbreeding on the Frequency of the t<sup>w</sup> Allele in Wild Populations of Mus Musculus on nomination of Richard C. Lewontin; graduated in three years.

Harvard Law School, J.D. Magna Cum Laude (1976). Third year paper designated "Honor Paper" by Richard R. Baxter, and deposited in H.L.S. Library. A+'s in Federal Income Taxation (Stanley Surrey), Soviet Economic Law and Law of Foreign Trade (Harold Berman), United Nations Law (Louis Sohn), Sociology of Law (Lon Fuller), and Jurisprudence (Roberto Unger).

Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Department of Government, A.M. (1978) and Ph.D. (1983) in Political Science. Awarded full Harvard Fellowship for all years of residence. Offered Russian History (Edward Keenan), Soviet Politics (Adam Ulam), Modern Political Philosophy (Judith Shklar), and International Relations (Stanley Hoffmann) on Ph.D. General Examination. Dissertation entitled Realism, Positivism, Functionalism and International Law under the supervision of Stanley Hoffmann.

Graduate Student Associate, Harvard University Center for International Affairs (1976-78) (elected to the Executive Committee for 1977-78).

### TEACHING

Teaching Fellow, Harvard University Department of Government (1976-78) (international organizations, international law, international human rights).

Assistant Professor (1978-81), Associate Professor with tenure (1981-84), full Professor (from 1984), University of Illinois College of Law in Champaign.

U.S. State Department, Scholar-Diplomat Program, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs (1981).

Lecturer, Nuclear Weapons and International Law, 21st Senior Conference on Nuclear Deterrence, U.S. Military Academy at West Point (1983).

Lecture Tour of Libya (1985).

Lecture Tour of the Soviet Union on Nuclear Weapons and International Law for the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy and the Association of Soviet Lawyers (1986).

Professor, U.S.S.R. Summer University for Jurists, Peoples= Friendship University, Moscow (1989).

Parhad Lecturer, Faculty of Medicine, University of Calgary, Canada (2001).

Bertrand Russell Peace Lecturer, McMaster University, Canada (2007).

## **PRACTICE**

Licensed to practice law in Massachusetts (from 1977), before the U.S. Tax Court (from 1977), the U. S. Supreme Court (from 1984), and in several other U.S. Federal Courts.

Attorney, Bingham, Dana, & Gould, in Boston (1977-78) (primarily in international tax and tax). See Hart v. U.S., 585 F.2d 1025 (Ct. Cl. 1978) (en banc); Globe v. U.S., 620 F.2d 841 (Ct. Cl. 1980).

Counsel, Concerned Academics for Peace and Justice in the Middle East (1984-86).

Attorney for Plaintiffs, Ali Aidi v. Yaron, 672 F. Supp. 516 (D.D.C. 1987) (Sabra-Shatilla Massacre).

Legal Adviser to the Palestine Liberation Organization (from 1987) and the Provisional Government of the State of Palestine (from 1988) on the creation of the State of Palestine, its accession to the Geneva Conventions and Protocols, invocation of the Uniting for Peace Resolution, admission to the United Nations Organization, accepting the I.C.C.'s jurisdiction, etc.

Author, Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989, Pub. L. No. 101-298 (1990) (adopted unanimously by both Houses of U.S. Congress and signed into law by President George Bush Sr.).

Counsel to Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez on H. Res. 34, 102d Cong., 1st Sess. (1991) (impeaching President George Bush Sr. for Gulf War I).

Legal Adviser to the Republic of Lithuania under President Vytautas Landsbergis (1991-92).

Legal Adviser to the Palestinian Delegation to the Middle East Peace Negotiations (1991-93).

Legal Adviser to the Syrian Delegation to the Middle East Peace Negotiations during their First Round in Washington, D.C. (1991).

