

**Leading from the Front: America, Libya, and the Localisation of R2P**

Journal:	<i>Cooperation and Conflict</i>
Manuscript ID:	CAC-13-0064
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	Leadership, Libya, Localisation, R2P, United States
Abstract:	<p>The United States has historically been inconsistent and ambivalent about the responsibility to protect (R2P). Part 1 of the article sets out a theoretical framework for understanding how the United States aligns itself with R2P; it does so by initially using the idea of norm localisation, which reveals important convergences and tensions between the international norm and the localised variant that we call 'genocide and mass atrocity prevention/protection'. Part 2 looks at the impact of this norm innovation in relation to the position that the United States government adopted on Libya - suggesting that it played a critical leadership role in the crisis and in doing so took risks with its international reputation while knowing that there was little prospect that this action would be warmly greeted by Congress or domestic public opinion.</p>

## **Leading from the Front: America, Libya, and the Localisation of R2P**

### **Abstract**

The United States has historically been inconsistent and ambivalent about the responsibility to protect (R2P). Part 1 of the article sets out a theoretical framework for understanding how the United States aligns itself with R2P; it does so by initially using the idea of norm localisation, which reveals important convergences and tensions between the international norm and the localised variant that we call 'genocide and mass atrocity prevention/protection'. Part 2 looks at the impact of this norm innovation in relation to the position that the United States government adopted on Libya - suggesting that it played a critical leadership role in the crisis and in doing so took risks with its international reputation while knowing that there was little prospect that this action would be warmly greeted by Congress or domestic public opinion.

**Keywords: Leadership, Libya, Localisation, R2P, United States**

### **Introduction**

At the time of the NATO-led implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 authorising force to be used to protect civilians at risk from Gaddafi's forces, the Obama administration allowed the world to believe they were 'leading from behind'. This beguiling phrase elides the fact that United States diplomacy critically shaped the character of the UN mandate and that the US worked actively with other Security Council members to ensure the vote was won inside the Security Council chamber. In short, the United States gave diplomatic leadership both inside and outside the United Nations to help resolve a humanitarian crisis that threatened to spiral out of control.

Should we be surprised that the world's hegemon – a *liberal* hegemon as G. John Ikenberry (2011) reminds us – is prepared to take the risks and pay the costs of a humanitarian intervention? One notable author of a history of America's response to genocide would answer 'yes we should' and without qualification: 'the United States had never in its history intervened to stop genocide and had in fact rarely even made a point of condemning it as it occurred.' These words were not written by an angry political exile; they are of course Samantha Power's words, President Obama's long-time advisor (2003: xv). Power has subsequently been credited with pushing hard to develop and implement a

policy on atrocity prevention and response – suggesting that this administration is seeking to confront past policy failures.

The US government's focus on genocide and mass atrocity prevention/protection (GMAPP) is a domestic adaptation of the global norm known as 'the responsibility to protect' (R2P). Norms are often open to significant variance in interpretation and application – particularly when the state in question is a world power. To illustrate this dynamic, **Part 1** of the article draws on Amitav Acharya's (2004; 2009) work on 'localisation' to reveal what properties of the R2P norm are being grafted onto the United States' atrocity prevention framework and analyses the early institutionalisation of the GMAPP norm inside the United States government (USG) and wider civil society. All norms have an identifiable 'DNA' that can be observed in different institutional domains – we examine how far the patterning of the norm's code can be identified in the domestic political realm.

**Part 2** of the article considers how far United States diplomacy and military action against Libya can be understood in relation to the localised variant of R2P. In so doing, we are not seeking to advance a causal story as this would imply that such claims could be tested; instead, we regard the configuration of the R2P norm – set out in Part 1 – as being primarily of heuristic value. US military action in Libya is not significant in and of itself; the US has intervened militarily in other crises when vital interests were at stake and justified these interventions (partly or wholly) on humanitarian grounds. Where the norm is significant, however, is that it is uniting various policy-tools, preferences, interests, and values to expand the parameters for conceptualising and responding to atrocity situations.

### **Norm Localisation and the International-Domestic Linkage**

Although the extent to which a norm resonates domestically is influenced by how closely it 'fits' pre-existing social and normative structures, its content is not static (Krook and True, 2010) and international norms often purposefully lack specificity in order to facilitate their initial adoption (Sandholtz, 2008). This allows for considerable variation in how norms are then internalised and implemented at the domestic level. We should therefore not be surprised that the content of international norms may change as they encounter the domestic social and normative context. As Acharya highlights, the complex process of building congruence is dynamic and bottom-up as well as top-down. He calls this process localisation, whereby 'norm-takers build congruence between transnational norms ... and

local beliefs and practices' (2004: 241). For Acharya (2004: 247-250), several processes facilitate localisation: firstly, the belief that that existing norms are inadequate for specific challenges; secondly, efforts by credible insider proponents who champion and actively seek to reshape the norm in ways that facilitate its internalisation; and finally, the belief that the new norm will enhance the legitimacy of domestic actors and institutions without undermining crucial elements of the domestic social and normative order, such as domestic institutions or national identity.

Norms, in turn, shape behaviour both constitutively and instrumentally. In terms of the former, as a norm is localised and becomes embedded in domestic institutions, processes, discourses, and identities it influences the parameters for conceptualising and responding to situations to which it is applicable. There are, however, also instrumental reasons for acting in accordance with norms and which make it more difficult to deviate from. Rhetorical entrapment and the desirability of consistency between rhetoric and behaviour, for instance, make norm accommodation advantageous (Ruble, 2008: 427-428; Risse, 2000).

Given that R2P lacks formal legal standing among sovereign states,<sup>1</sup> the best that can be claimed for its status is that it is an international norm. We regard a norm as a standard of appropriate conduct that has regulative and constitutive properties. Because of these properties, endorsing a norm generates an impetus to behave in a manner consistent with it and failure to live up to agreed standards of conduct invites scrutiny and criticism. The R2P norm is regulative in so far as it prohibits certain actions (genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and crimes against humanity) and constitutive in so far as it assigns roles and responsibilities to different actors within international society such that membership of that society presupposes being a 'responsible' sovereign.

The norm developed in a series of diplomatic debates in the midst of significant negotiation around key principles, thresholds, and distributions of responsibility. What emerged in the World Summit outcome document (WSOD) (2005) - and was later endorsed in UNSC Res 1674 (2006) and 1894 (2009) - reflected the evolving diplomatic consensus about how the international community should respond to mass atrocities (Bellamy, 2009: 37-41; Thakur, 2011; Weiss, 2007). Paragraph 138 of the WSOD begins with a clear

---

<sup>1</sup> To be precise, R2P does not have standing status in international law, but the UN Security Council can and has given legal effect to the framework through many binding Resolutions.

statement about the sovereign state's responsibility to protect, before progressing to the more loosely defined duties that are ascribed to the international community if the target state is unwilling or unable to provide for security from mass atrocity crimes. Despite this consensus, however, the meanings attributed to the norm vary considerably. Even liberal states – whose self-identities include the promotion of values such as human rights, political freedoms, and freedom from persecution – vary considerably with each other in how they align their responsibility to protect with domestic thresholds and identity.

