

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Aidan Hehir and Robert Murray, *Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- Antonio Franceschet, "The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism: From International to Global Governing Institutions," in *Kant and Liberal Internationalism: Sovereignty, Justice, and Global Reform* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2002).
- Donnelly, Jack *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, Third Edit (New York and London: Cornell University Press, 2013).
- Forsythe, David, *Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy*. (Tokyo: United Nations University Press 2000).
- Jackson, Robert; Sorensen, "Pengantar studi hubungan internasional" Pustaka Pelajar, Jogja (2005).
- Karns, Margaret P., Karen A. Mingst, and Kendall W. Stiles. 2015. *International organizations: the politics and processes of global governance* (2015).
- Keranen, Outi. "Libyan Lessons: Bring Back the Responsibility to Rebuild." Oxford Research Group, November 16, 2016.
- Knud Erik Jørgensen, "Liberal Internationalism," *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*, 2015.
- Lea-Henry, Jed. "The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and the Problem of Political Will", Vignan University (india), (2018).
- Morris, J. *Libya and Syria: R2P and the spectre of the swinging pendulum*. International Affairs, (2013).
- Natalie Keefer, "The Struggle for Human Rights in Myanmar," *Social Education*, October (2012).
- Rahayu, "Eksistensi Prinsip 'Responsibility to Protect' Dalam Hukum Internasional", Universitas Diponegoro Semarang, (2012).
- Scott Burchill, "Theories of International Relations," in *Theories of International Relations* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Shazelina Z. Abidin, "International Organisations," *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* (1960).

Stover, Eric, Victor Peskin, and Alexa Koenig. *Hiding in Plain Sight: The Pursuit of War Criminals from Nuremberg to the War on Terror*. Univ of California Press, 2016.

Tim Dunne and Marianne Hanson, *Human Rights in International Relation* (Cambridge University Press., 2012).

### **Artikel Jurnal**

Amnesty International, *The Battle for Libya: Killings, Disappearances and Torture*, 13 September 2011, MDE 19/025/2011.

Ban, Ki-Moon. "Early warning, Assessment and the Responsibility to Protect". *United Nation General Assembly*, (2009) 850-864.

Bellamy, Alex. J. *The Responsibility to Protect and the problem of military intervention*. *International Affairs*, 84(4), (2008).

Bellamy, Alex J., and Paul D. Williams "The New Politics of Protection? Côte D'Ivoire, Libya and the Responsibility to Protect." *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) 87, no.4, (2011), 825-850.

Bellamy, Alex "Global Politics and the Responsibility to Protect: From Words to Deeds." (2010), pp 237-239.

Buccola, Nicholas, ed. *Abraham Lincoln and Liberal Democracy*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2016.

Christoph Mikulaschek, "Implementing the Responsibility to Protect," *The Stanley Foundation*, 2010, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1576664>.

Fadhel Kaboub, "The Making of the Tunisian Revolution," *Middle East Development Journal* 5, no. 1 (2013), <https://doi.org/10.1142/S179381201350003X>.

Forsythe, David, *Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy*. (Tokyo: United Nations University Press 2000).

Garwood-Gowers, Andrew. "The Responsibility to Protect and the Arab Spring: Libya as the Exception, Syria as the Norm?" *UNSW Law Journal* 36, no. 2 (2011): 594–618.

- Gallagher, Adrian. "The Promise of Pillar II: Analysing International Assistance under the Responsibility to Protect." *International Affairs* 91, no. 6 (November 2015): 1259–75. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12459>.
- Geissel, Brigitte, Marianne Kneuer, and Hans-Joachim Lauth. "Measuring the Quality of Democracy: Introduction." *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale De Science Politique* 37, no. 5 (2016): 571-79. doi:10.2307/26556872.
- Groves, Steven. *Obama Wrongly Adopts U.N. "Responsibility to Protect" to Justify Libya Intervention*. Rep. no. 3210. Washington D.C.: Heritage Foundation, 2011.
- Hilpold, P. "Intervening in the Name of Humanity: R2P and the Power of Ideas." *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 17(1), (2012), pp. 49–79.
- Indrawan, Jerry. "Legalitas dan Motivasi NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) dalam Melakukan Intervensi Kemanusiaan di Libya." *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah*, Vol. 4, No. 2, (2013), pp. 127-149.
- Indrawan, Jerry. "Intervensi Kemanusiaan dan Jatuhnya Kuasa Kolonel Muammar Gaddafi di Libya". (2017). *Konfrontasi: Jurnal Kultur, Ekonomi dan Perubahan Sosial*. Vol. 6, No.1.
- Malito, Debora V. "The Responsibility to Protect What in Libya? Peace Review." *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, (2017) 29:289–298.
- Natalie Keefer, "The Struggle for Human Rights in Myanmar," *Social Education*, October (2012).
- Pratiwi, Fadhila I. "Lessons Learned from Responsibility to Protect (R2P) in Libya", University of Birmingham. (2017).
- Pugliese, Joseph. (2012). *Permanent Revolution: Mohamed Bouazizi's Incendiary Ethics of Revolt*. *Law, Culture and the Humanities*. 10. 408-420. 10.1177/1743872112448339.
- Reike, Ruben. "Libya and the Responsibility to Protect: Lessons for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities." *St Antony's International Review* 8, no. 1 (2012): 122-149.
- Stahn, C. "Libya, the International Criminal Court and Complementarity: A Test for 'Shared Responsibility.'" *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 10, no. 2 (March 29, 2012): 325–349. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jicj/mqs016>.

