# Curriculum Vitae Dr. PAUL ROBERT WILLIAMS

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

School of International Service & Washington College of Law, American University, Washington, D.C. (1997-Present)

Rebecca I. Grazier Professor of Law and International Relations
Preparing and presenting lectures on International Law and Foreign Affairs, Law of the Sea, Advanced Issues of Public International Law, the Role of Law in Peace Building, and State Succession.

# **Public International Law & Policy Group**, Washington, D.C. (11/94-Present)

Founder – Created 501(c)3 organization to provide public international legal aid to developing states and states in transition. Advised over two dozen states on drafting legislation, peace agreements, and post-conflict constitutions.

# Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C. (9/96-1998).

Senior Associate, Director of Public International Law and Policy Program Responsibilities included researching, writing and speaking on the relationship between international law and foreign policy. Specific areas of focus included international environmental law, human rights, state succession and the use of force.

# U.S. Department of State, Office of the Legal Adviser, Washington, D.C. (10/91-9/93).

Attorney-Adviser, Office of European and Canadian Affairs
Prepared legal memoranda and advised foreign service clients on matters of state succession, recognition of states, economic sanctions, and treaty interpretation;
Co-Counsel for the Serbian Sanctions Task Force; and Counsel for the International Boundary Commission.

Attorney-Adviser, Office of Oceans, Environment, and Scientific Affairs Represented the Office of the Legal Adviser at the 45th meeting of the International Whaling Commission.

# Colorado State Supreme Court, Denver, CO (8/90-8/91).

Law Clerk for Justice William H Erickson

#### SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Advised the Libyan General National Congress and members of the Libyan Cabinet on transitional justice, constitutional development, legislative drafting, and crisis management.

Advised the Syrian National Council, Syrian Opposition Council, and members of Syrian civil society on matters of recognition and human rights provisions.

Advised members of the Syrian Opposition, local civil society leaders, and local government leaders in Syria on transitional justice, ceasefires, and local transitional governance options.

Advised the UN Special Envoy to Yemen on all matters relating to the National Dialogue process, the constitutional drafting process, and the larger political transition.

Advised Yemen civil society organizations on matters relating to legal regime change.

Advised pro democracy leaders in Egypt on constitutional matters.

Advised political parties and civil society groups in Tunisia on constitutional matters.

Advised the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Human Rights on transitional justice in the Ivory Coast.

Advised the Libyan Transitional National Council on matters of international recognition, compliance with the laws of war and constitutional development.

Advised the government of Nepal on drafting a new constitution.

Advised the Government of Kenya on the preparation of legislation relating to the implementation of the new constitution on matters relating to land, devolution and justice.

Advised civil society and rebel movements on the Darfur peace process, including serving as a member of the Darfuri delegation to the Doha peace talks.

Advised civil society organizations on their participation in the South Sudan peace process.

Advised the President and Vice President of Southern Sudan on the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Accord, preparations for a referendum on independence in 2011, and state succession.

Served as Co-Counsel to the Government of Southern Sudan on the Abyei Arbitration before the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague.

Advised the Government of Uganda on the creation of a domestic War Crimes Chamber.

Advised the Government of Somaliland on the preparation of a new constitution.

Advising the Burmese government in exile.

Advised the Government of Sri Lanka on the peace process with the LTTE.

Advised the Government of Georgia on the Abkhaz peace negotiations.

Advised the President and Prime Minister of Kosovo on the Vienna Final Status Talks.

Advised the President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on union negotiations with the Government of Cyprus.

Advised the President and Prime Minister of Montenegro on questions of international recognition and state succession.

Advised the chairman of the Iraq Constitutional Committee on the drafting of the new constitution.

Advised the San Bushmen on negotiations with the government of Botswana.

Served as a legal advisor and member of the Kosovo delegation during the Rambouillet Peace Conference

Advised the President and Foreign Minister of Armenia on the Minsk Peace Process.

Served as a legal advisor and member of the Bosnian delegation during the Dayton Peace Negotiations.

Advised a Somali delegation to the Kenyan hosted Somali peace negotiations.

Advised on the drafting and implementation of the Afghan Constitution.

Advised the President of Montenegro during the Constitutional Charter negotiations with Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Advised the Macedonian Albanian delegation during the Lake Ohrid peace negotiations.

Advised the Foreign Minister of East Timor on matters concerning the demarcation of the Timor Sea between East Timor and Australia.

Advised the President of Macedonia on matters relating to state recognition and Macedonian/Greek relations.

Advised the President of Estonia on matters relating to Estonian/Russian border negotiations.

