

ABSTRACT

This theses will try to understand why the international community stands by while mass atrocities are committed in Syria. I came up with the following research questions: *(1) does military interest of the p5 members affect achievement of comprehensive security in Syria?* *(2) How does economic interest of p5 members relate with comprehensive security in Syria?* These two questions will form the premise of my theses. I will argue that lack of consensus driven by protection of national interest of the countries involved most especially the P5 members is making it difficult to reach any kind of positive development. This argument will be substantiated by making use of the realist theory so as to prove that protection of sovereignty, the lack of common interest, and the non-consensus about R2P are crucial aspects in the decision not intervene in the humanitarian crises in Syria.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	1
TABLE OF CONTENTS	2
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	5
1.1: BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM	6
1.2: UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL	7
1.3: UNITED NATIONS AND SYRIA CRISES	10
1.4: RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT (R2P) AND SYRIA CRISES	12
1.5: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	18
1.6: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	20
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH DESIGN	21
2.1: LITERATURE REVIEW	21
2.2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	25
2.3: REALISM	26
2.4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	31
2.5: RESEARCH QUESTION	32
2.5.1: DOES MILITARY INTEREST OF P5 MEMBERS AFFECT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY IN SYRIA	32

2.5.2: HOW DOES ECONOMIC INTEREST OF P5 MEMBERS RELATE WITH SECURITY CRISES IN SYRIA	33
2.6: RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	35
CHAPTER THREE: INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION AND THE SET OF INTEREST INVOLVED	36
3.1: CHINA	38
3.2: RUSSIA	41
3.3: UNITED STATES	43
3.4: UNITED KINGDOM	45
3.5 FRANCE	47
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS RESULTS AND ANALYSES	51
4.1: DOES MILITARY INTEREST OF P5 MEMBERS AFFECT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY IN SYRIA?	52
4.2: DOES ECONOMIC INTEREST OF P5 MEMBERS RELATE WITH SECURITY CRISES IN SYRIA?	56
4.2.1: RUSSIA AND CHINA	57
4.2.2: US, UK AND FRANCE	58
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECCOMENDATIONS	61
5.1: CONCLUSIONS	62

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 65

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

“A peaceful world requires the transformation of power politics into responsibility politics” Alfred Zimmern, 1936

Wars and conflicts around the world have taken the center stage. The risen of religious fundamentalists such as Al Qaeda and associated off shoots is increasingly causing ripples within the international community. Many nations are equally engaged in civil wars. Protecting civilians and other vulnerable segment has not been properly addressed due to growing divide among the world powers. The growing differences among the 5 veto yielding permanent members in tackling global crisis have been the subject of debate in recent years, particularly in the case of Syria.

Following the collapse of Ottoman Empire in the First World War, Syria was established in 1916. Prior to the above incident, The Ottoman Empire included the following nations and territories; Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, parts of Turkey and Iraq, together with Palestinian Territories. Syria declared its independence from France in 1946 (BBC Media Action, 2012, p.4). Syria experienced turbulent period in its national life between 1946 and 1960, due to weak institutions driven by Arab world politics of exclusion and “sit tight “attitudes of the ruling class. Socialist Ba’athist party under the Assad family since 1970 has been credited with some form of stability, which wasbrought by two key issues; (1) prolonged crisis in neighboring Lebanon and Iraq, re-enforced

perceived fears at home for a strong regime (2) a perception that Assad is a strong defender of Syria against potential Israel attacks.¹

The success of a minority tribe (Alawi) in ruling majority Sunni population in Syria was based on well-organized power structure and co-opting of elites from other tribes, together with generous economic incentives which has been used to form a strong sectarian power equation and a protective shield for the regime.² Prior to the uprising in Syria which started in March 15, 2011, Arab world witnessed a serious political, social and Cultural Revolution that literally altered the balance of power in the region. From Tunisia, Libya, Egypt where there was regime change and pocket of ferocious demonstrations in Bahrain and Kuwait, the ruling elites were severely challenged by disillusioned, demoralized and unemployed youth population.

Commercial disputes are swiftly addressed as global commerce continues to increase exponentially. If international transactions as indicated above will be characterized by predictability, stability and orderliness, why is it difficult to ensure stability and orderliness in intra and inter sovereign conflicts?³

The above question will be examined in the context of UN Security Council failure to quench the uprising in Syria, by re-examining its role in managing and maintaining global peace and security. The failure of Security Council in managing incessant global conflicts has received considerable research attentions.

¹Wedeen, L., 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

²Dam, N.V., 1996. *The Struggle for Power in Syria*. London: I.B. Tauris.

³Weiss: UN Role in Global Governance (2009)

1.1: BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

The Syrian uprising is part of the wider Arab revolts against governments and its leaders. It is a violent conflict that is still ongoing as we speak. The demonstrations across Syria started on January 26th, 2011 and developed into a nationwide uprising by an organized opposition.⁴ Protesters demanded the resignation of the Syrian Ba'ath government and more specifically that of President Bashar al-Assad.⁵ They protested on the streets for more democracy. The protest started peacefully, but soon the Syrian government had the Syrian Army to stop the uprising. The Syrian army used violent measures to disperse the protesters. The Syrian government denied using violent measures and stated that it is the fault of armed mercenary troops for causing trouble.⁶ At the end of 2011, the opposition began to unite itself and started to form fighting units in order to oppose the Syrian Army.⁷ According to the United Nations up to approximately 14.000–19.000 people have been killed, of which about half were innocent civilians.⁸ The number of people injured or imprisoned is even much higher. The total official UN numbers of Syrian refugees reached around 180.000 people by June, 1 2012.⁹ The claims have been contested by the Syrian government. Anti-government rebels have been accused of human rights abuses as well. For instance, kidnapping and executing loyal government citizens. The worst crimes until now have been committed by the Shabiha. The Shabiha are independent mercenaries loyal to the

⁴Beauchamp, Z. 2012, 'Syria's crisis and the future of R2P'. [Online] Available at: http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/16/syrias_crisis_and_the_future_of_r2p

⁵Ibid

⁶Kuwalil, D. (2012), 'Responsibility to Protect: Why Libya and not Syria?' [Online] Available at: www.accord.org.za/.../brief/policy_practice16.pdf

⁷Ibid

⁸International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, 2012. [Online] Available at: <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-syria>.

⁹Ibid

Assad family. They are suspected of killing whole families.¹⁰The uprising occurred in almost every city in Syria, except in the two largest cities of Syria: Damascus and Aleppo. These cities stayed loyal to the government. The opposition acknowledged that without mass participation in these two cities, the government will survive and avoid the same fate of Egypt and Tunisia.¹¹ However, on 1 February 2012 the Free Syrian army claimed that "Fifty percent of Syrian territory is no longer under the control of the regime and that half of the country was now effectively a no-go zone for the security forces".¹²Reasons behind the conflict are said to be the call for more democracy, more liberties and the establishment of a better economic situation. Until 2011 there was only one political party which was the Ba'ath party of Assad. No other parties were allowed. The media were watched under constant scrutiny and often oppressed by the government. Further, there was an enormous amount of unemployed young adults who were unsatisfied with their social position. Also, the living conditions were deteriorating quickly because the government did not invest in the standard of living of its people.¹³

1.2: UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

Following the end of the Cold War, civil wars and increasing challenge to sovereignty of state has become a major issue affecting the Security Council.¹⁴ The Security Council has deployed several peace keeping operation, issued many warnings adopted numerous resolutions. However, the

¹⁰Hehir, A. (2012), 'Syria and the Responsibility to Protect: Rhetoric Meets Reality. [Online] Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/03/14/syria-and-the-responsibility-to-protect-rhetoric-meets-reality/>

¹¹Ibid

¹²International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, 2012. [Online] Available at: <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-syria>.

