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The Responsibility to Protect: a Bibliography

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Abstract

This open-access bibliography provides an extensive compilation of research conducted on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and relevant themes.

Keywords

Responsibility to Protect (R2P) – bibliography

This open-access bibliography provides an extensive compilation of research conducted on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and relevant themes. The list has been compiled by Professor Adrian Gallagher, Dr. Blake Lawrinson, Gillian McKay, and Dr. Richard Illingworth of the European Centre for the Responsibility to Protect at the University of Leeds. The sources are grouped into different thematic areas, with both a theoretical and an empirical focus, attempting to capture the broad and interdisciplinary nature of the R2P and mass atrocities research. Compiling any such list faces a series of challenges, from how the sources can and should be grouped, to the problem that some sources will undoubtedly be missed. References are listed in chronological order under each subheading from oldest to most recent. We think this more useful than alphabetising the sources, as it helps chart the direction of R2P research agendas over time. Naturally, some sources cut across multiple thematic areas and so appear under different subheadings. We hope that the bibliography will provide a useful resource for researchers working broadly in the field of the R2P and mass atrocities, providing a clear and fairly comprehensive list of published works to help direct their own research agendas. Please bear with us if you have identified a certain publication that is missing from the list. Sources are included up to 02/05/2023. You can assist us by getting in touch and indicating anything that should be added, and can do so by sending an email to either a.gallagher@leeds.ac.uk or Richard.Illingworth@glasgow.ac.uk.

Contents

1	Introducing the Responsibility to Protect	7
2	The Responsibility to Protect: Key Landmarks	9
3	UN Secretary-General Reports on R2P	10
4	The Responsibility to Protect and Mass Atrocities	11
5	Norms and the Responsibility to Protect	13
6	Theoretical Debates on the Responsibility to Protect	19
7	Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect	24
8	Implementing the Responsibility to Protect	30
	a <i>Pillar Two and International Assistance</i>	34
	b <i>Pillar Three and International Response</i>	34
	c <i>The Responsibility to Rebuild</i>	36
9	The United Nations and the Responsibility to Protect	37
10	International Law and the Responsibility to Protect	41
11	Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect	46
12	Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect	49
13	Human Rights and the Responsibility to Protect	54
14	Ethics and the Responsibility to Protect	56

15	Rights, Obligations, Duties and the Responsibility to Protect	57
16	Just War and the Responsibility to Protect	59
17	Thematic Issues and the Responsibility to Protect	59
	a <i>The Protection of Civilians and Peacekeeping</i>	59
	b <i>Conflict Prevention</i>	62
	c <i>Peacebuilding</i>	62
	d <i>International Order</i>	63
	e <i>Humanity and the Responsibility to Protect</i>	64
	f <i>Global Justice and Cosmopolitanism</i>	64
	g <i>Humanitarianism</i>	65
	h <i>Children</i>	66
	i <i>Gender</i>	67
	j <i>The Global Arms Trade</i>	69
	k <i>Displacement and Refugees</i>	69
	l <i>Civic Responsibility</i>	71
	m <i>Sanctions</i>	73
	n <i>Social and Popular Media</i>	73
	o <i>Climate</i>	73
	p <i>Terrorism</i>	74
	q <i>Transnational Crime</i>	75
	r <i>Cultural Destruction</i>	75
	s <i>Safe Areas</i>	75
	t <i>COVID-19</i>	75
	u <i>Cyber Issues and Artificial Intelligence</i>	76
	v <i>UN Security Council Veto Reform</i>	76
	w <i>Rising/Emerging Powers</i>	77
	x <i>Colonialism and Decolonising the Responsibility to Protect</i>	78
	y <i>Global Governance</i>	79
18	States and the Responsibility to Protect	79
	a <i>Australia</i>	79
	b <i>Brazil</i>	79
	c <i>Canada</i>	80
	d <i>China</i>	81
	e <i>France</i>	83
	f <i>Germany</i>	83
	g <i>India</i>	84
	h <i>Indonesia</i>	85
	i <i>Japan</i>	85
	j <i>Mexico</i>	85
	k <i>Russia</i>	86

