

Guglielmo Verdirame QC

BOOKS (authored or co-authored)

- The United Nations and Human Rights: Who Guards the Guardians?, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2011) lvi +448. Winner of the Biennial Book Award of the Academic Council of the United Nations System.
- G. Verdirame and B. E. Harrell-Bond (foreword by Justice Albie Sachs), Rights in Exile: Janus-Faced Humanitarianism, New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books (2005), xxix +385.

BOOKS (edited)

- C. Giorgetti and G. Verdirame (eds.), Whither the West? International Law in Europe and the United States, ASIL Studies in International Legal Theory, Cambridge University Press, (2021).
- Ernst Dijkhoorn, J. Gow, R. Kerr, G. Verdirame (eds.), Routledge Handbook of War, Law and Technology (2019).
- (as Guest Editor) Special Issue on Human Rights in War [2008] European Human Rights Law Review 6.

ARTICLES (refereed journals/chapters in books/academic book reviews)

- J. Tasioulas and G. Verdirame, 'Philosophy of International Law', The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2022 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.).
- C. Giorgetti and G. Verdirame, 'Introduction' in G. Verdirame and C. Giorgetti (eds.), C. Giorgetti and G. Verdirame (eds.), Whither the West? International Law in Europe and the United States, ASIL Studies in International Legal Theory, Cambridge University Press, (2021), pp. 1-10.
- G. Verdirame, 'Are Liberal Internationalists Still Liberal?' in C. Giorgetti and G. Verdirame (eds.), Whither the West? International Law in Europe and the United States, ASIL Studies in International Legal Theory, Cambridge University Press, (2021), pp. 53-72.
- G. Verdirame, 'Foreword' to N. Voulgaris, Allocating International Responsibility Between Member States and International Organisations (2021).
- G. Verdirame, 'International Law' in J. Tasioulas (ed.) Cambridge Handbook to Legal Philosophy, Cambridge University Press (2020), pp. 389-408.
- G. Verdirame, 'Elitism, Economism and Ordinary Virtues', 2019 King's Law Journal (30:3), pp. 363-367.
- G. Verdirame, 'Sovereignty' in J. D'Aspremont and Sahib Singh (eds.) Concepts for International Law: Contributions to Disciplinary Thought, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 827-837 (2019).

- G. Verdirame and M. Bencic, 'The Synthetic Biology Dilemma: Dual Use and the Limits of Scientific Freedom' in Ernst Dijkhoorn, J. Gow, R. Kerr, G. Verdirame (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of War, Law and Technology* (2019), pp. 330-346.
- G. Verdirame, 'Foreword' to F. Lusa Bordin, *Analogy Between States and International Organisations*, Cambridge University Press (2018).
- 'J.D. Ohlin: The Assault on International Law' (Book Review), 63(2) *Netherlands International Law Review* (2016) 203-209.
- R. Ekins and G. Verdirame, 'Judicial Power and Military Action' (Case Note), 132 *Law Quarterly Review* (2016) 206-210.
- 'Rescuing Human Rights from Proportionality', in Rowan Cruft, S. Matthew Liao, Massimo Renzo (eds.), *Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights* Oxford University Press, (2015) 341-360.
- G. Verdirame and N. Zamir, 'International Law', *Annual Register* (2015) 426-430.
- G. Verdirame and Vasco Becker-Weinberg, 'Opposing the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Related Materials and Delivery Vehicles through Interception and Boarding Operations' in M. Weller (ed.) *OUP Handbook on the Use of Force*, Oxford University Press (2015), 1017-1033.
- M. Bradfield and G. Verdirame, 'Costs in Investment Treaty Arbitration' in C. Giorgetti (ed.) *Litigating International Investment Disputes* (2014) 404-435.
- G. Verdirame and N. Zamir, 'International Law', *Annual Register* (2014) 443-448.
- J. Mchangama and G. Verdirame, 'The Danger of Proliferation: When Defending Liberty, Less is More', *Foreign Affairs* (online), 24 July 2013.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139598/jacob-mchangama-and-guglielmo-verdirame/the-danger-of-human-rights-proliferation>.
- 'A Normative Theory of Sovereignty Transfers', 49(2) *Stanford Journal of International Law* (2013) 371-424.
- G. Verdirame and N. Zamir, 'International Law', *Annual Register* (2013) 442-447.
- 'What to Make of Jus Post Bellum: A Response to Antonia Chayes' 24 *European Journal of International Law* (2013) 307-313.
- J. Pobjoy and G. Verdirame, 'The End of Refugee Camps?' in S. Juss (ed.) *Ashgate Research Companion to Migration Theory and Policy* (2013) 471-488.
- 'A Friendly Act of Socio-Cultural Contestation: Asylum and the Big Cultural Divide', 45 *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* (2012(1)) 559-571.
- 'Pouring Away the Sweet Milk of Concord: A Call for Argument and Debate', in J. Crawford and S. Nouwen (eds), *International Law 1989-2010: A Performance Appraisal, Select Proceedings of the European Society of International Law* (2011) Vol. III: 376-378.
- 'Introductory Note to Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel', [2010] *International Legal Materials* 49: 1659-1660.
- 'Human Rights in War: A Framework for Analysis', [2008] *European Human Rights Law Review* 6: 689-705.

