

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. Literature

Anna Bergh, *The Legal Status of Humanitarian Intervention*, Human Rights Studies. (Sweden: Lunds University Press, 2008).

Anthony M. Orum, Joe R. Feagin, and Gideon Sjoberg, *A Case for the Case Study*. (North Carolina: University Press, 1991).

Erin Pobjie, *The Meaning of Prohibited Use of Force in International Law*. Max Planck Institute, (Cambridge: University Press, 2023).

Gordon Brown, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the 21st Century*. (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2016).

Michael Kofman, et al., *Lessons from Russia's Operations in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine*. (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 2017).

Mike McConville and Wing Hong Chui, Research Methods for Law, (Edinburgh: University Press, 2017).

Orest Subtelny, Ukraine: A History, Fourth Edition. (Toronto: University Press, 2009).

OSCE, Helsinski Final Act, (Vienna: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 1975).

Paul Behrens, et al., Elements of Genocide. (New York: Routledge, 2013).

Paul D'Anieri, Ukraine and Russia, (Cambridge: University Press, 2023).

Paul Robert Magocsi, A History of Ukraine, First Edition. (Toronto: University Press, 1996).

Sangkul Kim, *A Collective Theory of Genocidal intent*, International Criminal Justice Series Vol. 7. (Netherlands: Asser Press, 2015).

United Nations, Report of the Informal Inter-Allied Committee on the Future of the Permanent Court of International Justice, (Cambridge: University Press, 1945).

Viktor Stepanenko & Yaroslav Pylynski, Ukraine After The Euromaidan: Challenges and Hopes, (Switzerland: Peter Land, 2014).

Yonah Diamond, et al., An Independent Legal Analysis of the Russian Federation’s Breaches of the Genocide Convention in Ukraine and the Duty to Prevent, (Montreal: Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights, 2022).

Yoram Dinstein, The Conduct of Hostilities under the Law of International Armed Conflict, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Third Edition, 2004).

## **B. Articles, Journals, and Papers**

Andrei Zagorski, The Russian Proposal for a Treaty on European Security: From the Medvedev Initiative to the Corfu Process, Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH), Vol. 15 No. 1.

A Umland, “Russia’s Forcible Transfer of Unaccompanied Ukrainian Children: Responses from Ukraine, the EU and Beyond”, *Stockholm Centre for Eastern European Studies*, SCEEUS Report No.1, p. 7.

Dennis G. Barten, et al., “Attacks on Ukrainian healthcare facilities during the first year of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine”, *Conflict and Health*, Vol. 17 No. 57, Dec 2023.

Eleanor Knott, et al., “Interviews in the social sciences”, *Nature Reviews Methods Primers*, Vol. 2 No. 73, 2022.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, The Responsibility to Protect, Council on Foreign Relations, Vol. 81 No.6, 2002.

Helene Sjursen, “On the identity of NATO”, International Affairs, Vol. 80 No.4, 2004.

ICRC Report, The Principle of Proportionality In The Rules Governing The Conduct of Hostilities Under International Humanitarian Law, International Expert Meeting 22-23 June 2016-Quebec.

Jennifer M. Welsh, Norm Robustness and the Responsibility to Protect, Journal of Global Security Studies, Vol. 4 No. 1, 2019.

Kimberly Marten, “NATO enlargement: evaluating its consequences in Russia”, *International Politics*, Vol. 57, 2020.

Kim H, Sefcik JS, Bradway C, “Characteristics of qualitative descriptive studies: A systematic review”, Research in Nursing & Health, 2017, Vol. 40 No. 1.

Lena Farsia, Juridical Analysis of Non-Intervention Principle in the United Nations Charter 1945 (Case Study United Nations Condemnation) Of the Syariah Enal Code in Brunei Darussalam, *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa*, Vol. 6 No. 2, 2022.

Michael Ross Fowler and Julie Marie Bunck, What Constitutes the Sovereign State?, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 22 No. 4, 1996.

Natalino Ronzitti, “The Current Statues of the Principle Prohibiting The Use of Force and Legal Justifications of The Use of Force”, Paper, Presented at the international conference on “Redefining Sovereignty. The Use of Force after the End of the Cold War: New Options, Lawful and Legitimate?”, (Frankfurt: Istituto Affari Internazionali, 2002).

Paul Gallis, et al. Enlargement Issues at NATO’s Bucharest Summit, CRS Report for Congress, 12 March 2009.

Pal Kolsto, Ukrainians and Russians as ‘one people’: An Ideologeme and its Genesis, *Ethnopolitics*, 23 August 2023.

Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Division of International Law, 1994.

Sevanna Poghosyan, Russian Approaches to the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination: From the 1996 United Nations Covenants to Crimea, *Juridica International*, Vol. 30, 2021.

