DAVID J. SCHEFFER

20 Ridge Square NW, Apt. 635, Washington, D.C. 20016 Mobile phone: 708-497-0478; Email: davidscheffer53@gmail.com

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Professor of Practice, School of Politics and Global Studies, Arizona State University (Washington, D.C.), Oct. 2021present. Transitional Justice: Issues and Solutions; Foreign Policy and National Security Law; The Making of U.S. National Security Policy; Global Regime of Human Rights; International Criminal Tribunals & Global Security; Getting to Yes with Major International Treaties; Law of War.

Principal Investigator, Transitional Justice in South Sudan, U.S. State Department (Office of Global Criminal Justice) grant awarded to Arizona State University, 2021-2024.

International Francqui Professor (Jan.-June 2022), *Global Law Professor* (Spring 2021), **Katholieke** Universiteit Leuven, Belgium. International Criminal Tribunals and International Law.

Clinical Professor Emeritus, Director Emeritus of the Center for International Human Rights, Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law, Sept. 2020-present.

Mayer Brown/Robert A. Helman Professor of Law, 2006-2020, Visiting Professor of Law, 2005-2006, and Director of the Center for International Human Rights (2006-2019), Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law. Int'l Human Rights Law, Int'l Criminal Law, Corporate Social Responsibility, Human Rights in Transitional Democracies.

Distinguished Guest Lecturer, International Law Summer Study Abroad Program of Thomas Jefferson School of Law (San Diego) and the University of Nice School of Law (France), Nice, France, July 2011. Lectures on international criminal law and corporate social responsibility.

Faculty Member, The Summer Institute for Global Justice, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands, Summer 2005 (jointly administered by the Washington University School of Law (St. Louis) and Case Western Reserve University School of Law). Course instruction: Atrocity Law and Policy.

Visiting Professor of Law, The George Washington University Law School, 2004-2005. Int'l Law I, Int'l Organizations Law, Int'l Criminal Law.

Visiting Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center, 2003-2004. Int'l Law I, Int'l Institutions Law, Atrocity Law Seminar. Int'l Law I in GULC's summer program at University College, Faculty of Laws, London (July-Aug. 2004).

Visiting Lecturer, National University of Ireland (Galway), July 2003. International Criminal Court. Delivered lectures in the 2008 and 2009 courses.

Visiting Lecturer, The Duke-Geneva Institute in Transnational Law, Geneva, Switzerland, July/August 2002 (jointly administered by Duke and Geneva Universities). War Crimes, Terrorism, and Crimes Against Humanity: The Content and Enforcement of International Criminal Law.

Senior Lecturing Fellow, **Duke University Law School**, Durham, North Carolina, September-October 2001. Legal Responses to War Crimes, Genocide, and Crimes Against Humanity.

Adjunct Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center, 1992-1996. Law of Int'l Institutions.

Adjunct Professor, Graduate School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York City, 1986-1987. The United States in World Affairs.

EMPLOYMENT WITH U.S. GOVERNMENT AND UNITED NATIONS

U.N. Secretary-General's Special Expert on United Nations Assistance to the Khmer Rouge Trials, Jan. 2012–June 2017; Mar.–Oct. 2018.

U.S. Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues, U.S. Department of State, Aug. 1997-Jan. 20, 2001. Led the Atrocities Prevention Inter-Agency Working Group. *See* https://1997-2001.state.gov/global/swci/index.html for the home page of the Office of War Crimes Issues during the Clinton Administration, with areas of work and all public speeches.

Senior Adviser to the Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State, Feb. 1997-July 1997.

Senior Adviser and Counsel, Office of the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, U.S. Department of State, March 1993-Jan. 1997. Also served on the National Security Council Deputies Committee, 1993-Jan. 1997.

Senior Consultant, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, 1987-1989.

Legal Assistant to the Assistant General Counsel for International Affairs, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Oct. 1977-May 1978.

Assistant to the President, Inter-American Foundation, Rosslyn, Virginia, Summer 1975.

Research Assistant, Council on Environmental Quality, The White House, Summer 1974.

Assistant to the Director, U.S. Board of Parole, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. Summer 1973.

Clerk-Typist, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., Summer 1972.

EMPLOYMENT & FELLOWSHIPS WITH LAW FIRMS, NGOs, THINK TANKS, & CORPORATIONS

Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., Nov. 2019-present.

Bellagio Center Practitioner Residency, The Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, Italy, Oct.-Nov. 2023.

Consultant, The Simon Charitable Foundation, Santa Fe, New Mexico, July 2020-June 2023.

Tom A. Bernstein Genocide Prevention Fellow, Ferencz International Justice Initiative, Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Nov. 2019-April 2021.

Bosch Berlin Prize in Public Policy, American Academy in Berlin, Germany, Fall 2013.

Senior Vice President, United Nations Association of the U.S.A., New York and Washington, D.C., Mar. 2002-June 2003.

Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C., April 2001-Feb. 2002.

Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., 1989-1992.

International Affairs Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, assigned to Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1986-1987.

Research Associate, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA., Oct. 1983Aug. 1984.

Associate Attorney, Coudert Brothers, New York (2 years) and Singapore (4 years)), July 1979-Sept. 1983 & Sept. 1984-July 1986.

Legal Assistant, Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby, Palmer & Wood, New York City, Sept. 1978-July 1979.

Summer Legal Intern, Legal Counsel's Office, Phillips Petroleum Europe-Africa, London, U.K. JuneSept. 1976, June-Sept. 1977.

EDUCATION

LL.M. (International and Comparative Law), 1978, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, D.C.; Graduate paper requirement published in the *Harvard International Law Journal* (1978).

B.A., Final Honour School of Jurisprudence (Class II(1)), 1978 (exams taken in 1977), **Worcester College, Oxford University**, Oxford; **Frank Knox Memorial Fellow** 1975-1977 (awarded by Harvard).

A.B. *magna cum laude*, **Government and Economics**, 1975, **Harvard College**, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Senior Honors Thesis (*magna cum laude*): PROCESSES OF MODERNIZATION IN SCOTLAND: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NORTH SEA OIL; Honors: Harvard College Scholarship & Dean's List, 197175, Ruskin [writing] Prize, 1975. Research grants: Center for International Affairs & JFK Institute of Politics. Editorial staffs of *The Harvard Crimson* and *The Harvard Political Review*.

AWARDS

- --Outstanding IAL [International Affairs & Leadership] Faculty Award (2023-2024), Arizona State University.
- --D'Alemberte & Palmer Lecture [Award] in International Human Rights, Florida State University College of Law, Feb. 2024.
- --Practitioner Residency, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, Italy, Oct.-Nov. 2023.
- --2020 Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award, Global Leadership Institute, Tufts University.
- --Champion of Justice Award 2018, Center for Justice and Accountability, San Francisco, CA.
- --Bosch Berlin Prize in Public Policy, Fall 2013, American Academy in Berlin.
- --2012 Book of the Year Award for Scholarly Contribution to the Field from the American National Section of L'Association Internationale de Droit Pénal (AIDP) and *Washington Post*'s "Best of 2012: 50 Notable Works of Nonfiction" for *All the Missing Souls: A Personal History of the War Crimes Tribunals*.
- --One of Foreign Policy Magazine's "Top Global Thinkers of 2011."
- --15th Annual Webby Awards: 2011 Official Honoree: Law, Cambodia Tribunal Monitor.

- --The Kevin J. Barry Award for Excellence in Military Legal Studies for the most outstanding article published in 2009: Honorable Mention to David Scheffer for his article "Closing the Impunity Gap in U.S. Law," 8 *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights* 30 (2009).
- --Dean's Teaching Award 2007-2008, Northwestern University School of Law.
- -- Max Kampelman Award 1999 (American Bar Association, CEELI).

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Member, The American Society of International Law, 1979 - present.

Vice President, Co-Chair of Development Committee, 2020-2022.

Member, US-ICC Relationship Task Force Advisory Group, 2020-2021.

Member, ASIL Ad Hoc Committee for Selecting the Gala Honorees, 2019.

Member, Executive Council, 1996-Aug. 1997, 2002-2005.