Although the US has long been a proponent of democratic values and human rights, its poor record of responding to mass atrocities in Rwanda and Darfur and slow responses to atrocities in Bosnia and Kosovo weakened its credibility and legitimacy as a supporter of humanitarian values. These situations demonstrated that existing priorities and tools could not sufficiently address the challenge posed by mass atrocities in places where the US did not possess strong strategic interests. Moreover, the catastrophic consequences of failing to respond in Rwanda made a mockery of the US' repeated pledge of 'Never Again' and has since provoked retrospective apologies from Bill Clinton (1998) and other members of his administration, including Susan Rice (2011a).

The norm of R2P taps into these strong sentiments of regret and has galvanised Rice, Power, and other members of the Obama team as well as elements of civil society and academia to consider how the international norm could be best accommodated within the domestic context.<sup>2</sup> In addition, according to the incoming Obama administration, the US suffered from a legitimacy crisis, and a renewed commitment to multilateralism and mass atrocities prevention were two areas deemed important to improve the United States' international standing (Obama, 2007: 7,10-12). R2P touched on these issues but was sufficiently compatible and indeterminate enough to adapt to US identity, values, and interests.

The localised norm (GMAPP) endorses much of the R2P framework, shares its broader normative agenda to respond to genocide and mass atrocity crimes and largely adopts the UN Secretary-General's implementation strategy (Ki-moon, 2009). However,

---

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. The Genocide Prevention Task Force sponsored by the US Institute of Peace and Holocaust Memorial Museum, Mass Atrocity Response Operations project by the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard Kennedy School and the US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, and Mass Atrocity Prevention and Response Options project by the US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute.

GMAPP is situated in the context of US national security priorities and its identity. As such, R2P is localised in ways that make it more appropriate to the domestic context. Some features of GMAPP suggest innovation, which may ultimately enhance both domestic and international variants of the norm and their implementation, while others reproduce the tensions and challenges present in the international norm. **Figure 1** maps the international/domestic configuration of the R2P norm as it has been shaped during the first Obama administration. The diagram also maps where the localised R2P norm is endorsed or resisted. The processes by which institutionalisation<sup>3</sup> occurs are not discussed in detail below – although they will be picked up in our discussion of the Libya case in Part 2.

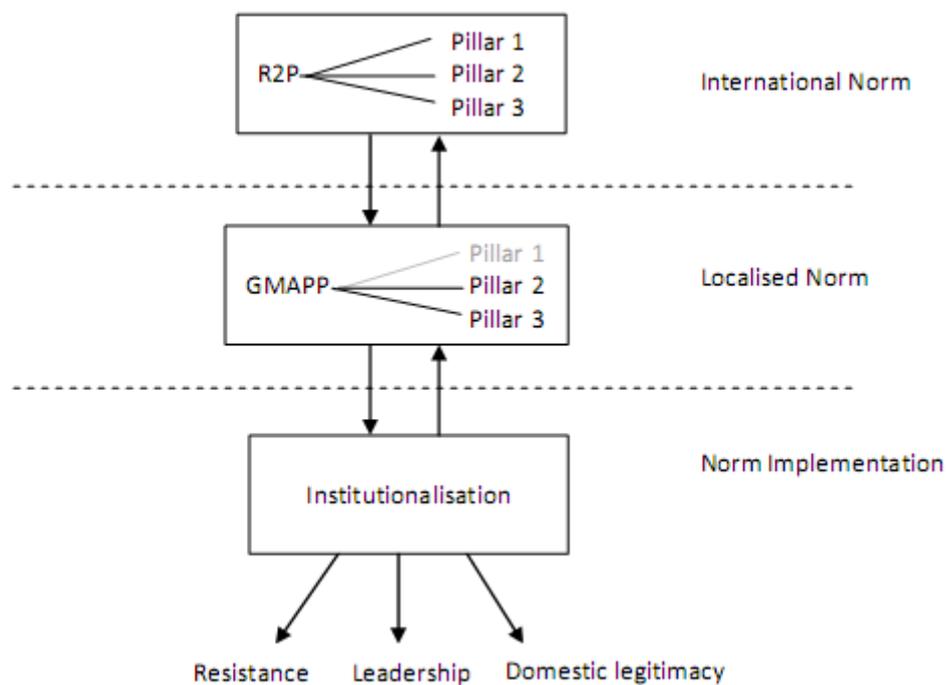


Figure 1. **United States Localisation and Implementation of R2P as GMAPP<sup>4</sup>**

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

According to R2P, each state has the primary responsibility ‘to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity’, and crucially this pertains to all states (UNGA 2005: para 138). Pillar 1 of the Secretary-General’s

<sup>3</sup> By which we mean the corraling of a norm into domestic institutions, processes, discourses, and decision-making procedures.

<sup>4</sup> See Acharya 2004, 254

implementation strategy requires all states to monitor and defuse domestic social tensions and human rights violations that are pathways to mass atrocities (Ki-moon, 2009). The localised GMAPP norm is blind to the possibility of a mass atrocity situation occurring within the United States, in part because of long-standing checks and balances on government branches, constitutional guarantees, and domestic laws which arguably diminish the likelihood that the USG could be an R2P offender (at least in its territory). The absence of US consideration of its domestic responsibility to protect is indicated in Figure 1 with the shadow type face. Instead GMAPP focuses exclusively on addressing situations at-risk abroad, despite the fact that some of the early precursors for mass atrocities, such as social cleavages, ethnic tensions, and hate speech do exist domestically (Scutari, 2009).<sup>5</sup>

Yet governments are not the sole perpetrators of mass atrocities or importantly their incitement, and incidents that could potentially be characterised as incitement have occurred in recent years, such as the release of a film vilifying Islam and the burning of a Koran by a Florida-based pastor (Hunter, 2012; Banks, 2011). Both incidents sparked mass protests and violence internationally, but neither triggered a domestic debate about the United States' responsibility to protect. The constitutional guarantee of free speech adds greater complexity to these 'domestic' issues, yet this too is absent from the GMAPP agenda. Implementation of Pillar 1 also involves joining and strengthening relevant institutions, including instruments of international law such as the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which the USG remains opposed to doing.

Pillar 2 in R2P is dedicated to international assistance and building the capacity to protect based on the logic that earlier detection, before large-scale loss of life, will help to resolve potential crises before conflicts become intractable. Implementation of Pillar 2 in R2P includes monitoring and developing early warning systems, assisting foreign counterparts, providing international assistance, and helping build capacity in 'at risk' states (Ki-moon, 2009; UNGA 2005). In contrast, assistance and capacity-building in GMAPP, are primarily directed inward and focussed on overcoming internal deficits, which is at odds with the international norm's focus on developing the capacities of at risk states, although the relationship between the two is logically sequenced: GMAPP's focus on domestic

---

<sup>5</sup> Natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina, for instance, reveal latent social cleavages. Even when these do not provoke an R2P situation, these 'pathways' exist and a comprehensive R2P norm should take these into consideration.

coordination and planning ought to better promote and consolidate R2P's Pillar 2 (The White House 2012a). The USG shows some innovation on this front, including evidence of early institutionalisation (Jentleson, 2012).