Terry Hutchinson and Nigel Duncan, “Defining and Describing What We Do: Doctrinal Legal Research”, *Deakin Law Review*, Volume 17 No. 1, 2012.

United Nations, “Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide”, *Treaty Series*, Volume 79, I. Nos. 1008-1025, page 277.

Yonah Diamond, et al., “An Independent Legal Analysis of the Russian Federation’s Breaches of the Genocide Convention in Ukraine and the Duty to Prevent”, *Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights; New Lines Institute for Strategy and Policy*, May 2022.

Yuriy Bytyak, et al, “The State Sovereignty and Sovereign Rights: The Correlation Problem”, *Man In India*, Vol. 97 No.23 (2017), page 577-588.

Yusuf Aksar, The Specific Intent (Dolus Specialis) Requirement of the Crime of Genocide: Confluence or Conflict between the Practice of Ad Hoc Tribunals and ICJ, International Relations Council of Turkey, Vol. 6 No. 23, 2009.

Yulia Loffe, “Forcibly Transferring Ukrainian Children to the Russian Federation: A Genocide?”, *Journal on Genocide Research*, Vol 25 No. 3-4, p. 321.

### C. Internet

Adam Taylor, “Russia’s attack on Ukraine came after months of denials it would attack”, accessed on <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/02/24/ukraine-russia-denials/>, 3 August 2023.

Bob Dreyfuss, “Full Text and Analysis of Putins’s Crimea Speech”, accessed on <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/full-text-and-analysis-putins-crimea-speech/>, 3 August 2023.

CICR, “Practice relating Regle 156. Definition of War Crimes”, accessed on <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/fr/customary-ihl/v2/rule156>, 4 August 2023.

Dicarlo, Under Secretary General Rosemary. Dicarlo’s remarks to the Security Council on Maintanence of Peace and Security of Ukraine, accessed on <https://reliefweb.int/report/ukraine/under-secretary-general-rosemary-dicarlos-remarks-security-council-ukraine-new-york-15-march-2024>, 29 April 2024.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Sovereignty and International law”, accessed on <https://www.britannica.com/topic/sovereignty/Sovereignty-and-international-law>, 4 August 2023.

Euromaiden Press, “The Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 and why it matters for historians of the Russian revolution(s)”, accessed on <https://euromaidanpress.com/2017/09/15/ukraines-1917-1921-statehood-and-why-it-matters-for-historians-of-the-russian-revolution/>, 25 April 2024.

Grazvydas Jasutis, “Crimea: Between Annexation and Reunification”, accessed on <https://www.geneva-academy.ch/joomlatools-files/docman-files/Crimea%20between%20annexation%20and%20reunification.pdf>, 28 April 2024.

Human Rights Watch, “Ukraine: Russian Forces’ Trail of Death in Bucha”, accessed on <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/04/21/ukraine-russian-forces-trail-death-bucha>, 21 March 2024.

International Criminal Court, “Situation in Ukraine: ICC judges issue arrest warrants against Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Maria Alekseyvna Lvova”, accessed on <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-ukraine-icc-judges-issue-arrest-warrants-against-vladimir-vladimirovich-putin-and>, 21 March 2024.

International Court of Justice, Document (with annexes) from the Russian Federation setting out its position regarding the alleged “lack of jurisdiction” of the Court in the Case, accessed on <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/182/182-20220307-OTH-01-00-EN.pdf>, 17 March 2024.

International Court of Justice, “history”, accessed on <https://www.icj-cij.org/history>, 25 April 2024.

Kemlu, “President Jokowi: The Visit to Ukraine Shows Indonesia’s Concern for Ukraine”, accessed on <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/3752/berita/president-jokowi-the-visit-to-ukraine-shows-indonesias-concern-for-ukraine>, 14 April 2024.

Medecins Sans Frontieres, “The Practical Guide to Humanitarian Law”, accessed on <https://guide-humanitarian-law.org/content/article/3/military-necessity/>, 4 August 2023.

National Geographic, “International Organization”, accessed on <https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/international-organization/>, 3 August 2023.

Patrick A. Regioniel, “Exploring Phenomena: A Brief Guide to Conducting Descriptive Qualitative Research”, <https://simplyeducate.me/2023/04/10/descriptive-qualitative-research/#:~:text=Descriptive%20qualitative%20research%20is%20a%20type%20of%20qualitative%20research%20that,non%2Dnumerical%20forms%20of%20information.>, 29 July 2023.

Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, accessed on <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/X2H-Xref-ViewHTML.asp?FileID=11593>, 4 August 2023.

