

MAKAU MUTUA

SUNY Distinguished Professor
Margaret W. Wong Professor
University at Buffalo Law School
The State University of New York
626 John Lord O'Brien Hall
Buffalo, New York 14260

EDUCATION

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL Cambridge

Doctor of Juridical Science (SJD) June 1987
Student Representative Doctoral Candidates 1986-87
Associate Center for International Affairs 1985-86 Master of
Laws (LLM) June 1985

UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM Tanzania

Master of Laws 1984
Bachelor of Laws (Honors) 1983

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI Kenya

Faculty of Law 1979-81
Finalist Moot Court Competition 1980
Secretary General University of Nairobi Students Union 1981

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO LAW SCHOOL

Margaret W. Wong Professor since June 2020
Dean December May 2008-December 2014
Interim Dean December 2007-May 2008
SUNY Distinguished Professor since March 2007
Floyd H. & Hilda L. Hurst Faculty Scholar 2006-2020
Professor since 1999
Associate Professor 1996-99
Teaches International Human Rights Law, International Law, International
Business Transactions, Enforcement of International Law, Problems of
International Human Rights Practice, International Law Colloquium,

Directed Readings in International Law, and Gender, Culture, and Human Rights. Initiated and directs the International Law Concentration.

HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER SUNY Buffalo Law School

Director 1996-2009

Conceptualizes, directs, and executes research projects; organizes conferences and workshops; directs internship program; develops links with academic institutions, foundations, and NGOs.

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA, Centre for Human Rights, Pretoria, South Africa

Visiting Professor, May 2017, February 2018, February 2019, February 2020

Taught in LLM/MPhil Human Rights and Democratization in Africa Program.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT LAW ORGANIZATION, Rome, Italy

Scholar-in-Residence/Senior Advisor to Director-General February-September 2015.

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Visiting Professor, Center for Human Rights, July 2012

Human rights for doctoral candidates.

UNIVERSITY OF DEUSTO Bilbao, Spain

Visiting Professor February 2009

Human Rights Challenges in Africa.

UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE Costa Rica

Visiting Professor April 2015; February-March 2007; February-March 2006; February 2005.

Human Rights (Religion, Gender, and Human Rights; The African Regional Human Rights System; Transitional Justice).

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO SCHOOL OF LAW San Juan

Visiting Professor Summer 1995; Summer 2001; Summer 2012

International Protection of Human Rights; International Law and Human Rights.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA COLLEGE OF LAW Iowa City

Visiting Professor Summer 2000

International Trade: Basic Norms and Regulation.

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL Cambridge, MA

Visiting Professor Spring 1999

Taught Human Rights and International Law, and Third World Approaches to International Law. Second Reader, Doctor of Juridical Science (SJD) dissertation. Supervisor, third year (JD) papers.

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL Cambridge, MA

Human Rights Program

Associate Director 1991-96

Led academic activities and exercised overall responsibility over Program staff and offices. Presided over Program's colloquium; helped in teaching courses and seminars; wrote numerous scholarly and analytical articles in law reviews, journals, and magazines; wrote and edited booklets and reports; designed and directed research projects in human rights by students and visiting fellows; placed law student interns in the U.S. and abroad; and developed links with NGOs, academic programs in human rights at other universities, international institutions, the media, and foundations.

UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM Tanzania

Lecturer in Law 1983-84

Taught International Trade and Investment, and Legal Methods and Systems.

LEGAL EXPERIENCE

THE WORLD BANK, Washington DC

September 2015-September 2016

Human Rights Advisor, Global Practice, Governance Department

Develop human rights policy for the World Bank

LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS New York

Director Africa Project 1989 - 1991

Directed and developed the Africa Project; conducted fact-finding missions abroad; wrote human rights reports; dealt with governments and the US Congress and Administration; wrote

funding proposals and developed contacts with funding agencies; spoke at public fora; and informed the media.

Attorney Political Asylum Project September-December 1988

WHITE & CASE New York

Associate Corporations Department 1987-88

Corporate and commercial law: equipment leasing, loan agreements, licensing, sales agreements and distributorship contracts.

LITVIN, BLUMBERG, MATUSOW, & YOUNG Philadelphia

Legal Advisor Fall 1986

Researched and wrote memoranda on employer-employee relationships.

TRANSAFRICA Washington DC

Ferguson Fellow Summer 1986

Harvard Law School Human Rights Program internship.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP Washington DC

Ferguson Fellow Summer 1985

Harvard Law School Human Rights Program internship.

BAR ADMISSION

Member of the Bar of the State of New York, Admitted June 29, 1988

RESEARCH GRANTS

Ford Foundation (jointly with Mazingira Institute) \$100,000 grant to organize regional conference on human rights in East Africa, October 9-10, 2004, and to edit a book on the subject.

Ford Foundation Grant, \$55,000, to research and write Kenya's Quest for Democracy: Taming Leviathan, 2003-2004.

Ford Foundation Grant, \$50,000, for research on comparative constitutionalism, sabbatical year 2002-2003, Nairobi, Kenya [Scholar-in-Residence, Kenya Human Rights Commission].

Magavern Summer Faculty Fellowship, SUNY-Buffalo Law School, 2002.

AWARDS AND HONORS

Certificate of Recognition [Invaluable Role as an Accomplished Scholar, Role Model, and Mentor to Aspiring Scholars from the Republic of Kenya and Beyond], Kenya Scholars and Studies Association (KESSA), Atlanta, Georgia, September 8, 2017.

Certificate of Appreciation [Keynote Speaker], Kenya Scholars and Studies Association (KESSA), Atlanta, Georgia, September 8, 2017.

Distinguished Africanist Award, New York African Studies Association, 40th Annual Conference, Union College/Albany Law School, New York, April 4, 2015.

Education Award, City of Buffalo [Mayor Byron W. Brown], Black History Month [Civil Rights in America: 50th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act], February 11, 2014.

Business First Power 250 [250 Most Influential People in Western New York], Buffalo Business First, Ranked at No. 91, February 6, 2014.

2014 Lawyers of Color Third Annual Power List, February 2014.

Named to 2103 Business First Western New York Legal Elite, Buffalo Business First, September 2013, see <http://www.bizjournals.com/buffalo/blog/buffalolawjournal/2013/09/introducing-the-first-members-of-our.html>.

Top 100 Most Influential People in Kenya [ranked at 78], see <http://trulykenyan.com/top-100-kenyans/>.

Business First Power 200 [200 Most Influential People in Western New York], Buffalo Business First, February 8, 2013.

Mwongozi (Leadership) Award, Kenya National Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, December 15, 2012, Nairobi, Kenya.

Named to the 2012, 2013 100 Most Influential Black Lawyers in the Nation, The Power 100 Special Edition, On Being a Black Lawyer (OBABL), See <http://www.obabl.com/power100/>;
<http://www.onbeingablacklawyer.com/wordpress/the-power-100-2013honoreesannounced>.

Member, SUNY Distinguished Academy [founded in 2012].

2010 Who Is Who in Law, Buffalo Business First and Buffalo Law Journal.

Trailblazer Award, Rochester Black Bar Association, October 9, 2009, Rochester, New York.

SADOO Enterprises, Inc., African Schools Project, Distinguished Citizen Award, October 19, 2008, Buffalo, New York.

Mayor, City of Buffalo, Executive Chamber Proclamation - October 19, 2008 declared Dean Makau Mutua Day, October 19, 2008, Buffalo, New York.

President's Award, Minority Bar Association of Western New York, September 18, 2008, Buffalo, New York.

Mayor, City of Buffalo, Executive Chamber Proclamation - September 9, 2008 declared Makau W. Mutua Day, September, 9, 2008, Buffalo, New York.

Minority Bar Association of Western New York, Welcome Award, September 9, 2008.

The 2008 Distinguished Alumnus Award [For Outstanding Service to the University and the Community by a Non-Alumnus], University at Buffalo Law Alumni Association, May 1, 2008.

Bashorun M. K. O. Abiola Lecture Award, African Studies Association, 50th Anniversary Annual Meeting, New York, New York, October 2007.

2007 Faculty Award [Outstanding Teacher Award], SUNY Buffalo Law School, May 2007.

“The Ideology of Human Rights, 36 Va. J. Int’l L. 589 (1996), selected for inclusion in Special Issue: Forty Years of Scholarship: Excerpts From Articles in the Virginia Journal of International Law that Charted New Paths and Captured Historic Moments, 40 Va. J. Int’l L. 849, 949-951 (2000).

Prominent Refugee, Gallery of Prominent Refugees, 50th of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees [named among 100 others as a Prominent Refugee], go to

www.unhcr-50.org/gallery/igallery.html or www.unhcr-50.org/gallery/mutua.html.

Marshall, SUNY-Buffalo Law School Commencement, 2002, 2001.

Elected by Students to be Faculty Commencement Speaker (“Why Law School?”), SUNY-Buffalo Law School Commencement, 1999.

Thurgood Marshall Distinguished Faculty Award, SUNY Buffalo, February 1998.

Jacob D. Hyman Award, SUNY Buffalo Law School, April 1998.

Certificate of Special Recognition, Students of Color Recognition Dinner, SUNY at Buffalo School of Law, April 1999.

Fellow, Boston Fellows Program, The Partnership, Inc., Boston, MA. 1994-95.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

The Palgrave Handbook on Democracy, Governance, and Justice in Africa (Aderamola Adeola & Makau Mutua, eds., Cham: Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

Human Rights Standards: Hegemony, Law, and Politics, Albany, New York: SUNY Press (2016).

Human Rights NGOs in East Africa: Political and Normative Tensions [editor], Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008 (hardcover); Kampala, Uganda: Fountain Publishers, 2009 (paperback). (2009 nomination for the African

Studies Association's Herskovits Award). [Reviews: 32 Human Rights Quarterly 216-223 (February 2010); Yusuf K. Serunkuma, AfricaBookClub.com (November 27, 2010); "Between Rights and Riches," Independent (Uganda), May 15, 2009); "Between Rights and Riches: Civil Rights Movements in Half Democracies," Monitor, June 13, 2009].