In 2009 President Obama appointed Power as director of Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights (MAHR) in the National Security Council to lead on R2P issues. In August 2011, Presidential Study Directive 10 (PSD-10) authorised an interagency review of preparedness and response capabilities. Reiterating a claim made in 2010, PSD-10 found that capabilities exist in government agencies but they are not 'integrated and focused on the problem in a sustained way' (QDDR 2010: 122-123). The Atrocities Prevention Board (APB) – comprised of high level representatives from various government agencies – was created to overcome this hurdle and coordinate a whole-of-government strategy. Internal capacity-building efforts centre on developing military doctrine and a civilian training component for mass atrocities response (Genocide Prevention Task Force, 2008: 30; see also Sewall et al., 2010).

In relation to Pillar 3 responsibilities, the US variant of R2P reflects many of the disjointed policy formulations of other world powers. To date, it has failed to clarify the conditions under which coercive instruments would be used to respond to mass atrocities. For instance, it does not answer divisive questions about who should intervene (unilateral or multilateral), when (threshold, conditions), where (selectivity), or how (strategy, doctrine, command and control). As argued elsewhere, the indeterminacy of R2P was due to political necessity in the lead up to the World Summit and the nature of the UN Security Council (Evans, 2008; Luck, 2006; Bellamy, 2009). Statements on US prevention/protection policy also invoke the weak wording of the WSOD, which emphasises the determination of action on a case-by-case basis. This allows the United States to preserve its freedom of manoeuvre, which remains important domestically to help build consensus on the fledgling norm.

Tension between humanitarian values and strategic interests also remains evident in the implementation of GMAPP.<sup>6</sup> The USG tacitly acknowledges that in the past responses to mass atrocities were impeded by lack of domestic political will due to *competing* interests that won out over a 'protection of civilians' agenda (Darfur 2004-2006) or *lack* of interests

---

<sup>6</sup> A similar tension is evident in relation to democracy promotion and national security interests (see Warkotsch 2010).

(Rwanda 1994). The first Obama administration attempted to address the problem of political will by recalibrating the relationship between interests, values, and identity. Central to the rationale of the domestic norm is that 'when tensions threaten to escalate to mass atrocities, [United States] core values as well as our security interests are deeply threatened' (QDDR 2010: 122). Likewise, PSD-10 declares that 'preventing mass atrocities and genocide is a core national interest and a core moral responsibility of the United States' (Obama, 2011b). In other words, the localised norm embraces a broader view of national interest which destabilises what Obama terms as the 'false choice' between interests and values (White House, 2010: 5).

This recalibration is not a rejection of the idea that the international community has a responsibility, which is the foundation of R2P, but rather that atrocity prevention and response is not only about international responsibility but that it is also a core goal of US national security strategy. Advancing this moral argument is critical to reducing domestic resistance and creating domestic political will: even so, reconceptualising mass atrocities prevention as a core interest and linking it to national identity and values does not eliminate prudential concerns. Nor will it necessarily prevent competing interests from prevailing. In a speech endorsing R2P, for instance, Ambassador Rice (2009) acknowledged that 'humanitarian requirements will often jostle with other legitimate policy concerns.'

Continuities remain between where other administrations set the parameters for humanitarian intervention and those specified in the evolving domestic norm (Gates, 2011b; Obama, 2011e; Clinton, 2011b).<sup>7</sup> Decisions to intervene militarily for humanitarian and partially humanitarian reasons have and will continue to balance reasonable hope of success, costs, and its foreseen impact on other interests. Thus, there will be times when military action is deemed unacceptable or inappropriate, as the crisis in Syria continues to demonstrate. However, this does not mean that by-standing is a viable policy option; instead, both R2P and its domestic variation attach great importance to broadening responses to mass atrocities to enable earlier and possibly preventative action and to ensure that other policy-tools (besides the use of force) are available.

---

<sup>7</sup> For instance, similar to Obama's stance on Libya, in relation to both Bosnia and Kosovo, the Clinton administration prioritised 'no boots on the ground' and 'multilateral action' to offset the costs of intervention.

One of the tasks of the APB is to develop a wider range of policy tools to address mass atrocity situations. Don Steinberg, deputy administrator for USAID and APB member, reminds us that the USG has a 'toolbox' for responding to genocide and mass atrocities, with military action being a credible last resort. But, diplomacy, travel bans, technological deterrents, humanitarian relief, accountability mechanisms, justice capabilities, and sanctions are all preferred options (White House, 2012a; White House, 2012b). R2P/GMAPP are changing the parameters of engagement so that the choices are not narrowed to either military intervention or allowing atrocities to happen. Domestically, this has helped to minimise resistance to the norm though certainly not overcome it.

For both R2P and the localised GMAPP norm, collective action is vital when force is deemed necessary, but the rationale for prioritising collective action is different. Collective action taken through the Security Council is the cornerstone of Pillar 3 in R2P because it confers international legality and legitimacy and because it enabled international consensus on the WSOD by serving as a check on powerful states. Legality and international legitimacy are also characterised as important considerations for the USG in GMAPP. The desirability and prioritisation of action taken through the Security Council has been repeatedly highlighted by the Obama administration, but there is a risk that action may be blocked by a veto from one of the Permanent Five members (GPTF, 2008: 96).

The USG has not specifically ruled out taking action outside of the Council in a mass atrocities situation or the unilateral use of force when America's vital or core interests are at stake. The NSS, for instance, states that 'The United States must reserve the right to act unilaterally if necessary' (p. 22) and that 'No international order can be supported by international institutions alone' but must require bilateral, multilateral, and global strategies to 'build new spheres of cooperation' (p. 40). The careful phrasing of the NSS suggests that the USG will continue to avoid making statements or policies that could rhetorical entrap it or restrict its choices (see e.g. Risse, 2000). Despite the attempt to reframe atrocity prevention as a national interest (Obama, 2011b), there is little to suggest that a humanitarian interest alone would be sufficient to justify the use of force taken without a covering Security Council resolution and international participation. Indeed, in relation to Libya, a covering UNSC resolution was deemed critical for the military operation to proceed (Corn, 2012: 208).

For the USG, legitimacy is more broadly associated with multilateralism; collective action through the Council is simply the preferred means of achieving it. With that in mind, the NSS commits to enhancing cooperation with the UN but also with regional organisations which ‘can be particularly effective at mobilising and legitimating cooperation among countries closest to the problem’ (p. 46). Collective action through the UN and multilateralism are also prioritised as a means of burden-sharing (White House, 2010: 1; Andrews, 2011; Mitchell, 2011). In a telling commentary on US engagement with the UN, Esther Brimmer (2011), Assistant Secretary at the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, argued that ‘by working through the United Nations, we help bring security to countries where U.S. military operations aren’t feasible or desirable – at far lower cost to the United States – and where U.S. leadership can leverage important contributions by other states.’ The administration’s position on multilateralism surfaced in deliberations over military intervention in Libya, with representatives repeatedly stating that unilateral (military) action was not an option because it would lead to unintended and detrimental consequences (Inskeep, 2011; Andrews, 2011). In addition, the role of (selective) regional organisations was critical, as Part 2 will discuss.