¹³Beauchamp, Z. 2012, 'Syria's crisis and the future of R2P'. [Online] Available at: http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/16/syrias_crisis_and_the_future_of_r2p

¹⁴Cockayne, J., Mikulaschek, C. & Perry, C., 2010, *the United Nations Security Council and Civil War: First Insights from a New Dataset*, New York: International Peace Institute.

spate of the violence seemed not abating. The role of UN Security Council, particularly the five veto yielding permanent members has come under increasing scrutiny due to growing violence, wars, crisis and crime against humanity.¹⁵

As contained in the UN charter, the security council of the United Nations is the body charged with the ultimate responsibility to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.¹⁶ With binding effect on the members regarding the issues being discussed. Under chapter VII, UNSC could examine threats to peace “decide what measures not involving the use of force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions,” and “take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security”.¹⁷ From the above development, the relevance of UNSC in maintaining global peace and conflict resolutions are quite enormous.

The council comprises fifteen members made up of 10 non-permanent members elected on a two year term basis and five veto yielding members, commonly referred as P5.¹⁸ UNSC resolution requires the endorsement or vote of nine members in other carry out its resolutions. However, implementing any draft resolution is still subject to veto influence of any P5

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶Chapter VII: Action with respect to threats to the peace, Breaches of peace, and acts of aggression: UN Document. Charter of the United Nations. 2014. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter7.shtml> [Online].

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Ibid

members.¹⁹ This rather unwarranted procedural defectiveness has been used to undermine any UNSC intent of advancing global peace and security and currently being witnessed in Syria.

Despite the cold war undercurrents involving US and Russia, UNSC had achieved modest gains in resolving conflicts and wars in many places which include halting ethnic cleansing and potential genocide in Bosnia, alleviating humanitarian crisis in Somalia, restoration of democratically elected governments in Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Haiti, Kosovo and East Timor. In all these places, the National governments consented to the mediating roles and mission of the UNSC. It is important to admit that following the passage of Resolution 1973, Ban Ki-Moon avowed that “the Security Council today has taken a historic decision. Resolution 1973 confirms, clearly and unequivocally, the international community’s determination to fulfil its responsibility to protect civilians from violence perpetrated upon them by their own government”.²⁰ Expectedly, US led NATO forces began the within 3 days of the resolution passage, which effectively toppled, Moammar Qaddafi regime.

The case of Syria represents a clear shift in action, intent and purpose. Aside from indecisive nature of UN and its prime agency, the Security Council; the snail speed with which action unfolds portends a dangerous direction for global security. The seemingly divided responses from UN Security council permanent members indicated how national interests and aspirations of the members would undermine conflict resolution and global security.²¹ Following the above exposition, it is clear even before the least discerning minds that seeming inactions in the case of

¹⁹Ibid

²⁰Aidan, H., 2013. The Permanence of Inconsistency: Libya, the Security Council, and the Responsibility to Protect. *International Security*, 38(1), pp. 137-159.

²¹Samia, N., 2012. *A Reuters Website*. [Document] Available at: [Web. http://www.reuters.com/assets/print?aid=USL5E8DB0BH20120303](http://www.reuters.com/assets/print?aid=USL5E8DB0BH20120303) [Accessed 12 February 2015].

Syria clearly reflect the dangerous trends which national interests of P5 members (US, Russia, France, UK and China) have taken in conflict resolutions and international security.

1.3: UNITED NATIONS AND SYRIA CRISIS

“We need to use the United Nations Security Council and believe that preserving law and order in today’s complex and turbulent world is one of the few ways to keep international relations from sliding into chaos. The law is still the law, and we must follow it whether we like it or not. Under current international law, force is permitted only in self-defense or by the decision of the Security Council. Anything else is unacceptable under the United Nations Charter and would constitute an act of aggression”²²

The above plea from Russian President, although justified from his narrative underscores the problem currently facing UNSC. The inability of UNSC, an organ of UN mandated to bring global peace and security has baffled many people in the context of Syrian crisis. The incessant use of Veto by Russia and China (Two of the five P5 members) confirms the claim that, in international arena, interest and not life is the chief determinant of action ²³ United Nations, which was established in 1942, has been rendered ineffective in conflict management and prevention. What was not clear from Putin narrative is why Russia had consistently vetoed every UNSC resolutions designed to bring stability and probity in Syria. One organ of the UN which is responsible for maintaining global peace and security is the UN Security Council, which is composed of 5 veto yielding permanent members (United States, United Kingdom, Russia,

²² Vladimir. Putin: A Plea for Caution from Russia. New York times (2013).

²³Nicholas Kosturos “What drives Russia’s unrelenting position on Syria?” Centre for American Progress, Issue Brief, 14 August 2012.

France and China), together with non-permanent members elected on a two year basis (Angola, Chad, Chile, Jordan, Lithuania, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Spain and Venezuela). The seeming indecision and division among the P5 members of UN has worsened the situation in Syria. This inaction not only has led to untold hardship among the Syrian people, instead it effectively emboldened other States to commit such atrocities.

The question often in the minds of many stakeholders; is why a legally constituted body such as Security Council will be hamstrung to contain conflicts and prevent egregious human rights violations, such as the conflict in Syria ²⁴ The uprising in Syria and its consequences has intensified debate on the role of Security Council in curtailing excessive power of the state against its own people. States have routinely used the doctrine of sovereignty as a defense against foreign intervention, effectively deploying its resources to commit egregious human right violations, war crimes, genocide, ethnic cleansing and crime against humanity ²⁵

The crisis in Syria is not connected with any external interference or aliens from another planet; instead the rising atrocious humanitarian catastrophe is caused by fundamental differences between the P5 members. The crisis has divided the UNSC into two new cold war blocks; US led and Russia led. US block includes UK and France, while Russia and China are on the other end of the spectrum. The above division has not only fractured the already divided UNSC, rather it has polarized the activities in tackling current and future crisis²⁶. The crisis in Syria is not only connected with UNSC division, instead it is being fueled by economic and military interests of the members led by US and Russia

²⁴ United Nations: Briefing on Syrian crisis by Secretary General (2014).

²⁵ Renner & Afoaku. Responsibility to protect: A comparative analysis of UNSC action in Libya and Syria

²⁶ Simon Adams: Failure to protect Syria and UNSC (2015).

The veto powers enjoyed by the P5 members means that certain resolution which is not in the interest of the individual members will be vetoed. This was the action of Russia and China in the context of Syria conflict. Such barefaced inaction by UNSC, any organ responsible for peace and security has cast a wide shadow in the whole scenario and working of UN and its institutions. This poor, myopic and short-sighted action on the part of UNSC has endangered lives of Syrian people with potential to be exported to countries such as Lebanon and Turkey²⁷

1.4: RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT (R2P) AND SYRIA CRISIS

Responsibility to protect (R2P) has gained considerable momentum as an effective tool to protect civilians and manage conflicts, following its adoption by the General Assembly of the UN in 2005.²⁸The United Nations Security Council (UNSC), in the case of Libya, moved in quickly citing the urgent need to protect civilians and other vulnerable segment of the population.

R2P, being an emerging international norm comprises of three key pillars enunciated by office for prevention of genocide. Firstly, The State bears the main responsibility for protecting populations, crime against humanity, ethnic cleansing and their encouragements. Secondly, the International community has a responsibility to encourage and assist States in fulfilling this responsibility; thirdly, the international community has a responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other means to protect populations from these crimes. If a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take collective action to protect populations, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations” (R2P, 2014).