Kenya's Quest for Democracy: Taming Leviathan, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008 (hardcover); Kampala, Uganda: Fountain Publishers, 2009 (Paperback). (2009 nomination for the African Studies Association's Herskovits Award). [Reviews: 7 Perspectives on Politics 3: 679-681 (September 2009); 47 Journal of Modern African Studies 3: 481-482 (2009); 124 Political Science Quarterly 2: 382-383 (Summer 2009); "The Hard Road to Democracy," Independent (Uganda), May 15, 2009; "The Struggle to Transform Kenya," Sunday Nation, May 17, 2009; "Kenya's Hard Road to Democracy," New Vision (Uganda), May 8, 2009; 52 African Studies Review (2009); 15 South African Journal of International Affairs 1: 101-104, June 2008); The Midwest Book Review (www.midwestbookreview.com, June 2008); Library Journal, June 1, 2008; Amazon.com, June 8, 2008); Book News Inc. August 2008; 14 Choice, October 2008; Foreign Affairs 163-164 (March/ April 2009)].

Human Rights: A Political and Cultural Critique, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002 [cloth], 2008 [paperback]. [Reviews: Right Now: Human Rights in Australia, April 16, 2014 at <http://rightnow.org.au/writingcat/review/review-of-human-rights-a-politicaland-cultural-critique-by-makaumutua/>, accessed on April 16, 2014; 16 Harvard Human Rights Journal 284-286 (2003); 17 Ethics & International Affairs 176-178 (2003); Sunday Nation (January 11, 2004); Foreign Affairs 166-167 (March/April 2003); AFLA Quarterly 27 (October/December 2002); 40 Choice (November 2002); 52 Buffalo Law Review 511 (2004); 5 Human Rights Review 99-111 October/December 2003); 4.1 Human Rights Law Review 186-189 (2004); Amazon.com (July 2, 2006)].

Zaire: Repression As Policy (with Peter Rosenblum), New York: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1990.

ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS, REVIEWS

“The Fraud of John Locke: Subnational Challenges to Democratic Theory,” in Comparative Election Law (James A. Gardner, ed., Edgar Elgar Publishing, forthcoming 2023).

“Illiberalism, Human Rights, and the Rule of Law: A Kenyan Paradox,” in The Palgrave Handbook of Kenya and its History (Wanjala Nasong’o, ed., Palgrave [forthcoming 2023]).

“A problem of Utopia: Human Rights and Transitional Justice,” in The Oxford Handbook of Transitional Justice (Jens Meierhenrich & Alexander Lahan Hinton, eds., Oxford University Press [forthcoming 2023]).

“Reparations for Slavery: A Productive Strategy?” in Time for Reparations: A Global Perspective (Jacqueline Bhabha, Margareta Matache, & Caroline Elkins, eds., University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021).

“Die Rolle von Nichtregierungsorganisationen bei der Rechtserzeugung” [The Role of NGOs in the Creation of Norms], in Dekoloniale Rechtskritik und Rechtspraxis (Karina Theurer & Wofgagng Kaleck, eds) (Nomos 2020)

“The Richardson Escuela: Law as Politics,” 31 Temple Journal of International Law 247-255 (2017).

“Africans and the ICC: Hypocrisy, Impunity, and Perversion,” in Africa and the ICC: Perceptions of Justice 47-60 (Kamari M. Clarke, Abel S. Knottnerus, & Eefje de Volder, eds., 2016).

“Africa and the Rule of Law,” 23 Sur (Revista Internacional de Direitos Human [International Journal of Human Rights] 2016), see also “Africa and the Rule of Law: the Problematic Rebirth of Liberalism,” 5 Zanzibar Yearbook of Law 103-120 (2015).

“Is the Age of Human Rights Over?” in The Routledge Companion to Literature and Human Rights 450-458 (Sophia A. McClennen & Alexandra Schulthesis Moore, eds., 2016)

“Closing the ‘Impunity Gap’ and the Role of State Support for the ICC,” in Contemporary Issues Facing the International Criminal Court 99-111 (Richard H. Steinberg, ed., 2016).

"Mazrui and Barkan: A Tribute," Journal of Contemporary African Studies (2016).

"What is the Future of Transitional Justice?" International Journal of Transitional Justice 1-9 (Special Issue 2015).

"Why Kenya is a Nation in Embryo," in 50 Years Since Independence: Where is Kenya? 238-245 (Susan Wakhungu-Githuku, ed. 2013, Nairobi: Footprints Press).

"A Critique of Rights in Transitional Justice: the African Experience," in Rethinking Transitions: Equality and Social Justice in Societies Emerging from Conflict 31-45 (Gaby Ore Aguilar and Felipe Gomez Isa, eds., 2011).

"In Memoriam - Virginia Leary," Proceedings of the 104th Annual Meeting [American Society of International Law], 2011.

"Sexual Orientation and Human Rights: Putting Homophobia on Trial," in African Sexualities 452-462 (Sylvia Tamale, ed., 2011).

"Darfur Debate - What Should the ICC do about the Darfur Question?" Invited Experts on the Darfur Question, Human Rights and International Criminal Law Forum Online, UCLA Sanela Diana Jenkins Human Rights Project, available at <http://uclalawforum.com/#Mutua>, posted on January 26, 2011.

"The International Criminal Court in Africa: Challenges and Opportunities," Norwegian Peace Building Centre (NOREF), September 2010, available at <http://www.peacebuilding.no/eng/Publications/Noref-Reports2/TheInternational-Criminal-Court-in-Africa-challenges-andopportunities>.

Book Review, Africa: Mapping New Boundaries in International Law (Jeremy I Levitt, ed., Hart Publishing 2008), 104 American Journal of International Law 532538 (2010).

"Human Rights: Critiques," in The Oxford Encyclopedia of Peace 353-355 (Nigel J. Young, ed., 2010).

Book Review, Mary L. Dudziak, Exporting American Dreams: Thurgood Marshall's African Journey (Oxford University Press 2008), 31 Human Rights Quarterly 11461155 (2009).

“An Apology for a Pathological Brute,” 31 Human Rights Quarterly 806-809 (2009) [Review of Tim Jeal, Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa’s Greatest Explorer, London: Faber and Faber, 2007].

“The Transformation of Africa: A Critique of the Rights Discourse,” in International Human Rights Law in a Global Context 899-924 (Felipe Gomez Isa and Koen de Feyter, eds., 2009). See also “The Transformation of Africa: A Critique of Rights in Transitional Justice” in Law in Transition: Human Rights, Development, and Transitional Justice 91-102 (Ruth Buchanan & Peer Zumbansen, eds., 2014). “Human Rights and Powerlessness: Pathologies of Choice and Substance, 56 Buffalo Law Review 1027-1034 (2008).

James Dawes, That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007 [Book Review] 31 Biography 748-751 (Fall 2008).

“Interrogating Transitional Justice: Sexual and Gender-Based Violence,” in Unfinished Business: Transitional Justice and Women’s Rights in Africa 13-24 (ACORD – Agency for Cooperation and Research Development [Nairobi, Kenya], Occasional Paper No. 1, 2008; see also “Transitional Justice in Sexual and Gender-Based Violence,” Pambazuka News (July 14, 2008) [<http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/49424>]; “Interrogating Transitional Justice in Relation to Sexual and Gender-Based Violence,” 44 WOMEN’S WORLD [ISIS – Women’s International Cross-Cultural Exchange] 3-11 (2009).

“Human Rights in Africa: the Limited Promise of Liberalism,” 51 African Studies Review 17-39 (2008); See also “Human Rights: the Limited Promise of Liberalism,” in Reframing Contemporary Africa: Politics, Culture, and Society in the Global Era 334-350 (Peyi Soyinka-Airewele & Rita Kiki Edozie, eds., 2010).

“Tim Jeal, Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa’s Greatest Explorer, London: Faber and Faber, 2007 [Book Review] 14 South African Journal of International Affairs 172176 (Winter/Spring 2007)

“Beyond Juba: Does Uganda Need a National Truth and Reconciliation Process?” 13 East African Journal of Peace & Human Rights 142-155 (2007); see also 13 Buffalo Human Rights Law Review 401-414 (2007).

"Standard Setting in Human Rights: Critique and Prognosis 29 Human Rights Quarterly 547-630 (2007).

"Change in the Human Rights Universe," 20 Harvard Human Rights Journal 3 (2007).

"The Iraq Paradox: Minority and Group Rights in a Viable Constitution," 54 Buffalo Law Review 927 (2006).

"Political Parties in Transitions: the Kenyan Experience," in Political Succession in East Africa: in Search of a Limited Leadership 109 (Chris Maina Peter & Fritz Kopsieker, eds., 2006)

"The Complexity of Universalism in Human Rights," in Human Rights with Modesty: The Problem of Universalism 51-64 (Andras Sajo, ed., 2004).

"African Human Rights Organizations: Questions of Context and Legitimacy," in Human Rights, the Rule of Law, and Development in Africa 191-197 (Paul Tiyambe Zeleza & Philip J. McConaughay, eds., 2004).

"Proselytism and Cultural Integrity," in Facilitating Freedom of Religion or Belief: A Deskbook 651-668 (Tore Lindholm, W. Cole Durham, and Bahia G. Tahzib-Lie, eds., 2004). See also "Penyebaran Agama dan Integritas Budaya," Kebebasan Beragama Atau Berkeyakinan: Seberapa Jauh? 581-610 (Tore Lindholm, W. Cole Durham, Bahia G. Tahzib Lie, eds., 2010) [Indonesian Edition].

"Terrorism and Human Rights: Power, Culture, and Subordination," 8 Buffalo Human Rights Law Review 301-313 (2002).

"The Banjul Charter: the Case for an African Cultural Fingerprint," in Cultural Transformation and Human Rights in Africa 68-107 (Abdullahi A. An-Na'im, ed., 2002).