The legislative branch is also cautiously moving the GMAPP agenda forward. In December 2010, the Senate unanimously passed senate concurrent resolution 71, which supported efforts to develop a government-wide strategy for preventing and mitigating mass atrocities. It also affirmed ‘that it is in the national interest and aligned with the values of the United States to work vigorously with international partners to prevent and mitigate future genocides and mass atrocities’ (S.Con.Res. 71, 2010).

As we have argued, there are multiple areas of convergence between the international and localised norm. Yet other aspects of the international norm and its implementation are excluded from domestic level dialogue. As Part 2 will show, certain aspects of the localised norm were applied unproblematically to the situation in Libya, including: the US could not be a bystander as such behaviour runs contrary to its identity; earlier (preventative) action would be less costly in the long-run; a range of responses was appropriate; a multilateral strategy was necessary to diffuse the economic and reputational costs of action; and no US ground troops should be deployed.

The norm of R2P and its localised variant should not be viewed as ‘causing’ particular actions in the Libyan case. This suggests a deterministic model that is contrary to most

constructivist accounts of normative change. However, the norm was clearly 'at work' in shaping the expectations and parameters for acceptable behaviour in the Libyan crisis. Within these parameters there remained a lot of room for strategic, moral, and mixed motives and actions. We argue below that the evolving normative structure created opportunities for early and wide-ranging responses that were consistent with the localised norm. This suggests at minimum that policymakers were able to draw on the tenets of the localised norm to strengthen their case for when and how to act.

### **The United States, Libya, and R2P**

By the beginning of February 2011, there were initial signs of growing support for the localised version of R2P within the executive and legislative branches of government as well as civil society (Obama, 2012; Power, 2011; S.Con.Res. 71, 2010; e.g. GPTF 2008; Stanley Foundation, 2008). The crisis in Libya, although preceding much of the institutionalisation of GMAPP within government agencies, nevertheless helped to consolidate the fledgling norm and gave the Obama administration an opportunity to live up to early campaign promises to act on American principles because, as Obama stated in the second presidential debate of 2008, 'we have moral issues at stake' and the US is diminished 'when we stand idly by' (NBC, 2008). For administration supporters of GMAPP/R2P, Libya was an obvious test-case for the USG's commitment to atrocity prevention and response.

The Libyan case provides fertile empirical grounds for understanding to what extent the 'DNA' of the genocide and mass atrocity prevention/protection norm is evident in the United States response to a mass atrocities situation. The norm shaped the parameters of the USG's response in relation to the decision to take principled action and also pragmatic considerations for how this would be done. These features suggest an alignment between USG responses and the localised atrocity prevention norm, and we locate the norm's presence in the following three places: first, norm resistance (mindful that contestation requires recognition of the norm's potential influence on behaviour); second, the norm's domestic legitimacy; third, leadership in relation to GMAPP.

The norm provided a compelling frame through which to view the crisis, which contrasted with other possible, less persuasive interpretations, such as a terrorist action. Gaddafi's alienation of much of the international community, lack of compelling US economic interests in Libya (although other states including China, India, and Italy had

significant economic ties), as well as incidents such as the Lockerbie bombing all gave the regime a pariah status and served as enabling factors. Yet, alone these factors are not sufficient to explain US and international action against the regime. Indeed, a strong regional predisposition towards non-intervention and the association of interference in the domestic affairs of another state with neo-imperialism were countervailing factors that, especially in the AU case, opposed military intervention.

R2P and the notion of sovereignty as responsibility were normatively and rhetorically crucial in helping to overcome countervailing factors and to establish a compelling cause to act in Libya, prior to large-scale loss of life. Within the USG, the norm was also at work in linking rhetorical commitments to R2P and promises of 'Never Again' with strong memories of past failures to respond to the Rwandan genocide and the fear of damage to the United States' identity as a world leader and a proponent of responsible sovereignty and human rights if the USG once again failed to prevent mass atrocities.

The desirability of prevention and early response also played a fundamental role in the way international engagement unfolded. In his remarks to the Security Council on 25 February, the Secretary-General reported over 1,000 regime-attributed deaths in Libya (UNSC 2011a). While this figure is considerable, much higher fatalities in other conflicts had not provoked similar or concerted international action. Momentum against the regime developed as much in response to Gaddafi's defamatory rhetoric, public incitement, and promises to wipe out protesters as it developed in response to the facts on the ground. In essence, the international community mobilised to prevent mass atrocities primarily on the basis of speech-acts which were treated *as if* they were reality.

The norm also set the parameters of acceptable behaviour. Importantly, by-standing or waiting for large-scale loss of life before taking action was not an option. As Obama (2011d) subsequently argued:

the core principle that has to be upheld here is that when the entire international community almost unanimously says that there's a potential humanitarian crisis about to take place, that a leader who has lost his legitimacy decides to turn his military on his own people, that we can't simply stand by with empty words; that we have to take some sort of action.

Early on the USG accepted it had a responsibility to protect Libyan civilians, and officials widely agreed that a range of policy-tools should be used to change Gaddafi's behaviour, including: public condemnation, economic sanctions, and diplomatic actions vis-à-vis the Libyan regime to halt the violence and vis-à-vis other states to isolate the regime. This constellation of non-military responses as well as the escalation of responses is consistent with Pillar 3 of R2P and GMAPP.

Though there was some criticism that USG responses were not strong enough or quick enough, consensus within the administration did not break down until peaceful instruments were deemed insufficient and the use of force became a serious consideration. Even then, resistance in the administration and the wider public sphere focused primarily on prudential concerns, namely that the situation on the ground was sufficiently uncertain that military action generated undue risks, that proposed responses were not proportionate to the crisis, and that the scope and mission were poorly defined. There was also some resistance to the view that intervention for humanitarian protection purposes should be elevated to the level of a core national interest. Senior officials in the Department of Defense, for instance Tom Donilon, argued that Libya was not 'a vital strategic interest' (European Affairs, 2011). This constitutes a deep challenge to a central tenet of the localised norm while at the same time not calling into question the standing of R2P in the international community.

Early on NATO Secretary-General Rasmussen argued that the crisis in Libya did not pose a threat to NATO or its allies, and thus it had no plans to intervene (VOA, 2011b). In contrast, on 25 February, Obama (2011a: 1, emphasis added) issued Executive Order 13566 which framed the crisis as a national security priority:

the prolonged attacks, and the increased numbers of Libyans seeking refuge in other countries from the attacks, have caused a deterioration in the security of Libya and pose a serious risk to its stability, thereby constituting an *unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States*, and I hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat.