²⁷ Ben Norton: The Shocking statistics behind Syrian humanitarian crisis

²⁸Renner, J.H. & Afoaku, O., 2015. *The Responsibility to Protect: A Comparative Analysis of UN Security Council Actions in Libya and Syria*. Policy Analysis. Indiana: University of Indiana University of Indiana.

No state can deny the demand of point (1) as states are expected to offer unconditional protection to its citizens against all sorts of violence. However, the obligation as expected therein would be in jeopardy if the state is the source of the conflict or tacitly promotes such conflicts.²⁹ The sovereignty and territorial integrity could undermine the activities of international community to end conflicts and wars if not properly aligned with the workings of UNSC.

Following serious reservations observed in the working and potential application of R2P, it was agreed in 2005 world summit of the UN that unilateral application of R2P would be used as pretext by the powerful nations to attack weaker nations or demand regime change in a country deemed hostile to national interest of the powerful member.³⁰ Also, it was observed that such action if left unchanged would be used to undermine international laws.³¹ The position created a division between protecting States sovereignty and resolving crimes and other violence against civilian population.

The central question was; how to manage sovereignty in resolving intra States conflicts. In view of the above R2P summit included a clause that implementation of R2P resolution must include the support of UNSC majority members including all the P5 members.³² Furthermore, it believed that any intervention on the basis of responsibility to protect should be based on case by case and guided by mutual judgment of all the P5 members. It must be noted that R2P and associated crimes against humanity do not operate in a vacuum, instead geopolitical, security, power and overall economic interests are identified as the main determinants of actions and inactions of

²⁹Evans, G. (2009). The responsibility to protect: ending mass atrocity crimes once and for all. *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 20(1), 7-13.

³⁰Luke, G., 2012. The Responsibility to Protect Beyond Borders. *Human Rights Law Review*, 12(1), pp.1-32.

³¹ Ibid

³² Ibid

the P5 members. The ongoing crisis in Syria illustrates this dangerous dynamics. Why was consensus achieved in Libya and not in Syria?

Although, China and Russia maintained that they were neither supporting nor condoning Bashar al-Assad in the ongoing Syria conflicts, however their actions in blocking repeated UNSC resolutions have opened more questions than answers.³³ US, UK and France on the other hand have consistently said that military intervention would be possible “if it believes that the R2P norm requires it, its national interest is threatened by the target, or its prestige is implicated”.³⁴ Also, UNSC resolution 2139, which was passed on February 22, 2014, contained an operative clause which demands that “all the parties should take all appropriate steps” in conformity with R2P doctrine, it was still not enough to halt ongoing atrocities.

Humanitarian intervention and responsibility to protect is becoming the new normal in managing global conflict especially, when cases abound that serious crime is being committed against hapless civilians including potential genocide and crime against humanity. However, obstacles in the working of the international system are making it almost impossible to protect precious lives in many conflict areas. Many questions are still unanswered regarding the tool and application of “Responsibility to Protect”.

For example the case of Libya and Syria demonstrates that far reaching division driven by National interests of powerful members at the UNSC could hold the key that would have saved thousands of lives and millions internally displaced. However, there seemed to be selectivity in

³³Michelle, N., 2014. *Reuters*. [Online]

Available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/02/22/us-syria-crisis-un-idUSBREA1L0OV20140222> [Accessed 11 May 2015].

³⁴Jack, R., 2015 *The Responsibility to Protect: A Comparative Analysis of UN Security Council Actions in Libya and Syria*. [Online] Available at: https://spea.indiana.edu/doc/undergraduate/ugrd_thesis2014_pol_renner.pdf

decision making in matters involving international response. Why did the international community intervene in Libya and not Syria? If conflicts and international responses are examined in similar situations around the world. It should be noted that, humanitarian intervention is not a new concept; rather what is rapidly changing is the scale of intervention. UN peace keeping force has been with the formation of UN itself, even though conflict involving States has been going on unabated.

An application of the Responsibility to Protect norm aspects UN Member States, regional organizations and governments to urgently work together towards making an end to the violent situation. The United Nations Special Advisers on the Prevention of Genocide and the Responsibility to Protect stated on 2 June, 2012 that “he reminded the Syrian government of its responsibility to protect the civilian population, and called for an investigation into alleged violations of international human rights law. The scale and gravity of the violations indicate a serious possibility that crimes against humanity may have been committed and continue to be committed in Syria”.³⁵ The Special Advisers reminded that “in order to uphold the responsibility to protect, Syria and the international community must build trust among communities within Syria, facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to those in need, and encourage regional cooperation in advancing human rights and preventing further rounds of violence against civilian populations”³⁶

The Security Council in the case of Syria failed to act accordingly due to its consistent inability to form an international consensus around the crisis because of Russia and China. The Council

³⁵Beauchamp, Z. 2012, ‘Syria's crisis and the future of R2P’. [Online] Available at: http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/16/syrias_crisis_and_the_future_of_r2p

³⁶ Ibid

released a presidential statement that condemned the violence in Syria but reaffirmed the Council's commitment to the principle of state sovereignty and territorial integrity of Syria.³⁷ Western states were very disappointed by the Security Council lack of power in the case of Syria. However, on 21 March 2012, the UN Security Council adopted a presidential statement expressing "its gravest concern" regarding the situation in Syria.³⁸ The statement gave full support to the peace negotiations process led by the United Nations-Arab League Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan, and called on the Syrian government and opposition to work with the Envoy towards a peaceful settlement of the Syrian crisis and the implementation of his initial six-point proposal.³⁹ UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated that "he praised the clear and unified voice of the Council, expressing his hope that the united action by the Council will mark a turning point in the international community's response to the crisis".⁴⁰

The violent conflict in Syria is still going on. Until now, no sign of any real solution has shown itself. Both skeptics and defenders of invoking the Responsibility to Protect norm agree that Syria has hurt the image of the Responsibility to Protect norm, which obligates states to acknowledge that they have a responsibility to protect civil society when the government can't or won't. Problem is that military intervention in Syria would be a misapplication of the Responsibility to protect norm and would radically weaken the norm's role in building both a better Middle East. But, staying out of the conflict will also weaken the norm's credibility, because in a situation

³⁷International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, 2012. [Online] Available at: <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-syria>.

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰Hehir, A. (2012), 'Syria and the Responsibility to Protect: Rhetoric Meets Reality. [Online] Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/03/14/syria-and-the-responsibility-to-protect-rhetoric-meets-reality/>

where gross human rights violations are taking place the international community does nothing to prevent another massacre from happening.⁴¹ The basis of the Responsibility to protect norm is still that state sovereignty entails that states are responsible for the lives and welfare of their citizens. But, Responsibility to Protect is more than only military intervention.⁴² In fact, the ICISS report states that intervention is only allowed in extreme cases and when certain criteria are met. Those criteria mirror the moral tests from the just war theory, including the intervention must have a reasonable prospect for achieving success, which in light of the Responsibility to Protect norm entails better protection of civilian life than the status quo.⁴³ That's the problem with intervention in Syria, namely that it probably leads to more innocent casualties. Airstrikes alone are not fit for Syria because much of the fighting takes place in cities and would cause significant civilian casualties. Also, Assad's forces are too strong and the opposition still too divided to be defeated. This was different in Libya where the opposition was more united and Qaddafi forces not that well equipped and organized. Kofi Anan has stated: "Understanding the limits of military force in the Syrian case is critical to the viability of the Responsibility to protect norm as an international norm".⁴⁴ A failed intervention would only damage the credibility of the Responsibility to protect norm for the future. States who are still worried about the use and application of the Responsibility to protect norm will only doubt the legitimacy of the norm when the mission fails. Developing the norm into a legal doctrine would be impossible when its

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Beauchamp, Z. 2012, 'Syria's crisis and the future of R2P'. [Online] Available at:

http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/16/syrias_crisis_and_the_future_of_r2p

⁴³ Xing, Q. (2012), 'The UN Charter, the Responsibility to Protect, and the Syria Issue [Online] Available at:

http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/201204/16/content_4943041.htm

⁴⁴ International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, 2012. [Online] Available

at: <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-syria>.

credibility is lost.⁴⁵ Syria interventionists do have a point when they say ignoring Syria could damage the doctrine's credibility.