	l	<i>South Africa</i>	86
	m	<i>Thailand</i>	87
	n	<i>Turkey</i>	87
	o	<i>United Kingdom</i>	87
	p	<i>United States</i>	88
19		Regional Responsibility	89
	a	<i>Africa/African Union</i>	90
	b	<i>Asia/ASEAN</i>	93
	c	<i>Europe</i>	96
	d	<i>Latin America and the Caribbean</i>	97
	e	<i>Middle East and North Africa</i>	98
20		Crises: Africa	98
	a	<i>Burundi</i>	98
	b	<i>Central African Republic</i>	99
	c	<i>Chad</i>	99
	d	<i>Congo</i>	99
	e	<i>Cote d'Ivoire</i>	100
	f	<i>Ethiopia</i>	100
	g	<i>Guinea</i>	101
	h	<i>Kenya</i>	101
	i	<i>Mali</i>	102
	j	<i>Nigeria</i>	102
	k	<i>Rwanda</i>	102
	l	<i>Somalia</i>	103
	m	<i>Sudan</i>	103
	n	<i>South Sudan</i>	103
	o	<i>Uganda</i>	106
	p	<i>Zimbabwe</i>	106
21		Crises: Asia	106
	a	<i>Cambodia</i>	106
	b	<i>China</i>	106
	c	<i>Myanmar</i>	107
	d	<i>North Korea</i>	110
	e	<i>Sri Lanka</i>	111
	f	<i>Philippines</i>	112
22		Crises: Europe	112
	a	<i>Bosnia</i>	112
	b	<i>Kosovo</i>	112
	c	<i>Ukraine</i>	113

23	Crises: Middle East and North Africa	113
a	<i>Afghanistan</i>	113
b	<i>Bahrain</i>	113
c	<i>Israel/Palestine</i>	113
d	<i>Libya</i>	114
e	<i>Iraq</i>	119
f	<i>Lebanon</i>	119
g	<i>Syria</i>	120
h	<i>Yemen</i>	123

1 Introducing the Responsibility to Protect

The following sources provide an introduction to the Responsibility to Protect by tracing its development from the 2001 International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty to its endorsement by states in paragraphs 138–139 of the World Summit Outcome Document, and its evolutions since.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001). *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre).

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Thakur, Ramesh (2003). 'In Defence of the Responsibility to Protect', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 7(3): 160–178.

United Nations Security Council (2005). *60/1. 2005 World Summit Outcome* (New York: United Nations).

Wheeler, Nicholas (2005). 'A Victory for Common Humanity? The Responsibility to Protect after the 2005 World Summit', *Journal International Law & International Relations*, 2(1): 95–107.

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- Grover, Sonja (2018). *The Responsibility to Protect: Perspectives on the Concept's Meaning, Proper Application and Value* (London: Routledge).
- Bellamy, Alex J. and Edward C. Luck (2019). *The Responsibility to Protect: From Promise to Practice* (Cambridge: Polity).

2 The Responsibility to Protect: Key Landmarks

Following the introduction to the R2P, the following articles address some of its key landmarks, including 5, 10, 15, and 20 years since the 2005 World Summit. These materials capture both the progress and challenges facing the R2P during its development as an international norm.

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- Bellamy, Alex J. (2015). 'The Responsibility to Protect Turns Ten', *Ethics & International Affairs*, 29(2): 161–185.
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- Thakur, Ramesh (2016). 'The Responsibility to Protect at 15', *International Affairs*, 92(2): 415–434.
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- Evans, Gareth (2020). 'The Dream and the Reality', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 12(4): 363–365.
- Holt, Victoria K. (2020). 'R2P at 15: Reflections of a Policymaker', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 12(4): 376–380.
- Hunt, Charles T. (2020). 'Progress, Problems, and Prospects: R2P 15 Years after the World Summit', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 12(4): 359–362.
- Luck, Edward C. (2020). 'The Adolescent at Fifteen', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 12(4): 381–383.
- Pawnday, Savita and Jaclyn Streitfeld-Hall (2020). 'The Practitioner's Perspective: R2P at 15', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 12(4): 366–368.

