CONTENTS

Foreword ................................................................. vii
Acknowledgements ................................................ xix
Table of Cases ........................................................ xxi
List of Authors ....................................................... xxxi

INTRODUCTION

Beyond Responsibility to Protect: Ceci n'est pas une pipe
Richard A. Barnes and Vassilis P. Tzevelekos .................. 3

1. What Does Beyond R2P Mean? .............................. 3
2. The R2P of Sovereigns: How Innovative Is This? .... 7
   2.1. R2P at a Glance ........................................ 8
   2.2. R2P as a Novelty for the Sovereign Premises of International Law 9
3. R2P's Transformative Power .................................. 16
   3.1. R2P as a Sign of Transition: from Bilateralism to Community Interests – from Abstention to Protection 17
   3.2. R2P as a Catalyst for Change in Positive International Law 19
4. The Book's Architecture and Approach .................. 20
5. Concluding Remarks ........................................... 26

PART I.
THE MORAL UNDERPINNINGS AND POLITICAL ENDS OF R2P

The Kantian Defence of Murder
Henry Jones ............................................................ 33

1. Introduction ...................................................... 33
2. Kantian Theories of Intervention .......................... 36
   2.1. Habermas: A Legal Argument ....................... 36
      2.1.1. Foucault vs Habermas .......................... 40
      2.1.2. Schmitt vs Habermas .......................... 42
   2.2. Tesón: A Moral Argument ............................. 44
      2.2.1. Tesón vs Orford .................................. 48
3. Conclusions .................................................... 51
A ‘Responsibility to Democratise’? The ‘Responsibility to Protect’ in Light of Regime Change and the ‘Pro-Democratic’ Intervention Discourse
Markus P. Beham and Ralph R.A. Janik ........................................................... 53

1. Outline ............................................................ 53
2. Foundations ..................................................... 54
   2.1. Kant and the ‘Wilsonian World Order’ .......... 54
   2.2. Democracy in International Law ................. 59
3. A ‘Responsibility to Democratise’? .................... 64
4. Conclusion ..................................................... 69

Commentary: Between Kant and Al-Shabaab
Tony Ward ........................................................................................................ 71

PART II.
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR ROLE IN R2P

The Institutionalisation of the Responsibility to Protect
Nabil Hajjami ........................................................................................................ 81

1. Introduction ..................................................... 81
2. The Institutionalisation of the R2P within the United Nations ................. 82
   2.1. The Special Adviser on the Responsibility to Protect .......... 83
   2.2. R2P and the Security Council Reform – the So-Called
       ‘Responsibility Not to Veto’ ........................................... 91
3. The Institutionalisation of the R2P within the African Union ................. 95
4. The Institutionalisation of the R2P within International Civil Society ... 98
5. Conclusion ..................................................... 101

The Responsibility Not to Veto Revisited. How the Duty to Prevent Genocide as a Jus Cogens Norm Imposes a Legal Duty Not to Veto on the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council
John Hieck ........................................................................................................ 103

1. Introduction ..................................................... 103
2. Positing the Peremptory Nature of Genocide Prevention .................... 107
   2.1. Jus Cogens Norms in General ......................... 107
   2.2. The Duty to Prevent Genocide as a Jus Cogens Norm .......... 109
   2.3. The Scope of the Duty: Due Diligence and its Breach .......... 110
       2.3.1. The Due Diligence Standard in General ............ 111
       2.3.2. The Due Diligence Standard in the Genocide Case ... 115
       2.3.3. Breach of the Due Diligence Standard in the Genocide Case ........................................................................ 118
3. From RN2V to DN2V .................................................. 119
4. Conclusion .............................................................. 121

The EU and the Responsibility to Protect: The Case of Libya, Mali and Syria
Julia Schmidt ............................................................... 123

1. Introduction .............................................................. 123
2. The Development of R2P and the Role of Regional Actors ..................... 128
   2.1. The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty ....................... 128
   2.2. The United Nations and R2P: A Narrow and Deep Approach ............. 129
3. The EU within the R2P Framework .................................. 133
4. The EU and its Engagement in Libya, Mali and Syria ......................... 137
   4.1. Libya ................................................................. 138
   4.2. Mali ................................................................. 141
   4.3. Syria ............................................................... 142
5. Conclusion .................................................................. 144