"Breaking the Barriers: Radical Constitutionalism in a New African Century," in Constitutionalism in Africa: Creating Opportunities, Facing Challenges 308-337 (J. Oloka-Onyango, ed., 2001).

"Protecting Human Rights In a Global Economy: Challenges for the World Trade Organization" (with Robert Howse), in Human Rights in Development 51-82 (Hugo Stokke & Arne Tostensen, eds., 2001).

Book Review [J. Shand Watson, Theory and Reality in the International Protection of Human Rights (1999)], 95 American Journal of International Law 255-257 (2001).

"Savages, Victims, and Saviors: the Metaphor of Human Rights," 42 Harvard International Law Journal 201-245 (2001). See also Eve Darian-Smith, Laws and Societies in Global Contexts: Contemporary Approaches 84-96 (2013).

"Justice under Siege: The Rule of Law and Judicial Subservience in Kenya," 23 Human Rights Quarterly 96-118 (2001).

"Universal Jurisdiction: Questions of Blind Universality," Africa Legal Aid Quarterly 21-22 (July-September 2001).

"Human Rights International NGOs: A Critical Evaluation," in NGOs and Human Rights: Promise and Performance 151-163 (Claude E. Welch, Jr., ed., 2001). Reprinted in Global Activism Reader 149-160 (Luc Reydam, ed., 2011)

"The Rwanda Tribunal: A Critical Assessment," Africa Legal Aid Quarterly 6-9 (April-June 2001).

"Critical Race Theory and International Law: The View of an Insider-Outsider," 45 Villanova Law Review 841-853 (2000).

"The Construction of the African Human Rights System: Prospects and Pitfalls," in Realizing Human Rights: Moving From Inspiration to Impact 143-166 (Samantha Power & Graham Allison eds., 2000).

"From Nuremberg to the Rwanda Tribunal: Justice or Retribution?" 6 Buffalo Human Rights Law Review 77-91 (2000).

"Politics and Human Rights: An Essential Symbiosis," in The Role of Law in International Politics 149-175 (Michael Byers, ed., 2000).

"The African Human Rights Court: A Two-Legged Stool," 21 Human Rights Quarterly 342-363 (1999).

"A Common Standard--50 Years of Defending Human Rights For All," The 1999 World Book Year Book 222-227 (1999).

"Returning to My Roots: African Religions and the State," in Proselytization and Communal Self-Determination in Africa 169-190 (Abdullahi An-Na'im, ed., 1999).

"The Ideology of Human Rights: Toward Post-Liberal Democracy?" in Governance and Legitimacy in Africa 109-164 (Kofi Quashigah and Obiora Chinedu Okafor, eds., 1999).

"The Legitimacy of Human Rights NGOs in Africa," in The Legal Profession and the Protection of Human Rights in Africa 107-112 (Evelyn A. Ankumah & Edward K. Kwakwa, eds., 1999).

"Looking Past the Human Rights Committee: An Argument for De-marginalizing Enforcement," 4 Buffalo Human Rights Law Review 211-260 (1998).

"Never Again: Questioning the Yugoslav and Rwanda Tribunals," 11 Temple International and Comparative Law Journal 167-187 (1997).

"Hope and Despair for a New South Africa: the Limits of Rights Discourse," 10 Harvard Human Rights Journal 63-114 (1997).

"The Ideology of Human Rights," 36 Virginia Journal of International Law 589-657 (1996).

Reformulating the Discourse of the Human Rights Movement," 3 East African Journal of Peace & Human Rights 317-24 (1996).

"Editor's Introduction," 18 Law and Policy 195-197 (1996).

"The Politics of Human Rights: Beyond the Abolitionist Paradigm in Africa," 17 Michigan Journal of International Law 591-613 (1996).

"Limitations on Religious Rights: Problematizing Religious Freedom in the African

Context," in Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Legal Perspectives 417-440 (Johan D. van der Vyver and John Witte, Jr., eds. 1996). Reprinted in 5 Buffalo Human Rights Law Review 75-105 (1999).

"Why Redraw the Map of Africa of Africa: A Legal and Moral Inquiry," 16 Michigan Journal of International Law 1113-1176 (1995).

"Putting Humpty Dumpty Back Together Again: the Dilemmas of the African Post-Colonial State," 21 Brooklyn Journal of International Law 505-536 (1995).

"The Interaction between Human Rights, Democracy and Governance and the Displacement of Populations," International Journal of Refugee Law 37-45 (Special Issue - Summer 1995).

"The Banjul Charter and the African Cultural Fingerprint: An Evaluation of the Language of Duties," 35 Virginia Journal of International Law 339-380 (1995). Reprinted in 6 Review of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights 16-48 (1996-97). Translated in Ala Charte de Banjul et L'Empreinte de la Culture Africaine: Une Evaluation du Langage des Obligations, 6 La Revue de la Commission des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples 49-73 (1996-97).

[Book Review] Human Rights and Governance in Africa, Goran Hyden and Winston P. Nagan, eds. (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1993) [29 Canadian Journal of African Studies 507-509 (1995).

"Southern Africa: From Regional Conflict to Internal Reconstruction," 2 Brown Journal of World Affairs, 179-188 (1995)

"Human Rights and State Despotism in Kenya: Institutional Problems," 41 Africa Today, 50-56 (1994)

"Building Human Rights Institutions in Emerging Democracies in Africa," in Understanding Human Rights in the Context of Japan's Growing Internationalism: Creating a Better Human Rights Regime in a Changing World [in Japanese] (Takehiko Yamamoto, Yasunobu Fujiwara, and Kerry Kennedy Cuomo, eds., 1994).

"Domestic Human Rights Organizations in Africa: Problems and Perspectives," 22 Issue: Journal of Opinion, 30-33 (1994).

"U.S. Foreign Policy Towards Africa: Building Democracy through Popular Participation," in U.S. Foreign Policy: An Africa Agenda, 13-17 Africa Policy Information Center, Washington DC, 1994.

"Human Rights and Politics in Africa: Democratizing the Rights Discourse," 1 East African Journal of Peace & Human Rights 250-255 (1993).

"The African Human Rights System in a Comparative Perspective: The Need for Urgent Reformulation," 5 Legal Forum 31-35 (1993) [Zimbabwe].

"The African Human Rights System in a Comparative Perspective," 3 Review of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights 5-11 (1993).

"Zaire," in World Report: Information, Freedom and Censorship, London: Article 19, 60-63 (1991).

"Tanzania's Recent Economic Reform: an Analysis," 5 Trans Africa Forum, 69-85 (1988).

Conference Proceedings

"Just Back from the Human Rights Council," American Society of International Law, Proceedings of the 102nd Annual Meeting 329-33 (2008).

"What is TWAIL?" American Society of International Law, Proceedings of the 94th Annual Meeting 31-39 (2000).

"INGOs as Political Actors," American Society of International Law, Proceedings of the 93rd Annual Meeting 210-211 (1999).

"Conflicting Conceptions of Human Rights: Rethinking the African Post-Colonial State," American Society of International Law, Proceedings of the 89th Annual Meeting 487-490 (1995).

Blogs

“Kenya and the BBI Five,” *VerfBlog*, 2021/6/11, <https://verfassungsblog.de/kenya-and-the-bbi-five/>, DOI: [10.17176/20210611-193320-0](https://doi.org/10.17176/20210611-193320-0) (Berlin, Germany).

Reports and Policy Documents

Voices of Reason: Constitutionalism and Referendum Politics, Nairobi: African Centre for Economic Growth, October 2005.

Human Rights and the Protection of Minorities: Options for an Iraqi Constitution, New York: United Nations Development Programme, February 2005.

Legal and Economic Reform in Africa: Lessons From World Bank Projects, Washington DC: World Bank, April 2004.

Report of the Task Force on the Establishment of a Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission, Nairobi: Government of the Republic of Kenya, August 2003 [Lead Writer and Editor].

Africa Legal Aid: Report of Strategic Review, Maastricht: The Netherlands, August 2001.

Human Rights and Good Governance: The UNESCO Liberia Project, Paris: UNESCO, December 2000.

Protecting Human Rights in a Global Economy: Challenges for the World Trade Organization (with Robert Howse), Montreal: International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, April 2000.

“The African Human Rights System: A Critical Evaluation,” go to www.undp.org/hdro/MUTUA.PDF or www.undp.org/hdro/occ.htm#1 (Human Development Report 2000 Background Papers).

Report of the Needs Assessment Mission to South Africa, (with Jamal Benomar, Alain Bockel, David Johnson, and Peter Rosenblum), Geneva: UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, May 1996.

Disappeared in Guatemala: the Case of Efraim Bamaca Velasquez, (with Bernard Harcourt and Anne Manuel), New York: Human Rights Watch/Americas, March

1995.

Confronting the Past: Accountability for Human Rights Violations in Malawi, Washington DC: The Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights, May 1994 [sole author].

South Africa Prepares for the Democratic Challenge: Report of the Pre-Election Mission, Washington DC: Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law, April 1994 [sole author].

Ethiopia in Transition: A Report on the Judiciary and the Legal Profession, Washington DC: International Human Rights Law Group, January 1994 [primary author].

A Long Road to Uhuru: Human Rights and Political Participation in Kenya, (with David Gillies), Montreal: International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development with Westminster Foundation for Democracy, March 1993.

Sudan: Attacks on the Judiciary, New York: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, March 1991 [sole author].

Zaire: Massacre of Students at Lubumbashi, New York: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, March 1991 [sole author].

Newspapers and Magazines

“The Scourge of Fouk-Mouthed Officials,” Sunday Nation, June 25, 2023.

“The Evil of Casual Racism,” Sunday Nation, June 18, 2023.

“The Black Man’s Burden,” Sunday Nation, June 11, 2023.

“The Power of a Woman,” Sunday Nation, June 4, 2023.

"The Nairobi Kiosk Menace," Sunday Nation, May 28, 2023.

"The Trump Menace, Again," Sunday Nation, May 21, 2023.