Advised the Foreign Minister of Estonia on matters relating to the treatment of ethnic and national minorities

Advised the President and Foreign Minister of Bosnia on the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords.

Advised Senator Bob Dole on the illegality of the United Nations Arms embargo against Bosnia.

Served as Co-Counsel for the Department of State's Serbian Sanctions Task Force.

Served as one of the Department of State's primary counsel on legal matters relating to the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and accompanying matters of state succession.

Served as the Department of State's Counsel to the United State's Delegation to the 45th meeting of the International Whaling Commission.

#### **EDUCATION**

# University of Cambridge, Ph.D. 1998

Dissertation - The Role of International Law in Promoting the Resolution of Central and East European Transboundary Environmental Disputes.

Stanford Law School, J.D. Spring 1990, Distinction

University of California at Davis, A.B., Political Science, Spring 1987, *Highest Honors* Senior Honors Thesis - A Lockean Critique of Rawls' Theory of Justice.

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Books**

Lawyering Peace (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2020).

RESEARCH HANDBOOK ON POST-CONFLICT STATE BUILDING (Edward Elgar Press, forthcoming August 2020). Co-edited with Milena Sterio.

THE SYRIAN CONFLICT'S IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL LAW (Cambridge University Press, 2020). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf and Milena Sterio.

THE LAW OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition Casebook (Carolina Academic Press, 2013). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf.

SHAPING FOREIGN POLICY IN TIMES OF CRISIS: THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT LEGAL ADVISER, (Cambridge University Press 2010). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf.

PEACE WITH JUSTICE? WAR CRIMES AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, (Rowman and Littlefield, 2002). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf. Book of the Year Award by the International Association of Penal Law for Scholarly and Theoretical Contribution to the Field.

INDICTMENT AT THE HAGUE: THE MILOSEVIC REGIME AND CRIMES OF THE BALKAN WARS, (New York University Press, 2002). Co-authored with Norman Cigar.

International Law and the Resolution of Central and East European Transboundary Environmental Disputes (Macmillan/St. Martins Press, 2000). Awarded the Elizabeth Payne Cubberly Research Prize.

Treatment of Detainees (Henry-Dunant Institute, 1990).

#### Law Journals

Attrocities Documented, Accountability Needed: Finding Justice for the Rohingya through the ICC and Independent Mechanism, Harvard Human Rights Journal, Online (2019). Co-authored with Jessica Levy.

Use of Force in Humanitarian Crises: Addressing the Limitations of U.N Security Council Authorization, Case Western Journal of International Law (2019). Co-authored with Sophie Pearlman.

The Peace vs. Justice Puzzle and the Syrian Crisis, ILSA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE LAW (2018). Co-authored with Lisa K. Dicker and C. Danae Paterson.

#LawyeringPeace: The Role of Lawyers in Peacebuilding, ILSA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE LAW (2016). Co-authored with Christin Coster.

Strategic Absence: US Policy in the Middle East and North Africa, Case Western Journal of International Law (2016).

Earned Sovereignty Revisited: Creating a Strategic Framework for Managing Self-Determination Based Conflicts, ILSA, (2015).

*Piracy, the Response of International Law*, Case Western Journal of International Law, (2014). Co-authored with D. L. Pressly.

*International Law and the Arab Spring*, Denver Journal of International Law (2013). Co-authored with Betsy Popken.

The Clash of the Titans: Justice and Realpolitik in Libya, American University International Law Review (2013). Co-authored with Anna F. Triponel.

Preventing Mass Atrocity Crimes: The Responsibility to Protect and the Syria Crisis, Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law (2013). Co-authored with J. Trevor Ulbrick and Jonathan Worboys.

Earned Sovereignty: The Way Forward, Denver Journal of International Law (2012). Co-authored with Betsy Popken.

US Foreign Policy and the Arab Spring: Ten Short-Term Lessons Learned, Denver Journal of International Law and Policy (2012). Co-authored with Betsy Popken.

Libya and the Evolution of the Law of Humanitarian Intervention, Case Western Journal of International Law (2012). Co-authored with Betsy Popken.

What Makes a State? 106th Annual ASIL Proceedings (2012).

Lawfare: A War Worth Fighting, Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law (Spring 2011).

Humanitarian Intervention Post 9/11, Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law (Spring 2008).

The Responsibility to Protect and International Law, Journal of The Hague Academy of International Law (Spring 2008). Co-authored with Meghan Stewart.

The Case for Federalism in Iraq, American University Journal of International Law (November 2008). Co-authored with Matthew T. Simpson.

Earned Sovereignty: Bridging the Gap between Sovereignty and Self-Determination, Stanford Journal of International Law (2004). Co-authored with Francesca Jannotti Pecci.