Consistent with the GMAPP norm, this executive order framed the crisis in internationalist language whereby a humanitarian catastrophe in Libya posed a security problem for the United States and its allies.

Executive Order 13566 also authorised the seizure of assets belonging to specific regime agencies, officials and family members of Muammar Gaddafi and restricted financial transactions between United States citizens and named individuals. Not only did USG sanctions predate those imposed by the Council under Res 1970 on 26 February, they were also more comprehensive (Lindsay and Lyons, 2011). The decision to impose unilateral sanctions and support multilateral sanctions in the Council was not contested within the administration.

Consensus building through the Human Rights Council (HRC) was an additional avenue of USG response. According to Brimmer in early February, the US delegation had, in her view, 'become the most active delegation on the Council' and contributed to timely action by the HRC in response to human rights crises in Kyrgyzstan and Cote d'Ivoire in 2010 (Brimmer, 2011). On 25 February, the HRC, with the support of the US and 20 other member-states, convened a special session on Libya. The resulting resolution added to the momentum against the regime. The following day Res 1970 passed unanimously in the Security Council, and the USG supported – for the first time – a referral to the ICC. On 28 February, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (2011c) spoke at the HRC urging member-states to suspend Libya's membership in the HRC. Consistent with the approach outlined in GMAPP, the USG used multiple and varied policy tools and multilateral fora to influence regime behaviour.

As domestic and international attention turned to the possibility of a no-fly zone or other military options, domestic resistance coalesced around the argument that prudential concerns precluded effective military action. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, for instance, underscored the undesirability of another intervention in the region: 'we also have to think about, frankly, the use of the U.S. military in another country in the Middle East' (Buel, 2011; Bumiller, 2011). This and other negative comments by Gates and senior military officers were later moderated by a Pentagon press secretary (AFP 2011). Yet, Clinton also downplayed the no-fly zone option, and it initially seemed that those opposing military involvement had the upper hand (VOA, 2011a; Buel, 2011).

Subsequent interviews given by Obama and administration officials clarified the preconditions for military intervention set by the administration, that: military action must be multilateral, in accordance with international law, avoid using ground troops, effective, and have a well-defined and achievable goal (Hastings, 2011). As argued in Part 1, the norm

of genocide and mass atrocity prevention/protection avoids setting out a specific criteria for when and how the USG will respond – to preserve as much latitude as possible for the executive and Congress. However, when it came to implementing GMAPP in Libya, the justification for the use of force came close to setting out preconditions which could become a precedent for future interventions (Sanger, 2012: 351).

The precondition that any military action be multilateral was to reduce the economic and political costs of intervention and to garner and preserve domestic and international legitimacy, but regional support was crucial in the decision to intervene (QDDR 2010: 20, 55-57; White House, 2010: 12-13, 40-50; White House, 2011; Obama, 2011b). The administration pushed the criteria of multilateral support farther than other recent administrations. Strong regional support was identified as a priority instead of reliance on ‘like-minded’ allies,<sup>8</sup> which has left the United States open to claims that it is acting only in the collective interests of the Anglosphere. Gates (2011a) and others frequently emphasised US sensitivity to the region: ‘We are very mindful of opinion in the region... [We are] very sensitive to NATO being responsive to those organizations [Arab League, African Union, and UN] rather than taking an initiative on its own’ (Donilon and Rhodes, 2011; Carney, 2012). The administration also pushed for active participation rather than mere rhetorical support. According to Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mike Mullen (2011), the coalition ‘is not only a coalition of the willing; it is a coalition of the able with each nation bringing to the effort what they can in terms of knowledge and skill.’

In early March, support for a no-fly zone began to coalesce. On 1 March the US Senate unanimously passed a non-binding resolution condemning the violence perpetrated by Gaddafi’s regime and encouraging the UNSC to consider a no-fly zone (S. RES. 85, 2011).<sup>9</sup> On the same day the General Assembly – at the urging of the HRC and Clinton, among others – suspended Libya’s membership in the HRC. From 7-9 March the Gulf Cooperation Council, Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, and Libyan Interim Transitional National Council all publically endorsed a no-fly zone. By 10 March NATO had also shifted position, with Rasmussen arguing that intervention by NATO was conditional on demonstrable need,

---

<sup>8</sup> This attentiveness to regional support finds some support in the R2P literature (Bellamy and Williams 2011), though is nowhere set out in the key R2P diplomatic documents as being a necessary condition for an intervention to be considered legitimate.

<sup>9</sup> Later there were complaints that the no-fly zone paragraph was an unforeseen addition (Darling 2011; Cassata 2011).

clear legal basis and firm regional support (Ryan and Brunnstrom, 2011). Finally, on 12 March the Arab League also called for a no-fly zone. Discussions with EU and NATO officials began in earnest once regional support and the promise of active military and economic contributions by several Arab states became clear. France, Lebanon and the UK began lobbying for a second Security Council resolution which included provisions for a no-fly zone. This push by allies in Europe and key Middle Eastern countries enabled R2P supports inside the USG to support a 'humanitarian' military intervention.

Nevertheless, public support in the United States was split. When participants of a 14 March poll were asked whether they would 'favor or oppose the United States and other countries attempting to establish a "no-fly zone" in Libya', 56% favored it, 40% opposed it, 4% had no opinion.<sup>10</sup> Polling data also showed the limits of public support for military involvement. A Pew Research Center (2011) poll conducted between 10-13 March asked whether participants supported sending ground troops to Libya: 13% of participants favoured sending ground troops, 82% opposed it, and 5% were unsure.<sup>11</sup> In keeping with public opinion on the limits of a military intervention, Obama ruled out 'boots on the ground' early on. The administration could have used the lack of overwhelming public support as an excuse to avoid escalating atrocity prevention measures. After all, much higher domestic advocacy and support was evident in relation to Darfur in 2005 yet the USG did not seriously contemplate military action, an ICC referral, or many of the other tools in the atrocity prevention 'toolbox'. In the case of Libya, the Obama administration deemed backing down to be more costly than escalation. This suggests at minimum that in broadened the tools and focussing on prevention, R2P/GMAPP is helping to change the parameters of the domestic decision-making process in relation to atrocities (hereby indicating the presence of domestic legitimacy, see Figure 1).

Administration officials resolved that the United States would play a supporting role in any military intervention using its unique military capabilities at the front end but then passing leadership to NATO. Thus any attempt to develop a coalition would necessarily have to consider the position of possible allies on whether or not a covering Security Council

---

<sup>10</sup> The question clarified that no ground troops would be involved but that US aircraft might target Libyan airplanes and ground bases (CNN/Opinion Research Corporation 2011a). These figures are roughly in line with a similar poll conducted by the Washington Post/ABC (2011) which found 56% support, 37% opposed, and 7% no opinion.