Member, Executive Committee, 2004-2005.

Co-Chair, Committee on the Annual Meeting 1991.

Member/co-author, ASIL Joint U.S.-Soviet Study on Int'l Law and Politics, 1991.

Organizer, U.S.-Soviet Conference on International Law and the Non-Use of Force, 1990.

Speaker on numerous panels of the Annual Meetings and other ASIL events since 1979 and

frequent contributor to the American Journal of International Law, Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, International Legal Materials, and ASIL Insights.

Member, Council on Foreign Relations, 1991 – present, Term Member, 1985–1990.

Member, American Bar Association, 1979-1993, 2009 - present.

Member, Advisory Board, ICC Project.

Chair, Working Group on Crimes Against Humanity, 2015-present.

Member, Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2011 – present. Nonresident Senior Fellow, 2018-present.

Member, Advisory Board, eyeWitness to Atrocities, 2017-present. Counsellor, 2023-present.

Member, Advisory Board, Citizens for Global Solutions, 2023-present.

Member, L'Association Internationale de Droit Pénal, 2011 - 2018.

Chairman, Board of Directors, International Law Students Association, 2004 - 2008.

Member, International Bar Association, 2017-2019.

Member, Task Force on Law and Diplomacy, International Bar Association and Academie Diplomatique Internationale, 2013 - 2018.

Honorary Member, Bosnian-Herzegovian American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2014-present.

Co-Chair, Working Group on Business and Human Rights, PRME (Principles for Responsible

Management Education), U.N. Global Compact, 2015 - 2020.

BAR MEMBERSHIPS

Bars of State of New York (1979 – present), District of Columbia (1987 – present), U.S. District Court (S.D.N.Y., 2nd Cir.; D.C. Circuit), U.S. Court of Appeals (2nd, D.C., and Federal Cirs.), U.S. Supreme Court.

Personal: Born 18 September 1953 and raised in Norman, Oklahoma, USA.

CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD OF SCHOLARSHIP

(Excluding Less Significant Works and Most Op-Eds 1976-2000)

Books, Book Chapters, Reports, and Law Review/Journal articles are recorded in **Bold**

2024

<u>Forthcoming</u>: Social Bonds—A Lifeline for Atrocity Victims: Report of the Funding Initiative for Atrocity Victims, Ferencz International Justice Initiative, Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2024 (with Caroline Kaeb and Madeline Babin).

Forthcoming: "How the Nuremberg Principles Shape the Future," Seventy Years of the Formulation of the Nuremberg Principles (ed. Vivian Dittrich), International Nuremberg Principles Academy.

In Process: The Charter: Five Pillars for Humankind (with Dr. Mark Ellis) (publisher pending).

"Three Challenging Policy Issues for the Prosecutor in the Israel/Hamas War," in *ICC Forum* (Feb. 23, 2024) at https://iccforum.com/israel-and-hamas#Scheffer.

"Policy Brief: Social Bonds: A New Variant of 'Lend-Lease' to Rebuild Ukraine" (February 2024) (with Michael Cholod, Geoffrey Goodell, Fen Oster Hampson, and Jon Unruh), World Refugee & Migration Council, at https://wrmcouncil.org/publications/policy-brief/social-bonds-a-new-variantof-lend-lease-to-rebuild-ukraine/.

2023

"Time to Recognize a Beacon of Human Decency," in *cfr.org* (Dec. 8, 2023) at https://www.cfr.org/councilofcouncils/global-memos/reflecting-and-recharging-universal-declarationhuman-rights-after-seventy-five-years.

"Russia Must be Held Accountable for Alleged Criminal Aggression Criminal Aggression in Ukraine: Two Paths to Justice," in *cfr.org* (Nov. 28, 2023) (with Irwin Cotler, Hans Corell, and David Crane) at https://www.cfr.org/article/russia-must-be-held-accountable-alleged-criminal-aggression-ukraine-twopaths-justice.

"What International Law Has to Say about the Israel-Hamas War," in *cfr.org* (Oct. 19, 2023) at https://www.cfr.org/article/what-international-law-has-say-about-israel-hamas-war.

"Ethnic Cleansing Is Happening in Nagorno-Karabakh: How Can the World Respond?" in *cfr.org* (Oct. 4, 2023) at https://www.cfr.org/article/ethnic-cleansing-happening-nagorno-karabakh-how-can-worldrespond.

"The Fate of Justice in Russia-Ukraine Peace Talks," in *cfr.org* (Sept. 27, 2023) at https://www.cfr.org/article/fate-justice-russia-ukraine-peace-talks.

"Deterrence Lawfare to Save Taiwan," in *cfr.org* (Aug. 9, 2023) at https://www.cfr.org/article/deterrencelawfare-save-taiwan.

"The United States Should Ratify the Rome Statute," in *cfr.org* (July 19, 2023) at https://www.cfr.org/article/united-states-should-ratify-rome-statute.

"Working Together Toward Accountability: How the ICC and a Special Tribunal on Aggression Can Work Together on Ukraine," (with David Crane and Irwin Cotler) in *cfr.org* (April 24, 2023) at https://www.cfr.org/article/working-together-toward-accountability-how-icc-and-special-tribunalaggression-can-work.

"Congress Should Close the 'Crimes Against Humanity' Loophole," (with Kristin Smith) in *cfr.org* (Feb. 21, 2023) at https://www.cfr.org/article/congress-should-close-crimes-against-humanity-loophole.

2022

"A New Roadblock for Scottish Independence," in *cfr.org* (Dec. 9, 2022) at https://www.usip.org/events/prosecuting-crime-aggression-ukraine.

"Forging a Cooperative Relationship Between Int'l Crim. Court and a Special Tribunal for Aggression Against Ukraine," in *cfr.org* (Oct. 27, 2022) at https://www.cfr.org/article/forging-cooperative-relationshipbetween-icc-and-special-tribunal-russian-aggression.

"The Case for Creating a Special Tribunal to Prosecute the Crime of Aggression Committed Against Ukraine, Part IV: Information Sharing, Victim Participation, Outreach and More," in *cfr.org* (Sept. 30, 2022) at https://www.cfr.org/article/case-creating-special-tribunal-prosecute-crime-aggression-committedagainst-ukraine.

"Survival Governance at the UN General Assembly," in *cfr.org* (Sept. 15, 2022) at https://www.cfr.org/article/survival-governance-un-general-assembly-unga-2022.

Book Review: *The Conflict in Syria and the Failure of International Law to Protect People Globally: Mass Atrocities, Enforced Disappearances and Arbitrary Detentions*, by Jeremy Julian Sarkin, in *Leuven Transitional Justice Blog* (August 30, 2022) at https://blog.associatie.kuleuven.be/ltjb/the-conflict-in-syriaand-the-failure-of-international-law-to-protect-people-globally/ and in *cfr.org* (August 30, 2022) at https://www.cfr.org/article/conflict-syria-and-failure-international-law-protect-people-globally/.

"Can Russia Be Held Accountable for War Crimes in Ukraine?" in *cfr.org* (March 17, 2022) at https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/579/99/PDF/N0457999.pdf?OpenElement.

"Understanding South Sudan's Post-War Struggle for Democracy and Accountability," in *cfr.org* (Jan. 28, 2022) at https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/understanding-south-sudans-postwar-struggle-democracy-andaccountability (with Madeline Babin).

"Legal Principles Matter in Defense of Democracies" in *cfr.org* (Jan. 18, 2022) at https://www.cfr.org/article/legal-principles-matter-defense-democracies and in *Opinio Juris* (Jan. 17, 2022) at http://opiniojuris.org/2022/01/17/legal-principles-matter-in-defense-of-democracies/.

"Move Swiftly on Global Criminal Justice Ambassador" in *The Hill* (Jan. 5, 2022) at https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/588346-move-swiftly-on-global-criminal-justiceambassador (with Todd Buchwald, Stephen Rapp, and Clint Williamson).

2021

"Does Taiwan Have the Right of Self-Defense?" in *cfr.org* (Nov. 23, 2021), at https://www.cfr.org/article/does-taiwan-have-right-self-defense.

