

WORKS CITED

Books

- Annabi, Hedi. *The Nexus Between Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding in East Timor*. Edited by Nassrin Azimi and Chang Li. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2000.
- Bhatia, Michael. *War and Intervention: Issues for Contemporary Peace Operations*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2003.
- Breen, Bob. *Struggling for Self Reliance: Four Case Studies of Australia's Regional Force Projection in the late 1980s and the 1990s*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2008.
- Chomsky, Noam. *The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo*. London: Pluto, 1999.
- Coicaud, Jean-Marc. *Legitimacy and Politics: A Contribution to the Study of Political Right and Political Responsibility*. Edited by David Ames Curtis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Connery, David. *Crisis Policymaking: Australia and the East Timor Crisis of 1999*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2010.
- Cotton, James. *East Timor in Transition, 1998 – 2000: An Australian Policy Challenge*. Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2001.
- Gray, Christine. *International Law and the Use of Force*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Hehir, Aidan. *Humanitarian Intervention after Kosovo*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Hudson, Kimberly. *Justice, Intervention, and Force in International Relations: Reassessing Just War Theory in the 21st Century*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2009.
- Johnson, David E., Adam Grisson, and Olga Oliker. *In the Middle of the Fight: An Assessment of Medium-armored Forces in Past*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2008.

- Kuperman, Alan J. *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.
- Lesmana, Tjipta. *Dari Soekarno Sampai SBY*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2009.
- Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government*. Edited by C.B. Macpherson. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1990.
- Macpherson, Reynold. *Political Philosophy, Educational Administration and Educative Leadership*. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Murphy, Sean D. *Humanitarian Intervention: The United Nations in an Evolving World Order*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.
- O'Hanlon, Michael E. *Expanding Global Military Capacity for Humanitarian Intervention*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003.
- Othman, Mohamed. *Accountability for International Humanitarian Law Violations: The Case of Rwanda and East Timor*. New York, NY: Springer, 2005.
- Rotberg, Robert I. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Senese, Paul D., and J.A. Vasquez. *The Steps to War: an Empirical Study*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Seybolt, Taylor. *Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Shawcross, William. *Deliver Us From Evil*. London: Bloomsbury, 2001.
- Shue, Henry. *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Smith, Michael Geoffrey, and Moreen Dee. *Peacekeeping in East Timor: The Path to Independence*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003.
- Spirkin, Alexander. *Dialectical Materialism*. Translated by Robert Daglish. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1983.

Stowell, Ellery C. *Intervention in International Law*. Washington, D.C.: John Byrne & Co., 1921.

Teson, Fernando R. *Humanitarian Intervention: An Inquiry into Law and Morality*. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Transnational Publishers, 1988.

Walzer, Michael. *Thick and Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994.

Walzer, Michael. *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2006.

Weiss Thomas G., and Ramesh Thakur. *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.

Chapters in Edited Collections

Akehurst, Michael. "Humanitarian Intervention." In *Intervention in World Politics*, edited by Hedley Bull. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Hinsch, Wilfried. "Legitimacy and Justice." In *Political Legitimation without Morality?*, edited by Joerg Kuehnelt. London: Springer, 2008.

Mullerson, Rein. "Intervention by Invitation." In *Law and Force in the New International Order*, edited by Lori Fisler-Damroch and David Scheffer. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991.

Stein, Mark S. "Unauthorized Humanitarian Intervention." In *Morality and Politics*, edited by Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller, and Jeffrey Paul. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Teson, Fernando. "The Liberal Case for Humanitarian Intervention." In *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*, edited by J.L Holzgrefe and Robert O. Keohane. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Welsh, Jennifer M. "Taking Consequences Seriously: Objections to Humanitarian Intervention." In *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*, edited by Jennifer M. Welsh. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Print and Online Journals

- Bellamy, Alex J. "Motives, Outcomes, Intent and the Legitimacy of Humanitarian Intervention." *Journal of Military Ethics* 3 no. 3 (2004): 216-232.
- Caney, Simon. "Human Rights and the Rights of States: Terry Nardin on Non-Intervention." *International Political Science Review* 18 no. 1 (1997): 27-37.
- Carey, Henry F. "Humanitarian Intervention in Haiti and the Development of the Human Rights Regime." *Journal of Haitian Studies* 3 no. 4 (1997): 30-47.
- Damboeck, Johanna. "Humanitarian Interventions: Western Imperialism or a Responsibility to Protect?: An Analysis of the Humanitarian Interventions in Darfur." *Multicultural Education & Technology Journal* 6, no. 4 (2012): 287-300.
- Emmerson, Donald K. "Will Indonesia Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* 79 no. 3 (2000): 95-106.
- Franck, Thomas. "Who Killed Article 2(4)? or Changing Norms Governing the Use of Force by States." *American Journal of International Law* 64 no. 5 (1970): 822-837.
- Gizelis, Theodora I., and Kristin E. Kosek, "Why Humanitarian Interventions Succeed or Fail? The Role of Local Participation," *Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 40 no. 4, DOI:10.1177/0010836705058224: 363-383.
- Glennon, Michael. "The Fog of Law: Self-Defense, Inherence, and Incoherence in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter." *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 25 (2002): 539-58.
- Goodman, Ryan. "Humanitarian Intervention and Pretexts for War." *American Journal of International Law* 100 no. 1 (2006): 107-141.
- Gordon, Edward. "Article 2 (4) in Historical Context." *Yale Journal of International Law* 10 no. 2 (1985): 271-8.
- Hensel, Paul R. "Charting a Course to Conflict Territorial Issues and Interstate Conflict, 1816-1992,"