Commentary: International Institutions and their Role in R2P
Nigel D. White ............................................................. 147

PART III.
DE FACTO REGIMES AND NON-STATE ACTORS WITHIN A STATE AND AS A STATE

De Facto Regimes and the Responsibility to Protect
Antal Berkes ............................................................. 155

1. De Facto Regimes as Subjects under the First Pillar of the R2P .......... 158
   1.1. Obligations of De Facto Regimes under Positive Law ................. 158
       1.1.1. Customary International Law Obligations ............................ 160
       1.1.2. UN Security Council Resolutions ................................. 164
   1.2. The Question of the Analogy with State Sovereignty .................. 166
2. De Facto Regimes as Objects under the Second and Third Pillars ........ 168
   2.1. The International Community's Action under the Second Pillar .. 169
   2.2. The International Community's Action under the Third Pillar ... 171
3. Conclusions ................................................................ 172
'Guilty' Governments and 'Legitimate' Leadership: The Concept of 'National Authorities' under the R2P

Jennifer Dee HALBERT

1. Introduction ................................................. 175
2. The Scope of the R2P's 'National Authorities' Concept ................................................. 178
   2.1. Case Studies ........................................... 178
      2.1.1. The Côte d'Ivoire ................................... 178
      2.1.2. Libya and Syria ..................................... 179
3. Substance of the R2P's 'National Authorities' Concept ........................................... 181
4. Significance of the R2P's 'National Authorities' Concept ........................................... 182
   4.1. Specific Pillars of the R2P ......................... 182
      4.1.1. Pillar One: The Classification of 'National Authorities' in R2P Contexts May Coincide with the Recognition of New Governments ........................................... 182
      4.1.2. Pillar One Responsibilities May be Owed Concurrently by Two 'National Authorities' in One State ........................................... 184
      4.1.3. Pillar Two: the Identification of 'National Authorities' May Influence Decisions Regarding to whom Assistance Should be Provided ........................................... 185
      4.1.4. Pillar Three: a Finding of 'Manifest Failure' May be Coupled with the Identification of 'Legitimate' National Authorities ........................................... 188
   4.2. The Character of the R2P: Transformative Trends or Trivialities? ........................................... 189
      4.2.1. The 'Revive' Dimension of the R2P ............ 189
      4.2.2. The 'Refine' Dimension of the R2P ............ 190
      4.2.3. The 'Reform' Dimension of the R2P ............ 190
5. Conclusion ................................................. 190

Commentary: Who Cares?: The Primary Bearer of the Responsibility to Protect

Hitoshi NASU ................................................. 193

1. The Principle of Non-Intervention ................................................. 194
2. The Right to Self-Determination ................................................. 197
3. Concluding Remarks ................................................. 199
PART IV.
R2P AND DUE DILLIGENCE REGARDING THE CONDUCT
OF CORPORATIONS

On the Responsibility to Protect and the Business and Human Rights
Agenda
Humberto Cantú Rivera ....................................................... 203

1. Introduction ................................................................. 203
2. The R2P, International Human Rights Law and Due Diligence ........ 204
   2.1. An Individual Responsibility to Protect .......................... 207
   2.2. A Collective Responsibility to Protect ......................... 210
3. An Overlap between the R2P and the UN Business and Human
   Rights Project? ............................................................. 212
   3.1. Are the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human
        Rights and R2P Compatible? ...................................... 214
4. Concluding Thoughts ..................................................... 217

Tides of Change – The State, Business and the Human
Kasey L. McCall-Smith ....................................................... 219