Teimouri, H., & Subedi, S. P. "Responsibility to Protect and the International Military Intervention in Libya in International Law: What Went Wrong and What Lessons Could Be Learnt from It? *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*,"(2018) 23(1), 3–32.

Thakur, R "The Responsibility to Protect at 15". *International Affairs*, 92(2), (2016), pp. 415–434.

Wan Kamal Mujani and Siti Nurul Izah Musa, "The Phenomenon of Arab Spring in the Middle East," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 6, no. 4S2 (2015): 152–57, <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n4s2p152>.

Weingast, Barry R. "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law." *The American Political Science Review* 91, no. 2 (1997): 245-63.

Zifcak, Spencer "*The Responsibility to Protect after Libya and Syria*," *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 13 (2012): 66. 2.

### **Laporan/Publikasi**

Resolution 1973. Rep. no. 1970. RES ed. Vol. S. New York: United Nations Security Council, 17 March 2011. Ser. 1973.

Resolution 1973. Rep. no. 1970. RES ed. Vol. S. New York: United Nations Security Council, 17 March 2011. Ser. 1973.

United Nations Secretary General, "General Assembly UN A /64/864 Early Warning & R2P," Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 2009, p:1-8.

United, Nations. 2005 World Summit Outcome. United Nations General Assembly. Report p-30.

### **Sumber Daring**

"*International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect*".web.  
<https://www.devex.com/organizations/international-coalition-for-the-responsibility-to-protect-59778>.

"*Libya Could Relapse into Conflict, Secretary-General's Special Representative Warns, Citing Volatile Security, Human Rights Situation* | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases," 2017.  
<https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc12799.doc.htm>.

"*The Resource: Part II. International Human Rights System*, 11/11."  
<https://www.un.org/>.

- Bagchi, Rob. “SCENESETTER FOR THE VISIT OF GENERAL WILLIAM WARD TO LIBYA, MAY 21.” The Telegraph, January 31, 2011. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/wikileaks-files/libya-wikileaks/8294561/SCENESETTER-FOR-THE-VISIT-OF-GENERAL-WILLIAM-WARD-TO-LIBYA-MAY-21.html>.
- Baspineiro, Roxana. “Libya: Before and After Muammar Gaddafi.” TeleSUR, January 15, 2020. <https://www.telesurenglish.net/analysis/Libya-Before-and-After-Muammar-Gaddafi-20200115-0011.html>.
- Becker, Jo, and Scott Shane. “Hillary Clinton, ‘Smart Power’ and a Dictator’s Fall.” The New York Times, February 28, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/28/us/politics/hillary-clinton-libya.html?auth=login-google1tap&#38;login=google1tap>.
- Charbonneau, Louis. “Q+A - U.N. Libya Sanctions: What’s Legal and Illegal?” Reuters, May 6, 2011. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-libya-un-sanctions-idUKTRE7446Z320110506>.
- Cotler, Irwin, and Jared Genser. “Libya and the Responsibility to Protect.” The New York Times, February 28, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/01/opinion/01iht-edcotler01.html>.
- Dahl, R. A., “Democracy.” Encyclopedia Britannica, March 5, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/democracy>.
- Harris, Marty. “Libya and the United Nations Security Council Resolution UNSCR 1973 .” Parliament of Australia, March 24, 2011. [https://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/FlagPost/2011/March/Libya\\_and\\_the\\_United\\_Nations\\_Security\\_Council\\_Resolution\\_UNSCR\\_1973](https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/FlagPost/2011/March/Libya_and_the_United_Nations_Security_Council_Resolution_UNSCR_1973). Parliament of Australia. “Libya and the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1973. Parliament of Australia. 2011. [https://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/FlagPost/2011/March/Libya\\_and\\_the\\_United\\_Nations\\_Security\\_Council\\_Resolution\\_UNSCR\\_1973#:~:text=United%20Nation%20Security%20Council%20Resolution%201973%20on%20Libya%20was%20adopted,UN%20SC%20for%20March%202011](https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/FlagPost/2011/March/Libya_and_the_United_Nations_Security_Council_Resolution_UNSCR_1973#:~:text=United%20Nation%20Security%20Council%20Resolution%201973%20on%20Libya%20was%20adopted,UN%20SC%20for%20March%202011).
- Hidayat, Anwar. “Penjelasan Lengkap Tentang Penelitian Kualitatif”, <https://www.statistikian.com/2012/10/penelitian-kualitatif.html>.
- Hulse, Corrie. “Do We Allow Gaddafi to ‘Cleanse Libya House by House’? | The Mantle.” <https://www.themantle.com/international-affairs/do-we-allow-gaddafi-%E2%80%9Ccleanse-libya-house-house%E2%80%9D>.