Conflict Management and Peace Science 15 no. 1 (1996): 43-73.

Kelly, Michael J., Timothy L.H. McCormack, Paul Muggleton, and Bruce M. Oswald. "Legal Aspects of Australia's involvement in the International Force for East Timor." *International Review of the Red Cross* no. 84 (2001).
<https://icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/57jqz2.htm>.

Maxwell, Joseph A. "Using Numbers in Qualitative Research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 16 no. 6 (2010): 475-482.

de Mesquita, Bruce Bueno, and Alastair Smith. "The Pernicious Consequences of UN Security Council Membership." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (2010), DOI:10.1177/0022002710371670: 667-686.

Osiander, Andreas. "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth." *International Organization* 55 no. 2 (2001): 251-287.

Oswald, Bruce M. "The INTERFET Detainee Management Unit in East Timor." *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law* 3 (2001): 347-361.

Panajoti, Treva. "Humanitarian Crisis and World Politics: the Conflict between Ethics and Pragmatism in Humanitarian Intervention Decisions." *Critique: Worldwide Student Journal on Politics* (2010).
https://about.illinoisstate.edu/critique/Documents/Spring2010%20docs/Panajoti_Treva.pdf: 77-98.

Posen, Barry. "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters." *International Security* 21 no. 1 (1996): 72-111.

Rawls, John. "Two Concepts of Rules." *Philosophical Review* 64 no. 1 (1995): 3-32

Roberts, Adam. "The So-called 'Right' of Humanitarian Intervention." *Law Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law* 3 (2000): 3-51.

Sarkees, Meredith, Frank Whelon Wayman, and J. David Singer. "Interstate, Intrastate, and Extrastate Wars: A Comprehensive Look at Their Distribution Over Time, 1816-1997." *International Studies Quarterly* 47 no. 1 (2003): 49-70.

Teson, Fernando. "Ending Tyranny in Iraq." *Ethics and International Affairs* 19 no. 2 (2005): 1-20

Weber, Max. "Three Types of Legitimate Authority." Translated by Hans Gerth, *Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions* 4 no. 1 (1958): 1-11.

Weiss, Thomas G. "Triage: Humanitarian Interventions in a New Era." *World Policy Journal* 11 (1994): 59-68.

Weiss, Thomas G. "The Sunset of Humanitarian Intervention? The Responsibility to Protect in a Unipolar Era." *Security Dialogue* 35 no. 2 (2004): 135-153.

Wheeler, Nicholas, and Tim Dunne. "East Timor and the New Interventionism." *International Affairs* 77 no. 4: 805-827.

Simma, Bruno. "NATO, the UN and the Use of Force: Legal Aspects." *European Journal of International Law* 10 no. 1: 1-22.

Smith, Joshua G. "The Responsibility to Protect: Learning Lessons from Past Humanitarian Military Interventions." *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (2006) <http://sites.tufts.edu/jha/files/2011/04/a186.pdf>

Wright, George R. "Contemporary Theory of Humanitarian Intervention." *Florida International Law Journal* 4 (1985): 435-463.

Encyclopedia

Hursthouse, Rosalind. "Virtue Ethics." In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Edited by Edward N. Zalta. Last modified September 21, 2013. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-virtue/>.

Print Newspaper

Greenlees, Don, and Robert Garran. "Marching Into Tragedy." *The Australian*. 8 September 1999. p. 1-2.

Traub, James. "Never Again, No Longer?" *New York Times Magazine*. 18 July 2004. p. 17-18.

Online Newspaper

ABC News. "Howard pushed me on East Timor Referendum: Habibie." November 16, 2008. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2008-11-16/howard-pushed-me-on-east-timor-referendum-habibie/207044>.

Bartholet, Jeffrey. "Terror in the Streets." *Newsweek*. September 19, 1999. <http://www.newsweek.com/terror-streets-166238>.

Blair, Tony. "Blair's Terror Speech in Full." *BBC News*. March 5, 2004. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3536131.stm>.