Princeton University, “The Territorial Expansion of the Russian Empire 1795-1914”, accessed on <https://commons.princeton.edu/mg/the-territorial-expansion-of-the-russian-empire-1795-1914/>, 23 April 2024.

Vladimir Putin, "Stat'ia Vladimira Putina Ob istoricheskem edinstve russikh i ukrainstsev", accessed on <https://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/6681>, 23 April 2024.

Sandra Knispel, “ Why does Russia want Ukraine?”, accessed on <https://www.rochester.edu/newscenter/putin-russia-invading-ukraine-explained-512642/>, 15 April 2024.

Standford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, accessed on "The Rule of Law",  
<https://plato.stanford.edu/Entries/rule-of-law/>, 22 June 2016.

Timothy Snyder, “Russia’s genocide handbook”, accessed on <https://snyder.substack.com/p/russias-genocide-handbook>, 21 March 2024.

United Nations, "About Us", accessed on <https://www.un.org/en/about-us#:~:text=Currently%20made%20up%20of%20193,contained%20in%20its%20founding%20Charter.>, 3 August 2023.

United Nations, “International Court of Justice”, accessed on <https://www.un.org/en/model-united-nations/international-court-justice>, 25 July 2023.

United Nations, "General Assembly of the United Nations", accessed on [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjbuPrC\\_r-AAxXiSWwGHW8cAvMQFnoECBMQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.un.org%2Fen%2Fga%2F&usg=AOvVaw3Pn1O8\\_dvnn8qcfPJ9IvhQ&opi=89978449](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjbuPrC_r-AAxXiSWwGHW8cAvMQFnoECBMQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.un.org%2Fen%2Fga%2F&usg=AOvVaw3Pn1O8_dvnn8qcfPJ9IvhQ&opi=89978449), 3 August 2023.

United Nations, "United Nations Security Council", accessed on <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/>, 3 August 2023.

United Nations, "United Nations Security Council", accessed on <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/>, 3 August 2023.

United Nations, “Ratification of the Genocide Convention”, accessed on <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide-convention.shtml>, 21 April 2024.

UN News, “Ukraine: Rape and torture by Russian Forces continuing, rights experts report”, accessed on <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/09/1141417>, 21 March 2024.

Carlotta Gall, Fear Still Remains: Ukraine Finds Sexual Crimes Where Russian Troops Ruled, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/05/world/europe/ukraine-sexual-violence-russia.html>, 29 April 2024.

TASS, 5.3 million refugees arrived in Russia from Ukraine and Donbass in a year, accessed on <https://tass.ru/obschestvo/17091725>, 29 April 2024.

Helen Sullivan, Thousands of Ukrainian children put through Russian ‘re-education’ camps, accessed on <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/feb/15/ukraine-children-sent-russia-re-education-camps>, 29 April 2024.

Human Rights Watch, “Ukraine: Events of 2023”, accessed on <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2024/country-chapters/ukraine>, 10 May 2024.

BBC News, “Russia attacks theatre sheltering civilians, Ukraine says”, accessed on <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60772331>, 10 May 2024.

Luke Harding, “Ukraine says victims from Izium mass grave shows signs of torture”, accessed on <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/sep/16/ukraine-mass-grave-with-440-bodies-discovered-in-recaptured-izium-says-police-chief>, 12 May 2024

Kyiv Post, “Over 1000 Civilians killed during Russian Occupation of Izum”, accessed on <https://www.kyivpost.com/post/1291>, 13 May 2024.

The Gaurdian, “Ukrainian boy held hostage by Russia tells of cleaning up torture rooms”, accessed on <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jul/19/ukrainian-boy-held-hostage-by-russia-tells-of-cleaning-up-torture-rooms>, 13 May 2024.

Global Rights Compliance, “New Torture Chamber evidence uncovered from liberated Kherson”, accessed on <https://globalrightscompliance.com/2023/03/02/new-torture-chamber-evidence-uncovered-from-liberated-kherson/>, 13 May 2024.

Newsweek, “inside Russia’s Use of Torture Chambers in Ukraine”, accessed on <https://www.newsweek.com/inside-russian-torture-chambers-ukraine-1745893>, 12 May 2024.

International Organization for Migration, “7.1 Million People Displaced by the War in Ukraine: IOM Survey”, accessed on [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://www.iom.int/news/71-million-people-displaced-war-ukraine-iom-survey&ved=2ahUKEwi499\\_Qn4yGAXVUwTgGHSJmDSoQFnoECCYQAO&usg=AOvVaw3hG\\_ObtrpMamvLW09T7N33](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://www.iom.int/news/71-million-people-displaced-war-ukraine-iom-survey&ved=2ahUKEwi499_Qn4yGAXVUwTgGHSJmDSoQFnoECCYQAO&usg=AOvVaw3hG_ObtrpMamvLW09T7N33), 14 May 2024.

