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Toward the Rule of Law Among Nations: A Tribute to the Virginia Journal of International Law

JOHN NORTON MOORE*

When grand history is written in the year 3000, a mere millennium from now, it will be abundantly evident that the rule of law nationally and internationally was of central importance to the achievement of human freedom and dignity. The rule of law, in the broadest sense of the totality of constraints on government actions at home and abroad, is already emerging at the second millennium as the most important variable in realizing universal human aspirations across a wide range of concerns, including war avoidance, human rights, economic growth, control of famine, environmental protection, and the control of corruption. Indeed, in a very real sense, the struggle for limited, accountable, and efficient government—and its synonym, the struggle for the rule of law—is the central struggle in meeting the aspirations of mankind.

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^{1.} See generally John Norton Moore, Toward a New Paradigm, 37 VA. J. INT'L L. 811 (1997).

The Virginia Journal of International Law is a committed participant in this struggle for law. Focused on the rule of law among nations, the Journal is located at the University of Virginia School of Law in Charlottesville, Virginia, a center of academic and professional excellence and itself no slouch in the struggle for law. As with all institutions, the Journal is an aggregation of people, traditions, ideas, physical facilities, and many other dimensions. It is not simply a flow of words or volumes. And, as with all institutions, the Journal's worth ultimately depends on the strength of its ideas and vision, and its effectiveness in supporting them.

It is worth remembering that institutions matter. Indeed, they can matter a great deal. Imagine our international system without such institutions as the United Nations, the World Bank, or the International Court of Justice. Or at the more modest level of institutions of civil society, imagine the present international system without the International Committee of the Red Cross, with its extraordinary influence on the development of the law of war; Amnesty International, with its important work for human rights; or, in the development of the idea of international law, the American Society of International Law and the American Journal of International Law.

As with other institutions, the Virginia Journal of International Law has made, and continues to make, a difference in the struggle for law. Its most important contribution has been in facilitating a forum for the flow of ideas contributing to the development of international law. Its forty-year history, however, also reflects its own commitment to the rule of law, and provides an important educational and training role in international law.

The Journal is the oldest continuously-published student-edited journal of international law in the world.² It is, I believe, also the

^{2.} Apparently, the student-run international journal at Harvard began slightly before the *Journal*, but then ceased publication before beginning again. Indeed, according to Henry D. McCoy II, Co-Founder of the *Virginia Journal of International Law*, the *Journal* was also the oldest student journal by yet another criteria other than continuous publication. Thus, McCoy writes:

If the record is carefully examined, it will be quite clear that the first student international law review or journal to include the detailed and substantive legal analyses used now to [define] these journals was the first issue of the *Virginia Journal* as issued in 1962, with my Note, with all due respect, on the legal relationships between American companies and their European subsidiaries under the new European ("EEC") antitrust regulations.

best of the student-run journals. Indeed, it is one of the world's most prestigious journals of international law.

In this connection, perhaps the comments of international law scholars may be of particular relevance. Former Ambassador of Israel Shabtai Rosenne, who has himself achieved a triple crown in international law of definitive books on three of the most important multilateral legal treaties: the Statute of the International Court of Justice,3 the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties,4 and the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention.5 said of the Journal, "I have made no secret of the fact that I regard [the Journall as the best of the student law journals devoted to international law . . . in some respects it even betters the American Journal of International Law." One of the world's most eminent international legal scholars, Professor Myres S. McDougal, himself a past President of both the American Society of International Law and the Association of American Law Schools was even more enthusiastic: "You are publishing a journal of quality, second only at least to the American Journal of International Law"

Surely one sign of the *Journal*'s quality has been the enduring quality of its excellence. In 1967, Monroe Leigh commended the still nascent *Journal*, writing that he was "increasingly impressed

Letter from Henry D. McCoy II, Co-Founder, Virginia Journal of International Law, to John Norton Moore, Director of the Center for Oceans Law and Policy, and Director of the Center for National Security Law, University of Virginia, Aug. 23, 1999 (on file with author).

^{3.} See, e.g., Shabtai Rosenne, The World Court: What It is and How It Works (5th ed. 1995).

^{4.} See Shabtai Rosenne, The Law of Treaties: A Guide to the Legislative History of the Vienna Convention (1970).