"The Tragedy that is Sudan," Sunday Nation, May 14, 2023.

"The Hierarchy of Cultures," Sunday Nation, May 7, 2023.

"The Devil Hiding in the Church," Sunday Nation, April 30, 2023.

"Can Kenya Fail as a State?" Sunday Nation, April 23, 2023.

"Kenya's Zero-Sum Games," Sunday Nation, April 16, 2023.

"Why Sovereign Equality is a Fiction," Sunday Nation, April 9, 2023.

"Let's not Become Zimbabwe," Sunday Nation, April 2, 2023.

"Kenya Kwanza's Arrogance of Power," Sunday Nation, March 26, 2023.

"Kenya's Political Eclipse Part IV," Sunday Nation, March 19, 2023.

"Kenya's Political Eclipse Part III," Sunday Nation, March 12, 2023

"Kenya's Political Eclipse Part II," Sunday Nation, March 5, 2023.

"Kenya's Political Eclipse Part I," Sunday Nation, February 26, 2023.

"The Populist Illiberal Authoritarian," Sunday Nation, February 19, 2023.

"Living a Purpose-Driven Life," Sunday Nation, February 12, 2023.

"The Afterlife - Fact, or Fiction?" Sunday Nation, February 5, 2023.

"We're Passing Clouds, Fleetingly here," Sunday Nation, January 29, 2023.

"Why Pessimism is Better than Optimism," Sunday Nation, January 22, 2023.

"Kenya Won't be a Theocracy," Sunday Nation, January 15, 2023.

"Whataboutism and UDA impunity," Sunday Nation, January 8, 2023.

"Mwangaza Only Guilty of Absurdity," Sunday Nation, January 1, 2023.

"Why Kenya is Limping into 2023," Sunday Nation, December 25, 2022.

"Mourning Kenya's Fallen Church," Sunday Nation, December 18, 2022.

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SELECTED INVITED LECTURES, SPEECHES, PRESENTATIONS

The Martin Luther King Jr Annual Lecture, “The Promise – and Failure – of Human Rights.” Donia Human Rights Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, January 31, 2022.

Keynote, “Rethinking Representation on the International Bench,” Graduate Institute, Geneva, Switzerland, November 19, 2021.

Guest Speaker, “Reparations for Slavery,” in International Law and Global Justice [class by Prof Kathryn Sikkink] at Harvard JFK School of Government, March 3, 2021.

Keynote, “Kenya as an Idea,” Launch of Kenya Diaspora Alliance-USA, Zoom meeting, October 10, 2020.

Guest Speaker, Human Rights in the Global South [seminar by Profs Caroline Elkins & Jacqueline Bhabha], Harvard College, September 24, 2020.

Panelist, “Construction of Gender and Racism as Complex Colonial Repercussion,” 115 Years Later: Reflecting on the Genocide Against Ovaherero and Nama Peoples, Academy of Arts [Berlin], Goethe Institut, European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights [ECCHR], Ovaherero Genocide Foundation (OGF), Nama Traditional Leaders Association (NTLA), and Nama Genocide Technical Committee (NGTC), Swakopmund, Namibia, March 29, 2019.

Speaker, “Genocide, Reparations, and Transitional Justice,” 115 Years Later: Reflecting on the Genocide Against Ovaherero and Nama Peoples, Academy of Arts [Berlin], Goethe Institut, European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights [ECCHR], Ovaherero Genocide Foundation (OGF), Nama Traditional Leaders Association (NTLA), and Nama Genocide Technical Committee (NGTC), Swakopmund, Namibia, March 28, 2019.

Speaker, “Africa, Colonialism, and International Law,” Symposium on Colonial Repercussions: Reflections on the Genocide of the Ovaherero and Nama Peoples 115 Years Later (Academy of Arts [Berlin], Goethe Institut, European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights [ECCHR], Winhoek, Namibia, March 25, 2019.

Keynote, “Reparations in the Age of Skepticism: A Moral and Legal Case,” Symposium on Colonial Repercussions: Reflections on the Genocide of the Ovaherero and Nama Peoples 115 Years Later (Academy of Arts [Berlin], Goethe

Institut, European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights [ECCHR], Winhoek, Namibia, March 25, 2019.

Speaker, "An Evaluation of the 20th Anniversary of the ICC: Cooperation, Complementarity, and Universality in the Afro-Asian Region," Seminar on Operational Functioning of the ICC and International Judicial Education, Organized by the Asian African Legal Consultative Organization, hosted at the Delhi Judicial Academy, January 12, 2019, Delhi, India.

Chair, "Defending and Prosecuting Before the ICC: the Experiences," Seminar on Operational Functioning of the ICC and International Judicial Education, Organized by the Asian African Legal Consultative Organization, hosted at the Delhi Judicial Academy, January 12, 2019, Delhi, India.

Speaker, "The ICC: Judicial Practice Versus National Perspectives," Seminar on Operational Functioning of the ICC and International Judicial Education, Organized by the Asian African Legal Consultative Organization, hosted at the Delhi Judicial Academy, January 13, 2019, Delhi, India.

Panelist, "Decolonizing and Deconstructing Law: the ICC's Crisis of Legitimacy," Law and Culture at the International Criminal Court, Utrecht University, December 4, 2018, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

Keynote Address, "Africa and the ICC: A moral and Legal Conundrum," Twenty Years Since the Rome Statute, Kenyatta University, Nairobi, September 21, 2018.

Lecture, "A Normative Critique of Human Rights," Berkeley Law School [Human Rights Colloquium], March 5, 2018.

Public Lecture, "Is the Era of Human Rights Over?" University of Pretoria [Centre for Human Rights], February 12, 2018.

Keynote Address, "The Crisis in Human Rights: Why TWAIL Still Matters," European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights/ Academie Kunste, Conference on Legal Interventions Against (Post) Colonial Injustices, Berlin, Germany, January 26, 2018.

Panelist, "How does the Human Rights Movement Make a Difference in the World," HLS 200: HLS in the World, Harvard law School, October 27, 2017.

Keynote, "The African State as Leviathan: Can Kenya become a Nation," Kenya Scholars and Studies Association (KESSA), Atlanta, Georgia, September 8, 2017.

Panelist, "The 2017 Kenyan Elections: Some Reflections," Kenya Scholars and Studies Association (KESSA), Atlanta, Georgia, September 9, 2017.

Lecture, Decolonizing the University Curriculum, University of Pretoria, May 12, 2018, Pretoria, South Africa.

Panelist, Typologies of African Scholarship on International law, African Approaches to International Law, University of Pretoria, Centre for Human Rights, May 3, 2017.

Lecturer, Transformation, Decolonization, and the Law, University of Cape Town Seminar Series, South Africa, March 29-31, 2017.

"Transitional Justice: Pitfalls and Opportunities," University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Department of African, African-American, and Diaspora Studies, March 8, 2017.

Moderator, Q & A with former Attorney General Eric Holder, UB Distinguished Speaker Series, Alumni Arena, University at Buffalo, February 16, 2017.

Lecturer, Masterclass on Hegemony, Law, and Politics: Strategic Challenges for Mobilizers, International Institute for Social Studies (Erasmus University), The Hague, The Netherlands, January 13, 2017.

Respondent, Critical Reflections on 2nd Generation Rule of Law Reform: Experts Meeting, organized by INFAR (Integrating Normative and Functional Approaches to the Rule of Law and Human Rights) [a project of Erasmus School of Law, International Institute for Social Studies, Erasmus School of Culture, History, and Communication] and the International Development Law Organization, The Hague, The Netherlands, January 12, 2017.

Panel Chair, Empowering People to Access to Justice, IDLO Assembly of Parties Forum, November 29, 2016, Rome [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], Italy.

Panel Chair, Archiving the 2030 Agenda and Agenda 2063: The Rule of Law as a Driver of Africa's Sustainable Development, IDLO Africa Conference, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, June 2, 2016.

“Human Rights Standards: A Global South Critique of Human Rights Law,” Human Rights Standards: Hegemony, Law, and Politics (SUNY Press, 2016) [book launch], The World Bank, Washington D.C., April 26, 2016

“Africa and the International Criminal Court: Some Troubling Questions,” Rhodes College, Memphis, Tennessee, April 7, 2016.

“Fragility, Conflict, and Violence: Justice and Security,” Fragility Forum 2016, The World Bank, March 2, 2016, Washington DC.

“Commemorating the Mau Mau,” Memorial to the Victims of Torture and Ill-treatment during the Colonial Era (1952-1960), Inauguration Ceremony, September 12, 2015, Freedom Corner, Uhuru Park, Nairobi, Kenya.

“Is IDLO a human rights organization?” International Development Law Organization, Rome, Italy, September 7, 2015.

“The Right to a Fair Trial,” The Southern African Chief Justices’ Forum, International Commission of Jurists/Zimbabwe Judicial Service Commission, August 28, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe.

“Moving towards a new Africa – What needs to be done?” African Leadership Forum [Uongozi Institute], Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, July 30, 2015.

“The ICC and Africa: Future Prospects,” 2015 International Week Visit, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, May 21, 2015.

“The International Criminal Court: Promise and Politics,” Panel on The National Impact of International Criminal Law, American Society of International Law, 2015 Annual Meeting, Washington DC, April 10, 2015.

“Is the Era of Human Rights Over?” Keynote Address, 40th Annual Conference, New York African Studies Association, Union College, Schenectady, New York, April 3, 2015.

“Human rights – global or Western?” Foreign Policy on Human Rights for the 21st Century, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prague, The Czech Republic, December 18, 2014.

"Is the Age of Human Rights Over?" Danish Institute for Human Rights/ University of Copenhagen, September 29, 2014.

"International Criminal Justice: African Critiques and the Logic of Alternatives," Conference on International Justice, Reconciliation and Peace in Africa: ICC and Beyond, CODESRIA, Dakar, Senegal, July 10, 2014.