<sup>11</sup> This is in line a CNN/Opinion Research Corporation (2011a) poll on 14 March.

resolution was necessary. In the case of Libya, EU and NATO allies made intervention conditional on legal authority (Ryan and Brunnstrom, 2011; Fam, 2011). A covering Security Council resolution would fulfil this requirement, and given the high level of support for a no-fly zone by regional actors and the Libyan opposition, the administration ultimately decided to push for this (Corn, 2012: 212-213).

On 15 March, Obama met with his advisors to discuss draft resolution 1973 and the broader situation in Libya. The proximity of GMAPP supporters to the President, including Susan Rice and Samantha Power, proved to be vital. A media report of the meeting explains the shift in the administration's position; in the article Obama is quoted as saying 'we knew that a no-fly zone would not save the people of Benghazi.' It was 'an expression of concern that didn't really do anything' because the real danger to civilians was posed by ground troops not aerial bombardment (Lewis, 2012; see also Cooper and Myers, 2011; Mann, 2012).

Without a stronger resolution than was originally envisaged by other pro-intervention countries, Obama feared the action would be ineffectual, thus breaching one of the administration's conditions for intervention. According to one participant at the meeting, Obama concluded 'just signing on to a no-fly zone so that we have political cover isn't going to cut it. That's not how America leads' (Hastings, 2011). For Clinton as well, the USG need to focus on two things: a workable strategy that had a reasonable hope of protecting civilians and getting it passed in the Council (Ghattas, 2011). Later that night, the administration came out strongly in support of an expanded Res 1973, which included a robust no-fly zone and civilian protection mandate.

Both Rice (2011b) and Clinton (2011a) reported the USG made intense diplomatic efforts to ensure Res 1973 passed. Ambassador Rice (2011a) was tasked with expanding the draft resolution in the UN to allow strikes against ground targets. President Obama discussed the United States position with President Sarkozy and Prime Minister Cameron, and the following morning he contacted President Medvedev to ensure Russia would not veto an expanded resolution (Lewis, 2012). He also sought support for the resolution from South Africa (Corn, 2012: 212). A 17 March update on Council deliberations, noted the following:

The United States, which had not taken a clear position on a no-fly zone earlier, is now keen to include language that goes beyond a no-fly zone and provides for broader authorization for military intervention if necessary (UNSC Report, 2011).

The question of international authorisation was ultimately addressed when Res 1973 was adopted by the Security Council. One of the reasons the administration gave for its support of the resolution was the future credibility of the Council and the wider international community. In a letter to Congress, Obama (2011c) describes Gaddafi's failure to implement Res 1970 as 'a lawless challenge to the authority of the Security Council.' Elsewhere, Obama (2011e) argued that 'the writ of the United Nations Security Council would have been shown to be little more than empty words, crippling that institution's future credibility to uphold global peace and security' and that 'this matters to us' in part because 'the words of the international community would be rendered hollow' by a failure to respond (Obama, 2011f). US and presidential credibility were also on the line (Corn, 2012: 206-206; Mann, 2012).

The issue of domestic legitimacy proved more problematic and US public support remained ambiguous. Polls taken shortly after the decision to intervene showed a spike in public support, with 70% favouring a no-fly zone, 27% opposed, and 3% unsure (CNN/Opinion Research Corporation, 2011b; CBS, 2011). Yet, there remained clear limits for public support for military action for the protection of civilians. Public opinion favoured United States participation and support over leadership and disagreed that the United States possessed a 'responsibility to do something about the fighting in Libya between government forces and anti-government groups' (see e.g. Polling Report, 2011). Only 27% of participants believed that the United States possessed the responsibility, 63% said the United States did not have the responsibility, and 10% were unsure (Pew Research Center, 2011).

Even though the Obama administration set preconditions for a military response, it nevertheless surpassed public opinion in advancing the claim that the US had a national interest in protecting Libyan civilians from mass atrocities, an identity that demanded action in these circumstances, and a responsibility to protect. In a 28 March speech justifying United States support for the military intervention, Obama (2011e) stated

To brush aside America's responsibility as a leader and – more profoundly – our responsibilities to our fellow human beings under such circumstances would have been a betrayal of who we are. Some nations may be able to turn a blind eye to atrocities in other countries. The United States of America is different. And as President, I refused to wait for the images of slaughter and mass graves before taking action.

Obama's statement re-affirms the linkage between international norms and domestic politics. The USG had a responsibility to act because of its identity as a liberal power – an identity that takes seriously the deliverance of duties beyond borders.

The important question for the administration was not whether a responsibility existed but how to respond and when to put military options on the table. Obama's stated reasons for intervention in Libya focused on humanitarian concerns and civilian protection as well as concerns for regional security and international credibility (see e.g. Obama, 2011c; Steinberg, 2011). As argued, however, there was some resistance to an expansion of national interests that framed atrocities prevention in Libya as a core national security priority, and even less agreement as to whether American military involvement was appropriate. This tension was notable even after the robust no-fly zone was established.

Less than two weeks after the United States deployed units to join the no-fly zone, Gates stated on national television that Libya was not a vital interest, though he went on to say that the United States had non-vital interests in Libya and the region. Clinton, also present at the interview, tried to deflect Gate's remark, but even she stumbled over the question of whether the situation in Libya was a vital interest of the United States. Clinton argued that while Libya had not attacked the United States, the vital interests of NATO allies in Europe were impacted, thus it was incumbent on the US to go to their aid. Nowhere did she or Gates allude to Obama's argument that mass atrocities prevention is both a moral priority *and* a national interest (Gregory, 2011).

President Obama was clearer than his two senior cabinet colleagues at Defense and State. Consistent with the evolving norm of genocide and mass atrocity prevention/protection, when Obama explained the intervention, he framed his decision to protect Libyan civilians as both a national interest and a responsibility:

... when innocent people are being brutalized; when someone like Qaddafi threatens a bloodbath that could destabilize an entire region; and when the international

community is prepared to come together to save many thousands of lives — then it's in our national interest to act. And it's our responsibility. This is one of those times (2011g).

In other words, when the conditions are right and the international community is mobilised, a military response to atrocities is in the national interest. Responsibility is important, but it cannot be the deciding factor alone. The President neatly captured this case-by-case logic, familiar to the Pillar 3 wording of R2P, that 'the United States should not – and cannot – intervene every time there is a crisis somewhere in the world' (Obama, 2011g).

R2P consistently balances competing interests with the normative priority to take action in cases of mass atrocities. Neither R2P nor the US variant would require action in cases without a reasonable hope of success. But, in the Libya case the norm helped to shape the parameters for action by framing the situation as an R2P crisis and by delineating what can and should be done to respond to mass atrocities. It also incentivised the Obama administration to act for fear that if the USG did not take reasonable action to respond to mass atrocities it would be seen as callously indifferent rather than merely upholding state sovereignty.

## **Conclusion**

In the *longue durée* of humanitarian intervention (Bass, 2008), rarely has there been a case as straightforward as Libya. Gaddafi found himself in the middle of a perfect storm: the Arab Middle East was undergoing a period of radical change led by social movements; as a leader, he had few allies left in the region; his relationship to Western countries was unstable; and he sent all the 'wrong' signals during the uprising, particularly his intent to 'cleanse' towns and cities and go 'house by house' crushing the uprising. Throw into the mix the fact that Libya was militarily weak and located on NATO's doorstep – and you have an undeniable *casus belli*.