1.5: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Many public commentators, diplomats and concerned global citizens are united in their condemnation to the seeming inaction in Syria. According to *Reuter's* news of February 17 2015, the current death toll in Syria four year civil war is now 210,060 including 10,664 and 6,783 for children and women respectively. Although, many studies have been carried out particularly on the role of the five permanent members, in the field of diplomacy and global security, majority of such studies were prescriptive and narrow in understanding why global security and threats to humanity have remained unresolved. If an agency like UNSC cannot resolve intrastate conflicts by holding the warring factions accountable, how could it be trusted to stop potential wars between sovereign states?

The goal of liberating humans from intra states crisis, violence and oppressions should be the core aim of UNSC.⁴⁶ However, the politicization of UNSC operations by the P5 has created a huge vacuum in managing global conflicts.⁴⁷ The rivalry between US and Russia has been the defining moment in policy ineffectiveness in Syria conflicts. While US, Britain and France are essentially on the same page, Russia has remained a vocal anti US strategy, while China is largely indifferent.

⁴⁵Hehir, A. (2012), 'Syria and the Responsibility to Protect: Rhetoric Meets Reality. [Online] Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/03/14/syria-and-the-responsibility-to-protect-rhetoric-meets-reality>

⁴⁶Cuncliffe, P., 2011. *Critical Perspectives on the Responsibility to Protect: Interrogating Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.

⁴⁷Tuner, M., Cooper, N. & Pugh, M., 2010. Institutionalised and co-opted: Why human security has lost its way. In D. Chandler & N. Hynek, eds. *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power*. New York: Routledge. Pp.83-96.

Although, US support positive efforts in resolving the conflict, it has failed short of championing regime change unlike Libya war because of potential land mines in Syria due to irreconcilable differences among the principal actors. Even though, many solutions have been put forward for speedy resolution of conflict especially within a sovereign border, however the case of Syria has not only cast aspersion on the integrity of UNSC, rather it has raised many unanswered questions.

The researcher believes that this particular construct will unravel the reason(s) behind the much elusive peace in Syria as may be driven by economic interests of P5 members. Diplomatic maneuver and overtures are the hallmark of foreign policy. Middle East has been a critical flashpoint where various interests collide. Aside from Shiite and Sunni divides, the region is the center of gravity in today's wider conflict. This question will be essential to unravel how regional political equation, influence and power are shaping the global peace efforts.

1.8: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Politics and foreign relations are closely related concept, which are rapidly assuming a center stage in emerging global order. Although, economic activities seemed to be progressing unhindered, it is quite clear that, there is an increasing subtle political undertone by powerful countries, influencing such presumed orderliness. As nation state compete for dwindling natural resources needed to feed the growing population, together with new empowered citizens, many intra states crisis and eventual wars may undermine global security.

CHAPTER TWO

LITRATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1: LITRATURE REVIEW

Humanitarian intervention is a controversial issue in international politics. It is controversial because it includes two subjects that are sensitive matters within the international community; sovereignty and humanity.⁴⁸ Debates relating to humanitarian intervention have gathered a lot

⁴⁸Evans, G. (2008), *the Responsibility to Protect. Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

of attention worldwide and find themselves stuck between the traditional way of thinking about intervention, the normative way of thinking about humanity and responsibility, and the reality of international affairs.

The old debate about humanitarian intervention, which must be seen against the background of the Cold War period, was mostly about the motivation and about sovereignty. The new debate in which humanitarian intervention is being discussed, is about responsibility and the proper use of armed forces. This debate responds to the needs of the post-Cold War era.⁴⁹

Another important aspect in the discussion about intervention on humanitarian grounds is still the concept of sovereignty. R2P also deals with this concept. Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, who were the Co-Chairs of the ICISS, discuss the concept of sovereignty in their article 'The Responsibility to Protect' and emphasize on the fact that sovereignty implies a dual responsibility. This means that at the one hand, externally a state has to respect the sovereignty of another state, but at the other hand, internally a state has to respect the basic rights and dignity of all the people within the state.⁵⁰ Evans and Sahnoun stress out that "sovereignty as responsibility has become the minimum content of good international citizenship".⁵¹

Newman argues that humanitarian intervention being an offshoot of "The Responsibility to Protect" assumed a new reality after the Kosovo war of 1999.⁵² Immediate past Secretary General of UN, Kofi Annan asked "If humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable

⁴⁹Fixdal, M. and D. Smith (1998), Humanitarian Intervention and Just War, *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 42, 283-312.

⁵⁰Evans, G. and M. Sahnoun (2002), The Responsibility to Protect, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 6, Nov/Dec 2002.

⁵¹Ibid

⁵²Newman, M., 2009. Revisiting the 'Responsibility to Protect'. *The Political Quarterly*, 80(1), pp.92-100.

assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to Rwanda, to a Srebrenica—to gross and systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity”.⁵³

In order to ensure that UN conflict preventive measures are effective and devoid of regime change (intervention), the body should ensure that its approach is conducted in an open and transparent manner. Through this medium as suggested by Parry, a hesitant state such as Syria would quell its suspicion and threat of loss of sovereignty through intervention.⁵⁴

Cuncliffe posits that, there is a growing consensus between states in protecting populations against genocide, war crimes and crime against humanity. The author argued that R2P (Responsibility to Protect) doctrine of UN includes the urgent task of emancipating humans violence and servitude caused by that state.⁵⁵ In the above context, protecting humans falls under the domain of international organ such as the UN. Although the above insight seemed to be plausible and effective, it failed to achieve the intended result in Syria.

Turner maintained that the failure by the UN in tackling mounting global conflicts was due to high end suspicion on the institutionalization of western interventionist agenda against a sovereign state.⁵⁶ The authors argued that the emergence of new western backed doctrines such as anti-genocidal social norms, global security order, economic imperialism, human rights and

⁵³ICISS, 2011. [Online] Available at: <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf> [Accessed 16 February 2015].

⁵⁴Parry, J.E., 2004. International Conflict Prevention and Intervention. *RUSI Journal*, (6), pp.56-61.

⁵⁵Cuncliffe, P., 2011. *Critical Perspectives on the Responsibility to Protect: Interrogating Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.

⁵⁶Tuner, M., Cooper, N. & Pugh, M., 2010. Institutionalized and co-opted: Why human security has lost its way. In D. Chandler & N. Hynes, eds. *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power*. New York: Routledge. Pp.83-96.

best practices syndrome have rendered any policy introduced by the UN to end conflict, ineffective.⁵⁷

Fearson and Laitin study titled 'Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War', examined the characteristics which a country have that will make it susceptible to engage in a civil war. The authors argue that, high rate of civil wars within many developing countries were based on primitive accumulation of wealth, ethnic, religious and tribal differences together with weak internal leadership.⁵⁸ It was equally suggested that civil wars usually commence as a guerrilla insurgency movements against the seemingly weak and often corrupt government at the center.⁵⁹

The introduction of security in the context of "victim and oppressor" relation inevitably questions the legitimacy of external emancipator, in preventing or managing conflicts.⁶⁰ The author went further to examine the role of external emancipator in the context of sovereign civil wars.⁶¹ He concludes that, external emancipator(s) needs to examine the dominant political discourses; otherwise, a dangerous of violence re cycling will be institutionalized.⁶² This particular insight is primarily important in Syria case, as both Asaad regime and the rebels are claiming the 'victim' and accusing the other party the "oppressor" at the same time.