Keynote Speaker, "The Akamba in Post-Colonial Kenya: Paradoxes of Postmodernism," Akamba Cultural Festival, Woburn, Massachusetts, June 14, 2014.

Keynote Lecture, "Africans and the ICC: Hypocrisy, Impunity, and Perversion," at The Hague Conference on Africans and The Hague Justice, The Hague University of Applied Sciences, The Hague, The Netherlands, May 22, 2014.

Moderator, "Gendering Justice: Women and the Law," Constructing the Global Agenda: the Rule of Law as a Driver of Change, International Law Development Organization (IDLO), April 2, 2014, The Hague, The Netherlands.

"Will the International Criminal Court Survive Kenya?" The International Human Rights Law Clinic and the Thelton E. Henderson Center for Social Justice, Berkeley Law School, California, January 27, 2014.

"The Future of Human Rights: Is the ICC 'Hunting' Africans?" Stanford Human Rights Center, Stanford Law School, November 19, 2013.

Seminar, "The History of Human Rights and the North-South Divide," University of Coimbra, Portugal, may 17, 2013.

"Interrogating Transitional Justice: Promise and Complexity," UNDP Conference on Transitional Justice, Pristina, Kosovo, October 10, 2013.

"The Past and the Future of African International Legal Scholarship," The 107th Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, Washington D.C. April 5, 2013.

Commentator, Technical Forum on the Implementation of the Bill of Rights in the Public Service, Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution, Naivasha, Kenya, February 11-14, 2013.

Presenter, "ICC indictments in the midst of political crisis – lessons from Kenya," Amsterdam Dialogue 2012, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, November 27, 2012.

Keynote Address, "Elections and the Rule of Law in Africa: Going Beyond the Rhetoric," The International Commission of Jurists, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, September 20, 2012.

"Is the International Criminal Court against Africans?" Center for Human Rights, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, July 11, 2012.

Panelist, "Exploring Multi-Stakeholder Perspectives," The Rule of Law: Challenges and Opportunities in a Changing World, IDLO/The Hague Institute for Global Justice, The Hague, The Netherlands, May 24, 2012.

Keynote Address - "Africa and International Law: Looking Back, Looking Forward," Albany Law School, April 14, 2012.

Panelist, Plenary Session - "Africa International Law: Looking Back, Looking Forward," Albany Law School, April 13, 2012.

Moderator, "Developments in UN and Regional Bodies Addressing the Human Rights of LGBTI People," Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, Washington D.C., March 29, 2012.

"Kenya and the International Criminal Court: Blessing or Curse?" University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Department of African and Afro-American Studies, Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture and History, March 20, 2012.

"Responsibility to Protect as an African Paradox: the Cases of Somalia and Kenya," Conference on the Architecture of Post-Cold War Africa: Between Internal Reform and External Intervention, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, January 19, 2012.

"ASIL Roundtable on Scholarship," ASIL Tillar House, Washington D.C., January 6, 2012.

"The ICC and Its Impact on Kenya," Conference on Kenya: Towards another Brink?" US Department of State/National Intelligence Council, System Planning Corporation, Arlington, VA., December 1, 2011.

"Sexuality and Intolerance in East Africa," RFK Center for Justice and Human Rights, Washington D.C., November 9, 2011.

Panelist, "Successes in Academia," Kenya Diaspora Successes in America/Positioning Self-Help to Kenya - What it Takes, Kenya Diaspora Conference, Washington D.C., October 9, 2011.

Panelist, Moderator, "Constitutional Reforms and Avenues for Diaspora," Kenya Diaspora Conference, Washington D.C., October 8, 2011.

"Reconstructing Citizenship," Beijing University of Technology (BJUT), Beijing, China, September 22, 2011.

Speaker, "Dialogic Constitutionalism - Constructing the Citizenship," Conference on Challenging Citizenship, University of Coimbra, Portugal, June 2011.

Discussant, "Constructing Citizenry," Conference on Challenging Citizenship, University of Coimbra, Portugal, June 2011.

Speaker, "Decriminalizing Homosexuality in Kenya: Beyond the Rights Language," The Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya (GALCK), Masai Lodge, Nairobi, Kenya, April 3, 2011.

Panelist, "The Obama Administration Africa Policy," Association of American Law Schools, 2011 Annual Meeting, San Francisco, January 5, 2011.

Panel Chair, "Improving Access to Economic and Social Rights in Africa," The Kuramo Conference 2010 [organized by the Governor of Lagos State], International Colloquium on Law and Development, Lagos, Nigeria, November 3, 2010

Moderator, "Corruption and Human Rights," 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, March 26, 2010.

Keynote, "Sexual Orientation and Human Rights: Interrogating Homophobia," Public Lecture, Organized by the Coalition on Human Rights and Constitutional Law and Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, February 19, 2010.

Keynote, "Sexual Orientation and Human Rights: Putting Homophobia on Trial," Public Lecture, Organized by Akiba Uhaki, Nairobi, Kenya, February 16, 2010.

Speaker, "Human Rights and Sexual Orientation," Forum organized by Akiba Uhaki for civil society, Nairobi, Kenya, February 16, 2010.

Panelist, Plenary Session, "Bringing the World In," 2009 International Council Meeting of Amnesty International, Antalya, Turkey, August 9, 2009.

Panelist, Plenary Session, "International Strategic Plan (ISP) Overview," 2009 International Council Meeting of Amnesty International, Antalya, Turkey, August 10, 2009.

"Righting Kenya's Course: The Urgent Tasks Ahead," Conference on Kenya on the Brink: Democratic Renewal or Deepening Conflict, The National Endowment for Democracy, Washington D. C., July 22, 2009.

"Can a 'Kenya' Happen in Uganda?," Book Launch for Kenya's Quest for Democracy: Taming Leviathan (2008) and Human Rights NGOs in East Africa: Political and Normative Tensions (2008), Senate House, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, Organized by Human Rights & Peace Centre (HURIPEC) and Fountain Publishers, May 8, 2009.

"Historical Injustices: An Agenda for Reform in Kenya," Government of Kenya [Office of the Prime Minister], Conference on The Kenya We Want: Building a Sustainable Nationhood for our Common Future, Nairobi, Kenya, February 5, 2009.

"Diversity in the Legal Profession," Committee on Racial and Ethnic Diversity (CORED), Hodgson Russ, Buffalo, New York, September 26, 2008.

"Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights: The Kenyan and American Experiences," Conference on Constitutional Democracy in Africa in the 21st Century: Challenges, Best Practices, and Opportunities, Nairobi, Kenya, August 22, 2008

“Unpacking Transitional Justice: A Review,” Conference on Restorative Systems of Justice and International Humanitarian Law, Organized by the Afrika Centre (Mbale, Uganda), in Nairobi, Kenya, August 18, 2008.

“Interrogating Transitional Justice: Sexual and Gender-Based Violence,” [Keynote Address] Conference on Ending Impunity on Sexual and Gender Based Violence, Organized by Agency for Cooperation Research and Development (ACORD), Nairobi, Kenya, July 21, 2008.

“Just Back from the Human Rights Council,” 102nd Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, Washington D.C., April 11, 2008.

“Politics and the 2007 Kenya Elections,” International Human Rights Day, Kenya Human Rights Commission, Nairobi, Kenya, December 10, 2007.

“Reforming the African State: the Kenyan Case,” Mount Holyoke College, November 2, 2007.

“Can the African State be reformed?” Hampshire College, November 1, 2007.

Bashorun M. K. O. Abiola Lecturer, “Human Rights in Africa: the Limited Promise of Liberalism,” African Studies Association, 50th Anniversary Annual Meeting, New York, New York, October 20, 2007.

Keynote Address: “Black Diaspora: Connecting with Africa,” Distinguished Citizens Award Benefit, Sadoo Enterprises, Inc., Depew, New York, October 6, 2007.

“The KHRC and the Future of Human Rights in Kenya,” Opening Address, Kenya Human Rights Commission Board of Directors and Staff Retreat, Arusha, Tanzania, July 25, 2007.

“Internal Security, Human Rights, and the Election Year,” Kenya Community Abroad (KCA) 10th Anniversary Annual General Meeting, University of Delaware, July 7, 2007.

"Collectives and Communities: the Rights Discourse and Transitional Justice in Africa," Institute for Human Rights, University of Deusto, Bilbao, Spain, June 29, 2007.

Presenter, "Conceptualizing Class: Concepts and Intersections," ClassCrits II: Toward a Critical Legal Analysis of Economic Inequality, May 21-22, 2007, SUNY Buffalo Law School.

Keynote Address: "The Failure of Liberalism in International Law," TWAIL III: The Third World and International Law, Albany Law School, Albany, New York, April 20, 2007.

"Constitution-Making and the Reform of the Kenyan State," [Africa Politics Conference Panel], 48th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, March 1, 2007.

"Human Rights: A Moral Expression of Democracy," International Law Workshop, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA. December 7, 2006.

Keynote Address: "Beyond Juba: Does Uganda Need a National Truth and Reconciliation Process?," Conference on Beyond Juba: Building Consensus on a Sustainable Peace Process for Uganda, Faculty of Law & HURIPEC, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, December 1, 2006 [read on my behalf by Nobert Mao].

"Human Rights and Regulation: A Second Look," Law & Society Association, Summer Institute, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, July 20, 2006.

Faculty Member, Law & Society Association, Summer Institute, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, July 17-21, 2006.

"Human Rights and Political Democracy: Tensions and Illusions," NEH Summer Institute, Human Rights in Conflict: Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Hunter College & The Graduate Center, CUNY, New York, July 10, 2006.

"The Spread of the Liberal Constitution in Africa: The Illusion of Political Participation," University of Michigan Law School, Winter 2006 International Law Workshop, Ann Arbor, Michigan, February 6, 2006.

“Legalizing Torture: a Comment,” 12th Annual Baldy Center Faculty Retreat, University at Buffalo, Saturn Club, December 14, 2005.

“Producing a New Constitution: Popular Participation, Negotiation, and Constitution-Making in Kenya,” Conference on Constitution-Making in Africa Post1989, University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison, Wisconsin, October 16, 2005.