- "A Negotiator's Reliance on the Nuremberg Legacy," in *cfr.org* (Nov. 22, 2021) at https://www.cfr.org/article/negotiators-reliance-nuremberg-legacy and in *Leuven Transitional Justice Blog* (Nov. 9, 2021), at https://blog.associatie.kuleuven.be/ltjb/?s=David+Scheffer.
- "Why Religious Persecution Justifies U.S. Legislation on Crimes Against Humanity," in *cfr.org* (Oct. 8, 2021) at https://www.justsecurity.org/78453/why-religiouspersecution-justifies-u-s-legislation-on-crimes-against-humanity/.
- "The Supreme Court Denied a Child Labor Claim Against US Firms: What to Know," in *cfr.org* (June 25, 2021) at https://www.cfr.org/article/supreme-court-denied-child-labor-claim-against-us-firms-what-know.
- "What Does Mladic's Conviction Mean for Genocide Law?" in *cfr.org* (June 17, 2021), at https://www.cfr.org/article/what-does-mladics-conviction-mean-genocide-law.
- "Virtual Roundtable: The Post-Election Future of Scotland," June 2, 2021, at https://www.cfr.org/event/virtual-roundtable-post-election-future-scotland.
- "A Renewed Agenda to Advance US Interests with the International Court," in *cfr.org* (May 25, 2021) at https://www.cfr.org/article/renewed-agenda-advance-us-interests-international-criminal-court and in International Justice Today (May 23, 2021) at https://www.international-criminal-court/ and in https://www.international-criminal-court/ and in https://www.internationa
- "What's Next for Scotland's Independence Movement?" in *cfr.org* (May 13, 2021) at https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/whats-next-scotlands-independence-movement (with Madeline Babin).
- "Renewing justice for atrocities," in *cfr.org* (May 18, 2021) at https://www.cfr.org/article/renewing-justiceatrocities and in *The Hill* (May 4, 2021) at https://thehill.com/opinion/international/551647-renewingjustice-for-atrocities (with Todd Buchwald, Stephen Rapp, and Clint Williamson).
- "Save the Olympics, Again," in *cfr.org* (April 1, 2021) at https://www.cfr.org/article/save-olympics-again and in *Just Security* (Mar. 30, 2021), at https://www.justsecurity.org/75571/save-the-olympics-again/.
- "Displaced: A Rohingya Family's Struggle for Freedom in Myanmar / Wai Wai Nu," Finding Humanity Podcast, March 24, 2021, at https://findinghumanitypodcast.com/seasons/season-2/displaced-a-rohingyafamilys-struggle-for-freedom-in-myanmar-wai-nu.
- "Amb. Scheffer: China perpetuates 'the big lie' on Uyghurs," on *CNN Amanpour*., Mar. 9, 2021, at https://www.cnn.com/videos/tv/2021/03/09/david-scheffer-jewher-ilham-amanpour-uyghur-chinagenocide.cnn.
- "Virtual Roundtable: Can Social Bonds Help Save the World?" Feb. 19, 2021, at https://www.cfr.org/event/virtual-roundtable-can-social-bonds-help-save-world.
- "How Can Corporate Leaders Do More to Defend Democracy?" in *cfr.org* (Jan. 15, 2021), at https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/how-can-corporate-leaders-do-more-defend-democracy.
- "Save the World—America's Greatest Priority" in *cfr.org* (Jan. 19, 2021) and *The Hill* (Jan. 5, 2021), at https://www.cfr.org/article/save-world-americas-greatest-priority.

Three Realities about the Africa Situation at the ICC and Improving Communications with States in The International Criminal Court: Contemporary Challenges and Reform Proposals (Richard H. Steinberg, Ed.) 128, 367 (2020).

Introductory Note to Case 004/2 Involving Ao An: Considerations on Appeals Against Closing Orders (Extraordinary Chambers Cts. Cambodia) [December 19, 2019], 59 INT'L LEGAL MATERIALS 563 (2020).

Reducing the Funding Gaps for Atrocity Victims: Preliminary Report of the Funding Initiative for Atrocity Victims, Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (July 7, 2020) (on file with the author).

Foreword in SARATA ASHRAF, NO PLACE FOR OPTIMISM: ANTICIPATING MYANMAR'S FIRST REPORT TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (May 2020), at https://cgpolicy.org/wpcontent/uploads/2020/05/CGP-Myanmar-Rohingya-May-2020.pdf.

"Healing and Paying with National Service" in *cfr.org* (Dec. 29, 2020) and *The Hill* (Dec. 14, 2020) at https://www.cfr.org/article/healing-and-paying-national-service (with Steven H. Simon).

"U.S. Supreme Court Assesses Corporate Complicity in Child Slavery" in *cfr.org* (Dec. 9, 2020), at https://www.cfr.org/article/us-supreme-court-assesses-corporate-complicity-child-slavery.

"What Are the Laws Governing Military Force During the U.S. Elections?" in *cfr.org* (Oct. 23, 2020) at https://www.cfr.org/article/what-are-laws-governing-military-force-during-us-elections.

Brief of International Law Scholars, Former Diplomats, and Practitioners as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Respondents, *Nestle USA Inc. v. John Doe 1, et al., Cargill, Inc. v. John Doe 1, et al.,* (Nos. 19-416 & 19453) (U.S. Supreme Court, Oct. 21, 2020) (co-contributor and co-signatory).

"The Flawed U.S. Effort to Revive Iran Sanctions" in *cfr.org* (Sept. 22, 2020) at https://www.cfr.org/article/flawed-us-effort-revive-iran-sanctions.

"Lebanon's Frustrating Day of Judgment" in *cfr.org* (Aug. 20, 2020), at https://www.cfr.org/article/lebanons-frustrating-day-judgment.

"Reducing the Funding Gaps for Atrocity Victims," in *Opinio Juris* (Aug. 12, 2020), at http://opiniojuris.org/2020/08/12/reducing-the-funding-gaps-for-atrocity-victims/.

"Virtual Roundtable: Scotland's Place in the World: Brexit and Pandemic Recovery," July 15, 2020, at https://www.cfr.org/event/virtual-roundtable-scotlands-place-world-brexit-and-pandemic-recovery. "How America's Credibility Gap hurts the Defense of Rights Abroad" in *cfr.org* (June 5, 2020), at https://www.justsecurity.org/70742/the-self-defeating-executive-order-against-the-international-criminalcourt/.

"The Self-Defeating Executive Order Against the International Criminal Court" in *Just Security* (June 12, 2020), at https://www.justsecurity.org/70742/the-self-defeating-executive-order-against-the-international criminal-court/.

"Don't Discriminate Against Those Who Remain Uninfected," in *Think Global Health* (Apr. 21, 2020) at https://www.thinkglobalhealth.org/article/dont-discriminate-against-those-who-remain-uninfected.

"Is it a Crime to Mishandle a Public Health Response?" in *cfr.org* (Apr. 22, 2020), at https://www.cfr.org/article/it-crime-mishandle-public-health-response.

"Former Officials Challenge Pompeo's Threats to the International Criminal Court," in *Just Security* (Mar. 18, 2020) at https://www.justsecurity.org/69255/former-officials-challenge-pompeos-threats-to-theinternational-criminal-court/.

"The ICC's Probe Into Atrocities in Afghanistan: What to Know," in *cfr.org* (Mar. 6, 2020), at https://www.cfr.org/article/iccs-probe-atrocities-afghanistan-what-know.

"The International Court of Justice's Recent Rulings on the Rohingya Genocide" for the Religion and Foreign Policy Series in *cfr.org* (Feb. 27, 2020), at https://www.cfr.org/conference-calls/internationalcourt-justices-recent-ruling-rohingya-genocide.

"Justice Joseph Story on 'High Crimes and Misdemeanors'—The Antithesis to Dershowitz," in *Just Security* (January 27, 2020), at https://www.justsecurity.org/68293/justice-joseph-story-on-high-crimesand-misdemeanors-the-antithesis-to-dershowitz/.