International Committee of the Red Cross, “Ukraine”, accessed on <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://www.icrc.org/en/where-we-work/europe-central-asia/ukraine%25E2%2580%258B&ved=2ahUKEwjgqdfVoYyGAXUA9zgGHdYoA7c4ChAWegQICBAB&usg=AOvVaw0kYSv2DwCA0eRJIlnHhqGn>, 14 May 2024.

BBC News, “Ukraine War: Key powerplant near Kyiv destroyed by Russian strikes”, accessed on <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-68788110>, 14 May 2024.

United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, “situation in Ukraine”, accessed on [https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2022-03/HRMMU\\_Update\\_2022-03-26\\_EN.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2022-03/HRMMU_Update_2022-03-26_EN.pdf), 14 May 2024.

Al Jazeera, “UN finds Russian ‘pattern of rape’ and other abuses In Ukraine”, accessed on <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/10/19/russia-responsible-for-vast-majority-of-war-crimes-un>, 14 May 2024.

CBC News, “Ukrainian survivors of sexual violence, torture say country will have to share burden of their trauma”, accessed on <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/ukrainians-sexual-violence-russian-war-1.7127670#:~:text=Ukrainian%20authorities%20have%20been%20able,based%20on%20her%20testimony%20alone.>, 14 May 2024.

NPR, Ukrainian children, abducted by Russia and then returned, are speaking out, accessed on <https://www.npr.org/2024/02/05/1229117422/ukrainian-children-abducted-by-russia-and-then-returned-are-speaking-out#:~:text=At%20least%2019%2C000%20children%20are,turning%20them%20into%20Russian%20citizens>, 14 May 2024.

Save Ukraine, Save Abducted Children, accessed on <https://www.saveukraineua.org/projects/save-abducted-children/>, 14 May 2024.

ICC, Situation in Ukraine: ICC judges issue arrest warrants against Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova, accessed on <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-ukraine-icc-judges-issue-arrest-warrants-against-vladimir-vladimirovich-putin-and>, 14 May 2024.

WSJ, Biden Calls Putin’s Ukraine Actions an Unprovoked and Unjustified Attack, accessed on <https://www.wsj.com/livecoverage/russia-ukraine-latest-news/card/biden-calls-putin-s-ukraine-actions-an-unprovoked-and-unjustified-attack-CGTFzK7GobHRwkC103AB>, 8 June 2024.

US Department of State, Imposing New Measures on Russia for its Full-Scale War and Use of Chemical Weapons Against Ukraine, accessed on <https://www.state.gov/imposing-new-measures-on-russia-for-its-full-scale-war-and-use-of-chemical-weapons-against-ukraine-2#:~:text=In%20this%20action%2C%20the%20Department,to%20wage%20its%20war%20against>, 8 June 2024.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Belarus, Statement by the Security Council of the Republic of Belarus, accessed on [https://mfa.gov.by/en/press/news\\_mfa/b8080a641a09aa26.html](https://mfa.gov.by/en/press/news_mfa/b8080a641a09aa26.html) 8 June 2024.

Reuters, Belarus referendum approves proposal to renounce non-nuclear status, accessed on <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/launchpad-russias-assault-ukraine-belarus-holds-referendum-renounce-non-nuclear-2022-02-27/>, 9 June 2024.

#### **D. International Statutes**

Finland, The Helsinki Final Act

France. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

France. Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

Hungary, Budapest Memorandum on security assurances in connection with Ukraine's accession to the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

United States. Charter of the United Nations.

United States. Statute of the International Court of Justice.

United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/11/1, Aggression against Ukraine.

United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/96(I), The Crime of Genocide

United Nations General Assembly A/RES/68/262, Territorial integrity of Ukraine.

United Nations General Assembly A/62/369, Promotion and protection of human rights.

Uruguay, Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States

#### **E. Judicial Decisions**

ICJ. Allegations of Genocide under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Ukraine V. Russian Federation: 32 States intervening), Request for the Indication of Provisional Measures, Provisional Measures, Submitted by Ukraine, 25 February 2022.

ICJ. Application of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, (Ukraine V. Russian Federation), Request for the Indication of Provisional Measures, Provisional Measures, Submitted by Ukraine, 16 January 2017.

ICJ. Case Concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro), Reports of Judgements, Advisory Opinions and Orders, Judgement, 26 February 2007.

ICJ. Case Concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Croatia v. Serbia), Reports of Judgements, Advisory Opinions and Orders, Judgement, 3 February 2015.

ICJ. Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Merits, Judgement, ICJ Reports 1986.

Island of Palmas case (Netherlands, USA), Reports of International Arbitral Awards, Hague Court Reports 1928.