Preemption in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: What are the Legal Parameters?, 10 ISLA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE LAW 353 (2004). Co-authored with Scott Lyons & Tali Neuwirth.

Earned Sovereignty: An Emerging Conflict Resolution Approach, 10 ILSA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE LAW 437 (2004). Co-authored with Karen Heymann.

The Role of Justice in the Former Yugoslavia: Antidote or Placebo for Coercive Appeasement, 35 Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law 219 (2003).

Earned Sovereignty: The Political Dimension, 31 Denver Journal of International Law & Policy 355 (2003). Co-authored with James Hooper.

Earned Sovereignty: The Road to Resolving the Conflict Over Kosovo's Final Status, 31 Denver Journal of International Law & Policy 387 (2003).

Resolving Sovereignty-Based Conflicts: The Emerging Approach of Earned Sovereignty, Denver Journal of International Law & Policy (2003). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf & James R. Hooper.

The Functions of Justice and Anti-justice in the Peace-building Process, Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law (2003). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf.

Coercive Appeasement: The Flawed International Response to the Serbian Rogue Regime, 36 New England Law Review 825 (2002). Co-authored with Karina M. Waller.

Doing Justice During Wartime: Why Military Tribunals Make Sense, Policy Review (February 2002). Co-authored with Abraham D. Sofaer.

Report of the Committee of Experts on Nation Rebuilding in Afghanistan, New England Law Review (2002). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf.

State Succession to Debts and Assets: The Modern Law and Policy, Harvard International Law Journal (2001). Co-authored with Jennifer Harris.

*NATO Intervention on Trial: The Legal Case that Was Never Made*, Human Rights Review (January 2000). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf.

The Norm of Justice and the Negotiation of the Rambouillet/Paris Peace Accords, Leiden Journal of International Law (January 2000).

Legal Basis for NATO Military Action Taken Against Serbia/Montenegro, 5 INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING (Winter 1999). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf. The Northern Ireland Peace Agreement: Evolving the Principle of Self-Determination, 12 Leiden Journal of International Law 155 (1999).

Can International Legal Principles Promote the Resolution of Central and East European Transboundary Environmental Disputes?, 7 Georgetown International and Environmental Law Review 421 (1995).

Bankruptcy in Russia: The Evolution of a Comprehensive Russian Bankruptcy Code, 21 Review of Central and East European Law 511 (1995). Co-authored with Paul Wade.

Treaty Succession: Conflicting State Practice, 23 Denver Journal of International Law and Policy 1 (1994). Cited before the International Court of Justice.

International Environmental Dispute Resolution: The Dispute Between Slovakia and Hungary Concerning Construction of the Gabcíkovo and Nagymaros Dams, 19 Columbia Journal of Environmental Law 1 (1994).

State Succession and the International Financial Institutions: Political Criteria or Sound Management?, 43 International and Comparative Law Quarterly 776 (1994).

Water Marketing and Instream Flows: the Next Step in Protecting California's Instream Values, 9 Stanford Environmental Law Journal 132 (1990). Co-authored with Steve McHugh.

# **Chapters, Reports and Book Reviews**

Military Intervention and Diplomatic Engagement in Libya: A Collage of Policy, Force and Law, in Case Studies in Complex Operations (2013). Co-authored with Anna Triponel.

Drafting in Doha: An Assessment of the Darfur Peace Process and Ceasefire Agreements, in Monopoly of Force, The Nexus of DDR and SSR (2011). Co-authored with Matthew T. Simpson.

Is It True That There is No Right of Self-determination for Kosova?, in The Case for Kosova: Passage to Independence (2006). Co-authored with Jennifer Ober.

Was the Former 1999 NATO Intervention an Illegal War Against the Former Republic of Yugoslavia?, in The Case for Kosova: Passage to Independence (2006). Co-authored with Catherine Croft.

*Achieving a Final Status Settlement for Kosovo*, published by the Center for Strategic & International Studies (2003). Co-authored with Janusz Bugajski and R. Bruce Hitchner.

Simulating Kosovo: Lessons for Final Status Negotiations, published by U.S. Institute of Peace (Nov. 2002). Co-authored with James Hooper.

The Role of Justice in Peace Negotiations, in Post Conflict Justice (ed. M. Cherif Bassiouni) (Transnational Publishers, 2002).

Trying the Butcher of Omarska, 10 Criminal Law Forum 147 (1999). Book Review.

Creating International Space for Taiwan: The Law and Politics of Recognition, 32 New England Law Review 801 (1998).

*Legal Issues*, in A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 53<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the United Nations (1998).