"Why the ICJ is Trying to Protect Myanmar's Rohingya," in *cfr.org* (January 24, 2020), at https://www.cfr.org/article/why-icj-trying-protect-myanmars-rohingya.

2019

THE SIT ROOM: IN THE THEATER OF WAR AND PEACE (2019).

Corporate Engagement with Public Policy: A Framework Based on Multi-Stakeholder Consultations, Workshop: Full Report and Summary (January 2019) (with Caroline Kaeb), The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, at https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/research/policy-brief/leadership-initiative-corporateengagement-public-policy.

"Request for Leave to File *Amicus Curiae* Submission on Behalf of David J. Scheffer," Situation in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, The Appeals Chamber, International Criminal Court, No. ICC-02/17, October 15, 2019, at https://www.icc-cpi.int/Pages/record.aspx?docNo=ICC-02/17-79.

"Bullhorns for Humanity: The Rise of CEOs as Social Activists," in *KNOWLEDGE@WHARTON* (June 6, 2019) (with Caroline Kaeb), at https://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/the-rising-social-activistsceos-and-their-employees/.

"New Financial Vehicles for Assisting Victims of Atrocity Crimes: A Bold Move for International Justice," in *Just Security* (Feb. 21, 2019), at https://www.justsecurity.org/62655/financial-vehiclesassisting-victims-atrocity-crimes-social-bond-international-justice/.

2018

21st Century Paradigms on Military Force for Humane Purposes, in Seeking Accountability for the Unlawful Use of Force (Leila Sadat, Ed.) 493 (2018) (with Angela Walker).

Is the Presumption of Corporate Impunity Dead? 50 CASE WESTERN RES. J. INT'L L. 213 (Spring 2018).

Closing Perspectives, in The Founders (David Crane, Leila Sadat, Michael Scharf, Eds.) 147 (2018).

"The Rising Challenge of Funding Victims' Needs at the International Criminal Court," in *Just Security* (Dec. 3, 2018), at https://www.justsecurity.org/61701/rising-challenge-funding-victims-internationalcriminal-court/.

"Create a Select Committee of ICC State Party Representatives," in *ICC FORUM* (June 28, 2018), at https://iccforum.com/anniversary#Scheffer.

2017

Book Review, 111 Am. J. Int'l L. 559 (2017) (reviewing Philippe Sands, East West Street: On the Origins of "Genocide" and "Crimes Against Humanity" (2016)).

Amending the Crime of Aggression under the Rome Statute, in THE CRIME OF AGGRESSION – A COMMENTARY (CLAUS KRESS AND STEPHAN BARRIGA, EDS.) 1480 (2017).

The Missing Pieces in Article 8 bis (Aggression) of the Rome Statute, in 58 Harv. Int'l L.J. 83 (Online Journal) (2017), at http://www.harvardilj.org/2017/04/the-missing-pieces-in-article-8-bis-aggressionof-the-rome-statute/.

"Build It and They Will Come: The Formative Stage of Human Rights Education in Business Schools," in *PRME Forum Blog*, Dec. 5, 2017, at

http://blog.journals.cambridge.org/2017/12/05/build-it-and-they-will-come-the-formative-stages-of-humanrights-education-in-business-schools/ (with Caroline Kaeb).

"The State Department's retreat in the fight against genocide," in *The Hill*, July 19, 2017, at http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/342705-the-state-departments-retreat-in-the-fight against?rnd=1500478588 (with Clint Williamson and Stephen Rapp).

Brief of Ambassador David J. Scheffer, Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law, as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of the Petitioners, *Joseph Jesner*, *et al.*, *v. Arab Bank PLC*, 822 F.3d 34 (2nd Cir. 2016), No. 16499 (U.S. Supreme Court, Jun. 26, 2017).

"Some Realities Behind the Application for Revision Concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia," in *Just Security*, Mar. 10, 2017, at https://www.justsecurity.org/38733/realities-application-revision-bosniaherzegovina-v-serbia.

"Prevent and punish in South Sudan," in *The Hill*, Feb. 1, 2017, at http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/317252-prevent-and-punish-in-south-sudan (with Stephen Rapp and Clint Williamson).

2016

Criminal Justice, in The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations (Jacob Katz Cogan, Ian Hurd, and Ian Johnstone, Eds.) 282 (2016).

The Creation of the Tribunals, 110 Am. J. INT'L L. 173 (2016) (with Michael J. Matheson).

Corporate Liability under the Rome Statute, 57 Harv. Int'l L.J. (Online Symposium) 35 (2016), at http://www.harvardilj.org/online-symposium-an-international-jurisdiction-for-corporate-atrocitycrimes/.

Maximizing Opportunities to Deter Further Atrocity Crimes, Contemporary Issues Facing the International Criminal Court (Richard H. Steinberg, Ed.) 220 (2016).

Reflections on Contemporary Responses to Atrocity Crimes, in 10 GENOCIDE STUDIES INTERNATIONAL 1, 105-114 (Spring 2016).

The Complex Crime of Aggression under the Rome Statute (Chapter 31), The United States and the International Criminal Court (Chapter 50), A Review of the Experiences of the Pre-Trial and Appeals Chambers of the International Criminal Court Regarding the Disclosure of Evidence (Chapter 58), in International Criminal Law (Antonio Cassese, Florian Jeßberger, Robert Cryer, & Urmila Dé, Eds.) (2016).

The United Nations Security Council and international criminal justice, in Cambridge Companion to International Criminal Law (William Schabas, Ed.) 178-195 (2016).

Is violence necessary to topple a dictator? Foreign Policy, January/February 2016, 30-31 (with Erica Chenoweth).

Declaration of David J. Scheffer on Aiding and Abetting Liability Pertaining to Crimes Against Humanity under International Law, *John Doe I, et al., v. Nestle*, *S.A., et al.*, Case No. CV 05-5133-SVW-MRW (U.S. Dist. Ct., Central District of California, Nov. 7, 2016).

"More Options for Africa under the Rome Statute," in *Just Security*, Nov. 19, 2016, at https://www.justsecurity.org/34669/options-africa-rome-statute-international-criminal-court-scheffer.

"Three Realities About the African Situation at the International Court," in *ICCForum*, Nov. 2016, at http://iccforum.com/withdrawal#Scheffer.

"How to Move Beyond South Africa's Notice of Withdrawal from the International Criminal Court", in *Just Security*, Oct. 24, 2016, at https://www.justsecurity.org/33778/move-south-africas-notice-withdrawalicc/.

"The Corporate Joust with Morality," in *Opinio Juris*, June 6, 2016 (with Caroline Kaeb), at http://opiniojuris.org/2016/06/06/the-corporate-joust-with-morality/.

"Justice Delayed, Not Denied, in Bosnia," in *Project Syndicate*, Mar. 25, 2016, at https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/radovan-karadzic-convicted-by-david-scheffer-2016-03.

Brief of Ambassador David J. Scheffer, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law, as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of the Petitioners, *Lungislie Ntsebeza v. Ford Motor Co.*, 796 F.3d 160, No. 15-16909 (2d Cir., 2015).

Amicus Curiae Brief of Former U.S. Ambassador-At-Large for War Crimes Issues David J. Scheffer in Support of Appellants and Reversal, *Doe et al. v. Cisco Systems, Inc. et al.*, No. 15-16909 (9th Cir., Jan. 11, 2016).

2015

The Impact of the War Crimes Tribunals on Corporate Liability for Atrocity Crimes under US Law, in Corporate Social Responsibility: Human Rights in the New Global Economy (Charlotte Walker-Said and John D. Kelly, Eds.) 152 (2015).

Reflections [on Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia], in Proceedings of the Eighth International Humanitarian Law Dialogs (Mark David Agrast and David M. Crane, Eds.) 27 (2015).

The Fate of R2P in the Age of Retrenchment, in Globalization and Its Impact on the Future of Human Rights and International Criminal Justice (M. Cherif Bassiouni, Ed.) 617 (2015).

Preface, in Morse Tan, The International Law and the Dual Crises: Narrative and Constructive Engagement ix (2015).

False Alarm about the Proprio Motu Prosecutor, in The First Global Prosecutor (Martha Minow, Cora True-Frost & Alex Whiting Eds.) 29 (2015).