1. Introduction ................................................................. 219
2. The Role of States in Protecting Human Rights .................... 221
   2.1. The Evolving Nature of States' Duties ......................... 222
3. Business and Human Rights ............................................ 223
4. The Legal Framework for Putting Business Right ................ 226
   4.1. International Soft Law .............................................. 227
      4.1.1. The UN Protect, Respect and Remedy Framework
              on Business and Human Rights .......................... 227
      4.1.2. Further Soft Law Mechanisms .............................. 229
   4.2. States' Responses to International Soft Law ................. 230
      4.2.1. The Responsibility to Prevent: Educating Business ... 230
      4.2.2. The Responsibility to React: Taking Business to Court .. 233
5. Closing the Gaps: Business as Duty-Bearers ........................ 234
   5.1. Moving the Law Forward .......................................... 235
   5.2. Small Advances in Domestic Courts: US Cases .............. 236
6. Final Reflections .......................................................... 239
Commentary: The Responsibility to Protect and Non-State (Corporate) Actors – More of the Same?
Lucas Lixinski .............................................................................................................. 241

1. Introduction .................................................................................................................... 241
2. The Problem with R2P in a Corporate Context ....................................................... 242
3. What Does Due Diligence Add to the Equation? ..................................................... 242
4. What Does R2P Contribute to Due Diligence and Human Rights Obligations of Non-State Actors? .......................................................... 247
5. Responsibility of Non-State Actors Beyond Sovereignty ........................................ 248
6. Concluding Remarks .................................................................................................. 248

PART V.
THE INTERACTION BETWEEN R2P AND HUMANITARIAN LAW OBLIGATIONS TO PROTECT CIVILIAN POPULATIONS

The Responsibility to Protect Doctrine, and the Duty of the International Community to Reinforce International Humanitarian Law and its Protective Value for Civilian Populations
Sophie Rondeau ....................................................................................................... 251

1. Introduction: International Humanitarian Law and R2P as Necessary Allies .......... 251
2. Positive Effect of IHL and its Rapport with Non-State Armed Groups: a Plea in Favour of a Broad Definition of R2P .............................................. 256
   3.1. Responsibility for Grave Breaches ................................................................ 261
   3.2. Obligation to 'Respect and Ensure Respect' ........................................... 263
4. Conclusion ..................................................................................................................... 266

The Responsibility to Protect in Armed Conflict: A Step Forward for the Protection of Civilians?
Raphaël van Steenberghe .......................................................................................... 269

1. Introduction ................................................................................................................... 269
2. Common and Distinct Features ................................................................................. 271
   2.1. The Objectives of R2P and POC ................................................................ 271
   2.2. Continuum of Actions ....................................................................................... 273
   2.3. Continuum of Responsibilities ......................................................................... 275
   2.4. Scope of Application ....................................................................................... 277
3. Normative Impacts on IHL ................................................................. 278
   3.1. Potential Beneficial Impacts .................................................... 279
   3.2. Potential Negative Impacts .................................................. 280
4. Conclusion .................................................................................. 285

Commentary: On the Intersection of the Responsibility to Protect, the Protection of Civilians and International Humanitarian Law in Contemporary Armed Conflicts
David TUNES .......................................................... 287

1. General Remarks ................................................................. 287
2. The Conflict in Eastern Ukraine ............................................. 289
3. The Interventions in Iraq and Syria ....................................... 291
4. Concluding Observations: from Jus ad Bellum to Jus in Bello and Back Again .................................................. 293

PART VI.
R2P AND INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW BEYOND THE FOUR R2P CRIMES

The Place of Aggression in the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine
Vito TODESCHINI .......................................................... 299

1. Introduction ............................................................................. 299
2. The Crime of Aggression in International Law .................... 301
   2.1. Aggression: Definition and Legal Nature of the Obligation .... 301
   2.2. Aggression as an International Crime ................................. 303
3. Acts of Aggression and R2P .................................................. 306
   3.1. The Doctrine of R2P: Enlarging the Semantic Field ............ 306
      3.1.1. Purpose of R2P .......................................................... 307
      3.1.2. Scope of R2P ......................................................... 308
      3.1.3. The Circle of the Subjects Involved in R2P ................. 309
   3.2. Implementing R2P against Acts of Aggression ................. 310
      3.2.1. Decentralised Responses to Acts of Aggression under International Law .................................................. 311
      3.2.1.1. The Law of State Responsibility ............................ 311
      3.2.1.2. Collective Self-Defence ...................................... 313
      3.2.2. R2P as a Framework to Respond to Aggression .......... 314
4. Conclusion ............................................................................. 319
**Contents**