Counsel to Libya, in Cases Concerning Questions of Interpretation And Application Of The 1971 Montreal Convention Arising From The Aerial Incident At Lockerbie (Libya v. United Kingdom) (Libya v. United States). See Orders of 14 April 1992, 1992 I.C.J. Rep. at 3 and 114, 31 Int'l L. Mats. 662 (1992).

Special Prosecutor, International Tribunal of Indigenous Peoples and Oppressed Nations in the U.S.A., San Francisco (1992).

Author, Chicago MacBride Principles on Northern Ireland Ordinance (adopted unanimously by Chicago City Council on Feb. 10, 1993).

General Agent for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Powers before the International Court of Justice by appointment of President Alija Izetbegovic (March 19, 1993 to January 12, 1994). I won two World Court Orders overwhelmingly in favor of Bosnia against the rump Yugoslavia to cease and desist from violating the 1948 Genocide Convention. See Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)), Order of Provisional Measures of 8 April 1993, 1993 I.C.J. Rep. at 3; and Order of Provisional Measures of 13 September 1993, 1993 I.C.J. Rep. at 325. President Izetbegovic then instructed me to institute legal proceedings before the International Court of Justice against the United Kingdom for violating the 1948 Genocide Convention and the 1965 Racial

Discrimination Convention in order to break the genocidal arms embargo against Bosnia as well as to stop the genocidal carve-up of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the so-called European Union Action Plan. See Statement of Intention by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Institute Legal Proceedings Against the United Kingdom before the International Court of Justice (15 November 1993), U.N. Doc. A/48/659-S/26806, 47 U.N.Y.B. 465 (1993). This lawsuit was terminated under duress.

Lawyer for President Alija Izetbegovic, Foreign Minister (later Prime Minister, then President) Haris Silajdzic, and all the Members of the collective Bosnian Presidency, as well as the Leaders of the Bosnian Opposition Parties, during the Owen-Stoltenberg Negotiations in Geneva (1993). There I disrupted the Owen-Stoltenberg Plan to carve-up the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina into three pieces, destroy Bosnia's Statehood, rob Bosnia of its Membership in the United Nations Organization, and subject 1.5 to 2 million more Bosnians to "ethnic cleansing." President Izetbegovic then instructed me to draft and negotiate the Bosnian counter-offer to Owen-Stoltenberg.

Consultant on Independence, Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Commission, State of Hawaii (1993).

On 12 May 1997 in a ceremony at the Bosnian Presidency in Sarajevo, President Alija Izetbegovic and Vice President Ejup Ganic awarded me a valid Bosnian Diplomatic Passport and Visa as well as a Decoration for my services to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Serbian war of extermination against them.

On 17 May 2000 President Aslan Maskhadov appointed me the Attorney of Record for the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria with Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Powers in order to conduct their legal affairs. Acting pursuant to his instructions, on 1 August 2000 I sued the Russian Federation at the International Court of Justice for violating the 1948 Genocide Convention. On 14 February 2004 the Chechen Foreign Minister Ilyas Akhmadov appointed me their Ambassador to Norway with instructions to open peace negotiations with the Russian Federation.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

**World Politics and International Law** (Duke University Press: 1985; 2d prtg. 1987; 3d prtg. 1995). Designated "An Outstanding Academic Book of 1985-86" in the field of Political Science by Choice Magazine, Association of College and Research Libraries, American Library Association.

**Defending Civil Resistance Under International Law** (Transnational Publishers: 1987). The Center for Energy Research published a special paperback edition in 1988.

**The Future of International Law and American Foreign Policy** (Transnational Publishers: 1989). The Islamic World Studies Center in Malta published an Arabic language edition in 1993.

**The Bosnian People Charge Genocide** (Aletheia Press: 1996). The Bosnian State Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, which is affiliated with the University of Sarajevo, published a Bosnian language edition in 2000.

**Foundations of World Order: The Legalist Approach to International Relations (1898-1922)** (Duke University Press: 1999). Pakyounsa published a Korean translation of this book in 2004.