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Fearon, J.D. & Laitin, D.D., 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *The American Political Science Review* , 97(1), pp. 75-90.

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Nunes, J.R., 2010. *Rethinking Emancipation in Critical Security Studies*. PhD. Thesis. Aberystwyth: Aberystwyth University Aberystwyth University.

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Ibid

James Pattison views motives and intentions to play determining roles in decision-making processes on whether interventions are conducted or not.⁶³ He distinguishes between two issues of relevance concerning intentions: the role of the nature of intentions and the role of the successful political communications of intentions. The former issue, the nature of intentions, is by Pattison explained as a dichotomy between humanitarian considerations vs. self-interested motives as the true underlying rationale for humanitarian interventions.⁶⁴ This dichotomy forms a major dividing line between scholarly explanations. Douglas Lemke and Patrick Regan advocate a realist perspective on the matter, emphasizing that states are ultimately self-interested entities and their highest purpose is to protect their own citizens.⁶⁵ Constructivist Martha Finnemore asserts that a state's aspirations to improve humanitarian circumstances elsewhere in the world can suffice as a foundation for humanitarian action.⁶⁶ Jon Western arrives at a similar conclusion and states that the promotion of peace and humanitarian goals is a viable intervention motivation.⁶⁷ Theodora Gizelis and Kristin Kosek argue for the existence of a trend break in time with the end of the Cold War. They assert that "Where states traditionally have intervened in the affairs of other states to defend either their strategic or private interests, humanitarian concerns, such as preventing human suffering in severe civil wars, have increasingly become cited as a rationale for involvement in other states."⁶⁸

⁶³Pattison, "Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene?" 155.

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵Lemke and Regan, "Intervention as Influence", 164.

⁶⁶Finnemore, *The purpose of intervention*.

⁶⁷Jon Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia," *International Security* 26, no. 4 (Spring 2002).

⁶⁸Theodora-Ismene Gizelis and Kristin E. Kosek, "Why Humanitarian Interventions Succeed or Fail: the Role of Local Participation," *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 40, no. 4 (2005): 365.

Some may question the relevance of studying state's true intentions given that real life action may rescue people but mere beliefs are unlikely to do so. Robert Pattison and also Sang Kim counter this argument, contending that humanitarian interventions rooted in self-interest enjoy greater dedication and thus the chances of their actual realization increase or decrease depending on the intervener's interests and motives.⁶⁹ According to Shawki and Tardy, they argue that the norm of R2P is not at all accepted by the international community, and that there is in no case an overall consensus.⁷⁰

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

International peace and security are among the pressing issues in international affairs. With increasing insecurity and conflict around the world, it is clear that the international system have failed to protect endangered population. The case of Syria is not a one off event, but a demonstration that urgent actions are needed to stem the tide otherwise the inferno would spread far than envisioned.

Although, the immediate recipients are Syrian people, its wider ramifications may be hard to predict. If there is no stable government in Syria as it is in Libya, the world would be threatened as Jihadists and other extremists will fill the void and consequently export their radicalism to other parts of the world. Various theories have been advanced to explain the working of international system in the context of comprehensive security. Some of those theories will be explained in other to know the theoretical basis mostly suitable to our study. By linking our study

⁶⁹Pattison, *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene?* 156; Sang Ki Kim, "Third-Party Intervention in Civil Wars: Motivation, War Outcomes, and Post-War Development" (PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2012), 19, <http://ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3484&context=etd>.

⁷⁰Shawki, N. (2011), *Responsibility to Protect: The Evolution of an International Norm, Global Responsibility to Protect*, No. 3, 172-196.

with established theories, it will best explain the underlying fundamentals being advanced by the study in the context of the existing knowledge.

2.3: REALISM

Realism defines National interests in relation to power and security. Realists argue that sovereignty and norm are the foundation of State action. The following assumptions are the underlying principles of realism, (1) the State centered assumption, which means that states are the most critical actor in the international system (2) That the core aim is to maximize the State interests (3) That the international system is a state of anarchy. According to realist, the most effective way to measure power is the Gross Domestic Product factor.⁷¹ International system and regional consensus are almost non-existent. Although, that other development is changing the global economic, political and regional interests, the assumptions of realisms had remained the dominant force in responding to global issues and events.

Realism does not subscribe to the notion of answering to any other higher authority, even though it recognizes the existence of international system. According to Finn more “Rationality cannot be separated from any politically significant episode of normative influence or normative change just as the normative context conditions any episode of rational choice”.⁷² Rational acting State should decide how best to respond to its interests and relevant actions should be solely determined by the State. Norms that are designed to protect sovereignty are popular in a realistic domain.

⁷¹Goldstein, J. S., Pevehouse, J. C., & Sernau, S. (2008). *Principles of international relations*. Pearson Longman.

⁷²Finnemore, M. 1998. International norm dynamics and political change. *International organization* 52 (04):887.

Within the realist IR theory there is an important distinction between classical realism and neorealism. The first is one of the 'traditional' approaches to IR and is mostly normative in approach. The focus here is on national security and state survival. Neo-realism however, is a more recent doctrine and is mostly scientific in approach. Here the focus is on the international system or structure.⁷³ While there is a distinction between the two approaches, realism in general has a couple basic ideas and a core assumption. The core assumption is that world politics operates in an international system of anarchy. This does not mean that there is an overall chaos but that there is no high authority that is like an umbrella over all states; functioning as some sort of world government. It is the relation of states which is important in the international relations.

The state takes a central position in realism. All other actors, like NGO's etcetera, are not or at least less important within the realist theory. It must be mentioned that states are not equal within realism. Realism considers states in the context of power; states are hierarchically ordered based on their power. Therefore, the struggle for domination and security by the great powers, is what international relations is about. According to this basic assumption, the normative core is national security and state survival. The basic ideas of realism, that fit this normative core and the basic assumption, have their origins in the Ancient Greek period, by the Greek historian Thucydides, and have been developing through important historical philosophers like Machiavelli and Hobbes. They all had a pessimistic view of human nature. Humans are always self-interested and in competition with others for their own well-being. Furthermore, classical realists see international relations necessarily in conflict ways, and that war is the only

⁷³Jackson, R. and G. Sørensen (2007), *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches*, (third edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press

solution to resolve these international conflicts. According to this theory, the normative core values of national security and state survival are highly ranked. Finally, all realists are skeptical about the comparability of progress in international relations with that of progress in domestic political life.⁷⁴ These ideas are still the core of the realist perspective nowadays. One of the most influential neo-realists of the twentieth century is Hans J. Morgenthau. His core assumption about international relations is that “politics is a struggle for power over men, and whatever its ultimate aim may be, power is its immediate goal and the modes of acquiring, maintaining, and demonstrating it determine the technique of political action.”⁷⁵ He formulates his IR theory in six principles. His first principle is that same pessimistic view of human nature like the classical realists have. The fundamentals of politics are set in a permanent and unchanging human nature, which is egocentric and egoistic. His second principle is that politics cannot be limited to economics or morals like Marxists or Liberals argue, because “Politics is an autonomous sphere of action”.⁷⁶ According to Morgenthau, state leaders must act in accordance to the political principles.⁷⁷ The third principle of Morgenthau is that, because human nature is self-interested in maximizing their security and survival, these interests will come into conflict within the arena of politics. His fourth principle is about the distinction between political and private morality. The state leader has more responsibility than the private man. He is responsible for his people, for their security and their welfare. In that sense, the state leader must not try to do the best thing, but do the best according to the circumstances of that time. Following this principle, the fifth