"Shield America from Crimes Against Humanity," in *The Hill*, Dec. 23, 2015, at http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/homeland-security/264007-shield-america-from-crimes-againsthumanity.

"What is the breaking point for nonviolent resistance?" Foreign Policy Global Thinkers Podcast, November 17, 2015 (with Erica Chenoweth), at http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/11/17/what-is-the-breaking-point-for-non-violent resistance/?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=New%20Campaign&utm_term=Fl ashpoints.

"What Will Be The Tribunal's Legacy?" *Sense Tribunal*, June 17, 2015, at http://www.senseagency.com/icty/what-will-be-the-tribunals-legacy.29.html?cat_id=1&news_id=16630.

"Ending Genocide Denial at Srebrenica," in *Project Syndicate*, July 6, 2015, at http://www.projectsyndicate.org/commentary/muslim-dodik-mladic-security-council-by-david-scheffer-2015-07.

Amicus Curiae Brief of David J. Scheffer in Support of Appellants, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, Balintulo et al. v. Ford Motor Co., International Business Machines Corp., General Motors Corp., No. 14-4104(L) (Feb. 4, 2015).

2014

Atrocity Crimes, in GENOCIDE: A READER (JENS MEIERENRICH, Ed.) 88 (2014).

Proposal for an International Criminal Court Arrest Procedures Protocol, NW. J. INT'L HUM. RTS 299 (2014), at http://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/njihr/vol12/iss3/1/.

Amicus Curiae Brief of David J. Scheffer in Support of Appellants' Opposition to Petition for Rehearing and Rehearing En Banc, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, John Doe I, John Doe II; John Doe III; individually and on behalf of proposed class members; Global Exchange v. Nestle, U.S.A., Inc., Archer Daniels Midland Company; Cargill Incorporated Company; Cargill Cocoa, No. 10-56739 (Dec. 19, 2014).

"Fatou Bensouda on the International Criminal Court and Gender-Based Crimes, Dec. 11, 2014, at https://www.cfr.org/event/fatou-bensouda-international-criminal-court-and-gender-based-crimes-0.

"Scottish Independence Insta-Symposium: The Legal Terrain Following a Yes Vote for Scottish Independence," in *Opinio Juris* blog, Sept. 15, 2014, at http://opiniojuris.org/2014/09/15/scottishindependence-insta-symposium-legal-terrain-following-yes-vote-scottish-independence/.

"Justice in Syria and Iraq," in *Los Angeles Times*, July 6, 2014, p. A19, at http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-scheffer-prosecuting-atrocities-syria-iraq-20140706story.html.

"Advancing U.S. Interests in its Evolving Relationship with the International Criminal Court," ABA-ICC Project, June 3, 2014, ABA-ICC Project, at https://www.international-criminalcourt/. The international court of the international court of the international criminalcourt of the international criminal court of the international criminalcourt of the international criminalcourt of the international criminal criminalcourt of the international criminal criminal criminalcourt of the international criminalcourt of the internationalcourt of the internationalcour

"The flaw in Osborne's pre-emptive strike against a currency union," in *New Statesman*, Feb. 28, 2014, at http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/02/flaw-osbornes-pre-emptive-strike-against-currency-union.

2013

The Paradox of Kiobel in Europe, 107 Am. J. Int'l L. 852 (2013) (with Caroline Kaeb).

The Ethical Imperative of Curbing Corporate Tax Avoidance, 27 ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 361 (Winter 2013), at http://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/2014/the-ethical-imperative-ofcurbing-corporate-tax-avoidance/.

The Five Levels of CSR Compliance: The Resilience of Corporate Liability under the Alien Tort Statute and the Case for a Counterattack Strategy in Compliance Theory (with Caroline Kaeb) (29 BERKELEY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 334 (2011)) reprinted in Human Rights and Non-State Actors (Andrew Clapham, Ed.) 655 (2013).

The Enforcement of International Criminal Court Arrest Warrants, in The Rise of International Justice (Kelly Askin, Ed.) 175 (2013).

First Annual Clara Barton Lecture: Origins of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW DIALOGS (ELIZABETH ANDERSON & DAVID CRANE, EDS.) 79 (2013).

Chasing Leadership Impunity: The Rapid Evolution of International Criminal Law, 16 Chapman L. Rev. 395 (2013).

Atrocity Crimes Litigation: Year-in-Review (2011) Conference Abridged Transcript, 11 NW. J. INT'L HUM. RTS 146 (2013), at http://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/njihr/vol11/iss3/6.

International Political and Legal Implications of Scottish Independence, Adam Smith Research Foundation Working Papers 23:01 (February 2013), at http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media/270495 en.pdf.

Excerpts from All the Missing Souls: A Personal History of the War Crimes Tribunals, 9 Eyes on the Icc 1 (2012-2013).

Negotiating a Better Pathway to Scottish Independence, in Scotland Referendum: Road to 2014 Blog, March 3, 2013, at http://www.scotreferendum.com/2013/03/03/negotiating-a-better-pathway-to-scottishindependence/.

2012

ALL THE MISSING SOULS: A PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNALS (2012).

Tribunal Influence in Recent U.S. Jurisprudence on Corporate Liability for Atrocity Crimes, in Proceedings of the Fifth International Humanitarian Law Dialogs (David M. Crane & Elizabeth Anderson, Eds.) 47 (2012).

El Significado y la Activacion del Crimen de Agresion Bajo el Estatuto de law Corte Penal Internacional, 7 Politica Criminal 13 (Julio 2012) 209-229.

Brief of Ambassador David J. Scheffer as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of the Petitioners, *Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum Co.*, 133 S.Ct. 1659 (2013) (No. 10-1491) (June 13, 2012), at http://harvardhumanrights.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/ambassador-scheffer.pdf.

"America's Embrace of the International Criminal Court," in *JURIST* (July 2, 2012), at http://jurist.org/forum/2012/07/dan-scheffer-us-icc.php.

"Where ethnic differences breed tolerance, not strife: book review of *Pax Ethnica: Where and How Diversity Succeeds* (Karl E. Meyer and Shareen Blair Brysac)," in *Washington Post*, May 18, 2012, p. B7.

Confidential Memorandum on International Criminal Tribunals: Arrest/Surrender Cooperation Strategies, on file with the author and with the Prosecutor, International Criminal Court (2012).

"The Synthesis of Law and Politics and the Evolution of International Justice," Jan. 30, 2012, at https://www.cfr.org/event/synthesis-law-and-politics-and-evolution-international-justice-0.

2011

Introduction: Atrocity Crimes Litigation During 2010, 9 NW. J. INT'L HUM. RTS 233 (2011).

Atrocity Crimes Litigation Year-in-Review (2010) Conference: Lines of Inquiry Memorandum, 9 NW.J.INT'L HUM. RTS 241 (2011).

The Complex Crime of Aggression under the Rome Statute, in Proceedings of the Fourth International Humanitarian Law Dialogs (David M. Crane & Elizabeth Anderson, Eds.) 173 (2011).

Crimes Against Humanity and the Responsibility to Protect in Forging a Convention for Crimes Against Humanity (Leila Sadat, ed.) 305 (2011).

The International Criminal Court, in ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW (WILLIAM SCHABAS & NADIA BERNAZ, EDS.) 67 (ROUTLEDGE, 2011).

The Five Levels of CSR Compliance: The Resiliency of Corporate Liability under the Alien Tort Statute and the Case for a Counterattack Strategy in Compliance Theory (with Caroline Kaeb), 29 BERKELEY J. INT'L L. 334 (2011).

Brief of Ambassador David J. Scheffer, Northwestern University School of Law, as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of the Petitioners, *Esther Kiobel et al. v. Royal Dutch Petroleum Co., et al.,* 133 U.S. 1659 (2013) (No. 10-1491) (Dec. 20, 2011), at http://sblog.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/SchefferKiobel-Amicus-Brief-Final.pdf.