“Kenya: Politics, Viability, and Legitimacy,” The Bureau of Intelligence Research/US Department of State, Conference on Assessing the Strengths and Weaknesses of East African States: Implications for US Foreign Policy, System Planning Corporation, Arlington, VA., September 9, 2005.

“Thinking Ahead: Can Amnesty International Rise to the Challenge of the 21st Century?” 27th International Council Meeting of Amnesty International, Morelos, Mexico, August 14, 2005.

“Launch of the Mau Mau Fund,” Kenya Human Rights Commission, July 8, 2005 [Stanley Hotel] Nairobi, Kenya.

“The West and Africa: A History of Oppression,” Africa Day, Lincoln Memorial United Methodist Church, Buffalo, New York, June 19, 2005.

“The Freedom Charter: Critical Reflections” [response to keynote address by Chief Justice Langa, Constitutional Court of South Africa], Symposium Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, Harvard Law School [hosted by Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice, and Northeastern Law School, and South Africa Partners], June 16, 2005.

“Human Rights: A Critique,” United Nations University for Peace, San Jose, Costa Rica, February 25, 2005.

“Teaching Human Rights in Buffalo Schools,” Erie County Bar Association Human Rights Committee, Buffalo, N.Y., December 16, 2004.

“Human Rights as Ideology and Metaphor,” Amnesty International, London, UK. November 23, 2004.

Lead Presenter, "Analysis and Evaluation of Law School Human Rights Programs," Twentieth Anniversary Celebration, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA. October 17, 2004.

Keynote Address: "Human Rights NGOs in East Africa: Defining the Challenges," Mazingira Institute and Human Rights Center (SUNY-Buffalo Law School), Conference on Human Rights in East Africa: Emergent Themes, Challenges, and Tensions, Nairobi, Kenya, October 9-10, 2004.

Conference Leader (organized with Mazingira Institute, Nairobi, Kenya, and Human Rights Center, SUNY-Buffalo Law School), Conference on Human Rights in East Africa: Emergent Themes, Challenges, and Tensions [supported by the Ford Foundation], Windsor Golf and Country Club, Nairobi, Kenya, October 9-10, 2004.

Keynote Address: "The Role of Political Parties in a Transition: The Kenyan Experience," Kituo Cha Katiba (Center for Constitutionalism), East African Regional Workshop on the Role of Political Parties in a Transition, Kampala, Uganda, May 14, 2004.

"Human Rights as a Political Project," Council on African Studies and Yale Law School, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, April 21, 2004.

"Trade and Human Rights at the WTO," KHRC National Symposium on Corporate Social Responsibility: Investing in the Era of Human Rights, Kenya School of Monetary Studies, Nairobi, Kenya, February 18, 2004.

"Reforming the Kenyan State," Alpha Kappa Boule, Amherst, New York, November 22, 2003.

"Taming Leviathan: the Quest for Viable Kenyan State," Faculty Workshop, SUNY Buffalo Law School, November 21, 2003.

"A Third World Critique of Human Rights," Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, April 24, 2003.

"Eyes on the Prize: the Quest for a Human Rights State in Kenya," Strategic Planning Workshop for the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Mount Kenya Safari Club, Nanyuki, Kenya, March 14, 2003.

“Reconstruction in Post-Conflict African States,” The 2003 Robert L. Bernstein Symposium on Global Interests and Local Needs: Striking a Balance in Post Conflict States, The Orville H. Schell Center International Human Rights, Yale Law School, February 27-28, 2003.

“The North-South Chasm: Problems of Development and Human Rights,” Africa Legal Aid, United Nations University, Maastricht, The Netherlands, December 2002.

“The Complexity of Universality in Human Rights,” 10th Annual Conference on the ‘Individual v. the State,’ Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, June 14, 2002.

“Sudan: An Independent Black Republic for the South,” University of California at Los Angeles, UCLA Globalization Research Center -- Africa, Global Challenge of the Tragedy of Sudan: a Public Education Forum, March 29, 2002.

“Human Rights: A Cultural Project,” Belk Human Rights Lecture Series, University of North Carolina-Asheville, March 21, 2002.

“How the Human Rights Corpus Understands the Meaning of the Freedom and Belief,” Harvard Law School, 15th Anniversary of the Harvard Human Rights Journal Conference on Religion, Democracy, and Human Rights, Cambridge, MA., February 16, 2002.

“Terrorism and Human Rights: Power, Culture, and Subordination,” The International Council on Human Rights Policy, Geneva, Switzerland, January 10, 2002. [Also at the Kenya Human Rights Commission Tenth Anniversary Celebrations Symposium, Ufungamano House, Nairobi, Kenya, April 22, 2002].

“Human Rights as a Metaphor,” Conference on The Politics and Political Uses of Human Rights Discourse, Institute of African Studies/Center for the Study of Law and Culture/Center for the Study of Human Rights/Human Rights Institute, Columbia University, New York, New York, November 8, 2001.

“Human Rights: A Noble Cause Wrapped in Arrogance,” The International Council On Human Rights Policy, Geneva, Switzerland, October 25, 2001.

"Universal Jurisdiction: Questions of Blind Universality," Experts Meeting on African Perspectives on Universal Jurisdiction for Crimes Against Humanity, Africa Legal Aid, Cairo, Egypt, July 30-31, 2001

Panelist, "The Role of Human Rights in Foreign Policy," John F. Kennedy Library, Columbia Point, Boston, May 29, 2001.

"Freedom of Religion or Belief: Issues Related to Proselytism," Non-Governmental Organizations Committee on Freedom of Religion or Belief, New York, NY, April 26, 2001.

"Anatomy of Conflict in the African Continent," International Bar Association, Conference on Law in a Continent in Transition, East African Law Society/Law Society of Kenya, Nairobi, Kenya, March 25-28, 2001.

"Savages, Victims, and Saviors: the Metaphors of Human Rights," 2001 Valerie Gordon Human Rights Lecturer, Northeastern University School of Law, Boston, March 15, 2001.

"Pedagogy: Teaching Human Rights," Association of American Law Schools (AALS), Workshop on Human Rights: Teaching and Scholarship, New Issues, New Approaches, Alexandria, VA., October 26-28, 2000.

"Summary Findings: Trade and Human Rights at the WTO," Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, April 27, 2000.

Lecture: "What is TWAIL?" 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, Washington DC. 2000.

"U.S. Human Rights Policy and Implementation in Kenya," U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington DC. March 8, 2000.

"Legal and Institutional Reforms," Experts Workshop on Governance and Conflict Prevention, United Nations Development Programme, New York, March 7, 2000.

"Human Rights and Statehood in Africa," Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, February 9, 2000.

"Trade and Human Rights at the WTO: the Unnecessary Conflict," Iowa University College of Law, January 20, 2000.

"Trading in Human Rights: the Human Rights Obligations of the World Trade Organization," Workshop Organized by the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development and Human Rights Watch, Third Ministerial Conference of the WTO, Seattle, December 1, 1999.

"Human Rights as a Cultural Project," Yale Law School, November 19, 1999.

"The African Human Rights System: a Critical Evaluation," Meeting on Human Development Report 2000: Human Rights in Human Development, United Nations Development Programme Human Development Office, New York, New York, November 4, 1999.

Keynote Address: "Critical Race Theory and International Law: the View of an Insider-Outsider," Conference on Critical Race Theory and International Law, Villanova Law School, October 16, 1999.

"Breaking Barriers: Radical Constitutionalism in the Next African Century, Conference on Constitutionalism in Africa: New Opportunities, New Challenges," Makerere University (Faculty of Law/Ford Foundation, Kampala, Uganda, October 5-8, 1999.

Panelist, Plenary Session, "A Half Century of International Human Rights: What Has Changed?" Human Rights Program Fifteenth Anniversary Celebration, Harvard Law School, September 18, 1999.

Discussant, Roundtable on Role of the University in the Human Rights Movement, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School, September 16-17, 1999.

"The African Commission and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Challenges in the New Millennium," Social and Economic Rights Action Center (SERAC), Lagos, Nigeria, September 3, 1999.

"Kenya and the Green Belt Movement," Blackside, Inc., Boston, MA. June 5, 1999.

"Why Law School," Faculty Commencement Speaker, SUNY at Buffalo School of Law, Center for the Arts, May 15, 1999.

"Dedication to A. Leon Higginbotham," Students of Color Recognition Dinner, SUNY at Buffalo School of Law, April 1999.

"Fifty Years After the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Whither From Here," The Harvard-Radcliffe Club of Western New York, Buffalo, N.Y., April 1999.

"INGOs As Political Actors, American Society of International Law Meeting," Washington DC, March 1999.

"Savages, Victims, and Saviors: the Metaphor of Human Rights," Harvard Law School Faculty Workshop, March 1999.

"Human Rights and Universality," University of Iowa, February 1999.

"Fifty Years After the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Is the Glass Half Empty?" The American Jewish Committee of Western New York, Buffalo, NY., December 1998.

"The Crisis of Human Rights: A Response to Louis Henkin," JFK School of Government, Harvard University, November 1998.

"The Character of INGOs and the Future of the Human Rights Movement," SUNY at Buffalo School of Law, October 1998.

"The Soul of Africa: A Critique of the Right to Religious Advocacy," The Oslo Conference on the Freedom of Religion or Belief, Oslo, Norway, August 1998.

"Politics and Human Rights: An Essential Symbiosis," The International Law Association, Oxford University, United Kingdom, April 1998.

"Human Rights, the Environment, and Community," UB Environmental and Society Institute, April 1998.

"From Nuremberg to Rwanda: Justice or Retribution," Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, December 1997.

“Human Rights and the 1997 Elections,” Organized by the Kenya Human Rights Commission, Nairobi, Kenya, December 1997.

“Ideas and Thoughts on the Future Direction and Work of the Kenya Human Rights Commission,” Organized by the Kenya Human Rights Commission, Nairobi, Kenya, December 1997.