The Impact of the Responsibility to Protect on the Protection of Peacekeeping Missions under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court

Barbara SONCZYK .......................................................... 321

1. Introduction ................................................................. 321
2. Peacekeeping and the Use of Force .............................. 324
   2.1. The Defence of the Mission/Mandate ....................... 326
   2.2. The Right to Personal Self-Defence in a Peacekeeping Context ... 328
3. Protection Mandates and R2P ........................................ 330
   3.1. The Emergence of R2P ........................................... 332
4. Protection of Peacekeeping Missions under IHL and the Rome Statute 336
5. Conclusions ............................................................. 338

Commentary: R2P and its Consequences for International Criminal Law: Crimes as a Justification for the Use of Force

Lindsay Moir ........................................................................ 341

PART VII.
R2P AND ITS POSSIBLE IMPACT ON THE LAW OF INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

The ICJ Judgment in the Genocide Convention Case: Is R2P Drawing New Horizons for the Law on State Responsibility?

Ludovica Poli ....................................................................... 351

1. Introduction ................................................................. 351
2. The ICJ’s Ruling on the Duty to Prevent Genocide and the Development of a New Rule of International Law Inspired by the R2P Rationale .......................................................... 353
3. The Duty to Prevent Genocide in the ICJ’s Decision and its Application ’Beyond Borders’ .................................................. 356
4. Definition, Meaning and Role of Fault in the Law of State Responsibility ................................................................. 358
   4.1. Fault in Due Diligence Obligations ............................ 360
5. The Duty to Prevent Genocide ’Beyond Borders’ as a Peculiar Obligation of Due Diligence Requiring a Special Notion of Fault ..... 362
6. Due Diligence and the Implementation of R2P .................. 365
7. Concluding Remarks ...................................................... 366
## Responsibility to Protect as a Basis for 'Judicial Humanitarian Intervention'
Tomoko Yamashita .......................................................... 367

1. Introduction: Using 'Judicial Force' to Encompass a Means
to an End for R2P .......................................................... 367
2. Two Bases for Judicial Humanitarian Intervention ................. 370
   2.1. *Obligations Erga Omnes (Partes)* Invoked by 'Non-Injured'
       States in Respect of Massive Human Rights Violations ........ 373
   2.2. Diplomatic Protection and its Constraints ...................... 376
3. Pathways to JHI ............................................................................................................ 383
   3.1. Inter-State Procedures in Human Rights Treaties .............. 384
   3.2. Compromissory Clauses in Universal Human Rights Treaties
       and Provisional Measures at the ICJ ................................. 387
4. Conclusion: Paradigm Shift from State-Oriented to Human-  
   Oriented International Law ..................................................... 390

## Military Commanders as Bystanders to International Crimes: 
A Responsibility to Protect?
Lenneke Sprik ............................................................................. 393

1. Introduction ................................................................................................................ 393
2. Failing to Prevent Genocide and its Legal Aftermath ................. 395
3. Duty to Protect? ......................................................................................................... 399
4. Criminalising the Commander's Inaction? ............................................. 402
   4.1. Command Responsibility: a Failure to Fulfil a Duty of Care .... 403
   4.2. Aiding and Abetting by Omission .............................................. 406
   4.3. Aiding and Abetting through Presence ................................... 408
5. Towards a Broader Concept of 'Responsibility to Protect'? .............. 410
6. Conclusions ............................................................................................................... 412

## Commentary: R2P as a Transforming and Transformative Concept 
in the Context of Responsibility as Liability
Elena Katselli .................................................................................. 415

1. Introduction .............................................................................................................. 415
2. Responsibility to Protect as 'Third-State Responsibility' .............. 418
3. The Responsibility of Individuals to Protect ........................................ 424
4. R2P as Judicial Humanitarian Intervention ........................................ 428
5. Conclusion .............................................................................................................. 431