Yet, this article has shown that the NATO-led action was not as straightforward as is often implied. To get a robust UNSC resolution that could protect civilians and tip the balance of power in favour of the rebel forces associated with the national transitional council, Obama and his administration had to lead from the front – not 'from behind', as insiders described their stance at the time. This meant pushing Council allies to agree to a robust resolution that could protect Libyan civilians. Leading from the front also meant facing down framings of humanitarian intervention as a practice that was not in America's

vital security interests. And leadership meant taking risks; negligible in relation to the lives of US servicemen and women, but not insignificant politically especially given Obama's strategy of drawing down troops and commitments following the two long wars of the 9/11 decade. This, after all, was the reason why Vice-President Joe Biden, and other senior figures in the cabinet, counselled the President not to take the military option in Libya.

Leadership inside the Obama administration was critical but so was the domestic and international normative context which meant intervention had greater legitimacy than previously. In the years following the 2005 World Summit, the international norm of R2P has cascaded throughout international society, forging a consensus on states' domestic responsibilities even if there remain divisions over how to give effect to the *international* responsibility to protect.

We should not be surprised that international norms are indeterminate given the absence of a world authority capable of turning norms into laws backed by coercive power. Yet despite the lack of binding character, international norms matter in international society: although, as the comparison of Libya and Syria remind us, the way they matter is not the same across distinct cases. To show *how* they matter it is necessary to look at the grafting of international norms onto domestic political orders – and the mutations that take place during this process.

From the period of the 2005 World Summit to the present, the norm of R2P has been adapted to an American political context. GMAPP signals certain priorities and blind-spots in Washington's thinking and policy formulation. No attention is paid to atrocity prevention or protection at home, or likewise to potential crimes against humanity committed by American forces abroad; similarly, despite its diplomatic leadership over Libya, the precise conditions under which the USG would be prepared to respond militarily to mass atrocities remains underdeveloped in terms of the policies and processes associated with GMAPP.

To date, what has been said on this issue leads to a consensus trap whereby either the UN Security Council or another multilateral institution can veto decisive action the USG might otherwise be prepared to take to prevent or mitigate mass atrocity crimes. On the upside, the priority in the government has been loosely connected to Pillar 2 (in R2P language) conceptions of prevention and assistance, achieved through improved policy coordination, planning, and information sharing and analysis regarding at-risk countries and peoples.

These differences and convergences between R2P and GMAPP conform to the expectations set out in the literature on norm localisation. In this instance, however, it is not middle and small powers outside the liberal order that are experiencing localisation. It happens to world powers too.

### **Acknowledgments**

The authors would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and editors of *Cooperation and Conflict* for their useful feedback. Research for this paper was conducted as part of the activities of the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (AP R2P) [AusAID Agreement 63684]. The Centre wishes to acknowledge the funding support provided by the Australian Agency for International Development and the University of Queensland.

## References

- Acharya A. (2004) How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism. *International Organization* 58: 239-275.
- Acharya A. (2009) *Whose ideas matter? Agency and power in Asian regionalism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Agence France-Presse. (2011) Pentagon cautious but not against Libya no-fly zone. *Agence France-Presse*.
- Andrews W. (2011) Secretary Clinton: With Wyatt Andrews of CBS. *CBS News*.
- Banks AM. (2011) Florida Pastor Oversees Quran Burning, 21 March. *USA Today*.
- Bass GJ. (2008) *Freedom's Battle: The Origins of Humanitarian Intervention*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Bellamy AJ. (2009) *Responsibility to Protect: The Global Effort to End Mass Atrocities*, London: Polity.
- Brimmer E. (2011) Revitalizing the United Nations and Multilateral Cooperation: The Obama Administration's Progress. Speech given at The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, 1 February 2011.
- Buel M. (2011) Libyan Airstrikes Prompt Debate on No-Fly Zone. *Voice of America*.
- Bumiller E. (2011) Gates Plays Down Idea of US Intervention. *The Hindu*.
- Carney J. (2012) Press Briefing by Press Secretary Jay Carney, 4/23/12. Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, The White House.
- Cassata D. (2011) Fact Check: Senate did favor Libya no-fly zone. *Boston.com*.
- CBS. (2011) CBS News Polls: 3/22/11.
- Clinton B. (1998) Clinton's apology to genocide survivors. Kigali, Rwanda.
- Clinton H. (2011a) Remarks With His Excellency Eamon Gilmore, T.D., Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ireland.
- Clinton H. (2011b) Secretary Clinton on the FY2012 State and USAID Budget Request.
- Clinton H. (2011c) Secretary Clinton: Remarks at the Human Rights Council.
- CNN/Opinion Research Corporation. (2011a) CNN Poll: Americans say yes to no fly zone, no to ground troops, 14 March. *CNN*.
- CNN/Opinion Research Corporation. (2011b) Poll - March 18-20 - Libya.
- Cooper H and Myers SL. (2011) Obama Takes Hard Line With Libya After Shift by Clinton. *The New York Times*. New York.
- Corn D. (2012) *Showdown: The Inside Story of How Obama Battled the GOP to Set Up the 2012 Election*, New York: Harper Collins.
- Darling B. (2011) Senate Resolution Requesting No-Fly Zone in Libya Changed in Secret, 5 April. *The Foundry*.
- Donilon T and Rhodes B. (2011) Briefing by National Security Advisor Tom Donilon and Deputy National Security Advisor Ben Rhodes on Libya and the Middle East, 10 March. The White House, Office of the Press Secretary.
- European Affairs. (2011) Libya: New Scenario Seems to Exclude Ground Intervention by EU or U.S. *The European Institute*.
- Evans G. (2008) *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All*, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution.
- Fam M. (2011) Libyan Rebels Win Backing of U.S., EU as Qaddafi Says 'My People Love Me'. *Bloomberg*. Cairo.
- Gates RM. (2011a) Media Availability with Secretary Gates at the NATO Defense Ministers Meeting from Brussels, Belgium, 10 March. U.S. Department of Defense News Transcript.
- Gates RM. (2011b) Media Availability with Secretary Gates enroute to Russia, from Andrews Air Force Base.
- Genocide Prevention Task Force. (2008) Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for US Policymakers. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, The American Academy of Diplomacy, and the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace.

