



Professor Robert F. Turner
Co-Founder and Associate Director
Center for National Security Law
University of Virginia School of Law
580 Massie Road
Charlottesville, Virginia 22903-1789
(434) 924-4083
bobturner@virginia.edu

EDUCATION

LEGAL EDUCATION

Doctor of Juridical Science (SJD)—University of Virginia School of Law (1996)

Admitted directly to SJD (academic law doctorate) program. (LL.M. requirement waived.) GPA: 3.83.
Dissertation: *National Security and the Constitution* (1700-pages, more than 3000 footnotes) accepted for publication as a trilogy by Carolina Academic Press and currently being revised and updated for publication.

Juris Doctor (JD)—University of Virginia School of Law (1981)

Senior Editor, *Virginia Journal of International Law*
Member, National Moot Court Team (Winner: regional First Place Brief award)
Member, Jefferson Literary and Debating Society

OTHER POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

University of Virginia—Woodrow Wilson Department of Government and Foreign Affairs

Graduate studies in Government and Foreign Affairs (1979-81) while in law school (GPA: 4.0).

Stanford University

Graduate studies (1972-73) in History (GPA: 4.0) and Political Science (GPA: 4.0) while employed by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace

UNDERGRADUATE

Bachelor of Arts—Government, Indiana University (Bloomington) 1968.

Wrote 450-page honors thesis on "Vietnam: A Documented Analysis of the Background, Issues & Alternatives." Participated in more than 100 debates, panels, or lectures at teach-ins and other programs about the Vietnam War, often debating professors and national anti-war leaders. Served as National Research Director of Student Committee for Victory in Vietnam; one of three members of secretariat of Student Coordinating Committee for Freedom in Vietnam, and Chairman, Indiana Student Committee for Victory in Vietnam. President (twice), I.U. Conservative League (ISI); President, Students for a Free Society (Libertarian student political group); President, President Pro-Tempore, and Minority Leader, "Great Issues" Model U.S. Senate (voted "most outstanding senator"); Secretary-General, Model United Nations; Editor, *Eleutherophile* (journal of classical liberal thought).

EMPLOYMENT

Cofounder and Associate Director, Center for National Security Law, University of Virginia School of Law—1981-present (with leaves of absence for government service as indicated below) with general faculty academic rank of professor.

TEACHING: For several years taught International Law, U.S. Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy and the Law, and The Vietnam War in the Woodrow Wilson Department of Government and Foreign Affairs; continues to co-teach (with CNSL Director John Norton Moore) Advanced National Security Law seminars on War and Peace and on Legal Issues of the Indochina War at the School of Law. Guest lectures regularly in International Law course at the School of Law and in National Security Law at both Virginia and Georgetown Law Center.

STUDENT EVALUATIONS: Student evaluations while teaching in the Department of Government and Foreign Affairs consistently averaged 4.8 on a 5.0 scale. The office of the Dean of Students published a report entitled *Interviews: The Class of 1992*, which noted that during exit interviews of graduating students (88 of whom were from the College of Arts & Sciences), only "a handful of professors . . . merited multiple mentions" in response to the question: "Are there one or two courses that stand out in your memory as especially good?" The only course actually mentioned in this part of the report was Turner's "International Law," which was described by one student as: "my hardest course, but I got a lot out of it: it was the paradigm of a perfect college class" In a letter accompanying a copy of the report, Associate Dean of Students Sybil Todd informed Turner that he was one of only three professors at the entire University who received six or more mentions in response to this question. In the seminars co-taught with Professor Moore at the School of Law, most students consistently and overwhelmingly rank both the instructors and the seminars as "outstanding."

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS (University of Virginia General Faculty): Lecturer in Law and in Government and Foreign Affairs, 1988-93; Associate Professor, 1993-97; Professor 1997-present.

Charles H. Stockton Professor of International Law, U.S. Naval War College—1994-95.

This one-year appointment was to the oldest and most senior civilian academic chair at the Naval War College. In addition to occasional lectures and advisory role, taught seminar on Lessons of the Vietnam War. Played role of Legal Adviser to the UN Security Council in International war game and of Legal Adviser to National Security Counsel in *Global 95* major two-week-long war game.

President, U.S. Institute of Peace—1986-87.