Civil and Political Sanctions for Reining in Impunity for International Crimes and Serious Violations of Fundamental Human Rights, (Rapporteur's Report) (1998).

UN Mandates: The Letter of the Law, in With No Peace to Keep: United Nations Peacekeeping and the War in the Former Yugoslavia (December 1995). Co-authored with Michael P. Scharf.

Illegal Annexation and State Continuity: The Case of the Incorporation of the Baltic States by the USSR, American Journal of International Law (Jul. 2005). Book Review. Co-authored with Yoonie Kim.

Constitutionalizing Globalization: The Postmodern Revival of Confederal Arrangements, 93 American Journal of International Law 561 (1999). Book Review. Co-authored with Ramzi Nemo

The Politics and Policy of Deep Seabed Mining, 40 American Journal of Comparative Law 276 (1992). Book Review.

Common Heritage or Common Burden, 14 Houston Journal of International Law 260 (1991). Book Review.

#### **Monographs**

ESTABLISHING A STABLE DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE IN IRAQ: SOME BASIC CONSIDERATIONS, published by the Century Fund and the Public International Law & Policy Group, and republished in 39 New England Law Review 53 (2004).

CURRENT LEGAL STATUS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (FRY), AND OF SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO, published by the International Crisis Group (2000).

A BLUE PRINT FOR RESOLVING THE NAGORNO-KARABAGH CRISIS, published by the New England Center for International Law and Policy (June 2000) (Primary Co-author).

Internediate Sovereignty as a Solution to the Kosova Crisis, published by the International Crisis Group (1998) (Primary Author).

MAKING JUSTICE WORK, published by the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Foundation (1998) (Primary Co-author).

Kosovo: From Crisis to Solution, prepared in conjunction with the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (November 1, 1997) (Primary Author).

ACCOUNTABILITY AND JUDICIAL RESPONSE: BUILDING MECHANISMS FOR POST-CONFLICT JUSTICE, published by the Stanley Foundation (1997) (Co-Chairman of Panel).

IMPLEMENTING THE DAYTON ACCORDS: OPTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS (ed., September 1997) (Primary Author).

A *Prima Facie* Case for the Indictment of Slobodan Milosevic, prepared for the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and published in the United Kingdom, United States, Germany and Bosnia. (April 1996). (Co-authored with Dr. Norman Cigar).

# **Policy Articles and Op-Eds**

Bougainville's Faustian Bargain, The DIPLOMAT (November 27, 2019) with Carly Fabian.

Reviving Peace Talks in Yemen: What Comes Next, Atlantic Council (November 20, 2018) with Jessica Levy.

How the UN General Assembly Can Create Accountability for Atrocity Crimes in Syria, Huffington Post (October 21, 2016) with Courtney Paterson and Elise Meyer.

The Colombian Referendum: A Lesson on Peace without Justice, Huffington Post (October 7, 2016) with Tiffany Sommadossi.

Tear It All Down: The Significance Of The al-Mahdi Case and The War Crime Of Destruction Of Cultural Heritage, Huffington Post (September 26, 2016) with Courtney Paterson.

*U.S. Explores Options To Support A Democratic, Peaceful South Sudan*, Huffington Post (September 21, 2016) with Courtney Paterson.

The Dragomir Vasic Indictment: the Need for Post-Conflict Accountability, The Jurist (January 27, 2015) with Kelly Brouse.

How the Voters of Catalonia May Change Europe, The Atlanticist, (January 16, 2014) with Roushani Mansoor.

Bangladesh's War Crimes Tribunal Isn't About Justice, Opinio Juris, (November 18, 2013) with Roushani Mansoor.

The Legal Case for Using Force to Prevent a Government from Employing Chemical Weapons to Commit Mass Atrocities, Atlantic Council MENA Source, (August 31, 2013) with J. Trevor Ulbrick and Jonathan Worboys.

Chemical Red Lines on Syria, FOREIGN POLICY, (December 5, 2012) with J. Trevor Ulbrick and Jonathan Worboys.

*Preventing Atrocity Crimes in Syria*, The New Atlanticist, (September 10, 2012) with J. Trevor Ulbrick and Jonathan Worboys.

*Deals with the Devil: Thorny Diplomacy in Sudan,* The National Interest, (July 1, 2011), with Ambassador Morton Abramowitz.

Word Games: The UN and Genocide in Darfur, The Jurist, (March 17, 2005), with Jamal Jafari.

Iraq's Political Compact, Boston Globe, (August 13, 2005).

A Defining Moment for Kosovo, Baltimore Sun, (March 23, 2004), with Bruce R. Hitchner.