- 'Breaches of the European Convention on Human Rights Resulting from the Conduct of International Organisations', [2008] *European Human Rights Law Review* 2: 209-213.
- "'The Divided West": American and European International Lawyers', 18(2) *European Journal of International Law* (2007) 553-580.
- 'The Sinews of Peace: International Law, Strategy and the Prevention of War', 78 *British Year Book of International Law* (2006) 83-162.
- As a Contributing Member to the Fourth Colloquium on Challenges in International Refugee Law), 'Michigan Guidelines on Protection Elsewhere', 2007 *Michigan Journal of International Law* (28) 208-221.
- 'Human rights protection by the UN in post-conflict situations: Accountability', in N. D. White and D. Klaasen, *The UN, Human Rights and Post-Conflict Societies*, Manchester: Manchester University Press (2005) 81-97.
- 'Refugee Camps' in Matthew Gibney and Randall Hansen, *Immigration and Asylum since 1900 to the Present* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2005).
- 'International Law and the Use of Force in Iraq', in W. Cornish (ed.) *The Iraq Crisis 2003*, Palgrave-Macmillan (2004) 92-104.
- 'Compliance with Human Rights in UN Operations', 2 (2) *Human Rights Law Review* (2002) 265-286.
- 'Testing the Effectiveness of International Norms: The Provision of Humanitarian Assistance by the UN and Sexual Apartheid in Afghanistan', 23 *Human Rights Quarterly* (2001) 733-768.
- B. E. Harrell-Bond and G. Verdirame, 'Refugees', in J. Krieger, *Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2nd ed., 2001) 719-720.
- '1951 Convention on Refugees', '1969 OAU Convention on Refugees', '1984 Cartagena Declaration', in R. J. B. Jones (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of International Political Economy*, London: Routledge (2001).
- C. Wickremasinghe and G. Verdirame, 'Responsibility and Liability for Violations of Human Rights in the Course of UN Field Operations' in C. Scott (ed.), *Torture as Tort: Comparative Perspectives on the Development of Transnational Human Rights Litigation*, Oxford: Hart Publishing (2001) 465-489.
- W. O' Neill, B. Rutinwa and G. Verdirame, 'The Application of the Exclusion Procedure in the Great Lakes', 12 *International Journal of Refugee Law* (2000) 135-170.
- 'The Genocide Definition in the Jurisprudence of the Ad Hoc Tribunals', 49 *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* (2000), 578-598.
- 'Human Rights and African Constitutions: Some Observations', in V. Piergigli and I. Taddia (eds.), *African Constitutions*, Torino: Giappichelli (2000) 107-118.
- 'Ethnic Conflict and Constitutional Change in Rwanda and Burundi', in M. Andenas (ed.), *The Creation and Amendment of Constitutional Norms*, London: British Institute of International and Comparative Law (2000) 302-318.
- M. Fera-Tinta and G. Verdirame, 'The Entry into Force of the Human Rights Act, 1998', 4 *International Law Association Forum* (2000) 213-217.