**The Criminality of Nuclear Deterrence** (Clarity Press: 2002) (Crescent News, Malaysia: 2007).

**Palestine, Palestinians, and International Law** (Clarity Press: 2003;2d prtg.2005) (Crescent News, Malaysia: 2007). Shorouk International in Egypt published an Arabic translation of this book in 2004.

**Destroying World Order: U.S. Imperialism in the Middle East Before and After September 11th** (Clarity Press: 2004) (Crescent News, Malaysia: 2007). The Supreme Council of Culture in Egypt published an Arabic translation of this book in 2005.

**Biowarfare and Terrorism** (Clarity Press:2005) (Crescent News, Malaysia: 2007). Éditions Demi-Lune in Paris published a French translation of this book in 2007.

**Protesting Power: War, Resistance, and Law**, (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.: 2007).

**Breaking All The Rules: Palestine, Iraq, Iran, and the Case for Impeachment** (Clarity Press: 2008).

**Tackling America's Toughest Questions**, (Clarity Press: 2009).

The Irrelevance of International Law, 10 Cal. West. Int'l L.J. 193 (1980).

The Law of Power Politics, 1980 Univ. Ill. L. F. 901.

International Law in Time of Crisis, 75 Nw. U.L. Rev. 769 (1980), republished in 2 Nat'l. L. Rev. Rep. 537 (1981).

International Law as a Basis for Conducting American Foreign Policy, 8 Yale J. World Pub. Ord. 103 (1981), republished as U.S. Department of Defense, Current News: Special Edition, No. 979 (Mar. 23, 1983). See also 75 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 270 (1981).

The Entebbe Hostages Crisis, 29 Nether. Int'l L. Rev. 32 (1982); 22 Indian J. Int'l L. 199 (1982); and in **Terrorism, Political Violence and World Order** 559 (H. Han ed. 1984; 2d rev. ed. 1993).

Nuclear Weapons and International Law: The Arms Control Dimension, 21 U.S.M.A. West Point Senior Conference Proceedings: The Nuclear Debate 147 (1983); and in 4 N.Y.L.Sch. J. Int'l & Comp. L. 257 (1983). See also 76 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 322 (1982).

American Foreign Policy Toward International Law and Organizations: 1898-1917, 6 Loy. L.A. Int'l & Comp. L.J. 185 (1983). See also 76 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 130, 135, 144 (1982).

International Law and Organizations as an Approach to Conflict Resolution in the Middle East, in **Contemporary Issues in International Law: Essays in Honor of Louis B. Sohn** 515 (T. Buergenthal ed. 1984). See also Middle East International, Sept. 3, 1982, at 11; 4 Arab Stud. Q. 336 (1982); **Terrorism, Political Violence and World Order** 511 (H. Han ed. 1984); 77 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 223 (1983); 79 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 217 (1985); Mideast Monitor, July, 1985.

International Lawlessness in the Caribbean Basin, 1984 Crime and Social Justice, Nos. 21-22, at 37; and in International Progress Organization (IPO), **The Reagan Administration's Foreign Policy** 89 (H. Kochler ed. 1985). See also Australia Int'l L. News, Sept., 1984; 78 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 144 (1984); 78 Am. J. Int'l L. 172 (1984).

Conclusions and Judgment of Brussels Tribunal, N.Y. Times, Oct. 7, 1984, at 77; and in IPO, The Reagan Administration's Foreign Policy 459 (H. Kochler ed. 1985).

The Iranian Hostages Crisis, 63 Revue De Droit International 1 (Geneva: 1985).

Memorandum in Opposition to the Ratification of the Proposed U.S.-U.K. Supplementary Extradition Treaty (Aug. 30, 1985), in United States and United Kingdom Supplementary Extradition Treaty: Hearings on Treaty Doc. 99-8 Before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, S.HRG. 99-703, 99th Cong., 1st Sess. 511 (1985).

