



**Justified Non-Intervention?  
International Responsibility and Grave Humanitarian Crises**

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**Abstract**

The debate concerning humanitarian intervention has changed since the publication of the *Responsibility to Protect* (R2P) report in 2001. This thesis addresses both the debate before the publication of the R2P report and the report itself by examining in-depth the international responsibility, which the international community shares in relation to such grave humanitarian crises as genocide. It is argued that the debate before the R2P report made implicit assumptions about this responsibility.

Moreover, international collective responsibility is examined both at a conceptual level and at a practical level, thus contributing to the discussion after the publication of the R2P report. It is argued that especially the conceptualization of international responsibility is lacking in the report. This thesis suggests a conceptualization of international collective responsibility, which is modeled in the second half of the thesis. Furthermore, the responsibility model and its functioning are illustrated first with the help of a thought experiment and then by examining the Rwandan genocide in 1994 and some international responses to it. The responsibility model serves also as a tool for evaluating those international responses. Thus the justifications of non-intervention are assessed.

On a higher level this thesis contributes to an understanding of the functioning of international politics. For example, the thesis argues for a particular understanding of the international community as well as state practice within the community. Moreover, the thesis addresses some of the roles which states have and some of the expectations which we have of states at the international level. Finally, the use of discretion in practicing international politics is an underlying theme of this thesis, thus addressing both what is the *politics* in international politics and how it is or should be conducted.



**Bibliographical note**

In January 2009, Hannes Peltonen will begin as an Assistant Professor at the Kyung Hee University. He defended his Ph.D. thesis at the European University Institute in October 2008 and he is currently transforming his doctoral thesis into a book to be published in a Palgrave series. His other publications include “Modeling Collective International Responsibility,” forthcoming in *Review of International Studies*.