- 'Karadawi: Refugee Policy in Sudan 1967-1984' (Book Review), 12 (3) *International Journal of Refugee Law* (2000).
- 'Kourula: Broadening the Edges: Refugee Definition and International Protection Revisited' (Book Review), 13 (2) *Journal of Refugee Studies* (2000).
- 'Human Rights and Refugees: The Case of Kenya', 12 *Journal of Refugee Studies* (1999) 54-77.
- 'The House of Lords and the Pinochet Case', 8 *L' Astrée: Revue de Droit Penale et de Droits de l' Homme* (September 1999).
- 'M. Zieck: UNHCR and Voluntary Repatriation of Refugees: A Legal Analysis' (Book Review), (3) *Journal of Refugee Studies* (1998) 327.
- 'Passang, Nodjal, Watson: The Flight, Exile and Return of Chadian Refugees. A Case Study with a Special Focus on Women' (Book Review), 11 (2) *Journal of Refugee Studies* (1998).
- 'Hammerstein: Antisemitismus und Deutsche Universitäten' (Book Review), 2 *Ricerche di Storia Politica* (1998).
- 'G. Prunier: The Rwanda Crisis 1954-1990: History of a Genocide (Book Review), *Etnosistemi* (1998).
- 'Hecht et al.: An Introduction to the History and Sources of Jewish Law' (Book Review), 46(2) *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* (1997) 495-496.
- 'Wistrich ed.: Terms of Survival: The Jewish World Since 1945' (Book Review), 1 *Ricerche di Storia Politica* (1996).
- 'Definition of Developing Countries under the GATT and other International Law', 39 *German Yearbook of International Law* (1996) 164-197. Reprinted in: Bartels and Ortino (eds.), *The Regulation of Goods* (2013) Ashgate: Library of Essays on International Law and Policy.

SELECTED CONFERENCE PAPERS AND SEMINARS (only 2010-2022)

- 'James the Scholar: International Law as a System', Teacher, Scholar, Lawyer, Judge: Celebrating James Crawford, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, Cambridge, 29 May 2022.
- 'General Principles of Law and Ubuntu', Introducing Ubuntu into Public International Law, Justice, Lincoln's Inn, London, 10 May 2022.
- 'Comments on the Government's Proposal to reform the HRA', A Modern Bill of Rights?, Justice, London, 10 February 2022 (online).
- 'Do New Realities Require New Rights?', Colloquium in W. Shulz and S. Raman *The Coming Good Society* (2020), Oxford Centre for Ethics in AI, 3 February 2022 (online).
- 'Cross-Examination of Fact Witnesses in Remote/Hybrid Hearings', XIII Annual Conference, ICC Russia Arbitration Conference, 2 December 2021 (online).
- 'International Law and the Future of Democracy', Jindal Society of International Law, New Delhi, 8 September 2021 (online).
- 'The Ireland/Northern Ireland Protocol', UK and European Law in the new UK-EU Partnership, Bar European Group – 2021 Spring Conference, 22 May 2021 (online).