^{5.} See, e.g., United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea: Second Committee, Articles 1 to 85, Annexes I and II and Final Act, Annex II (Myron H. Nordquist et al. eds., 1993); United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea: Second Committee, Articles 86 to 132 (Myron H. Nordquist et al. eds., 1995); United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea: Third Committee (Myron H. Nordquist et al. eds., 1991); United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea: Settlement of Disputes (Myron H. Nordquist et al. eds., 1989). Ambassadors Shabtai Rosenne and Satya N. Nandan were the volume editors of the above Commentaries. Myron H. Nordquist was editor-in-chief.

^{6.} Letter from Shabtai Rosenne, Former Ambassador of Israel, to H. Bradford Glassman, Editor-in-Chief of the Virginia Journal of International Law (Sept. 20, 1993) (on file with the Virginia Journal of International Law).

^{7.} Letter from Myres S. McDougal, Sterling Professor of Law, Emeritus, to Frederic A. Eustis III, Editor-in-Chief of the Virginia Journal of International Law (May 26, 1976) (on file with the Virginia Journal of International Law).

with the quality of this new Law Review." Thirty years later, Leigh wrote again praising the *Journal* for enjoying "the very highest reputation among international law journals...."

Another indication of the Journal's stature has been its ability to attract scholarship of the highest caliber. Over the years, the Journal has played host to the top names in international law, a fact that Professor Richard R. Baxter recognized when he lauded the Journal as a "pioneer . . . notable for [the] excellence of its student work and for the distinguished contributors that it has attracted."10 A list of distinguished international legal experts who have published in the Journal, among many others, includes: A. O. Adede, George H. Aldrich, Lewis M. Alexander, Harry H. Almond, Jr., José E. Alvarez, Anthony Clark Arend, Hans W. Baade, Richard R. Baxter, Robert J. Beck, David J. Bederman, J. Peter A. Bernhardt, Richard B. Bilder, Derek W. Bowett, Charles H. Brower, George Bunn, Thomas A. Buergenthal, Henry Burmester, Michael H. Cardozo, Jonathan I. Charney, Gordon A. Christenson, Inis L. Claude, Jr., Anthony A. D'Amato, Robert E. Dalton, Martin Domke, G. I. A. D. Draper, John Dugard, Robinson O. Everett, Benjamin B. Ferencz, Cees Flinterman, Thomas M. Franck, Wolfgang Friedmann, L. F. E. Goldie, Jack M. Goldklang, Jack L. Goldsmith III, Stephen Gorove, D. W. Greig, Ernest A. Gross, Malvina Halberstam, Hurst Hannum, Louis Henkin, Keith Highet, Mary Elizabeth Hoinkes, Ann L. Hollick, A. E. Dick Howard, Yuji Iwasawa, Christopher C. Jovner, Harold H. Koh, Alan J. Kreczko, Barbara Kwiatkowska, Monroe Leigh, Howard S. Levie, Cynthia C. Lichtenstein, Richard B. Lillich, David Little, Bert B. Lockwood, Andreas F. Lowenfeld, Harold G. Maier, David A. Martin, John H. McNeill, Samuel Pyeatt Menefee, John Norton Moore, Cornelius F. Murphy, Jr., James A. R.

^{8.} Letter from Monroe Leigh, Esq. to J. Darby Bowman, Research Editor of the Virginia Journal of International Law (May 2, 1967) (on file with the Virginia Journal of International Law).

^{9.} Letter from Monroe Leigh, Esq. to Jonathan C. Hamilton, Editor-in-Chief of the Virginia Journal of International Law (Aug. 6, 1997) (on file with the Virginia Journal of International Law).

^{10.} Unpublished statement from Richard. R. Baxter on file with the Virginia Journal of International Law. While conducting research for this Comment, this and two other statements by Professors McDougal and Bishop were discovered in the Journal's archives. Although undated, it is believed that these statements were solicited at the same time as the declaration from Hardy Cross Dillard that adorns the first page of every issue of the Journal beginning in 1997. Other efforts to verify these statements have been unsuccessful as the authors have since passed away.