Served as the first president of the congressionally-established U.S. Institute of Peace for twenty months. Hired initial staff, set up offices, implemented programs pursuant to decisions of Board of Directors. Represented institute in budget process with OMB, testified (with Chairman of Board) before congressional authorization and appropriations subcommittees. Served also as President, U.S. Institute of Peace Foundation.

Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs, U.S. Department of State—1984-85.

Senior Department of State official responsible for communications to and liaison with Congress and state governments. Attended Secretary of State's morning staff meetings, advised Secretary and other senior departmental officials on legislative matters. Accompanied Secretary of State and other key officials during key congressional testimony. Represented department in both formal and informal dealings with Congress. Signed most letters to congressional leaders or members on behalf of department. At request of White House Office of Legislative Affairs (because of background in international law), personally coordinated successful campaign to obtain Senate consent to ratification of the Genocide Convention following three decades of delay.

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislative and Governmental Affairs, U.S. Department of State—1983-84. Senior Executive Service (SES) Level 5.

Chaired Interagency Working Groups on Security Assistance and on Central America (Kissinger Commission implementation legislation). Senior State Department representative accompanying Presidential Delegation to observe May 1984 presidential elections in El Salvador. Coordinated successful effort to obtain Senate consent to ratification of Genocide Convention.

**Counsel to the President's Intelligence Oversight Board, The White House—1981-83.
SES-4.**

Senior staff member of White House Office entity charged with overseeing the legality of all intelligence operations by all agencies of U.S. Intelligence Community. Under Executive Order 12,334, Board was charged with reporting directly to the President. Received regular briefings on all covert and overt intelligence programs. Investigated activities in the United States and abroad. Held appropriate security clearances. Detailed back to this office in October 1984 to conduct Central America phase of investigation into alleged "CIA murder manual" (*Tayacan* manual).

Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, U.S. Department of Defense--1981. SES-3.

Provided confidential legal and legislative advice to the third-ranking civilian official in the Pentagon, including work on foreign military sales (successful campaign to sell AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia) and advice on use-of-force issues (modern utility of formal declarations of war, legal advice on dealing with Cuba, Angola, Afghanistan, and other problem areas).

Special Assistant and Legislative Assistant to U.S. Senator Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich., Assistant Minority Leader) 1974-79.

Moved to Washington, DC, as second phase of two-year fellowship from the Hoover Institution. Hired off fellowship by Senator after a few months and joined his staff as his national security adviser responsible for Foreign Relations, Armed Services, and Intelligence matters. (Paid by "S.Res. 80" funds pursuant to the Senator's role as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.) Key issues (in addition to annual legislation authorizing and appropriating money for national security activities) included: Vietnam War (opposed congressional aid cutoff), Angola (drafted "Griffin Amendment" substitute to "1975 Clark Amendment" trying to prevent cutoff of U.S. aid to non-Communist forces in Angola), withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea, M-1 Abrams tank development (supported), cruise missile programs (credited by contractor with key role in Senate approval of cruise missile program), Cyprus crisis, arms control issues (SALT II, ballistic-missile defense), Panama Canal treaties (drafted Minority Views to SFRC Report), law of the sea (opposed U.S. unilateral fishery claims), helped draft language to create Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (focused primarily on trying to prevent leaks). Traveled from time to time both in the United States (e.g., to ABM sites and military bases) and abroad (primarily to Asia, including repeated visits to Indochina. Was last congressional staff member withdrawn from South Vietnam during final evacuation in April 1975).

Public Affairs Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University—1972-74.

Two-year fellowship program included one additional year to do research at Stanford and a second year in Washington, DC, on Capitol Hill. Primary responsibilities during initial year involved finishing book on *Vietnamese Communism* and serving as Institute's senior scholar on Indochina. Met with visiting scholars, gave occasional lectures. Also served as Associate Editor (Asia & Pacific) of the *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs* (1973, 1974) and wrote several chapters published therein.

Research Assistant/Research Associate, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University—1971-72.

Contributed ten chapters on Communist movements in Southeast Asia to the *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs* (1972).

Captain, U.S. Army (Vietnam veteran)—1968-71.