Peace Before Prosecution? Washington Post, (August 25, 2003), with Ambassador Morton Abramowitz.

Yes, Military Commissions Are Appropriate, Knight Ridder, (April 23, 2003), with Abraham D. Sofaer.

The Case Against Amnesty for Hussein, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, (February 14, 2003).

With Its Acts of war, Al-Qaida Yielded Rights, Baltimore Sun, (February 4, 2002), with Richard L. Hubbell.

Prosecute Terrorists on a World Stage, Los Angeles Times, (November 18, 2001), with Michael P. Scharf.

Rebuild Afghanistan - or Terrorists Will Find Fertile Ground for Growth, The Washington Times, (October 24, 2001), with Bruce Hitchner.

The West Must Act to Avoid a Bosnia Redux, The Wall Street Journal Europe, (March 27, 1998), with Norman Cigar.

*Indict Serbia's Milosevic for Crimes Against Humanity*, International Herald Tribune, (March 21, 1998), with Michael P. Scharf.

Reward Serbs With the Town of Brcko? Don't Do It, The Christian Science Monitor, (March 11, 1998), with Norman Cigar.

Serbia After Milosevic, The Christian Science Monitor, (January 16, 1997), with Norman Cigar.

For the Peace in the Balkans, Indict Milosevic Now, International Herald Tribune, (January 9, 1997), with Norman Cigar.

Promise Them Anything, The Weekly Standard, (December 18, 1995).

*UN Members Share Guilt for the Genocide in Bosnia*, The Christian Science Monitor (August 8, 1995).

*Une Lourde Violation du Droit International*, Le Monde, (June 29, 1995).

Why the Bosnian Arms Embargo Is Illegal, The Wall Street Journal Europe, (June 15, 1995).

The Crippling of Bosnia, The Tablet, (February 25, 1995)

# CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY and EXPERT COMMENTARY AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Ending Impunity in Kosovo: Closing the Accountability Gap for Crimes Committed During the Kosovo Conflict, **House Committee on Foreign Affairs**, (April 2019).

Neo-Trusteeship in South Sudan, Written Testimony, **Senate Committee on Foreign Relations**, (September 2016).

Creating a Strategic Framework for Addressing the Conflict between Sovereignty and Self-Determination: Earned Sovereignty, **House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe**, **Eurasia**, and **Emerging Threats** (March 2016).

Winning the Peace in Kosovo: Time to Formulate a Strategy, **Senate Foreign Relations** Committee's Sub-Committee on European Affairs (June 2000).

Holding War Criminals Accountable, Senate/House Joint Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe (September 1999).

Assessment of European Policy in the South Balkan Region, **British House of Commons**, (May 2002)

Europe and Bosnia: The Case for Intervention, **British House of Commons**, (April 1996).

#### INVITED LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS

Over 150 public lectures and presentations covering topics such as the Yugoslav peace process, the Dayton peace negotiations, the Rambouillet/Paris negotiations, the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, European integration, the Nagorno-Karabagh crisis, the legal status of Taiwan, responsibility to protect, self-determination, earned sovereignty, humanitarian intervention, peacekeeping, self-defense, human rights, the U.N. Human Rights Committee, war crimes, impunity, the International Criminal Court, state succession, international environmental dispute resolution, Central and East European geopolitics, the politics of economic transformation, the regulation of transboundary watercourses, the legal regime of nuclear power management, and California water law.

Venues have included: New York, Washington, D.C., Boston, Palo Alto, San Antonio, Denver, Chicago, Cleveland, Dayton, Prague, Warsaw, The Hague, St. Martin, Curacao, London, Cambridge, Paris, Juba, Kampala, Hargeisa, Nairobi, Colombo, Katmandu, Podgorica, Skopje, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Messina, Siracusa, Stockholm, Geneva, Budapest, Rome, Ankara, and Tallinn.

#### NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIA INTERVIEWS

Interviewed over 500 times on matters of international law and policy by major print and broadcast media, including: The New York Times, The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Boston Globe, Newsweek Magazine, US News and World Report, Time Magazine, Associated Press, Fox News, ABC News, NBC News, CBS News, MSNBC, BBC, CNN, Voice of America, National Public Radio, and BBC The World.

### PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

**American Society of International Law,** former and current member of Executive Council; former member of Annual Program Committee; frequent panelist at Annual Meeting, and former Vice Chairman of the International Organizations Interest Group.

Council on Foreign Relations, Member.

Board member for various organizations.

# FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

University of California, Davis, Regents Scholarship

Fulbright Research Scholar (3 years)

The Institute for the Study of World Politics Research Fellowship

The American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council Fellowship

United States Institute of Peace