Nafziger, Ved P. Nanda, Myron H. Nordquist, William V. O'Brien, Bernard H. Oxman, Jordan J. Paust, Edward D. Re. John B. Rhinelander, Stefan Riesenfeld, J. Ashley Roach, Guy B. Roberts, Horace B. Robertson, Jr., Glen O. Robinson, William D. Rogers, Ambassador Shabtai Rosenne, William L. Schachte, Jr., Georg Schwarzenberger, John K. Setear, Paul B. Stephan III, Paul C. Szasz, Howard J. Taubenfeld, Fernando R. Tesón, Frederick S. Tipson, Peter D. Trooboff, Robert F. Turner, Detlev F. Vagts, Ruth Wedgwood, Burns H. Weston, Luzius Wildhaber, Edwin D. Williamson, Mason Willrich, F. L. Wiswall, Jr., Dr. Rüdiger Wolfrum, Robert S. Wood, Dr. Alexander Yankov, and Ralph Zacklin. Distinguished elected officials or public officials published in the Journal also include, among others, John Breaux, Lloyd N. Cutler, Robert F. Drinan, Barry M. Goldwater, Hubert H. Humphrey, Ambassador Takeo Iguchi, Ambassador S. Jayakumar, Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, Edward M. Kennedy, Ambassador Tommy T.B. Koh, Edmund S. Muskie, Avid Pardo, Dean Rusk, Jerome Shestack, Richard Schifter and Earl Warren. To read these names is to understand the role and importance of the Journal.

The first issue of the Virginia Journal of International Law was published in the Spring of 1960. The mimeographed Journal was then described as the Journal of the John Bassett Moore Society of International Law. It contained, among a number of articles and "Suggested Readings" in "International Law and Private Practice," a letter from former President Herbert Hoover to the President of the John Bassett Moore Society at Virginia expressing admiration for its namesake, John Bassett Moore.

^{11. 1} JOURNAL OF THE JOHN BASSETT MOORE SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 1 (1960). John Bassett Moore was a Virginia student who subsequently became Counselor to the Department of State, a Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and one of the top international lawyers in the world. The John Bassett Moore Society was founded at Virginia in 1951, and is apparently one of the two oldest professionally-oriented student international law societies in the United States. According to "A Report on Inter-Organizational Cooperation" by William S. Gray of the Harvard International Law Club. printed in the Fall 1959 Bulletin of the Harvard International Law Club:

Cognizant of the intense interest shown by students in international law at Harvard, the International Law Club was prompted to inquire early last year into the existence of other groups carrying on similar activities in law schools around the country. A general inquiry was therefore conducted, in which the Club found that while numerous schools had international relations organizations of a social and academic character, only one other school, at the University of Virginia,

Volume II was published in two issues, and retained the title of Journal of the John Bassett Moore Society of International Law. Issue 1, published in 1961, described the Journal in an Editorial Note as "a new project—the national publication of a journal of international law, aimed at offering the law student a contemporary picture of international law, its opportunities and advantages, and its problems and limitations." Volume II, in its two issues, published seven articles, including articles by such well-known international lawyers as Quincy Wright and Percy E. Corbett, and a graduate of the University of Virginia School of Law, Rouhollah K. Ramazani, who later became the head of the Department of Government and Foreign Affairs at Virginia. Professor Hardy Cross Dillard, an ardent supporter of the Journal, is among the Virginia faculty members thanked by the editor for his "indispensable assistance."

Volume III, published in 1963, changed the name of the publication to its current title, *Virginia Journal of International Law*, and it began the practice, continued to this day, of student Notes in addition to its major articles. A "Note From the Editor's Desk" said: "[W]e have become the *Virginia Journal of International Law*, whose circulation is, if not all it might be in what Madison Avenue calls 'depth,' at least considerably broad geographically." It also offers congratulations to Professor Dillard "on his election as President of the American Society of International Law." It is noteworthy that despite the name change, the *Journal* maintained its continuity by designating this issue as Volume III, not Volume I.

Similarly, in Volume IV in 1964, a section on "Recent Decisions" was added to the "Articles" and "Notes" sections. It was evident in the "Notes" and "Recent Decisions" sections that the teaching/student relationship function of student law reviews in

had an organization along the lines of our own (one of a more professionally-oriented character): The John Bassett Moore Society.

Indeed, the Society was involved in a meeting in May 1959 with three other student-run organizations, at Harvard, Yale, and Columbia, in establishing what became the international law moot court competition and in seeking to encourage creation of student-run international law societies at other schools. The Author of this Comment attended such a meeting in the early 1960's, as the effort at inter-club organization in international law took hold.