“The Legitimacy of Human Rights NGOs in Africa,” University of Maastricht, Maastricht, the Netherlands, November 1997.

“Returning to My Roots: African Religions and the State,” CODESRIA and Emory University School of Law, Dakar, Senegal, May 1997.

“Findings of the United Nations Human Rights Mission to Tanzania,” United Nations Development Programme, Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania, May 1997.

“Poverty and Human Rights: The Biases of Rights Discourse,” University of Sao Paulo, Sao Paulo, Brazil, November 1996.

Co-Chair, “Into the Future,” Plenary Session of the 2nd International Conference on Health & Human Rights, Organized by the Francois-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights, Harvard School of Public Health, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA., October 1996.

“Can South Africa be Transformed through the Rights Idiom,” SUNY at Buffalo School of Law, October 1996.

“The Ideology of Human Rights,” SUNY at Buffalo School of Law, January 1996.

“Ethnicity, Self-determination, and Human Rights,” Organized by the Campaign for Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA. June 1995.

“Conflicting Conceptions of Human Rights: Rethinking the African Post-Colonial State,” American Society of International Law Annual Meeting, New York, April 1995.

“Limitations on Religious Rights: Problematizing Religious Freedom in the African Context,” Emory Law School, October 1994.

"The Interaction Between Human Rights, Democracy, and Governance and Displacement of Populations," Joint Organization of African Unity (OAU) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Addis Ababa Symposium on Refugees and Displaced Persons in Africa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, September 1994.

Consultant and Speaker, Workshop on Human Rights and Democratic Development, The International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development (Montreal, Canada), Nairobi, Kenya, September 1993.

"Building Human Rights Institutions in Emerging Democracies in Africa," International Symposium on Understanding Human Rights in the Context of Japan's Growing Internationalism, Waseda University (Tokyo, Japan), June 1993.

"Human Rights in Africa," The Borah Symposium, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho, March 1993.

"The African Human Rights System in a Comparative Perspective: the Need for Urgent Reformulation," The Third Afro-Americo-European Conference on Regional Systems of Human Rights Protection in Africa, the Americas, and Europe, Strasbourg, France, June 1992.

"Lawyers and Social Change in Kenya," Law & Society Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA., June 1992.

"The Global Democratic Revolution," Harvard Law School, June 1991.

"The Relationship between the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and African NGOs," The Fund for Peace/The Friedrich Naumann Foundation, New York, June 1991.

"The Media and Legal and Constitutional Issues," The Nieman Foundation and the African American Institute, Harvard University, May 1991.

Chair and Speaker, "Human Rights in Africa--Present and Future," Roundtable at the African Studies Association Annual Conference, Baltimore, November 1990.

"Recent Human Rights Developments in Zaire," Center for the Study of Human Rights, Columbia University, September 1990.

“Human Rights and Judiciaries in Africa,” Cornell University, November 1989.

Participant, The Inter-Africa Workshop on Justice, Peace, and Human Rights, Organized by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, Harare, Zimbabwe, May 1989.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

University at Buffalo, State University of New York

Presidential Advisory Group, 2021.

Scholarship, Tenure, and Recognition Subcommittee, 2021

SUNY Honorary Degree Committee, 2021.

Distinguished Ranks Selection Committee, 2021-24.

Search Committee for University at Buffalo Provost 2011-12.

Advisory Committee to the Vice President for Development and Alumni Relations Member 2011.

**Search Committee for Vice President for Development and Alumni Relations Member
2011.**

Advisory Panel for the Selection of Interim Provost Member March-April 2011.

**SUNY Honorary Degree Committee Member
2010-11.**

**Distinguished Series/Chancellor’s Awards Selection Committee
Member 2007-2009**

**Research Advisory Council
Member 2006-2008**

**Tripartite Panel, SUNY Discrimination Complaint Procedure
Member 2007-08**

Member, Law School Dean Search Committee 2007

Member, Graduate School Graduate Faculty since 2005

Member, Search Committee, Vice President for Research 2004-2005

Member, Law School Dean Search Committee 1998

Baldy Center for Law & Social Policy

**Program on International and Comparative Legal Studies (PICLS)
Director 1998-2004**

Coordinated, formulated, and directed research and other initiatives
by faculty and students.

Program on Human Rights Law & Policy Director 1996-1998
Coordinated, formulated, and directed research and other initiatives
by faculty and students.

**Graduate Group on Human Rights Law & Policy
Director 1996-2001**

Directed research, discussion, and advocacy on human rights issues
by students.

Law School, University at Buffalo

Chair, Planning Committee 2007
Law School Retreat on Mission and Vision

Faculty Appointments Committee 2006-2008;
1999-2000.

Special Needs Committee 2004-2005

ABA Accreditation Self-Study Committee 2000

Admissions Committee 1996-2000

Faculty Development Committee 1997-98

Buffalo Human Rights Law Review

Founder and Advisor since 1997

Universities

GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LAW Atlanta

Reviewer, Five-year Review of Dean Kaminshine, March 2012

EMORY UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW Atlanta

Member, Five-year External Review, April 2011

UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY FOR PEACE Costa Rica

Member, Advisory Board, Human Rights Centre, 2006-07

UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER, NORTHERN IRELAND (UK)

Transitional Justice Institute

Mentor August-December 2006

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Academic and Professional Societies

Counsellor, American Society of International Law, 2017-2020

Member, Blacks of the American Society of International Law Task Force (BASIL), 2014 - Present.

Member, Host Committee, American Society of International Law, 2013 Mid-Year Meeting, NYU Law School, New York, October 31-November 2, 2013.

Member, Nominating Committee, American Society of International Law, 2013-2014.

Judge, Iran Tribunal [a private initiative to hear charges of atrocities in Iran from 1981-1988], The Hague, Netherlands, October 25-27, 2012.

Vice President, American Society of International Law, 2011-13.

Member, Sigma Pi Phi (Alpha Kappa) [Boule], since 2010.

Member, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, since 2010.

Member, Asylum Guide Advisory Committee, Federal Judicial Center & the American Society of International Law (Author: Bernadette Cisse), Washington D.C., 2009-2010.

Member, Honorary Advisory Committee for the National Pro Bono Celebration, ABA Standing Committee on Pro Bono and Public Service, October 25-31, 2009.

Executive Council Member, American Society of International Law, 2007-2010

Executive Committee, American Society of International Law, 2007-2010

Co-Chair, 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law (ASIL). Responsible for conceptualizing and organizing the entire Annual Meeting.

Member, 1999 American Society of International Law (ASIL) Annual Meeting Program Organizing Committee. Conceptualized and organized all human rights panels.

Member: American Society of International Law
American Bar Association
African Studies Association
African Association of Political Science

Journal Editorial Boards and Manuscript Reviews

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of African Law, SOAS, University of London, since 2013.

Member, Editorial Board, *Journal of Law, Society, and Development*, University of South Africa, since 2013.

Member, International Advisory Board, *African Nazarene University Law Journal*, Nairobi, Kenya, since 2012.

Member, Editorial Review Board, *Human Rights Quarterly*.

Member, Advisory Board, *African Journal of Legal Studies*, since 2011.

Member, Editorial Board, *Studies in Intercultural Human Rights*, Martinus Nijhoff, since 2008.

Advisory and Consultative Editor, *Leiden Journal of International Law*, since 2000

Book Manuscript Peer Reviewer, *Comparative Foreign Policy and International Human Rights* (David P. Forsythe, ed., United Nations University Press, 1999).

Member, Editorial Board, *International Journal of African Studies*, since 1997.

Guest Editor, 18 *Law & Policy* (1996) [special issue on the Right to Development].

Member, International Advisory Board, *East African Journal of Peace & Human Rights*, since 1993.

United States (NY) Official Service

Member, Merit Selection Committee for Magistrate Judge Jeremiah J McCarthy, United States District Court, Western District of New York, July-August 2014.

Commissioner & Deputy Attorney General, The Moreland Commission to Investigate Public Corruption [Appointed by Governor Andrew Cuomo (D-NY), July 2013-April 2014]

Member, Committee on New Pro Bono Requirement for Bar Admission [Appointed by NY Court of Appeals Chief Judge Jonathan Lippman], 2012.

Member, Board of Directors, Erie Canal Harbor Development Corporation, 2012-Present.

Member, New York State Judicial Screening Committee, Fourth Department, 2011-2019.

Member, Transition Team, Attorney General Elect Eric Schneiderman, New York State, November – January 2010.

Member, Merit Selection Committee for Magistrate Hugh B. Scott, United States District Court, Western District of New York, October-November 2010.

Kenya Government Human Rights and Constitutional Service

Chairman, Government of Kenya Task Force on the Establishment of a Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission, Nairobi, Kenya, April-October 2003.

Chair, Public Launch and Presentation of the Report of the Task Force on the Establishment of a Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission, Nairobi, Kenya, October 15, 2003.

Delegate, National Constitutional Conference, Nairobi, Kenya, since April 2003.

Chair, Tenth Anniversary Celebrations, Kenya Human Rights Commission, Nairobi, Kenya, April 22-26, 2002.

Board Memberships, Expert Bodies, and Award Committees

Vice Chair [Member, Standing Committee], International Development Law Organization, Rome, Italy, since 2016.

Member, Global Network of Experts, Ergo (risk assessment company), see <http://www.ergo.net/>), New York, New York, since 2015.

Board Member, International Development Law Organization (IDLO), Rome, Italy, since December 2012

Board Member (Treasurer), Akiba Uhaki International, since 2009.

Member, Integrated Strategic Plan Committee, Amnesty International, London, 2007-2008.

Judge, RFK Human Rights Award, Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights, Washington, DC. 2007-2012.

Member, African Politics Conference Group Best Book Committee, African Studies Association, 2006-07.

Board Member, Coalition for Multiparty Democracy, Kenya, 2004.

Chair (US), Board of Directors, Twana Twitu (AIDS orphan charity), Nairobi & New York, 2006-2008.