- 'On the Continuing Relevance of Conceptual Argument in International Law', Launch of the Cambridge Companion of Legal Philosophy, 13 July 2020 (online).
- 'Democratic v Authoritarian International Law', Online Symposium on Democracy, YTL Centre for Politics, Philosophy and Law, King's College London, 26 June 2020 (online).
- 'Covid-19 and International Law', University of Bologna, 21 April 2020 (online).
- 'A look to the horizon: where will trade and investment law, investment protection and investor-state dispute settlement be in 10/20 years?', The London Conference on International Law: Engaging with International Law, 4 October 2019.
- 'Passive Investments and Investment Treaty Protection', Disruptive Developments: CIS Disputes, Twenty Essex PIL Seminar, 1 October 2019.
- 'What Went Wrong? The EU and the Liberal Project', Oxford Forum, University of Oxford, 30 May 2019.
- 'Humanitarian Organisations and Public International Law', Carabinieri Officers Academy, Rome, 27 October 2017.
- 'Legal Status of Jerusalem', Zionist Federation, Conference on the Balfour Declaration Centenary, London, 8 October 2017.
- 'Universal Values and Ordinary Virtues', Book Launch for Michael Ignatieff's Ordinary Virtues, King's College London, 29 September 2017.
- 'Brexit and Public International Law', 20 Essex Street "State of Play" Conference, London, 21 June 2017.
- 'Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde: Staatslehre and the European Project', Book Launch of Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde (ed. by Mirjam Künkler and Tine Stein) The Constitutional and Political Theory (OUP, Jan 2017), London School of Economics, 23 February 2017.
- 'Immunities and Special Missions', International Bar Association – Annual Conference 'The World in Crisis', The Hague, 4 February 2017.
- 'Conservatives and International Law', Society of Conservative Lawyers, Portcullis House, 31 October 2016.
- 'The Twilight of Human Rights Law? A Response to Eric Posner', Seminar on 'Human Rights and Development', Yeoh Tiong Lay Centre for Politics, Philosophy and Law, King's College London, to be delivered on 28 October 2016.
- 'Nagorno-Karabakh: Impasses and Opportunities for Settlement (An International Law Perspective)', Keynote Address, Conference on Identity and Politics in Azerbaijan, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 18 October 2016.
- 'UK Prosecutions under the Torture Convention and questions of immunities', Annual Government Legal Services International Law Conference, Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, London, 8 October 2016.
- 'International Humanitarian Law in Recent Developments in the English Courts', International Humanitarian Law and Modern Warfare, Carabinieri Officers Academy, Rome 23-24 October 2015.

- 'Between War and Peace: The Application of Human Rights to Armed Conflict and the Foundations of International Law', Human Rights Institute, Columbia Law School, 2 March 2015.
- 'Proportionality and Human Rights', 5th Oslo Seminar on International Law in Paris Proportionnalité dans les tribunaux internationaux: convergence dans la loi et la méthode ? / Proportionality in International Courts: Convergence in Law and Method?, 16 February 2015.
- 'Customary International Law and the Jus ad Bellum', Foreign Office Legal Directorate and University of Oxford, Seminar on the ILC work on the Identification of Customary International Law, London, 15 October 2014.
- 'The ECHR: A Performance Assessment', The International Human Rights System: A Missed Opportunity?, Freedom House Washington, DC, 19 May 2014.
- 'Reconnecting Human Rights to the Idea of Freedom', Danish Parliament Building, 30 January 2014 (Speaker and Co-Organiser).
- 'The Devil and the Holy Water: Will Human Rights Tame War or Will War Corrupt Human Rights', Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, Cambridge, 25 October 2013.
- Expert academic at a meeting of G8 Non Proliferation Directors Group, Horizon Scanning Seminar, 16 October, organised by the FCO. I was asked to give three presentations: 'Technological Change, Weapons and the Law' (After-Dinner Speech); 'Artificial Intelligence, Robotics, Autonomy and International Law'; and 'Bio-security and International Law'.
- 'Humanitarian Intervention, International Law and Syria', British Institute of International and Comparative Law, Rapid Response Seminar, 11 September 2013.
- As expert participant: ICRC Seminar on Human Rights and the Law of Armed Conflict, Oxford, 18-19 July 2013.
- (with Jacob Mchangama) 'Human Rights Inflation: Why the International Human Rights Regime Risks Impoverishing Liberty', Henry Jackson Society, 16th July 2013, House of Commons, London.
- 'Occupation without Boots on the Ground?', Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv, 9-10 June 2013.
- 'The Proliferation of Human Rights', Seminar on the Idea of Human Rights (part of a Project funded by the Templeton Foundation), King's College London, 8-9 May 2013 (Speaker, Host and Co-Organiser). [<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/law/newsrecords/Lord-Phillips-lead-roundtable-on-human-rights.aspx>].
- 'Awards as Investments: A Critical Review', British Institute of International and Comparative Law: Investment Treaty Forum and Eversheds, Paris, 28 February 2013; to be also presented at Freshfields, Paris, 1 March 2013.
- As invited expert participant: ICRC/Chatham House Roundtable, 'Occupation: Some Outstanding Legal Issues', 30 January 2013.
- 'International Law: Time for a Normative (Re)Turn?', ASIL-ESIL Transatlantic Debates in International Legal Theory - Rechtskulturen Workshop, Cambridge, 20 September 2012.
- 'Conceptual and Practical Challenges to the Application of the Rule of Law of Framework to Peacekeeping', Australian National University Workshop on the 'Security Council, Peacekeeping and the Rule of Law', Australian Mission to the UN, New York, 30 May 2012.