- Kareem Fahim and David D. Kirkpatrick, "Rebels Retake Ajdabiya, Libya, After Week of Allied Attacks," *The New York Times*, March 26, 2011, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/27/world/africa/27libya.html>.
- Kim Sengupta, "Leaked UN Report Reveals Torture, Lynchings and Abuse in Post-Gaddafi Libya," *The Independent*, November 28, 2011, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/leaked-un-report-reveals-torture-lynchings-and-abuse-post-gaddafi-libya-6266636.html>.
- Mary Beth, Sheridan. "Moammar Gaddafi Killed in Rebel Custody as Last Loyalist Holdout in Libya Falls - The Washington Post." <[http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/gaddafis-home-town-overrun-conflicting-reports-on-his-fate/2011/10/20/gIQAMwTB0L\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/gaddafis-home-town-overrun-conflicting-reports-on-his-fate/2011/10/20/gIQAMwTB0L_story.html)>.
- NATO. "NATO and Libya (Archived)." NATO, November 9, 2015. [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_71652.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_71652.htm).
- Oderson, Crystal . "Libya Crisis Worries International Community." *The Africa Report*, January 29, 2016. <https://www.theafricareport.com/1999/libya-crisis-worries-international-community>.
- Raymond, Paul Adrian, and Mohammed Haddad. "The Battle for Libya's Oil." *Al Jazeera* <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/2/19/the-battle-for-libyas-oil>.
- Talmon, Stefan. "The Difference between Rhetoric and Reality: Why an Illegitimate Regime May Still Be a Government in the Eyes of International Law." *EJIL:Talk!*, March 3, 2011. <https://www.ejiltalk.org/the-difference-between-rhetoric-and-reality-why-an-illegitimate-regime-may-still-be-a-government-in-the-eyes-of-international-law/>.
- Tugwell, Robert. "A 'Major Terrorist Event' Case Study: Benghazi, Libya on September 11, 2012." *E-International Relations*, January 29, 2016. <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/01/29/a-major-terrorist-event-case-study-benghazi-libya-on-september-11-2012/>.
- United Nations. "S/RES/1973 (2011) | United Nations Security Council," March 17, 2011. <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/s/res/1973-%282011%29>.
- United Nations. "United Nations Charter (Article 41-43)." United Nations. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>.

Verson, Rodolfo Benitez. "*Thematic Debate on Human Security*", Speech, 2011, <http://anterior.cubaminrex.cu/English/Multilaterales/Articulos/Politicos/1stComision/041411.html>.

Yoshida, Yuki. "*A Theoretical Assessment of Humanitarian Intervention and R2P.*" E-International Relations, January 16, 2013. [https://www.e-ir.info/2013/01/16/from-kosovo-to-libya-theoretical-assessment-of-humanitarian-intervention-and-the-responsibility-to-protect/#\\_ftn15](https://www.e-ir.info/2013/01/16/from-kosovo-to-libya-theoretical-assessment-of-humanitarian-intervention-and-the-responsibility-to-protect/#_ftn15).