"Maximizing Opportunities to Deter Atrocity Crimes," in *Human Rights International Criminal Law Online Forum*, Office of the Prosecutor, International Criminal Court and the UCLA School of Law, Oct. 6, 2011, at http://uclalawforum.com/#Scheffer.

Book Review of Kathryn Sikkink, The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing World Politics (Norton, 2011), in *The New Republic, Online Review,* Sept. 26, 2011, at http://www.tnr.com/book/review/the-justice-cascade-kathryn-sikkink.

Brief of David J. Scheffer as *Amicus Curiae* Supporting Petition for Writ of Certiorari, *Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum Co.*, 133 U.S. 1659 (2013) (No. 10-1491) (July 12, 2011).

Brief of David J. Scheffer as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of Appellants and Reversal, U.S. Court of Appeals of the Ninth Circuit, *John Doe v. Nestle, S.A.*, No. 10-56739 (July 1, 2011).

'Justice League: The case for calling off the Tomahawks and bringing Muammar al-Qaddafi to The Hague,' FOREIGN POLICY (ONLINE EDITION), June 29, 2011, at

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/29/justice_league?page=FULL,1.

'The Least Wanted Most Wanted Man,' FOREIGN POLICY (ONLINE EDITION), June 2, 2011, at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/02/the-least wanted most wanted man.

2010

The Complex Crime of Aggression Under the Rome Statute, 23 Leiden J. Int'l L. 897 (2010).

The Crime of Aggression, in BEYOND KAMPALA: NEXT STEPS FOR U.S. PRINCIPLED ENGAGEMENT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT (RACHEL GORE, ED.), ASIL Discussion Paper, 87 (2010).

ICC Kampala Conference blogs by David Scheffer, June/July 2010, at http://iccreviewconference.blogspot.com/.

Introduction: Atrocity Crimes Litigation During 2009, 8 NW. J. INT'L HUM. RTS 235 (2010).

States Parties Approve New Crimes for International Criminal Court, 14 ASIL Insight 16 (June 22, 2010), http://www.asil.org/insights/volume/14/issue/16/states-parties-approve-new-crimesinternational-criminal-court.

A Pragmatic Approach to the Crime of Aggression, in International Criminal Justice: Law and Practice from the Rome Statute to Its Review (Roberto Bellelli, Ed.) 609 (2010).

Amicus Brief on Behalf of David J. Scheffer, Director of the Center for International Human Rights, Northwestern University School of Law, *The Prosecutor v. Nikola Sainovic, Dragoljub Ojdanic, Neboisa Pavkovic, Vladimir Lazarevic, Sreten Lukic* [The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (Case No. IT-05-87-A)] (July 29, 2010).

Brief of David J. Scheffer, Director of the Center for International Human Rights, as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of the Issuance of a Writ of Certiorari, *Presbyterian Church of Sudan, et al., Petitioners v. Talisman Energy, Inc., Respondent,* United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (No. 09-1262) (May 19, 2010).

2009

Closing the Impunity Gap in U.S. Law, 8 NW. J. INT'L HUM. RTS 30 (2009).

Introduction: Atrocity Crimes Litigation During 2008, 7 NW. J. INT'L HUM. RTS 161 (2009).

A Pragmatic Approach to Jurisdictional and Definitional Requirements for the Crime of Aggression in the Rome Statute, 41 Case Western Res. J. Int'l L. 397 (2009).

Tenth Annual Grotius Lecture Response: For Love of Country and International Criminal Law, Further Reflections, 24 Am. U. Int'l. Rev. 665 (2009); also published in Proceedings of the 102ND Annual Meeting 12-16 (9-12 April 2008), The American Society of International Law (2009).

The Legacy of Raphael Lemkin, Introduction to Lemkin's House in Catherine Filloux, SILENCE OF GOD AND OTHER PLAYS 4-8 (2009).

Elevate Your Vision, 17 ILSA QUARTERLY 54 (APRIL 2009).

Atrocity Crimes Framing the Responsibility to Protect, in The Responsibility to Protect: The Global Moral Compact for the 21st Century (Richard Cooper and Juliette Voinov Kohler, Eds.) 77 (2009).

Brief of David J. Scheffer as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of Petitioner and Rehearing En Banc, *The Presbyterian Church of Sudan, Rev. Matthew Mathiang Deang, et al., Plaintiffs-Appellants v. Talisman Energy, Inc., Defendant-Appellee,* United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (No. 07-0016-cv) (Oct. 28, 2009).

Cross-Fire Discussion of Lessons Learned from the Trials of Slobodan Miloševic, Charles Taylor, and Saddam Hussein in Criminal Jurisdiction 100 Years After the 1907 Hague Peace Conference (Willem J.M. van Genugten, Michael P. Scharf, & Sasha E. Radin, Eds.) 188 (2009).

"The United States and the Future of Global Governance: The Use of Force and Accountability in International Law—A U.S. Perspective," May 7-8, 2009, at https://www.cfr.org/event/united-states-andfuture-global-governance-use-force-and-accountability-international-law-us.

2008

The Constitutionality of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (with Ashley Cox), 98 J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY 983 (2008).

Atrocity Crimes Framing the Responsibility to Protect, 40 CASE WESTERN J. INT'L L. 111 (2008).

Introduction: Atrocity Crimes Litigation During 2007, 6 NW. J. INT'L HUM. RTS. 375 (2008).

The Growing Relevance and Enforceability of Corporate Human Rights Responsibility, 6 NW.J. INT'L Hum. Rts. 218 (2008).

A Review of the Experiences of the Pre-Trial and Appeals Chambers of the International Criminal Court Regarding the Disclosure of Evidence, 21 LEIDEN J. INT'L L. 151 (2008) (re-published as a book chapter in The Emerging Practice of the International Criminal Court (Goran Sluiter & Carsten Stahn, Eds.) 585 (2008)).

The Security Council and International Law on Military Occupations, in The UN SECURITY COUNCIL AND WAR (VAUGHAN LOWE, ADAM ROBERTS, JENNIFER WELSH, AND DOMINIK ZAUM, EDS.) 580 (2008).

Strategy for U.S. Engagement with the International Criminal Court (with John Hutson), CENTURY FOUNDATION REPORT (2008), available at www.tcf.org/Publications/internationalaffairs/Scheffer.pdf.

The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, in International Criminal Law, 3rd ed., (Cherif Bassiouni, ed.) 219 (2008).

Nuremberg Trials, in Proceedings of the First International Humanitarian Law Dialogs (David M. Crane & Elizabeth Anderson, Eds.) 155 (2008).

Policy Issues Under the UN Charter and the Rome Statute, in Conference on International Criminal Justice (Roberto Bellelli, Ed.) 48 (2008).

A Pragmatic Approach to Jurisdictional and Definitional Requirements for the Crime of Aggression in the Rome Statute, Proceedings of Turin Conference on the International Criminal Court (Robert Belleli, Ed.) (2008).

"CFR Symposium on International Law and Justice, Session One: International Obligations Toward Victims of Mass Atrocities," Oct. 17, 2008, at https://www.cfr.org/event/cfr-symposium-international-lawand-justice-session-one-international-obligations-toward.

"The Security Council's Struggle over Darfur and International Justice," in *Jurist* (Aug. 20, 2008), at http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/forumy/2008/08/security-councils-struggle-darfur.php.

"The US and the International Criminal Court Then and Now," in *Jurist* (July 15, 2008), at http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/forumy/2008/07/us-and-international-criminal-court.php. "Commentary to Boumediene," in *Opinio Juris blog* (June 16, 2008), at http://opiniojuris.org/2008/06/16/commentary-to-boumediene.

2007

How Reform Initiatives Can Bridge the Gulf Between the United States and The International Criminal Court, in Agata Filjalkowski, Ed., International Institutional Reform: Proceedings of the Seventh Hague Joint Conference (T.M.C. Asser, 2007).

Why International Law Matters in God's World, in Doing Justice to Mercy: Religion, Law, and Criminal Justice (Matthew Boulton, Kevin Jung, & Jonathan Rothchild, Eds.) 101 (2007).

The Unbearable Constancy of Atrocity Crimes in Darfur and the Eastern Congo, 5 Nw. U. J. Int'l Hum. Rts. 322 (2007).