- 'A Normative Approach to Transfer of Sovereignty', Faculty of Political Science Guest Seminar Series, Tel Aviv University, 4 June 2012.
- 'Class Actions: Consent and Jurisdiction', British Institute of International and Comparative Law: Investment Treaty Forum, 11 May 2012.
- 'Use of Force in International Law in the Context of the Israel-Palestine Conflict', Oxford, Jewish Studies Department, 26 April 2012.
- 'Arbitration Awards: Enforcement and Challenges', Sixty Years in International Law: Seminar in Honour of Sir Eli Lauterpacht, London, 20 October 2011.
- 'Standards and Remedies in International Investment Protection', Africa International Legal Awareness, London, 18 October 2011.
- 'Not a Bed of Roses', Symposium on Embedding Human Rights into Investment Treaties, King's College London, 5 May 2011.
- 'Can Human Rights Regulate Modern Conflict?', Development Research Seminar: Special Series on the Origins of Contemporary Large-Scale Conflict, Institute of Development Studies, The Hague, 18 April 2011.
- 'Fragmentation and the Law', Keynote Address at the Cambridge Doctoral Symposium on Legal Theory, Cambridge, 14 April 2011.
- 'The End of Camps? New Ideas and Policies on the Protection of Refugees in the South', Keynote Address at the 12th Annual Student Human Rights Conference 2011, University of Nottingham, 26 February 2011.
- 'Civil Liberties in Europe and America', Transatlantic Dialogues in International Law organised by the Atlantic Council, Chatham House, London, 10-11 November 2010.
- Rapporteur on Human Rights, European Society of International Law 4th Biennial Conference, Cambridge, 2-4 September 2010.

SELECTED OP-EDS/ANALYSIS PIECES/OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUBLIC DEBATES

- 'Submission to the Government Consultation on Proposals to Reform the Human Rights Act', March 2022.
- 'Israel-Gaza: What the Law Says about the Fighting', BBC, 16 May 2021.
- 'Submission to the Independent Human Rights Act Review', March 2021.
- 'For China a Legal Reckoning is Coming', Unherd, 21 April 2020.
- 'Five Books: The Best Books on Italian Political Philosophy', Fivebooks.com, Interview with Nigel Warburton, November 2020.
<https://fivebooks.com/best-books/italian-political-philosophy-guglielmo-verdirame/>
- 'Why the GATT won't break the Brexit deadlock', The Spectator – Coffee House, 29 June 2019.
- 'Europe's Unresolved Sovereignty Problem' in G. Valditara (ed.), *Sovranità Democrazia e Libertà* (2019) 197-207.