⁷⁴Jackson, R. and G. Sørensen 2007. Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches, (third edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁷⁵Morgenthau, H.J. (1965), Scientific Man versus Power Politics. Chicago: Phoenix Books

⁷⁶Jackson, R. and G. Sørensen 2007, Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches, (third edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁷⁷Morgenthau, H.J. (1965), Scientific Man versus Power Politics. Chicago: Phoenix Books

principle of Morgenthau is that nations cannot oppose their ideology on other nations. His sixth and last principle about IR theory is again based on the pessimistic view of human nature. People are not the people we wish them to be. People are not perfect and have their limitations.⁷⁸ Another influential neo-realist is Kenneth Waltz. His perspective is based on some classical realist ideas but he ignores the normative concerns involved. He tries to provide a scientific approach to the international political system. The focus of his neo-realism is on the structure of the political system. He focuses particularly on the relative distribution of power within the international system. Here, actors are not that important as in classic realism because the structures will direct them to act in a certain way. Waltz sees all states performing the same tasks and are in that way similar. The differences between states lie in the fact that states have different capabilities. This means that the international arena changes when great powers are shifting and in that case also the balance of power. In this anarchical system the danger of war is always lurking. In this international arena Waltz distinguishes two systems. A bipolar system, which is according to Waltz more stable and provides more certainty for peace and security than the second system he distinguishes, the multipolar system. He argues that "With only two great powers, both can be expected to act to maintain the system."⁷⁹ What departs Waltz from classic realism and from Morgenthau, besides his scientific approach, is that he does not discuss the human nature. His only focus is on the structure of the international political system and not on the nature of the humans who create and operate in this system.⁸⁰ In this sense, foreign policy is

⁷⁸ Jackson, R. and G. Sørensen 2007, *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches*, (third edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁷⁹ Waltz, K.N. 1979, *Theory of International Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

⁸⁰ Jackson, R. and G. Sørensen 2007, *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches*, (third edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

dependent of the structure of the system. State leaders have to act within this given structure. This means that state leaders have not much to choose from within the system. It is all determined by the structure in which they must operate. This principle shows a major difference between classical realism and Waltz neo-realism. Classical realism and the neo-realism of Morgenthau show the importance of politics and ethics of statecraft but the neo-realism theory of Waltz shows that the individual state leader is tied by the structure and have no influence in policy at all. So based on the classical realists and the more recent neo-realists approaches the overall assumption is that the world operates in an anarchic international system. The state takes a central position within realism and it is the relation of states which is important in international relations. In this relation, states are not equal but are hierarchically ordered based on their power. It is in this context of power that realism sees states, and their struggle for domination. Based on this assumption, the core of realism is national security and state survival. The difference between classical realism and neo-realism is the focus and their perspective of international relations. As noted above, realism focuses on the state while neo-realism focuses on the structure of the political system and argues that these structure direct states in a certain way. It implies that state leaders have no influence by themselves because they are tied by the structure of the international system.⁸¹

2.4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is one of the hallmarks of any study. The chosen method of collecting data should be consistent with the research questions and objective. Although, two main

⁸¹Jackson, R. and G. Sørensen (2007), *Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches*, (third edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

methods are generally recognized (1) secondary and (2) primary sources, emphasis will be on the secondary method.

As the name suggests, secondary sources of data collection are those sources which the researcher has no direct observation, experiment or monitoring of the concept under investigation. Secondary sources are those sources of data collection where the researcher relies on the results of the studies to make an inference in reference to his/her current study.⁸² Secondary sources are becoming an integral part of modern research design due to its suitability in providing topical issue pertaining research effort, together with its cost effectiveness, accessibility and improved focus. The following secondary sources were used in the completing the study; books, Journal, Magazines and internet sources. Secondary sources should be cautiously examined to avoid author's bias, which could undermine any new research efforts.

2.5: RESEARCH QUESTION

The main research question of the study is why are the permanent members of UNSC divided in resolving the Syria conflict? The above question will be answered by examining the following independent questions altogether.

2.5.1: Research question: Does military interests of P5 member's affect the achievement of comprehensive security in Syria? The above research question will uncover how military interests

⁸²Kumar, R., 2010. *Research Methodology: A Step By Step Guide for Beginners*. 3rd Ed. New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.

of P5 members affected the resolution of Syrian conflict. The above question is particularly important, because this concept (R2P) which worked in Libya did not pass the UNSC let alone examining its efficacy. Many behind the scene actions are generally conducted under the norm of diplomatic protocols. The case of Syria contains a sufficient dose of diplomatic over reach which the question will address.

Defense is a lucrative industry which has improved the economic fortunes of the established powers. The rise in defense spending by Middle Eastern countries underscores the tense military romanticism among the US allies in pursuing Syrian conflict. A Washington institute report argued that Military interest was the main driving factor in Syrian conflict. The author stated that in Libya case, Russia lost more than \$5 billion in military contract when the regime of Mummer Gadhafi fell.⁸³ Moscow was not ready to allow such event in Syria.

Moscow has military and defense contract in excess of \$20 billion with Assad government, which means that any regime change will be a complete disaster for Putin and his ruling elites. US Military and defense interest are the major motivating factor for planned intervention in Syria.⁸⁴

US regards Syria as a main threat to her Middle East policy, particularly on Damascus support of groups deemed hostile to US interests and growing romantic relationship between Tehran and Damascus.⁸⁵ Putin has vowed to project strong Russia naval capability, during his third presidential bid. I would like to reiterate again that the development of a powerful, effective,

⁸³Borshchevskaya, A. (2013). Russia's many interests in Syria. *The Washington Institute*.

⁸⁴Jeremy, S. & Blanchard, C., 2013. *Congressional Research Service*. [Online] Available at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/211136.pdf> [Accessed 13 May 2015].

⁸⁵DeLeaon, R. et al., 2013. *Issues: Foreign Policy and Security*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2013/02/28/55158/a-new-phase-for-u-s-policy-on-syria/> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

navy is one of Russia's chief priorities".⁸⁶ The above statement from Putin underscores the full support accorded to Assad, due to high vulnerability of Syria port of Tartus for any regime change.

2.5.2: Research Question: How does economic interest of P5 members relate with comprehensive security in Syria?

The second question is primarily directed to ascertain the relationship between the economic interests of P5 members in achieving a comprehensive security in Syria. The researcher believes that this particular construct will unravel the reason(s) behind the much elusive peace in Syria as may be driven by economic interests of P5 members.

Although, humanitarian reasons were often adduced as the main reason for intervention in Syria, the driving force is economic ties which the world powers want to establish or maintain. Commercial/economic interests of the P5 members were fingered as another driving force which influences Syria conflict. In a research produced by Rand Corporation for US Army, Syria and seven other nations including Iran were penciled down for regime change. The authors conclude that in the emerging "long war" Syria and other nations in Middle East account for sizable oil reserves upon which the economies of the west are dependent on. Based on this revelation, Assad regime is deemed hostile to western interest, together with increasing Iranian influence.

Economic interest was fundamentally responsible for proposed Syrian invasion. Assad refused to sign on with a planned gas pipeline connecting Saudi Arabia, Jordan, UAE, and running through

⁸⁶Vladimir, P., 2013. *A Plea for Caution from Russia: New York Times*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/12/opinion/putin-plea-for-caution-from-russia-on-syria.html> [Accessed 30 July 2015].

