Contents

Ac	cknowledgements	vii
Lis	st of Abbreviations	ix
1.	The Problem of Who Should Intervene	1
	1.1 The Importance of the Topic1.2 Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect1.3 A Duty or only a Right?	12 15
	1.4 Just Cause1.5 Definitions1.6 The Road Ahead	20 24 36
2.	Humanitarian Intervention and International Law 2.1 The Legal Picture: International Law on	43
	Humanitarian Intervention 2.2 The Moral Significance of an Intervener's Legal Status	45 51
3.	Effectiveness and the Moderate Instrumentalist Approach 3.1 The Moderate Instrumentalist Approach Introduced 3.2 Details of the Moderate Instrumentalist Approach 3.3 Alternative Approaches	69 70 79 89
4.	An Intervener's Conduct: Humanitarian Intervention and <i>Jus in Bello</i> 4.1 The Principles 4.2 Consequentialism and Doing and Allowing 4.3 The Absolutist Challenge 4.4 Avoiding the Absolutist Challenge	99 100 112 117 120
5.	Representativeness and Humanitarian Intervention 5.1 Internal Representativeness 5.2 Local External Representativeness	129 131 140
	5.3 Global External Representativeness	146

6.	An Intervener's Humanitarian Credentials:	
	Motives, Intentions, and Outcomes	153
	6.1 The Difference between Humanitarian Intentions,	
	Motives, and Outcomes	154
	6.2 Humanitarian Motives	156
	6.3 Humanitarian Intentions	161
	6.4 Humanitarian Outcomes	168
	6.5 Selectivity	169
	6.6 The War in Iraq	173
7.	Assessing Current Interveners	181
	7.1 Outline of the Complete Conception of Legitimacy	181
	7.2 Answering the Two Central Questions	190
	7.3 Which Current Agent Should Intervene?	199
	7.4 Inadequacies of the Current Agents and Mechanisms	212
8.	Reforms to the Agents and Mechanisms	
	of Humanitarian Intervention	219
	8.1 Reform of International Law	219
	8.2 Enhancement of UN Standby Arrangements	227
	8.3 Creation of a (Small) Cosmopolitan UN Force	229
	8.4 A Larger Cosmopolitan UN Force and Cosmopolitan	
	Democratic Institutions	233
	8.5 Improved Regional Organizations	236
9.	Conclusion: Realizing Legitimate Humanitarian Intervention	245
	9.1 The Duty to Reform	246
	9.2 Will and Interest	247
	9.3 Utilizing the Responsibility to Protect	250
Bibliography		
Index		277