- Ghattas K. (2011) Secretary Clinton: With Kim Ghattas of BBC. *BBC*.
- Gregory D. (2011) Interview with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, Senator Lugar, et al. *Meet the Press with David Gregory*.
- Hastings M. (2011) Inside Obama's War Room. *Rolling Stone*.
- Hunter J. (2012) Anti-Islam Film Stirs Outrage as Violence Spreads. *The Washington Post*.
- Ikenberry GJ. (2011) *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inskeep S. (2011) Secretary Clinton: With Steve Inskeep of NPR. *NPR News*.
- Jentleson BW. (2012) The Obama Administration and R2P: Progress, Problems and Prospects. *Global Responsibility to Protect* 4: 399-423.
- Ki-moon B. (2009) Implementing the Responsibility to Protect. *report of the Secretary-General, A/63/677, 12 January*.
- Krook ML and True J. (2010) Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality. *European Journal of International Relations* 18: 103-127.
- Lewis M. (2012) Obama's Way. *Vanity Fair*.
- Lindsay R and Lyons M. (2011) Sanction Watch: A Review of Libyan Sanctions. *Trade Finance*. Clifford Chance Law firm.
- Luck EC. (2006) *UN Security Council: Practice and Promise*, New York: Routledge.
- Mann J. (2012) *The Obamians: The struggle inside the White House to redefine American power*, New York: Viking.
- Mitchell A. (2011) Secretary Clinton: With of Andrea Mitchell of NBC. *NBC News*.
- Mullen M. (2011) Joint Chiefs of Staff Speech. *Senate Armed Services Committee Hearing on Libyan Operations* 31 March.
- NBC. (2008) The Second McCain-Obama Presidential Debate. In: News N (ed). Belmont University, Nashville, TN.
- Obama B. (2007) Renewing American Leadership. *Foreign Affairs* 86: 2-16.
- Obama B. (2011a) Blocking Property and Prohibiting Certain Transactions Related to Libya, 25 February. In: President T (ed) *Executive Order 13566 of 25 February 2011*. Federal Register, 76 (41).
- Obama B. (2011b) Directive on Creation of an Interagency Atrocities Prevention Board and Corresponding Interagency Review, 4 August. Presidential Study Directive 10: The White House.
- Obama B. (2011c) Letter from the President regarding the commencement of operations in Libya. *Office of the Press Secretary, The White House*.
- Obama B. (2011d) Remarks by President Obama and President Sebastian Pinera of Chile at Join Press Conference, 21 March. La Moneda Palace, Santiago, Chile.
- Obama B. (2011e) Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on Libya. National Defense University, Washington D.C.: The White House.
- Obama B. (2011f) Remarks by the President on the Situation in Libya, 18 March. Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, The White House.
- Obama B. (2011g) Weekly Address: President Obama Says the Mission in Libya is Succeeding, 26 March. Washington D.C.
- Obama B. (2012) Remarks by the President at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 23 April. Washington D.C.: The White House.
- Pew Research Center. (2011) Public Wary of Military Intervention in Libya. *Pew Research Center. Polling Report*. (2011) *Libya*. Available at: <http://www.pollingreport.com/libya.htm>.
- Power S. (2003) *'A Problem From Hell': America and the Age of Genocide*, London: Flamingo.
- Power S. (2011) President Obama Directs New Atrocity Prevention Measures. In: Blog TWH (ed). Washington D.C.

- QDDR. (2010) *Leading Through Civilian Power: The first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review*. US State Department and USAID.
- Rice SE. (2009) Remarks by Ambassador Susan E. Rice, U.S. Permanent Representative, on the UN Security Council and the Responsibility to Protect, at the International Peace Institute Vienna Seminar. New York: U.S. Mission to the United Nations
- Rice SE. (2011a) Remarks by Ambassador Susan E. Rice, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, At the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology on "Building a New Nation: Rwanda's Progress and Potential", 23 November.
- Rice SE. (2011b) Remarks by Ambassador Susan E. Rice, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Security Council Stakeout on Libya, 16 March. *United States Mission to the United Nations*. New York.
- Risse T. (2000) "Let's Argue!": Communicative Action in World Politics. *International Organization* 54: 1-39.
- Ruble MR. (2008) Taking Stock of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime. *International Studies Review* 10: 420-450.
- Ryan M and Brunnstrom D. (2011) NATO says conditions apply to any Libya action. *Reuters*. Brussels.
- S. RES. 85. (2011) S. RES. 85-112th Congress (2011-2012) S.RES.85.ATS, 1 March.: United States Senate.
- S.Con.Res. 71. (2010) S.Con.Res. 71--111th Congress: A concurrent resolution recognizing the United States national interest in helping to prevent and mitigate acts of genocide and other mass atrocities against civilians, and supporting and encouraging efforts to develop a whole of government approach to prevent and mitigate such acts. GovTrack.us (database of federal legislation).
- Sandholtz W. (2008) Dynamics of International Norm Change: Rules against Wartime Plunder. *European Journal of International Relations* 14: 101-131.
- Sanger DE. (2012) *Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power*, New York: Random House.
- Scutari J. (2009) Hate Speech and Group-Targeted Violence: The Role of Speech in Violent Conflicts. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
- Sewall S, Raymond D and Chin S. (2010) MARO: Mass Atrocity Response Operations; A Military Planning Handbook. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Kennedy School / Carr Centre for Human Rights Policy.
- Stanley Foundation. (2008) Policy Dialogue Brief: The Responsibility to Protect and Foreign Policy in the Next Administration. *49th Strategy for Peace Conference*. Airlie Center Warrenton, Virginia.
- Steinberg JB. (2011) Libya: Defining US National Security Interests. *Statement before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, 31 March*. Washington D.C.
- Thakur R. (2011) *The Responsibility to Protect: Norms, Laws and the Use of Force in International Politics*, New York: Routledge.
- United Nations General Assembly. (2005) 'World Summit outcome', A/RES/60/1, 24 October.
- United Nations Security Council. (2006) Resolution 1674, S/RES/1674, 28 April.
- United Nations Security Council. (2009) Resolution 1894, S/RES/1894, 11 November.
- United Nations Security Council. (2011a) 6490th Meeting, S/PV/6490, 25 February.
- United Nations Security Council. (2011b) Resolution 1973, S/RES/1973, 17 March.
- UNSC Report. (2011) Insights on Libya, 17 March. *What's in Blue*.
- Vayrynen R. (1999) More Questions than Answers: Dilemmas of Humanitarian Action. *Peace and Change* 24: 172-196.
- VOA. (2011a) Clinton: US Far From Decision on Libya No-Fly Zone. *Voice of America*.
- VOA. (2011b) NATO Not Planning to Interfere in Libya. *Voice of America*.

- Warkotsch A. (2010) Realpolitik and international reaction to non-compliance with Liberal Democratic norms: Comparing EU and US response patterns. *Cooperation and Conflict* 45: 80-106.
- Washington Post/ABC. (2011) News Poll.
- Weiss TG. (2007) *Humanitarian Intervention: Ideas in Action*, Cambridge: Polity.
- White House. (2010) National Security Strategy. White House.
- White House. (2011) Fact Sheet: President Obama Directs New Steps to Prevent Mass Atrocities and Impose Consequences on Serious Human Rights Violators. Washington D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, 4 August.
- White House. (2012a) Fact Sheet: A Comprehensive Strategy and New Tools to Prevent and Respond to Atrocities, 23 April. Washington D.C.
- White House. (2012b) Honoring the Pledge of Never Again: Introduction and Welcome, 20 April. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHmVbIBHitg>.