Bolopion, Philippe. "After Libya, the Question: To Protect or Depose?" *Los Angeles Times*. August 25, 2011. <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/aug/25/opinion/la-oe-bolopion-libya-responsibility-t20110825>.

Cotterill, Daniel. "The New Face of Defence Logistics." *Australian Defence Magazine*. January 10, 2008. <http://www.australiandefence.com.au/D6E07770-F806-11DD-8DFE0050568C22C9>.

Economist. "Intervention That Worked." May 15, 2002. <http://www.economist.com/node/1131038>.

Greenwald, Glenn. "Hailed as a Model for Successful Intervention, Libya Proves to be the Exact Opposite." *Intercept*. February 16, 2015. <https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2015/02/16/hailed-model-successful-intervention-libya-proves-exact-opposite/>.

Haass, Richard. "Armed Intervention: When Nations Forfeit Their Sovereign Principles." *New York Times*. February 7, 2003. <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/07/opinion/07iht-edhaass.html>.

Jakarta Post. "Mass Media a Hero in the Coverage of East Timor." November 19, 1999. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/1999/11/19/mass-media-a-hero-coverage-e-timor.html>

Kelly, Fran. "John Howard on East Timor." *ABC News: The Howard Years*. 2008. <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/guide/netw/200811/programs/NC0859H001D17112008T203000.htm>.

Kirkpatrick, David D. and Kareen Fahim. "Qaddafi's Forces Hit Back at Rebels." *New York Times*. February 28, 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/01/world/africa/01unrest.html>.

Moreau, Ron, and Jeffrey Bartholet. "Marching Into a Trap?" *Newsweek*. September 27, 1999. <http://www.newsweek.com/marching-trap-166480>.

Mydans, Seth. "Sexual Violence as Tool of War: Pattern Emerging in East Timor." *New York Times*. March 1, 2001. <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/03/01/world/sexual-violence-as-tool-of-war-pattern-emerging-in-east-timor.html>.

Naumkin, Vitaly. "Russia Rejects UN Resolution As a Pretext to Syria 'Intervention'." *Al-Monitor*, May 26, 2014. <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/05/moscow-strengthens-damascus-ties.html>

Putin, Vladimir. "What Putin Has to Say to Americans about Syria." *New York Times*. September 11, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/12/opinion/putin-plea-for-caution-from-russia-on-syria.html>.

Richburg, Keith B. "Mayhem Persists in East Timor." *Washington Post*. September 8, 1999. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/daily/sept99/timor08.htm>.

Sinclair, Jenny. "Operation Chaos." *The Age*. November 19, 2002. <http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2002/11/19/1037490107525.html>.

Thornton, Philip. "World Bank Freezes All New Loans to Indonesia." *Independent*. September 14, 1999. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/world-bank-freezes-all-new-loans-to-indonesia-1119048.html>.

Walzer, Michael. "The Argument about Humanitarian Intervention." *Dissent Magazine*. Winter 2002. <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/the-argument-about-humanitarian-intervention>.

International Treaties, Court Judgments, and UN Resolutions

International Committee of the Red Cross. Customary International Humanitarian Law. Available at https://www.icrc.org/customary-ihl/eng/docs/v1_cha_chapter20_rule71

International Court of Justice. Corfu Channel, United Kingdom v Albania. Judgment. 9 April 1949.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Evaluation of UNHCR's Repatriation and Reintegration Programme in East Timor. EPAU/2004/02 (February 2004). Available at <http://www.unhcr.org/403f62e17.html>

United Nations General Assembly. Resolution 3314 (XXIX), *Definition of Aggression*, U.N. Doc. A/963 (December 14, 1974). Available at <http://legal.un.org/avl/ha/da/da.html>.

United Nations General Assembly. Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (last amended 2010). U.N. Doc. A/CONF.183/9 (July 17, 1998). Available at http://www.icc-cpi.int/nr/rdonlyres/ea9aeff7-5752-4f84-be94-0a655eb30e16/0/rome_statute_english.pdf.

United Nations General Assembly. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, U.N. Doc. A/64/Add.1 (January 31, 1947). Available at <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%2078/volume-78-I-1021-English.pdf>.

United Nations Security Council. Report of the Security Council Mission to Jakarta and Dili. U.N. Doc. S/1999/976 (September 14, 1999). Available at www.un.org/peace/etimor/docs, 5.

Conference Presentations

Suganami, Hidemi. "The English School in a Nutshell." Paper presented at a workshop on 'Order and Justice in Contemporary World Politics: Essence of the English School of International Relations', Ritsumeikan University, March 25, 2010.

Dissertations

Evove, Patrick J. "Operation Palliser: The British Military Intervention into Sierra Leone." Master Thesis, Texas State University-San Marcos, 2008.