Statement on Behalf of U.S.A., in **On Trial: Reagan's War Against Nicaragua** 153 (1985).

Defending Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against the Reagan Administration Under International Law, 1985 Crime and Social Justice, No. 24, at 110. See also 81 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 452 (1987).

The Relevance of International Law to the "Paradox" of Nuclear Deterrence, 80 Nw. U. L. Rev. 1407 (1986); and in 11 Recht En Kritiek, No. 3 (Dutch trans. 1985). See also 1 Swords and Ploughshares, No. 3 (May 1987) (U.I. ACDIS Bull.).

The Legal Distortions Behind the Reagan Administration's Chemical and Biological Warfare Buildup, 30 St. Louis Univ. L.J. 1175 (1986), reprinted in U.S. Department of Defense, Current News: Special Edition: CHEMICAL WEAPONS, No. 1586 (28 May 1987).

Preserving the Rule of Law in the War Against International Terrorism, 8 Whittier L. Rev. 735 (1986).

New Directions for International Legal Studies Toward the End of the Twentieth Century, 80 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 457 (1986).

Determining U.S. Responsibility for Contra Operations Under International Law, 81 Am. J. Int'l L. 86 (1987). See also Nicaragua Must Survive, 6 U.I. ACDIS Bull., No. 3 (Winter 1985-86).

Military Responses to Terrorism, 81 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 288 (1987).

The Geneva Declaration on Terrorism, Am. Branch, Int'l L. Ass., Int'l Prac. Notebook, July 1987.

International Crisis and Neutrality: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the Iraq-Iran War, in **Neutrality: Changing Concepts and Practices** 59 (A. Leonhard ed. 1988); and in 43 Mercer L. Rev. 523 (1992).

Create the State of Palestine!, American-Arab Affairs, No. 25, at 86 (Summer 1988); 7 Scandinavian J. Development Alternatives, No. 2 & 3, at 25 (June-Sept. 1988); 4 Palestine Y.B. Int'l L. 15 (1987-88).

The Hypocrisy and Racism Behind the Formulation of U.S. Human Rights Foreign Policy, 1989 Social Justice, No. 35, at 71.

International Law, Citizen Resistance and Crimes by the State -- The Defense Speaks, 11 Houston Int'l L.J. 345 (1989).

Memoranda of Law on the U.S.-Israel Land-Lease and Purchase Agreement of 1989 (Ex. Comm. 89-57), American-Arab Affairs, No. 30, at 125 (Fall 1989).

Testimony in Support of S. 993, 101st Cong., 1st Sess., The Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989 (July 26, 1989), in Hearing Before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, S. HRG. 101-416, Serial No. J-101-32, at 100 (1989).

Memorandum on the Yaron Case, 5 Palestine Y.B. Int'l L. 254, 257 (1989).

Afterword to D. Forsythe, **The Politics of International Law: U.S. Foreign Policy Reconsidered** 157 (1990).

The Creation of the State of Palestine, 1 European J. Int'l L. 301 (1990); and in 1991 Australian Int'l L. News 46. See also International Law and Solutions to the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 83 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 122 (1989); 84 Am. J. Int'l L. 879 (1990); Soviet Immigration to Palestine Violates International Law, 7 Mideast Monitor, No. 2, (Summer 1990); George Bush on Jerusalem, American-Arab Affairs, No. 32, at 121 (Spring 1990).

The Criminality of Nuclear Weapons, **Waging Peace Series Booklet No. 27** (Nuclear Age Peace Foundation: 1991); and in **Waging Peace II** 103-20 (D. Krieger & F. Kelly eds. 1992); and in **Nuclear Proliferation and the Legality of Nuclear Weapons** 299 (W. Evan & V. Nanda eds. 1995). See also Separate Opinion By Judge Francis A. Boyle, in **IN RE: More Than 50,000 Nuclear Weapons**, at 23 (Aletheia Press: 1991) (Provisional District World Court Opinion); 8 Scandinavian J. Development Alternatives, No. 2, at 37 (June 1989); 82 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 555 (1988).