^{12.} Editorial Notes, 2 The Journal of the John Bassett Moore Society of International Law (1961).

^{13.} From the Editor's Desk, 3 VA. J. INT'L L. (1963).

^{14.} Id.

the United States was by this issue fully engaged. Thus, an Editorial Comment could note with prescience:

[P]erhaps the *Journal* is but the forerunner of many more law reviews devoted entirely to international law, and if this is so, it will be a beneficial development. The future will see a greater demand for graduating law students with some basic background in international law; students who will not only serve as private counselors but who will also serve the needs of governments, which increasingly will be concerned with the problems of international business ventures as well as international political relations.¹⁵

This same Editorial Comment also vaunted the enhanced student research and training function associated with the *Journal*. It said:

The increased size and scope of the student section of the *Journal* will enable more of our students to participate in the research and writing that is essential to a responsible familiarity with international law. As with any writing, the finished product is but evidence of the great amount of study and thought put into the research.¹⁶

Such emphasis was reiterated by Professor William W. Bishop, Jr. who praised the *Journal* for providing "an opportunity and encouragement for student writing in the international legal field"

Volume VI was published in 1966. An "Obiter Dictum" to the Volume described the growth of the size and popularity of the *Journal* with the comment: "[T]his volume has swelled by seventy-five percent over last year's. But Mammon not being our treasurer, we have unfortunately been frustrated in our desire to print all of the articles of publishable quality received throughout the year." This introduction also noted that the *Journal* had completed "the first edition of a manual of international citations, published both as an appendix within the present issue and in lim-

^{15.} Editorial Comment, 5 VA. J. INT'L L. (1964).

^{16.} Id.

^{17.} Unpublished statement from William W. Bishop, Jr. on file with the Virginia Journal of International Law. See explanatory note supra note 10.

^{18.} Obiter Dictum . . . , 6 VA. J. INT'L L. (1966).

ited numbers under separate cover." Publication of the first *International and Foreign Law Citations* provided another indication of the *Journal*'s leading role among student international law journals.

Volume VIII, No. 2, published in April 1968, was dedicated to Hardy Cross Dillard, who by now was retiring as Dean. It is memorable not only for the deserved dedication to Dillard, but particularly because of the international all-star line-up that chose to write for the issue. They included Philip C. Jessup, a former judge of the International Court of Justice, as well as the top international legal scholars, Myres S. McDougal, Harold D. Lasswell, W. Michael Reisman, Oscar Schachter, Richard A. Falk, and Julius Stone. This issue will forever retain its status as a classic in international law.²⁰

Volume XXIII, No. 3, published in the Spring of 1983 in memory of Hardy Cross Dillard, is yet another classic with a roster of top international lawyers, including Philip C. Jessup, Andre Gros, Stephen M. Schwebel, Covey T. Oliver, Louis B. Sohn and Rosalyn Higgins.²¹ The piece by Stephen Schwebel on "New Life for the World Court" is an interesting preview of his later service as President of the Court.²²

Substantively, several points stand out in the international legal focus of the *Journal*. First, from the earliest years it has been interested both in public international law and in private international law and service to the practicing bar. This balance runs like a skein throughout the history of the *Journal*. While individual issues may emphasize one or the other, the *Journal* as a whole has always served both.

Of particular importance to an area of public international law, the establishment of the Center for Oceans Law and Policy at Virginia in the mid-1970's provided impetus for a particular focus in oceans law and policy. And of particular importance to private international law and interest to the practicing bar, the bi-annual Sokol Colloquium, at Virginia, commenced in 1977, and focused on issues of particular interest to the international bar. It should be noted that the Sokol Colloquium has provided an ample source

^{19.} Id.

^{20.} See generally 8 VA. J. INT'L L. 185-373 (1968).

^{21.} See generally 23 VA. J. INT'L L. 363-94 (1983).

^{22.} Stephen M. Schwebel, New Life for the World Court, 23 VA. J. INT'L L. 375 (1983).

of relevant articles to the *Journal*.²³ Indeed, articles from the very first Sokol Colloquium at Virginia were published in volume XVII, No. 3, in the Spring of 1977.²⁴

Second, the *Journal* has in turn both drawn upon the traditionally rich international law milieu of the University of Virginia School of Law and contributed to it. As a result, the development of the *Journal* has paralleled that of the international law program of the Law School.