Pattison, James. "Legitimacy and Humanitarian Intervention: Who Should Intervene?" PhD. Diss., Newcastle University, 2012.

Websites

Annan, Kofi. "Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking, and Peace-keeping, Report of the UN Secretary-General." Accessed February 12, 2015. http://www.unrol.org/files/a_47_277.pdf.

Annan, Kofi. "Annual Report to General Assembly." Accessed February 12, 2015. <http://www.un.org/press/en/1999/19990920.sgsm7136.html>.

Arndt, H.W. "East Timor: How It Happened." *GlobalSecurity.org*. Accessed January 18, 2015, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/1999/04/heinzarnd-23april99.htm>.

Aquinas, Thomas. "Summa Theologica, Part II-II." Accessed December 22, 2014. <http://www.egs.edu/library/thomas-aquinas/articles/summa-theologica-part-ii-ii-secunda-secundae-translated-by-fathers-of-the-english-dominican-province/>.

Caballero-Anthony, Mely, and Holly Haywood. "Defining ASEAN's Role in Peace Operations: Helping to Bring Peacebuilding 'Upstream'?" Accessed February 15 2015. <https://www.acmc.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/5392R-CIVMILCOE-Working-Papers-A4-WEB-BOOKLET-3-Caballero.pdf>.

Comissao de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliacao de Timor Leste. "Final Report of the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation." Accessed February 16, 2015. <http://www.cavr-timorleste.org/chegaFiles/finalReportEng>.

Downer, Alexander. "Speech to the National Press Club: Indonesia, East Timor and Australia: New Challenges, Enduring Interests." Accessed February 15, 2015. http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/1999/990331_new_challenges.html.

Gusmao, Xanana. "Address to the International Conference: INTERFET, Reflections on the 1999 East Timor Crisis." Accessed February 15, 2015. <http://timor-leste.gov.tl/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/INTERFET-Reflections-on-the-1999-East-Timor-Crisis-20.9.14.pdf>.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. "The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty." Accessed February 2, 2014. <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>.

INTERFET. "Australia's Role in INTERFET." Accessed February 12, 2015.
<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/nph-wb/20001106130000/>.

Kolin, Vilem. "The Legitimacy of Humanitarian Intervention: A Moral Perspective."
Defence and Strategy. Accessed December 11, 2014,
[http://www.defenceandstrategy.eu/cs/aktualni-cislo-1-2007/clanky/the-](http://www.defenceandstrategy.eu/cs/aktualni-cislo-1-2007/clanky/the-legitimacy-of-humanitarian-intervention-a-moral-perspective.html)
[legitimacy-of-humanitarian-intervention-a-moral-perspective.html](http://www.defenceandstrategy.eu/cs/aktualni-cislo-1-2007/clanky/the-legitimacy-of-humanitarian-intervention-a-moral-perspective.html).

Mertus, Julie. "Humanitarian Intervention Reconsidered: Lessons from Kosovo."
Wilson Center. Accessed December 28, 2014.
[http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/234-humanitarian-intervention-](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/234-humanitarian-intervention-reconsidered-lessons-kosovo)
[reconsidered-lessons-kosovo](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/234-humanitarian-intervention-reconsidered-lessons-kosovo).

Nautilus Institute for Security and Stability. "Casualties: ADF and AFP in Timor-Leste." Accessed February 11, 2015.
[http://nautilus.org/publications/books/australian-forces-abroad/east-](http://nautilus.org/publications/books/australian-forces-abroad/east-timor/casualties-adf-and-afp-in-timor-leste/)
[timor/casualties-adf-and-afp-in-timor-leste/](http://nautilus.org/publications/books/australian-forces-abroad/east-timor/casualties-adf-and-afp-in-timor-leste/).

Palgrave. "Choosing Appropriate Research Methodologies." Accessed February 12, 2015. [http://www.palgrave.com/studentstudyskills/page/choosing-appropriate-](http://www.palgrave.com/studentstudyskills/page/choosing-appropriate-research-methodologies/)
[research-methodologies/](http://www.palgrave.com/studentstudyskills/page/choosing-appropriate-research-methodologies/).

Reliefweb. "INTERFET Operations Update East Timor: 19 November 1999." Accessed February 15, 2015. [http://reliefweb.int/report/timor-leste/interfet-](http://reliefweb.int/report/timor-leste/interfet-operations-update-east-timor-19-nov-1999)
[operations-update-east-timor-19-nov-1999](http://reliefweb.int/report/timor-leste/interfet-operations-update-east-timor-19-nov-1999).

United Nations. "Charter of the United Nations." Accessed September 23, 2014.
<http://www.unwebsite.com/charter>.

United Nations Security Council. "Security Council Hears 52 Speakers in Open Debate on Situation in East Timor." Accessed March 27, 2015.
<http://www.un.org/press/en/1999/19990911.sc6724.doc.html>.