Memorandum of Law on the Dispute Between Libya and the United States and the United Kingdom over the Lockerbie Bombing Allegations, in Nord-Sud XXI, No. 1, at 55 (Geneva: 1992).

United States War Crimes During the Persian Gulf War, in Nord-Sud XXI, No. 1, at 97 (Geneva: 1992); and in New Dawn, No. 15 (Sept.-Oct. 1992); and on Counterpunch.org, Sept. 2, 2002.

The Definitional Context of the Iranian Hostages Crisis, 6 Journal of Foreign Policy, Nos. 2 & 3 (1992), Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS), Tehran, Iran (Farsi translation of Chapters 13 & 14 of **World Politics and International Law**).

The International Legal Right of the Palestinian People to Self-Determination and an Independent State of Their Own, 12 Scandinavian J. Development Alternatives, No. 2 & 3, at 29 (June-Sept. 1993). See also Transcript of a Mock Arbitration of Israeli-Palestinian Disputes Before the American Bar Association Annual Meeting in Chicago (Aug. 7, 1990), in 6 A.B.A. International Litigation Quarterly, No. 4, at 101, 112 (Dec. 1990); and in 2 Arbitration Materials 5 (Dec. 1990).

The Right of Citizen Resistance to State Crimes, in **Human Rights in the Twenty-First Century: A Global Challenge** 377-92 (K. Mahoney & P. Mahoney eds. 1993).

The U.S. Invasion of Panama: Implications for International Law and Politics, 1 East African J. Peace & Human Rights 80 (Uganda: 1993).

International Law and the Use of Force: Beyond Regime Theory, in **Ideas and Ideals: Essays on Politics in Honor of Stanley Hoffmann** 376 (L. Miller & M.J. Smith eds. 1993).

The Nuremberg Defence in Courts, in International Peace Bureau, **The Right to Refuse Military Orders** 73 (1994).

Memorandum to the Parliament of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Washington Agreements of 18th March 1994, 15 J. Muslim Min. Aff., Nos. I & II, at 31-49 (Jan. & July 1994).  
The Decolonization of Northern Ireland, 4 Asian Y.B. Int'l L. 25 (1994).

The Restoration of the Independent Nation State of Hawaii under International Law, 7 St. Thomas L. Rev. 723 (1995).

Opening Statement and Closing Statement, in **USA On Trial: The International Tribunal on Indigenous Peoples' and Oppressed Nations in the United States** 23-37, 263-76 (1996).

Is Bosnia the End of the Road for the United Nations?, 6 Periodica Islamica, No. 2, at 45 (1996).

The Making of Genocide I and Genocide II, 17 J. Muslim Min. Aff., No. 1, at 195 (1997).

Teaching Against the Death Penalty: The Execution of John Wayne Gacy, Nord-Sud XXI, No. 10, at 40 (Geneva: 1997); and in 21 J. Development Alternatives & Area Studies, No. 1 & 2, at 90-96 (March-June 2002).

Happy Birthday Chechnya! May 12 Peace Treaty with Russia, 18 J. Muslim Min. Aff., No. 1, at 177 (1998).

The Criminality of Nuclear Deterrence, 49 Social Action 156-87 (India: April-June 1999).

Palestine: Sue Israel for Genocide before the International Court of Justice!, 20 J. Muslim Min. Aff., No. 1, at 161-66 (2000).

The Interim Agreement and International Law, 22 Arab Studies Quarterly, No. 3, at 1-44 (Summer 2000).

Rendition of Foreign Criminals from Foreign Soil, 21 Mich. J. Int'l L. 673, 680-85 et seq. (2000).

Chechen Foreign Minister's Letter to the International Court of Justice, 21 J. Muslim Min. Aff., No. 1, at 165-70 (2001).