Commissioned through ROTC in Intelligence Service (IS). Transferred to Armor Branch and graduated on Commandant's List from Armor School at Ft. Knox, KY. Two assignments as Infantry Reconnaissance Platoon Leader (100th Bn., 442nd Inf.; 2/5 25th Inf. Div.); awarded Expert Infantryman Badge. Honor Graduate, Chemical, Nuclear & Biological Warfare School. Voluntarily served twice in Vietnam, both times with Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) on detail to U.S. Embassy in Saigon as Assistant Special Projects Officer, North Vietnam/Viet Cong Affairs Division. Traveled extensively throughout South Vietnam working on issues of Viet

Cong terrorism, assassination, strategic psychological operations. Worked with senior Communist defectors and POWs. Briefed U.S. and foreign media from time to time. Authored classified monograph on Viet Cong assassination policy.

Correspondent (Vietnam), *Indianapolis News*—1968.

Served briefly in Vietnam as journalist for *Indianapolis News*. This was essentially a courtesy appointment by a friend who was the paper's editor and who knew of my academic interest in Vietnam. Press credentials permitted me to travel widely through the country staying in press centers and benefiting from logistics provided by U.S. military.

College Summer and Part-Time Employment—1964-67.

Spent most summers working as Waterfront Director or Resident Camp Director at Boy Scout and Boys Club camps. Also directed rifle range and supervised health lodge. Twice graduate of BSA National Camping School (Aqualice, Camp Management). Also drove taxi part-time in Indianapolis to help meet college expenses.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS & MONOGRAPHS

The Jefferson-Hemings Controversy: Report of a Commission of Scholars (Editor and primary contributor) (Carolina Academic Press, [forthcoming](#), 2006).

To Oppose Any Foe (Coeditor with Ross A. Fisher [former student] and John Norton Moore) (Carolina Academic Press, 2006) (This is a collection of student-written essays from the Moore & Turner seminar on the Indochina War.)

The Real Lessons of the Vietnam War: Reflections Twenty-Five Years After the Fall of Saigon (Coeditor with John Norton Moore and contributor of three chapters) (Carolina Academic Press, 2002).

The ABM Treaty and the Senate: Issues of International and Constitutional Law (CNSL, 1999).

Readings on International Law from the Naval War College Review 1878-1994 (Coeditor with John Norton Moore) (Naval War College International Law Studies series, vol. 68, 1995).

National Security Law Documents (Coeditor with John Norton Moore & Guy B. Roberts) (Carolina Academic Press, 1995, 2nd ed., 2006).

Repealing the War Powers Resolution: Restoring the Rule of Law in U.S. Foreign Policy (Brassey's Macmillan, 1991).

This volume is largely based upon several presentations made to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, House Armed Services Committee, and House Foreign Affairs Committee about the War Powers Resolution and its history. It includes a foreword by former President Gerald R. Ford.

National Security Law (Coeditor with John Norton Moore) (Carolina Academic Press, 1990, 2nd ed., 2005).

Nicaragua v. United States: A Look at the Facts (Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Pergamon-Brassey's, 1987).

This volume, which was cited in manuscript form in the International Court of Justice's *Paramilitary Activities Case*, is largely derived from research done as a consultant to the Department of State Legal Adviser in 1985.

International Law and the Brezhnev Doctrine (Coauthored with John Norton Moore) (University Press of America, 1987).

The Legal Structure of Defense Organization (Coauthored with John Norton Moore) (President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management, 1986).

The War Powers Resolution: Its Implementation in Theory and Practice (Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia Policy Papers, 1983).

Vietnamese Communism: Its Origins and Development (Hoover Institution Press, 1975).

Called the "definitive account of Vietnamese Communism" by the *American Political Science Review*; the *American Historical Review* said: "Turner's volume is certainly one of the most refreshing to appear in several years on the subject of Vietnam, and it rekindles confidence that there is quality work again appearing after an interlude of emotional and severely biased pieces. In fact, Turner's work must rank as a landmark in the treatment of Vietnamese communism. . . ." Listed as one of the twenty-six best books on the Vietnam War in *Washington Post* "Book World" in April 1985. Mentioned as one of sixteen books found "most useful" by the author in Richard Nixon, *No More Vietnams*.

Yearbook on International Communist Affairs 1974 (Associate Editor, Asia & Pacific).