- (with Henry Newman), 'It's unlikely the backstop will be scrapped. But supplementing it can win what we want', 29 January 2019, Conservative Home (www.conservativehome.com).
- G. Verdirame, Sir Stephen Laws, Richard Ekins, 'How to Exit the Backstop', Policy Exchange, November 2018.
- 'Brexit May Trigger a European Revolution', Standpoint, November 2018.
- 'Sovranita' e Diritto Internazionale', Logos-Rivista, September 2018.
- 'Saving Europeans isn't the Italians' Job', Standpoint, July/August 2018.
- (with John Bethell) 'The Doctrine of Humanitarian Intervention', Evidence submitted to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons as part of its responsibility to protect and humanitarian intervention inquiry.
- 'Which Theory? Whose Bill of Rights?', Comment on Sir Noel Malcolm's Human Rights and Political Wrong, Policy Exchange, 13 March 2018.
<http://judicialpowerproject.org.uk/guglielmo-verdirame-which-theory-whose-bill-of-rights/>
- (with Jonathan Morgan and Richard Ekins), 'Derogation from the European Convention on Human Rights in Armed Conflict', Submission to the Joint Committee on Human Rights of the House of Commons, 7 April 2017.
- 'How the EU Elite Paved the Way for Populism', Standpoint, April 2017.
- (with Richard Ekins, John Finnis, Graham Gee, John Tasioulas), "Rights After Brexit", Submission to the Joint Committee on Human Rights of the House of Commons, 14 October 2016.
- R. Ekins and G. Verdirame, 'The Ministerial Code and the Rule of Law', Judicial Power Project at Policy Exchange and UK Constitutional Law Blog (6th Nov 2015) (available at <http://ukconstitutionallaw.org/>).
- 'A British Bill of Rights would protect our liberty', Spectator – Coffee House, 21 October 2015.
<http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2015/10/a-british-bill-of-rights-would-protect-our-liberty/>
- 'Why Britain Should Scrap the Human Rights Act', Spectator – Coffee House, 3 October 2014.
<http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/coffeehouse/2014/10/why-britain-should-scrap-the-human-rights-act/>
- (with Mervyn Frost, Ned Lebow, Joseph Raz, Larry Siedentop) 'Academe Assailed', Letter to The Times, 31 October 2013.
- 'Gaza Crisis: The Legal Position of Israel and Hamas', BBC Website published on 20 November 2012 (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-20415886>).
- 'Först moralen, sedan maten' ['First Morals, Then Food'], Magasinet Neo 2011:4.
- 'Should UNHCR have full responsibility for aiding IDPs', Congressional Quarterly Global Researcher (March 2009) 81.
- 'North Korea: From Regime Change to Regime Conservation', Henry Jackson Society, published on 6 March 2007 (www.henryjacksonsociety.com).

- Interview with NRC-Handesblatt (Amsterdam) 'Wangedrag blauwhelmen vaak niet bestraft Jurist Verdirame: Verenigde Naties kunnen niet vervolgen, landen willen het meestal niet', 18 January 2006.
- 'Non, M. Whitbeck, le droit d'Israël à exister n'est pas un affront fait aux Palestiniens', Le Soir (Brussels), 19 January 2006.
- Regular contributor to Il Foglio (about 30 articles) (Rome and Milan), www.ilfoglio.it, between 2003 and 2006.
- 'Separate Futures', 3 Oxford Forum Autumn 2005: 34-35.
- 'Forcible Counter-proliferation', In the National Interest (Washington), Vol. 3, Issue 4, 28 Jan. 2004 (available at www.inthenationalinterest.com. Italian translation: 'Indagini sulle superpotenze', Il Foglio, 4 February 2004).
- Some articles on web-sites: e.g. (with Josh Chafetz) 'Foundering Fathers' (techcentralstation.com 21 February 2003); 'What the Next High Commissioner Should Do?' (www.rsdwatch.org, 20 April 2005).

CONSULTANCY (excluding work as counsel)

- Slynn Foundation – Training for Justices of the Albanian Supreme Court on the ECHR (right to property) 2011.
- International Council on Human Rights Policy, Geneva and New York 'Feasibility Study on Accountability in UN Peace Operations'. Research in Geneva and New York 2001.
- Article XIX – The Global Campaign for Free Expression, London 'Freedom of Expression and Refugees'. Research in Tanzania and Kenya 1999.
- Human Rights Watch, New York 'The Situation of Refugees'. Research in Kenya 1997.
- Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (now Human Rights First), New York 'The Application of the Exclusion Clauses in the Refugee Convention'. Research in Italy, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Kenya. 1997-1998.