The World Court's Fractured Ruling on Genocide, 2 GENOCIDE STUDIES AND PREVENTION 123 (2007).

International Criminal Court: Introductory Note to Decision on the Prosecution Application under Article 58(7) of the Statute In the Case of The Prosecutor v. Ahmad Muhammad Harun ("Ahmad Harun") and Ali Muhammad Al Abd-Al-Rahman ("Ali Kushayb") ICC Pre-Trial Chamber I, 46 INT'L LEGAL MATERIALS 532 (2007).

The Merits of Unifying Terms: "Atrocity Crimes" and "Atrocity Law," 2 GENOCIDE STUDIES AND PREVENTION 91 (2007).

The End of Exceptionalism in War Crimes, HARVARD INT'L REV. (August 2007), at http://hir.harvard.edu/; re-published at 16 ILSA QUARTERLY 16 (October 2007).

Foreword in DAVID HAWK, CONCENTRATIONS OF INHUMANITY (Freedom House, 2007), at www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/press_release/Concentrations_Inhumanity.pdf.

Gaps in U.S. Law Pertaining to Atrocity Crimes, Testimony of David Scheffer, Mayer Brown/Robert A. Helman Professor of Law, Northwestern University School of Law, Chicago, Illinois, Before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and the Law, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate: "No Safe Haven: Accountability for Human Rights Violations in the United States" (Nov. 14, 2007), at www.judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=3028&wit_id=6778.

Brief of Professor David Scheffer, International Law Expert, as *Amicus Curiae* in Support of the CoInvestigating Judges, Case No. 002/14-08-2006, *Kang Guek Eav (alias Duch)* in the Pre-Trial Chambers of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (Oct. 3, 2007), at http://www.cambodiatribunal.org/assets/pdf/court-filings/C5 13 EN.pdf.

"Why the Cambodia Tribunal Matters to the International Community, in *Cambodia Tribunal Monitor*, at http://www.d.dccam.org/Tribunal/Analysis/David Scheffer Essay September 2007%20in%20Eng.pdf.

Proposal on the Crime of Aggression, paper submitted to the Special Working Group on Aggression, Assembly of States Parties, International Criminal Court (May 24, 2007) (on file with author).

2006

Introductory Note to Military Commissions Act of 2006, 45 Int'l Legal Materials 1241 (2006).

Genocide and Atrocity Crimes, 1 GENOCIDE STUDIES AND PREVENTION 229 (2006). What if a Different U.S. Strategy Had Built a Different Court for Iraq? and What Happens to the Saddam Trial if Civil War Consumes Iraq? in Michael P. Scharf & Gregory S. McNeal (Eds.), Saddam on Trial 98 & 215 (2006).

Jostling Over Justice, 154 FOREIGN POLICY 4 (May/June 2006).

Memorandum on the Application of International Standards of Due Process by the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (Open Society Justice Initiative, New York, 2006), at https://www.justiceinitiative.org/uploads/c7918f08-8474-4ab3-a29702d4fca2b4ab/cambodia 20060401.pdf.

The Future U.S. Relationship with the International Criminal Court, 18 PACE INT'L L.REV. 801 (2006). Staying the Course with the International Criminal Court, 1 China Rev. of Int'l Crim. L. 348 (2006).

"Why Hamdan is Right About Conspiracy Liability," 15 ILSA QUARTERLY 29 (Oct. 2006) and in *Jurist* (Mar. 30, 2006), at http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/forumy/2006/03/why-hamdan-is-right-about-conspiracy.php.

"How the Compromise Detainee Legislation Guts Common Article 3," in *Jurist* (Sept. 26, 2006), at http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/forumy/2006/09/how-compromise-detainee-legislation.php.

"Hamdan v. Rumsfeld: The Supreme Court Affirms International Law," in Jurist (June 30, 2006), at http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/forumy/2006/06/hamdan-v-rumsfeld-supreme-court.php.

Brief of *Amicus Curiae* of Louise Doswald-Beck, Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, Fits Kalshoven, Vaughan Lowe, Marco Sassoli and the Center for International Human Rights of Northwestern University School of Law in Support of Petitioner, *Salim Ahmed Hamdan, Petitioner v. Donald H. Rumsfeld, Et Al., Respondents*, (No. 05184)(U.S. Supreme Court, 2005).

2005

The Collective International Responsibility to Protect: The Case of Darfur, Reforming the United Nations: The Use of Force to Safeguard International Security and Human Rights (Jan. 24-25, 2005), 5 Nw. U.J. INT'L HUM. RTS. 118, at http://www.law.northwestern.edu/journals/JIHR/v4/n1/10 (2005).

Blueprint for Legal Reforms at the United Nations and the International Criminal Court, 36 Geo. J. Int'l L. 683 (2005).

Article 98(2) of the Rome Statute: America's Original Intent, 3 J. Int'l Crim. Justice No. 2, 333 (2005).

2004

Report of the Conference on Gender Justice in Post-Conflict Situations, co-organized and published by the United Nations Development Fund for Women and the International Legal Assistance Consortium (Sept. 15-17, 2004) [official rapporteur], U.N. Doc. S/2004/862 (available at https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/579/99/PDF/N0457999.pdf?OpenElement).

Nuremberg Trials, in ENCYCLOPEDIA OF GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY (Macmillan Reference USA, 2004).

The Responsibility to Prevent, in Stockholm International Forum 2004 (26-28 January Proceedings): Preventing Genocide Threats and Responsibilities 131 (Eva Fried ed. 2004).

It Takes a Rwandan Village, 143 FOREIGN POLICY 78 (July/August 2004).

Lessons from the Rwandan Genocide, V Georgetown Journal of International Affairs No. 2, 149 (2004).

Three Memories from the Year of Origin: 1993, 2 J. INT'L CRIM. JUSTICE No. 2, 353 (2004) [regarding International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia].

Judicial Institutions and Security, United Nations and Global Security Initiative, United Nations Foundation, Feb. 2004, at www.un-globalsecurity.org/pdf/scheffer.pdf.

How to Turn the Tide Using the Rome Statute's Temporal Jurisdiction, 2 J. Int'l Crim. Justice No. 1, 26 (2004).

Amicus Brief of Professor David John Scheffer, The Vietnam Association for Victims of Agent Orange/Dioxin Et Al., v. The Dow Chemical Company Et Al., United States District Court, Eastern District Court of New York (No. 04 CV 0400 (JBW)) (2004).

Brief of Law of War Experts as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Respondents, *Donald Rumsfeld, Petitioner v. Jose Padilla and Donna R. Newman, as Next Friend of Jose Padilla, Respondents*, (No. 03-1027) (U.S. Supreme Court, 2004) (with Jeffrey K. Walker).

2003

Beyond Occupation Law, 97 AM. J. INT'L L. 842 (2003).

Arresting War Criminals: Mission Creep or Mission Impossible?, 35 CASE W. RES. J. INT'L L. 319 (2003).

Restoring U.S. Engagement with the International Criminal Court, 21 Wis. Int'l L.J. 599 (2003).

Advancing U.S. Interests with the International Criminal Court, 36 VANDERBILT J. TRANS. L. 1567 (2003).

"No: The U.S. Will Have Far More to Gain Than Lose by Collaborating With the U.N. in Iraq's Renewal," *Insight Magazine*, May 27-June 9, 2003, at 46.

PROSECUTING IRAQI WAR CRIMES: A CONSIDERATION OF THE DIFFERENT FORUM OPTIONS, *Testimony: Forum Options for Prosecution of Iraqi Atrocity Crimes: Hearing Before the Sen. Comm. on Governmental Affairs*, 108th Cong., 1st Sess., S. Doc. No. 108-174 (2003), at 19, 33, & 64, *see also* 2003 WL 1861954 (F.D.C.H.)(2003).

2002

Review Essay: *Delusions about Leadership, Terrorism, and War*, 97 Am. J. Int'l L. 209 (2003) (review of Robert D. Kagan, Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos (2002) and Caleb Carr, Lessons of Terror: A History of Warfare Against Civilians (2002)).