Yearbook on International Communist Affairs 1973 (Associate Editor, Asia & Pacific, contributed chapters on Cambodia, North Vietnam, and South Vietnam).

Myths of the Vietnam War: The Pentagon Papers Reconsidered (American Friends of Vietnam, special issue of *Southeast Asian Perspectives*, September 1972).

Yearbook on International Communist Affairs 1972 (contributed ten chapters on Southeast Asian Countries).

Vietnam: A Corrective Essay (written in 1965 and republished in 1968 by Voices in Vital America (VIVA—the group that began the POW bracelet campaign) in Los Angeles and again in 1970 by National Student Committee for Victory in Vietnam in St. Louis).

JOURNALS & PERIODICALS

Editor, ***American Bar Association National Security Law Report*** (1992-99)

Articles and reviews have appeared in several periodicals, including:

Academic Reviewer, Atlanta Journal & Constitution, Atlantic Community Quarterly, Boston Globe, Campbell Law Review, Chicago Journal of International Law, Christian Science Monitor, Comparative Strategy, Congressional Quarterly Researcher, Dialogue, Freedom at Issue, Freedom Review, George Mason University Law Review, Georgetown Law Weekly, Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy, Honolulu Advertiser, Houston Journal of International Law, Intercollegiate Review, International Herald Tribune, International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Jerusalem Post, Taiwan News, Journal of Cold War Studies, Journal of Law & Politics, Journal of Legal Studies, Journal of National Security Law, Las Vegas Review Journal, Los Angeles Daily Journal, National Security Law Report, National Security Studies Quarterly, Naval War College Review, New England Law Review, New York State Bar Journal, New York Times, Proceedings of the

American Society of International Law, Richmond Law Review, St. Louis Public Law Review, Strategic Review, Twentieth Century, USA Today, Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law, Virginia Journal of International Law, Washington Post, Washington Quarterly, Stars & Stripes, Washington Times, Weekly Standard, World Affairs, and the Yale Journal of International Law.

PROFESSIONAL RECOGNITION AND AWARDS

- Distinguished Lecturer, United States Military Academy (West Point), September 6, 1995.

One of only two lawyers so honored who were not U.S. Supreme Court Justices, the other being U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Robert Bork.

- Silverman Lecturer, Supreme Court Historical Society, November 13, 2002.
- Profiled in *Who's Who in the World* (selected for inclusion before age 40), *Who's Who in America*, *Who's Who in American Law*, (listed within two years of graduating from law school), *Who's Who in Education*, and numerous other reference sources.
- Chairman (three terms), American Bar Association Standing Committee on Law and National Security.

Appointed by three ABA presidents to head blue-ribbon standing committee of a dozen members, including former General Counsel to the Department of Defense, General Counsel to Central Intelligence Agency, and former Secretary of the Army. Among other accomplishments, authored first resolution and report ever approved by ABA House of Delegates calling for war crimes trials of international aggressors.

- Chairman (three terms), Committee on Executive-Congressional Relations of the ABA Section of International Law and Practice.
- Chairman (or more recently co-chairman) (seven terms), Subcommittee on National Security Law of the Federalist Society.
- Seven Society award "For Service to the University of Virginia" (1992)
- Member, Council on Foreign Relations
 - Served on Task Force on Non-Lethal Weapons (2003).
- Member, Committee on the Present Danger
- Member, Academy of Political Science
- Board of Trustees, Intercollegiate Studies Institute (1986-92).
- Board of Trustees, Thomas Jefferson Institute for Public Policy (1996-present).
- Board of Research Consultants, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis
- International and Operational Law Advisory Board, U.S. Naval War College
- Editorial Board, International Law Studies Series, U.S. Naval War College.
- Member of the Bar: U.S. Supreme Court; Commonwealth of Virginia.

- Appeared on most of the major television and radio networks, including:

PBS "The Advocates" (Jan. 1973 program moderated by Michael Dukakas also including Congressman Les Aspin, Yale Chaplain William Stone Coffin, and former NYU Professor of Strategy Frank N. Trager); CNN Crossfire (with Yale Professor (now Dean) Harold Koh); CNN Lou Dobbs Moneyline, CNN Headline News, CBS News, CBS Nightwatch (with Harvard Law Professor Abram Chayes), ABC Sunday Today Show, ABC News, NBC News, CNBC Evening News, Fox Evening News, Fox Abrams Report, C-SPAN Washington Journal, NPR All Things Considered, NPR Talk of the Nation, NPR Morning Edition, NPR To the Point, Voice of America "Talk to America," O'Reilly Factor, and other programs.