Turkey which would have cut off supply from Russia, the main European energy supplier.⁸⁷ This singular economic interest which Moscow officials were aware prompted Russia to counter any move designed to effect regime change in Damascus.⁸⁸ The five veto yielding permanent members commonly referred as (P5) have been the subject of heightened criticisms on the ongoing crisis in Syria. In a research titled “Russia’s interests in the Syria Conflicts: Power, Prestige and Profit” posits that UNSC inaction in Syria was primarily driven by diplomatic overtures designed to protect State interest.⁸⁹ Although, the concept of sovereignty according to some Russia and Chinese officials is not absolute, it may be negotiated among the P5 members. In the case of Syria, diplomatic interests of the US, UK and France were at variance with Russia and China, hence planned invasion like Libya conflict is dead in the UNSC.

2.6: RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Armed involvement in a foreign state has become a deeply disputed issue in international relations. Syria represent, deeply divided and controversial circumstances regarding armed intervention and conflict management, especially by the UNSC preventing humanitarian catastrophe in time of wars, and associated conflict has become a reoccurring decimal facing United Nations. Drawing from the above research questions, the following objectives will be achieved.

⁸⁷ Ahmed, N., 2013. *Syria intervention plan fuelled by oil interests, not chemical weapon concern*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2013/aug/30/syria-chemical-attack-war-intervention-oil-gas-energy-pipelines> [Accessed 30 July 2015].

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Bagdonas, A., 2012. Russia Interests in Syria: Power, Prestige and Profits. *European Journal of Economic and Political studies*, 5(2), pp.55-77.

The first objective will enable us to understand how military interest and overall security of UNSC members affected the achievement of comprehensive security in Syria. By ascertaining the military interests of the rivalries, the research will contextualize the issue in the overall functioning of UNSC in particular and conflict resolution in general. This objective will uncover the regional dynamics and power play between the regional powers which undermines comprehensive security.

The second objective will uncover the relationship between economic interest of P5 members and conflict in Syria. As with the previous question, the literature suggests that, economic interest greatly influences overall foreign policy of a State. This objective will be put into proper context in explaining how dysfunctional UNSC is affecting global peace and security.

CHAPTER THREE

INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION AND THE SET OF INTEREST INVOLVED

The Arab League, the U.S and the EU states all have condemned the use of violence against protesters committed by government troops and supporters. China and Russia have criticized the government, but advised against sanctions. China and Russia were afraid that sanctions would lead into foreign intervention. However, military intervention has been ruled out by most states. The Arab League suspended Syria's membership over the government's response to the crisis. The latest attempts to resolve the crisis has been made through the appointment of Kofi

Annan, as a special peace negotiator to resolve the Syrian crisis. On 1 November 2011, NATO said it had no intention of taking military action in Syria, after the seven-month intervention campaign in Libya. Other states have cut ties with the Assad government like Libya, Britain, Spain, Turkey and the U.S, but they were all not considering a military intervention.⁹⁰ Before March 2012 Russia had shown constant and active support for the Assad government. Russia often vetoed a UN Security Council Resolution, in occurrence with China. Russia has shipped arms during the uprising to Assad's government for use against the rebels. Russian Middle East analyst Alexander Shumlin wrote that "The fall of the Syrian regime will mean the disappearance of Russia's last partner in conducting Soviet-style policies in the Middle East whose essence in many ways boiled down to countering the United States".⁹¹ Russia has used its UN Security Council position on several occasions to block resolutions that would harm the Syrian government, including the French and British attempt to condemn the use of force by the Syrian government.⁹² Both states state that "when it comes to properly handling the current Syrian situation, it is the correct approach to resolve the internal differences through political dialogue and that the future of Syria should be independently decided by the Syrian people themselves free from external interference".⁹³ Russia and China most of all wanted to prohibit another Libyan intervention scenario. Out of character for both Russia and China was their public

⁹⁰International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, 2012. [Online] Available at:<http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-syria>.

⁹¹Hehir, A. (2012), 'Syria and the Responsibility to Protect: Rhetoric Meets Reality. [Online] Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/03/14/syria-and-the-responsibility-to-protect-rhetoric-meets-reality/>

⁹²Hehir, A. (2012), 'Syria and the Responsibility to Protect: Rhetoric Meets Reality. [Online] Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/03/14/syria-and-the-responsibility-to-protect-rhetoric-meets-reality/>

⁹³Beauchamp, Z. 2012, 'Syria's crisis and the future of R2P'. [Online] Available at: http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/16/syrias_crisis_and_the_future_of_r2p

statement were they expressed their desire for Syria to reform and respect the will of the Syrian people. But, both states would never support a proposal for a no-fly zone in Syria because it has been used to support only one side in the conflict and cause more civilian deaths.⁹⁴ When asked if Russia was supporting the Assad government, the Russian answer was "we are not protecting any regime".⁹⁵ Other supporters of Syria are Iran, Venezuela and North Korea. These states did not only show support on paper, but sponsored the Syrian government by sending money, weapons and other supplies.⁹⁶ President Barack Obama's administration condemned the use of violence, stating: "The United States stands for a set of universal rights, including the freedom of expression and assembly, and believes that governments, including the Syrian government, must address the legitimate aspirations of their people".⁹⁷ Secretary of State Hillary Clinton stated that it was unlikely the US would intervene in Syria, since the US Congress would not approve.⁹⁸ On 18 May 2011, President Barack Obama imposed sanctions on Syria. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton condemned the human rights violations and the regimes rigidity. On February 24, 2012 after a veto by Russia and China of an Arab League-backed initiative, Clinton condemned Russia and China position by saying "It's quite distressing to see two permanent members of the Security Council using their veto while people are being murdered — women, children, brave

⁹⁴Ibid

⁹⁵Kuwalil, D. (2012), 'Responsibility to Protect: Why Libya and not Syria? [Online] Available at: www.accord.org.za/.../brief/policy_practice16.pdf

⁹⁶Hehir, A. (2012), 'Syria and the Responsibility to Protect: Rhetoric Meets Reality. [Online] Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/03/14/syria-and-the-responsibility-to-protect-rhetoric-meets-reality/>

⁹⁷Beauchamp, Z. 2012, 'Syria's crisis and the future of R2P'. [Online] Available at: http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/16/syrias_crisis_and_the_future_of_r2p

⁹⁸Beauchamp, Z. 2012, 'Syria's crisis and the future of R2P'. [Online] Available at: http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/16/syrias_crisis_and_the_future_of_r2p

young men... It is just despicable and I ask whose side are they on? They are clearly not on the side of the Syrian people".⁹⁹

3.1: CHINA

The rise of China as a key global actor has been a serious concern to many western nations particularly established power like US. The new Chinese clout in the current economic and geopolitical issues is being feared across the Atlantic.¹⁰⁰ China's foreign policy has been based on the principle of non-interference on matters considered internal affairs of a sovereign State. China "perceived" support of Assad Regime was boosted by the incident in Libya, which the west could use to undercut State sovereignty and its juicy economic relationship with Syrian government.¹⁰¹ The above factors; US backed overreaching influence and economic relations effectively nailed the curtain of R2P in reference to Syria.

Immediately NATO began its intervention to Libya, China felt that the mandate has been abused on the guise of using vague humanitarian concerns to weaken territorial integrity of a State.¹⁰² China was equally dismayed by non-appreciation of its stance by the Libyan opposition groups who formed the government later. Another important factor which effectively made China to take noncompliance a different position with the west was its long term effect on her internal conflicts (Tibet, Xinjiang and Taiwan).

⁹⁹Ibid

¹⁰⁰Global Policy Forum, 2011. The Rise of Competitors. [Online] Available at:<https://www.globalpolicy.org/challenges-to-the-us-empire/the-rise-of-competitors.html> [Accessed 30 July 2015].