Stefan, Cristina G. and Edward Newman (2020). 'Europe's Progress and the Road Ahead at R2P's 15th Anniversary', *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 12(4): 369–371.

Ercan, Pinar G. (ed.) (2022). *The Responsibility to Protect Twenty Years On: Rhetoric and Implementation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

3 UN Secretary-General Reports on R2P

Since 2009, successive United Nations Secretaries-General have written annual reports on the R2P from an introduction to the three-pillar framework in 2009 to a focus on R2P's implementation to fulfil paragraphs 138–139 of the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document.

United Nations General Assembly (2009). *Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations).

United Nations General Assembly (2010). *Early Warning, Assessment, and the Responsibility to Protect: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations).

United Nations General Assembly (2011). *The Role of Regional and Subregional Arrangements in Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations).

United Nations General Assembly (2012). *The Responsibility to Protect: Timely and Decisive Response: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations).

United Nations General Assembly (2013). *Report of the Secretary-General on the Responsibility to Protect: State Responsibility and Prevention* (New York: United Nations).

United Nations General Assembly (2014). *Fulfilling Our Collective Responsibility: International Assistance and the Responsibility to Protect: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations).

United Nations General Assembly (2015). *A Vital and Enduring Commitment: Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations).

United Nations General Assembly (2016). *Mobilising Collective Action: The Next Decade of the Responsibility to Protect: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations).

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- United Nations General Assembly (2022). *Responsibility to Protect: Prioritizing Children and Young People: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations).
- United Nations General Assembly (2023). *Development and the Responsibility to Protect: Recognizing and Addressing Embedded Risks and Drivers of Atrocity Crimes: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations).

4 The Responsibility to Protect and Mass Atrocities

The research in this section is concerned primarily with the nature of the four specific mass atrocity crimes listed under the Responsibility to Protect (genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing).

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- Bachman, Jeffrey S. (2022). *The Politics of Genocide: From the Genocide Convention to the Responsibility to Protect* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press).
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- Michel, Torsten (2022). 'Assaulting "Diversity as Such": The Ontology of Dehumanisation in Mass Violence', *European Journal of International Security*, first view: 1–18.
- Simon, David J. and Leora Kahn (eds.) (2023). *Handbook of Genocide Studies* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing).

5 Norms and the Responsibility to Protect

This section focuses on the wealth of research on norms and the Responsibility to Protect, which has been a central theme of R2P research since its emergence, particularly on the power and influence of human protection norms in preventing mass atrocity crimes.

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8 Implementing the Responsibility to Protect

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c *The Responsibility to Rebuild*

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10 International Law and the Responsibility to Protect

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11 Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect

Another significant debate is the relationship between the Responsibility to Protect and the protection of state sovereignty. While the R2P is premised on sovereignty as responsibility (see ICISS report in section 1), there remains considerable debate on its relationship with sovereignty, particularly in relation to the use of non-consensual force under Pillar Three. It is equally important to see the sovereignty–Responsibility to Protect debate in the context of history, both in terms of the emphasis on the protection of state sovereignty in the UN charter and the NATO-led intervention in Kosovo in 1999.

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12 Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect

The themes of sovereignty and international law are also applicable to the debates on humanitarian intervention and the Responsibility to Protect. The R2P emerged in the context of debates on the legality and legitimacy of humanitarian intervention as one framework allowing for the provision of the non-consensual coercive use of force in response to mass atrocities. The emergence of the R2P has not brought an end to debates on humanitarian intervention, and as the research shows below, there remains considerable debate on this theme.

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