This nurturing environment draws its roots from the inception of the University itself. Indeed, the founder of the University of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, specifically listed the study of the "law of nations" as one of the "branches of learning" that "should be taught at the University." Whenever Jefferson discussed the University's curriculum, or the education of law students, he almost invariably stressed the importance of international law—an area that has consequently become one of particular emphasis and richness at the School of Law.²⁶

From the Journal's beginning, the leader of the international law program at Virginia was Hardy Cross Dillard, who taught classes in both international law and foreign affairs. Subsequently, Dillard went on to become the Dean of the School of Law, the President of the American Society of International Law, and a Judge of the International Court of Justice. As Dean, Dillard recognized the importance of international law and built a world-class international law program at Virginia, attracting top scholars to the School of Law faculty. As Virginius Dabney writes of this formative period:

The School of Law was collaborating with the Schools of Foreign Affairs and Political Science in offering a new course in "transnational law." Two world-famous authorities in the field had been added to the university faculty—Percy E. Corbett,

^{23.} See, e.g., Symposium, Discovering and Applying Foreign and International Law in Domestic Tribunals, 18 VA. J. INT'L L. 609 (1978); Symposium, Intellectual Property Law in the International Marketplace, 37 VA. J. INT'L L. 275 (1997); Symposium, Unity and Harmonization in International Commercial Law, 39 VA. J. INT'L L. 537 (1999).

^{24.} Symposium, The Enforcement of Foreign Judgments and Arbitral Awards, 17 VA. J. INT'L L. 361 (1977).

^{25.} THOMAS JEFFERSON, THE PORTABLE THOMAS JEFFERSON 337 (Merrill D. Peterson ed. 1975).

^{26.} THOMAS JEFFERSON, THE JEFFERSONIAN CYCLOPEDIA 487 (John P. Foley ed. 1900).

who had held important posts at Princeton, Yale, and Oxford and had been dean of the McGill University Law School, and Quincy Wright who was internationally known and had come to Charlottes-ville from the University of Chicago. Teaching, research, and publications were on the agenda of the course in "transnational law." With the acquisition of two such scholars as Wright and Corbett, the university was said to have the "best international law team in the United States."²⁷

The Journal has benefited from the eminence of the international law program at Virginia, a program that has traditionally been ranked as one of the top such programs in the world. In particular, the Journal's close faculty interaction has yielded fruitful results. One notable contributor over the years was Richard Lillich, internationally known for his work in foreign claims and human rights. Certainly Lillich was the top expert for years in the foreign claims area, and his work in human rights was formative as that field developed.

Virginia's international law program benefits from other substantial strengths as well. These include the work in Soviet Law of Paul B. Stephan III, one of the most active Soviet Law scholars in the United States; the work in comparative law of Herbert Hausmaninger, one of the most distinguished scholars in Europe today: the work of John K. Setear, in game theoretic approaches to international law; the thought provoking work of Curtis A. Bradley, in the incorporation of international law into the United States' judicial process; and the scholarship of David A. Martin, a former State Department human rights expert and General Counsel to the Immigration and Naturalization Service in both human rights generally and in immigration and refugee issues. In addition, Professor A. E. Dick Howard, a contributor to the Journal as early as its second volume, is one of the world's leading authorities on comparative constitutionalism and has personally participated in constitution drafting in many countries around the world.

^{27.} VIRGINIUS DABNEY, MR. JEFFERSON'S UNIVERSITY: A HISTORY 436 (Univ. Press of Virginia 1983). Students from all over the world flocked to the University of Virginia to study under the superb international law faculty and pursue the degrees of Doctor of Juridical Science and Master of Law. In 1967-68, students from universities in Cairo, Freiburg, Ghent, Cambridge, Sydney and Seoul came to Charlottesville to do graduate work at the University's School of Law. *Id.*

The Journal has in particular profited from its proximity to both the Center for Oceans Law and Policy, and the Center for National Security Law. Today, the Center for Oceans Law and Policy is the premier such center at any major American law school. The library's Oceans Law Collection is the best in the world and is believed to have the only oceans law archive in existence. The Center's multi-volume project of an article by article commentary on the 1982 United Nations Law of the Sea Convention is the definitive international legal work in the area. More recently, the Center founded the Rhodes Academy of Oceans Law in Greece.