Member, Expert Working Group, Legal Education Reform, Central European and Eurasian Initiative, American Bar Association, 2006.

Board Member, Global Rights, Washington D.C., since 2004–2009.

Member, Search Committee (for Executive Director), Global Rights, 2005-2006.

Expert Panel Member (Human Rights), Fast Company, Fast Company/Monitor Group Social Capitalist Awards, 2004, 2005.

Participant, Brainstorming Meeting, Amnesty International Annual Report, London, UK. November 22, 2004.

Member, Working Group on Constitution-Making, Peace-Building, and National Reconciliation, Rule of Law Program, United States Peace Institute [Co-sponsored by the United Nations Development Program], 2001-2002.

Nominator, Macarthur Fellows Program, The John D. and Catherine T. Macarthur Foundation, 2000.

Member, Board of Directors, South Africa Partners, Inc., 1999-2005.

Member, John Humphrey Freedom Award Jury, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, Montreal, Canada, 1998.

Member, Roster of Electoral Experts, Electoral Assistance Division, United Nations, since 1998.

Member, Board of Advisors, International Legal Assistance Network, New York, New York, since 1998-2000.

Member, Advisory Board, Rights and Wrongs Educational Media Project, Globalvision, Inc., 1997-2000.

Member, Board of Directors, International Third World Legal Studies Association, 1996-97.

Member, International Advisory Committee, Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Human Rights Award, 1994-2007.

Member, formerly the Chairman, African Studies Association Human Rights Committee, since 1993-1996.

Advisor, Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize, The Carter Center of Emory University, 1992.

Advisor, Reebok Human Rights Award, Stoughton, MA, 1992

Chair, Kenya Human Rights Commission, since 1992

Member, Task Force, African Commission on Human and Peoples= Rights, 1991-1996.

HUMAN RIGHTS MISSIONS AND CONSULTANCIES

Member, **World Bank** mission to Kenya, Judicial Performance Improvement Project (JPIP), Nairobi, Kenya, May 9-19, 2016.

Consultant, Workshop on Kenya [Focus on Post-election Violence], International Criminal Court, The Hague, March, 2010; February, 2011.

Consultant, Project on Restorative Systems of Justice and International Humanitarian Law, Afrika Centre (Mbale, Uganda), July-August 2008.

Legal and Political Advisor, Mr. John Githongo, former Permanent Secretary in charge of Ethics and Governance in the Office of the President (Kenya's anticorruption czar], Republic of Kenya, 2005-2007.

Constitutional Consultant, United Nations Iraq Constitution Support Group, United Nations Development Programme, New York, January-February 2005.

Consultant, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, 2004 Kenya Annual State of Human Rights Report, Nairobi, 2003-2005.

Lead Researcher, The Future of International Human Rights Standard-Setting, International Council on Human Rights Policy, Geneva, Switzerland, September 2002-August 2004.

Lecturer, KHRC Workshop for the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, Nairobi, October 13-14, 2003.

Consultant, The World Bank, Retrospective on World Bank Legal and Judicial Reform Projects in Africa, February-June, 2003.

Lecturer, 2002 African Human Rights Camp, Human Rights Institute of South Africa (HURISA), Cairo, Egypt, November 2002.

External Expert, T & B Consult, Capacity Assessment of the Danish Centre for Human Rights, Copenhagen, Denmark, October 2001-February 2002.

External Facilitator, Strategic Review, Africa Legal Aid (AFLA), July-August 2001 [visited AFLA offices in Accra, Ghana, and Maastricht, The Netherlands, and presented Report of Strategic Review to the Annual Meeting of Governing Council of Africa Legal Aid in Cairo, Egypt on August 1, 2001.

Independent Human Rights Expert, Needs Assessment Mission to Nigeria, UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, February-March 2001.

International Human Rights Expert, UNESCO/UNDP/UNDESA Project on the Promotion of Good Governance in Liberia (Consultant on Human Rights and Democracy Training), November 2000 [Monrovia and Gbarnga, Liberia].

Human Rights Expert, Mission to Geneva, Switzerland, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, April 2000 [met with WTO, UN agencies, NGOs, and diplomats to discuss trade and human rights]

Consultant, United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report 2000: Human Rights in Human Development, September-November, 1999.

Consultant Hopes on the Horizon, Blackside, Inc., Boston, MA. June 1999.

Human Rights Expert, Mission to Kenya, The Kenya Human Rights Commission (Nairobi, Kenya), December 1997.

Member, Mission to Tanzania, UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights/UNDP (Geneva and New York), April/May 1997.

Member, Mission to South Africa, UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (Geneva), May 1996.

Member, Mission to Guatemala, Human Rights Watch/Americas (Washington DC), November 1994.

Member, Mission to Tanzania, UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (Geneva), September 1994.

Election Observer, Mission to South Africa, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (Washington DC), April 1994.

Member, Mission to Malawi, Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights (Washington DC), March 1994.

NGO Delegate, Mission to South Africa, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (Washington DC), March 1994.

Legal Expert, Mission to Kenya, The International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development (Montreal, Canada), September 1993.

Delegation Leader and Legal Expert, Mission to Ethiopia, The International Human Rights Law Group (Washington DC), June/July 1993.

Legal Expert, Session of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (Banjul, The Gambia), The Fund for Peace/Congressional Human Rights Foundation (New York), October 1992.

Consultant, United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report, 1992.

Legal Expert, Mission to Kenya, The International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development (Montreal, Canada), September 1992.

NGO Delegate, Mission to Zambia, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), January 1991.

NGO Delegate, Mission to Uganda, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), December 1990.

NGO Delegate, Mission to Tanzania, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), December 1990.

Observer and NGO Delegate, Eighth Session of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (Banjul, The Gambia), Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), October 1990.

Delegation Leader, Mission to Zaire, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), March 1990.

Delegation Leader, Mission to Zaire, Mission to Zaire, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), August/September 1989.

Delegation Leader, Mission to Congo (Brazzaville), The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), September 1989.

Delegation Leader, Mission to Belgium, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), August 1989.

NGO Delegate, Mission to the United Kingdom, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), June 1989.

NGO Delegate, Mission to Uganda, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), June 1989.

NGO Delegate, Mission to Ethiopia, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), June 1989.

NGO Delegate, Mission to Zimbabwe, The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (New York), May/June 1989.

LEGISLATIVE APPEARANCES

KENYA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Public Accounts Committee

Legal Counsel to John Githongo, Githongo's Testimony before the PAC, Kenya High Commission, London, February 11-12, 2006.

Parliamentary Select Committee on Constitutional Review

Addressed PSC on Constitution-Making in Kenya, Nairobi, Kenya, March 2003.

UNITED STATES CONGRESS

Sub-committee on African Affairs of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs

Human Rights in Uganda and Liberia: Testimony of Makau wa Mutua, March 9, 1989.

Sub-committee on Foreign Operations of the House Committee on Appropriations

Human Rights in Liberia, Uganda, and South Africa: Testimony of Makau wa Mutua, February 7, 1989.

JUDICIARY

Chief Judge Jonathan Lippman Task Force to Expand Access to Legal Services

Legal Education and Civil Legal Services: Pro Bono as a Central value Francis M. Letro Courtroom, SUNY Buffalo Law School, October 3, 2013.

Legal Education and Civil Legal Services: What is UB Law School Doing?"
Ceremonial Courtroom, Buffalo, New York, October 6, 2011.

PROFILES

"In the Cottage with Makau Mutua," <http://cottcom.wordpress.com/2013/10/02/in-the-cottage-withmakaumutua/>, posted October 2, 2013.

"For UB Law Dean, Kenya's Never Far Away," Buffalo News B1 (February 13, 2008).

"Law Professor Advises Kenyan Graft Buster," UB Reporter 1 (March 9, 2006).

"Faculty Profile: Professor Mutua," Opinion [Student Newspaper of the University at Buffalo Law School], October 2005.

"UB Professor Helps Kenya Confront Evils From its Past," C-1 Buffalo News (November 24, 2003).

"A Year in Kenya," 42-45 UB Law Forum (Fall 2003).

Kenya: The Top 100 People [named one of 100 most influential Kenyans in the government of President Mwai Kibaki], Paris: Indigo Publications, B-135-36 (July 2003).

"Prof. Makau Mutua: Journey to International Fame," 6-9 [Life] Sunday Standard (June 15, 2003).

"Journey From Kenya: Professor Braves Peril in Human-Rights Quest," 4 UB Reporter (February 12, 1998).

"Mutua and Scales-Trent are Honored by Black Law Students," 109 UB Law Forum (Spring 1998).

"Trial by Fire: The Education of Makau Mutua," UB Law Forum 100 (Spring 1997).

"Mutua Fills New Post as HRP Projects Director," Harvard Law Bulletin 32 (February 1992).

MEDIA

Comments and Interviews

PBS: "South Africa Now", Newsweek, Time, Capital Talk -K 24 (The Bench with Jeff Koinange [Nairobi], British Broadcasting Corporation, Radio France International, Voice of America, Radio Canada International, National Public Radio, WBAI, WLIB, WHMM (Howard University TV), KTN (Kenya Television Network), Legal Times, New York Times, Wisconsin Public Radio, Washington Post, Amsterdam News, Nairobi Law Monthly, Standard, Daily Nation (Kenya), Philadelphia Inquirer, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, International Herald Tribune, NBC: "America's Black Forum", Monitor Radio, WPFW 89.3 FM (Washington DC), Oakland Tribune, CQ (Congressional Quarterly) Researcher, Inter Press Service, UB Reporter (SUNY Buffalo), Harvard University Gazette, Harvard Law Record, Harvard Law Bulletin, Opinion (UB Law), Christian Science Monitor Channel: "Inner City Beat", Channel 7 News (Buffalo), Manchester Guardian Weekly, Atlanta Constitution, Emerge, WBFO, Boston Globe, Buffalo News, Spectrum (SUNY Buffalo), and Africa News.