Should the United States Join the International Criminal Court? 9 U.C. DAVIS J. INT'L L. & POL'Y 45 (2002).

International Law After September 11, 96 AM. SOC'Y INT'L L. PROC. 404 (2002).

War Crimes and the Clinton Administration, 69 Soc. Res. 1109 (2002).

The Future of Atrocity Law, 25 SUFFOLK TRANSNAT'L L. REV. 389 (2002).

Staying the Course with the International Criminal Court, 35 CORNELL INT'L L.J. 47 (2001-2002).

REALITY CHECK ON MILITARY COMMISSIONS, Statement and Report: Department of Justice: Preserving Our Freedoms While Defending Against Terrorism: Hearings Before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 107th Cong., 1st Sess., S. Doc. No. 107-704 (2002), at 563.

2001

Review Essay: The Tool Box, Past and Present, of Justice and Reconciliation for Atrocities, 96 Am. J. Int'l L. 70 (2001) (review of Gary Jonathan Bass, Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals (2000); Ruti G. Teitel, Transitional Justice (2000); Burying the Past: Making Peace & Doing Justice After Civil Conflict (Nigel Biggar, ed., 2001)).

Fourteenth Waldemar A. Solf Lecture in International Law: A Negotiator's Perspective on the International Criminal Court, 167 MIL. L. REV. 1 (2001).

Options for Prosecuting International Terrorists, SPECIAL REPORT NO. 78, U.S. Institute of Peace (Nov. 14, 2001), at http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr78.html.

Opening Address [on universal jurisdiction], 35 NEW ENG. L. REV. 233 (2001).

Correspondence, 95 AM. U. INT'L L. 264 (2001) [regarding International Criminal Court negotiations].

2000

The U.S. Perspective on the ICC, in The United States & the International Criminal Court 115 (Sarah B. Sewall & Carl Kaysen Eds. 2000).

The International Criminal Court: The Challenge of Jurisdiction, 93 Am. Soc'y Int'l L. Proc. 68 (2002).

1999

U.S. Policy and the International Criminal Court, 32 CORNELL INT'L L.J. 529 (1999).

Blaine Sloan Lecture: War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, 11 PACE INT'L L. REV. 319 (1999).

The United States and the International Criminal Court, 93 Am. J. Int'l L. 12 (1999).

1998

U.N. Engagement in Ethnic Conflicts, in International Law & Ethnic Conflict 147 (David Wippman Ed. 1998).

U.S. Policy on International Criminal Tribunals, 13 Am. U. INT'L L. REV. 1389 (1998).

1996

International Judicial Intervention, 102 FOREIGN POL'Y 34 (1996).

1995

Legal Regulation of the Use of Force, in BEYOND CONFRONTATION: INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR THE POST-COLD WAR ERA 93 (DAMROSCH, DANILENKO, AND MULLERSON EDS., 1995) (with Rein Mullerson).

United Nations Peace Operations and Prospects for a Standby Force, 28 CORNELL INT'L L.J. 649 (1995).

1994

United States: Administration Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations, 33 INT'L LEGAL MATERIALS 795 (1994).

1993

International Legal Implications of a PRC Use of Military Force Against Taiwan, in If China Crosses the Taiwan Strait: The International Response 55 (P. Chang & M. Lasater Eds., 1993).

1992

Toward a Modern Doctrine of Humanitarian Intervention, 23 U. Tol. L. Rev. 253 (1992).

SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER (1992) (WITH MORTON H. HALPERIN & PATRICIA L. SMALL) [also published in Spanish].

CHANGING OUR WAYS, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT NATIONAL COMMISSION ON AMERICA AND THE WORLD (CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, 1992) (staff author; Richard Holbrooke and Winston Lord as chairs).

Challenges Confronting Collective Security: Humanitarian Intervention, in Three Views on the Issue of Humanitarian Intervention 1 (United States Institute of Peace, 1992).

1991

LAW AND FORCE IN THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER (1991) (WITH LORI F. DAMROSCH AS COEDITOR); *Preface*, in *id.*, at ix (with Lori F. Damrosch), and *Commentary on Collective Security*, in *id.*, at 101.

Collective Security and the New Europe, 29 Col. J. Trans. L. 534 (1991).

Structuring a New Security Regime in Europe, 77 AM. Soc'y Int'l. Proc. 288 (1991).

The Great Debate of the 1980s, at 1, and Use of Force After the Cold War: Panama, Iraq, and the New World Order, at 109, in RIGHT v. MIGHT: INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE USE OF FORCE (2nd ed., 1991).

Statement: War Powers and the U.N. Charter: Constraints on the President's Power to Commit U.S. Armed Forces to Combat under the Authority of the U.N. Security Council: A Study of the Legislative History in the U.S. Senate of the U.N. Charter and the U.N. Participation Act of 1945, in The Constitutional Roles of Congress and the President in Declaring and Waging War: Hearing Before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 102nd Cong., 1st Sess., S. Doc. No. 102-183 (1991), pp. 5-27.

1990

Limited Collective Security, 80 FOREIGN POL'Y 77 (Fall 1990) (with Gregory Flynn).

Non-Judicial State Remedies and the Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, 27 Stan. J. Int'l L. 83 (1990).

Perpich v. Department of Defense, 84 AM. J. INT'L L. 914 (1990).

1989

Nouveau Law and Foreign Policy, 76 Foreign Pol'y 44 (Fall 1989).

Die Verhinderung der Weiterverbreitung von chemisch-biologischen Waffen sowie von Tragerraketen [about U.S. sanctions legislation to halt proliferation of chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missiles], 44 Europa-Archiv 577 (Oct. 10, 1989).

1987

Legal analysis of the interpretation and termination of treaties with particular reference to the ABM Treaty, in Review of ABM Treaty Interpretation Dispute and SDI, Hearing before the House Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Security and Science, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 100th Cong., 1st Sess. (Feb. 26, 1987), at 84.

The Reykjavik Talks: Promise or Peril, REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ARMS CONTROL, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND SCIENCE TO THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, U.S. House of Representatives, 100th Cong., 1st Sess. (Jan. 1987) (staff author).

U.S. Law and the Iran-Contra Affair, 81 Am. J. INT'L L. 696 (1987).

1978

The Law of Treaty Termination as Applied to the United States DeRecognition of the Republic of China, 19 Harv. Int'l L.J. 931 (1978).

1977

"Britain's 'Bill of Rights': Judicial Review is There to Stay," 224 The Nation 364 (Mar. 26, 1977).

1976

"Under the Hammer of the Pound: Britain's Polarizing Nightmare," 223 The Nation 454 (Nov. 6, 1976).

"Scotland, Wales and Oil: Will Britain Break Up?" 222 The Nation 73 (Jan. 24, 1976).

1975

PROCESSES OF MODERNIZATION IN SCOTLAND: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NORTH SEA OIL (Thesis (A.B., Honors) – Harvard University, 1975), Harvard University Archives Harvard Depository HU 92.75.772, HOLLIS Number 003926303.

OP-EDs, FEATURES, AND BLOGS

Scores of articles (op-eds, features, blogs) published from 1981 to the present in Financial Times, The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, Asian Wall Street Journal, Wall Street Journal Europe, Los Angeles Times, International Herald Tribune, National Post (Canada), Christian Science Monitor, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Miami Herald, San Francisco Examiner, Chicago Tribune, cfr.org, Leuven Transitional Justice Blog, Der Tagesspiegel, Army Times, Philadelphia Inquirer, Atlanta Journal/Atlanta Constitution, USA Today, Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, The Interdependent, and Project Syndicate, CNN's In the Arena, Jurist, ICCFORUM, Just Security, Opinio Juris, Leuven Transitional Justice Blog, cfr.org, Cambodia Tribunal Monitor, Grotian Moment, Chicago Council on Global Affairs, and The ICC Review Conference: Kampala 2010 web sites. See Northwestern Law Faculty Publications (David Scheffer) web page for a list of such publications since 2005 (begin search at https://www.law.northwestern.edu/research-faculty/publications/). A complete list of all publications is available upon request.