Similarly, the Center for National Security Law at Virginia is unique in the world. The focus of the Center, on the law of war and war avoidance, has created at Virginia the preeminent expertise in the world on these subjects. Indeed, the field of National Security Law, now incorporated into the military as "operational law," and taught in schools around the world, was pioneered at Virginia.31 Today, the Center offers unique expertise on constitutional issues in the conduct of foreign affairs, particularly with the work of Robert F. Turner, and an ongoing focus on the theoretical understanding of war and war avoidance, stemming from the work of the Author who, as the first Chairman of the Board of the United States Institute of Peace, was responsible for initially setting up this new federal agency and running it for the first five years. The work of the Center in this area of public international law has benefited greatly by its presence adjacent to the School of Law of the Judge Advocate General's School of the Army, with its world-class faculty. In recent years, the Center for National Secu-

^{28.} The Center was established on the Author's return from four years in the Department of State, initially as Counselor on International Law and subsequently as Ambassador to the Law of the Sea Conference.

^{29.} Judge Vukas of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea has deemed it to have been "written by the most authoritative commentators of the Convention..." M/V "Saiga" (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines v. Guinea) (July 1, 1999) (separate opinion of Judge Vukas) No. 2, at ¶ 16 (Mar. 6, 2000) http://www.un.org/Depts/los/ITLOS/SO_Saiga_Vukas.htm.

^{30.} The Rhodes Academy is a three-week summer course in Rhodes, Greece, to train scholars and government officials from every continent in the law of the sea. Formed in conjunction with the Max Planck Institute at Heidelberg, the Netherlands Law of the Sea Institute and the Greek Rhodes Academy, to date more than 100 students from 47 countries have attended the Rhodes Academy.

^{31.} For many years, the Center has not only taught a wide variety of courses in this area, but has also run a summer workshop for scholars, judges, and government officials to teach them the new field. In addition, it has offered courses at other law schools, including, for many years, Georgetown Law Center in Washington, D.C.

rity Law has also begun to take an active interest in peacekeeping and peacekeeping training, including a joint project with the Lester Pearson Peacekeeping Training Centre in Canada.

Both Centers have contributed to the curriculum in the area of public international law, and have provided a rich vein of scholarship that the *Journal* has mined. In particular, the *Journal* and the Center for Oceans Law and Policy have enjoyed a close relationship, with numerous issues exclusively devoted to the Law of the Sea.³²

The Journal and the international law program at Virginia also have benefited from the rich expertise in foreign affairs elsewhere in the University. This has included the Woodrow Wilson Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, with international relations experts such as Inis Claude, Jr, and international lawyers such as Quincy Wright. Virginia has for many years offered joint degree programs in international law and international relations, and most recently has established joint programs with the Fletcher School, SAIS, and the Kennedy School.

Finally, one of the most important attributes of Virginia for the *Journal*, and of the *Journal* for Virginia, is that the institutional reputations of Virginia and the *Journal* have attracted many top students interested in international law to the Law School. Strikingly, the second issue of the *Journal* in 1961 reports in an "Editorial Note" that "today membership [in the John Bassett Moore Society of International Law] includes over twenty-five percent of the student body." This strong tradition of student interest in international law continues today at Virginia.

Thomas Jefferson, who understood the central importance of the rule of law, and who was himself an internationalist, would have been proud of the excellence with which Virginia has continued to emphasize "the law of nations." Certainly, he would have been proud of the *Journal*, which was established at his institution as one of the most prestigious and effective voices for the rule of law among nations. Today, after forty volumes, we can truly celebrate the *Journal* for its contribution to the rule of law, both made and yet to be made in the coming millennium.

^{32.} See, e.g., 19 VA. J. INT'L L. 207-429 (1979); 20 VA. J. INT'L L. 257-345 (1980); 21 VA. J. INT'L L. 621-744 (1981); 24 VA. J. INT'L L. 761-938 (1984); 31 VA. J. INT'L L. 527-672 (1991).

^{33.} Editorial Notes, 2 Journal of the John Bassett Moore Society of International Law (1961).