- Testified before more than a dozen committees of the U.S. Congress as expert witness on issues of international and constitution law and U.S. national security policy.
- Testified in federal and state courts as expert witness on various issues of national security law.
- Quoted or cited by many newspapers and periodicals, including (since 2001):

Time, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, U.S.A. Today, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Washington Times, Boston Globe, Newsday, Christian Science Monitor, Philadelphia Inquirer, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Sun-Times, ABA Journal, Student Lawyer (ABA), Investor's Business Daily, National Journal, National Review, Palm Beach Post, Star-Ledger, Houston Chronicle, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Cincinnati Post, Daily Oklahoman, Dallas Morning News, Village Voice, Dayton Daily News, Denver Post, Des Moines Register, Orlando Sentinel, Baltimore Sun, Sacramento Bee, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Charlotte Observer, Commercial Appeal (Memphis), Richmond Times-Dispatch, Mobile Register, Austin American-Statesman, Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, Grand Rapids Press, Harvard International Review, Albany Times Union, Georgetown Law Weekly, Congressional Quarterly, Arizona Republic, South Florida Sun-Sentinel, Birmingham Post, Seattle Times, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Virginia Pilot (Norfolk), Government Executive, The World, London Times, London Independent, South China Morning Post, Irish Times, Associated Press, Reuters, Scripps Howard News Service, Agence France Presse, Cox News Service, Global Security Newswire. (This list does not include hundreds of citations in books and law review articles.)

- Writings have been the subject of numerous favorable editorials in the *Wall Street Journal* and other papers during the past four decades.
- Wrote *Foreword* to A. James Gregor, *Arming the Dragon* (University Press of America, 1987).
- Quoted on dust jackets of several books, including Eugene V. Rostow, *Toward Managed Peace: The National Security Interests of the United States, 1759 to the Present* (Yale University Press, 1993), and R. J. Rummel, *Power Kills: Democracy as a Method of Nonviolence* (Transaction Publishers, 1997).
- First non-Ph.D. to receive a book grant from the Hoover Institution Press (1972).
- Recipient (alone or as co-principal recipient) of numerous fellowships and grants from philanthropic foundations and organizations.
- Selected as one of "ten most outstanding seniors" from a class of more than 5,000 by the *Indiana Daily Student* (1967).
- Selected as one of "ten most outstanding senior men" at Indiana University by journalist honorary Sigma Delta Chi (1967).

- Received a special plaque from the American Legion as "A voice for Americanism while a student at Indiana University" (July 4, 1967).
- Member of Mensa.

REFERENCES

Available on request

PERSONAL ADDENDUM

Family: Single parent of a fourteen-year old son (Thomas).

Born: February 14, 1944 (age 63).

Travel: Visits to more than thirty countries (extended residence in Norway, Vietnam, France) and all fifty American states.

AVOCATIONS & INTERESTS:

- Avid photographer, graduate of Nikon School of Photography, and winner of several photography awards, including:
 - Grand Prize, Errol's Video Photo Contest (out of several thousand entries from seven-state area) (1989).
 - First Place Award (adult color category), Friends of the National Zoo Annual Photo Contest (1989).
 - First Place Award (animal portrait category), Friends of the National Zoo Annual Photo Contest (1989).
- Formerly licensed amateur (ham) radio operator.
- Formerly American Red Cross Certified Water Safety Instructor.
- Formerly NRA Certified Rifle Instructor & Certified Pistol Instructor; active competitor for several years; rated NRA Expert with rifle and pistol.
- Active in Scouting program over many decades (Eagle Scout; Air Explorers Silver Award; Order of the Arrow Vigil Honor; Senior Patrol Leader, 1960 National Jamboree; Neighborhood Commissioner).
- Enjoys biking, swimming, skin diving, kayaking, baseball, basketball, and other outdoor activities with son.

[Current as of: August 2007]