Petition on Behalf of the Children of Iraq Submitted to the United Nations, 23 Arab Studies Quarterly, No. 4, at 137 (Fall 2001).

Law & Disorder in the Middle East, The Link, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 2002).

Humanitarian Intervention under International Law, 1 Review of International Affairs, No. 1, at 45-56 (Summer 2002).

Foreword to Rick Anderson, **Home Front: The Government's War on Soldiers** (2004).

Law and Resistance: The Republic in Crisis and the People's Response, 2 The Crit, Issue 1, at 154 (Winter 2009).

The Rights of the Tamils on the Island of Sri Lanka under International Law and Practice, (International Tamil Centre, USA: June 2009).

See also 1973 Harv. L. Sch. Y.B. 14; 75 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 227 (1981) (Morgenthau); 97 Harv. L. Rev. 1259 (1984) (Clyde Ferguson); AAUG Newsletter, Jan.-Feb.-Mar. 1985 (Sharon); PHRC Newsletter, Jan.-Mar. 1987 (L.A. 8 case), Oct.-Nov. 1987 (PLO); Palestine Perspectives, Mar./Apr. 1988, at 4 (Landau Report); Am. Branch, Int'l L. Ass., Int'l Prac. Notebook, Jan. 1981 (SALT 2), Jan. & July 1984 (Grenada), Jan. 1985 (South Africa), April 1985 (Sanctuary Movement), Oct. 1985 (Star Wars), Dec. 1986 (Libya); 11 COPRED Peace Chron., No. 5 (1986) (George Ball); 20 Social Justice 162 (1993) (U.S. execution of Mexicans); 33 I.L.M. 838 (1994) (Gacy execution); 18 Human Rights Q. 515 (1996) (Dayton Agreement).

## **PUBLIC SERVICE**

Ad Hoc Guidelines Committee, American Society of International Law (1978-80). See ASIL Newsletter, Aug.-Oct. 1978.

Council and Board of Directors, Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy (from 1981).

American Friends Service Committee, Advisory Committee on Human Rights in Lebanon (1982-83). See Lebanon: Toward Legal Order and Respect for Human Rights (1983), in 1 Palestine Y.B. Int'l L. 218 (1984).

Board of Directors, International Third World Legal Studies Association (1983-87).

Judge, Provisional District World Court, World Federalist Association, Nuclear Weapons Tribunal (1984-88).

Chairman, International Panel of Jurists, IPO Brussels Conference on Reagan Administration's Foreign Policy (1984).

Attorney for U.S.A., before the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal, in Nicaragua v. U.S.A. (Brussels: 1984).

Advisory Board, The Council for Responsible Genetics (from 1985).

Certificate of Recognition, Association of Arab-American University Graduates (1986).

Vice-President and Board of Directors, Human Rights Research Foundation (1986-1993).

Rapporteur, IPO Geneva Declaration on Terrorism (1987).

Board of Directors, Palestine Human Rights Campaign (1987-91).

Consultant, United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (from 1987).

Executive Committee, American Federation of Teachers Local 2287 and Delegate to AFL-CIO Board of Champaign County, Illinois (1988-91) (elected by membership to 3 terms).

Board of Directors, Amnesty International USA (1988-92) (elected by membership to 2 terms).

Judge, International Tribunal on War Crimes in the Former Soviet Union (Moscow: 1993).

Jerusalem Fund Award (1997).

Council for National Interest, 1997 Dare to Speak Out Award.

Founder, Israeli Divestment/Disinvestment Campaign (from 2000).

Ad Hoc Working Group on Military Uses of Biotechnology, Council for Responsible Genetics (from 2001).

Patron, Institute for Law and Peace, United Kingdom (from 2002).

Founder, National Campaign to Impeach Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Ashcroft (2002-2008).

**Marquis Who's Who in America** (from 2006).

**Marquis Who's Who in the World** (from 2010).