¹⁰¹Renner, J.H. & Afoaku, O., 2015. *The Responsibility to Protect: A Comparative Analysis of UN Security Council Actions in Libya and Syria*. Policy Analysis. Indiana: University of Indiana University of Indiana.

¹⁰²Kuperman, A., 2011. Catchy Name for a Fading Norm. *Ethno politics*, 10(1), pp.125-28.

On the economic front China accounted for significant share of Syria overall imports, averaging \$4.5 billion in 2012.¹⁰³ The strong economic relation which is projected to reach over \$6 billion in 2015 re enforced China's position to oppose any blanket resolution to topple Assad.¹⁰⁴ Another important support for Assad emanates from the position of Beijing that US led bogus interpretation of R2P should be halted before it is used to encroach on its domain.

It could be construed that China's position on Syria is entirely driven by geopolitics and economic interest, which made condemnation of killings and associated scare even in China dominated media outlets at home. However, this position was effectively tested when resolution 2164 was adopted in 2014, China made it clear that its support is for humanitarian assistance, not endorsement for military action or regime change. Ambassador Wang Min argues that their point of view is "to safeguard the purposes and principles of the UN Charter as well as the basic norms governing international relations, including the principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in others' internal affairs, to safeguard the interests of the Syrian people and the Arab states, and to safeguard the interests of all countries, small and medium-sized in particular. This is China's consistent stance in all international affairs. It is not targeted at a particular issue or time."¹⁰⁵ This tacit support by China together with a fragmented opposition ensured that Assad regime's hold to power is guaranteed. The foregoing analysis suggests a highly principled and pragmatic foreign policy stance by Beijing. Essentially, China believes that (1) the UN charter

¹⁰³Massoud, H., 2013. *China, Russia congratulate each other on Syria at APEC*. [Online] Available at: <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/10/8/china-russiacongratulateeachotheronsyriaatapec.html> [Accessed 30 July 2015].

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the UN, "Explanatory Remarks by Ambassador Wang Min after General Assembly Vote on Draft Resolution on Syria," (August 3, 2012) (<http://www.china-un.org/eng/hyyfy/t958262.htm>), [Accessed 30 July 2015].

does not allow State or outside interference in resolving internal disputes. (2) The notion of National Sovereignty which establishes sovereign equality and non-interference should be the guiding norm of international relations. (3) Beijing was deeply concerned that allowing blanket endorsement on the so called humanitarian intervention would establish a bad precedent, which could be used against China in the future. (4) The experience of Libya taught China a hard lesson, where humanitarian intervention was used to topple the regime of Moammar Gadhafi. (5) Finally, China reasoned that US led intervention on the flimsy excuse of humanitarian intervention would be used to pursue its wider geostrategic objectives.¹⁰⁶ From Beijing's perspective, such actions undermine international order, obstruct efforts to reach peaceful settlements of essential political problems, and potentially strengthen the hand of the West in defining the reasons and means employed to deal with both domestic and international problems. Also, China's position was equally motivated to ensure that democratic State cannot establish an international procedure which would be used to challenge another non democratic state, such as China in resolving internal dispute.¹⁰⁷ Although, four years have passed and over 220,000 people killed, the ongoing mass atrocities in Syria, is a demonstration of a failed international system driven by National and geostrategic interests.

3.2: RUSSIA

Russia government under the leadership of Vladimir Putin stands out as the greatest supporter of Bashar al-Assad government. Following the removal of Moammar Gadhafi in a US led NATO oppression, Putin and host of other leading Russian officials reasoned that, a dangerous precedent is about to be established which would be used to target any regime deemed hostile

¹⁰⁶Swaine, D. M. (2012). Chinese views of the Syrian conflict. *China Leadership Monitor*, vol. 1, no. 39, pp. 1-16.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

to US and larger western interests. High level officials in the Putin government led by its influential foreign minister Sergei Lavrov was critical that unrestricted US actions through the UNSC will deal a devastating blow to Russian interests in Syria.

Accordingly, the much touted “balanced” approach from Russia is only a smokescreen to prolong the conflict, which according to Russian officials will benefit the government.¹⁰⁸ The decision of US and its European allies to seek the removal of Assad on the basis of humanitarian intervention changes the calculation in Moscow that a new direction to ensure that the Assad regime remains in power should be pursued.¹⁰⁹ Russian foreign document published in February 2013 added another impetus to Moscow growing resentment of US intention of using humanitarian cover up to overthrow a legitimate government.¹¹⁰

Protecting Assad regime enables Russia to protect its economic, military and diplomatic interest in Syria.¹¹¹ Russian companies have over \$20 billion in investment in Syria primarily in oil and natural gas, transportation, production and other critical services.¹¹² On the military side, Tartus in Syria is the only standing military base on the Mediterranean Sea outside the former Soviet Union.¹¹³ In the opinion of senior Putin ruling elites, any regime change in Damascus will be

¹⁰⁸Fionna, H., 2013. *The Real Reason Putin Supports Assad*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/chechnya/2013-03-25/real-reason-putin-supports-assad> [Accessed 30 July 2015].

¹⁰⁹Roy, A., 2013. Russia and Syria: explaining alignment with a regime in crisis. *International Affairs*, 89(4), pp.795-823.

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹Menkiszak, M., 2013. *Responsibility to protect. Itself? Russia's strategy towards the crisis in Syria*. FII A Briefing Paper 131. Helsinki: The Finnish Institute of International Affairs The Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

¹¹²Hill, F., 2013. *The Real Reason Putin Supports Assad*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/chechnya/2013-03-25/real-reason-putin-supports-assad> [Accessed 13 May 2015].

¹¹³Renner, J.H. & Afoaku, O., 2015. *The Responsibility to Protect: A Comparative Analysis of UN Security Council Actions in Libya and Syria*. Policy Analysis. Indiana: University of Indiana University of Indiana.

disastrous to its deteriorating arms industry together with far reaching consequences on its leadership within the former Soviet republic.

Another reason for continued Russian support to Syria government is dominion effect of Islamic radicalization on its shores. Russian officials have argued in different fora that, its internal security is at risk if Islamic extremists are allowed to take over Syria as in Libya. The above position is re enforced due to threat of radical Islamic groups in Chechnya. Russia has over 20 million Muslims together with substantial Muslim population in some its southern neighbors.¹¹⁴

Another important dimension to the above is that some of Moscow's autocratic allies such as Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Belarus needed a strong Moscow to guarantee their power base; otherwise dominion effect of Muslim radicalization will be disastrous to the entire region including Russiangeostrategic interests. In view of this, supporting Assad regime is favorable to Moscow's long term power and influence.

3.3: UNITED STATES

National security interest of the US have been evolving after the event of 9/11, terrorist attacks. Many Washington insiders particularly those in government (Republicans or Democrat) are of the view that proactive responses are needed to respond to the increasing volatile global issues.¹¹⁵ Following the backlash from unilateral Iraq invasion, US policy makers are of the view that multilateral actions would be

¹¹⁴Hill, F., 2013. *The Real Reason Putin Supports Assad*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/chechnya/2013-03-25/real-reason-putin-supports-assad> [Accessed 13 May 2015].

¹¹⁵Paul, W. & Bellamy, A., 2012. Principals, Politics, and Prudence: Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Use of Military Force. *Global Governance*, 18(2), pp.273-97.

the guiding norms in serving its interests.¹¹⁶ Although, humanitarian issues in Syria were paramount to US, geopolitical objectives were the driving force for action in Syria. Even though, Assad dynasty has a frosty relationship with US; it is believed that Damascus alliance with Iran together with support of organisations like Hamas and Hezbollah who have sworn to destroy Israel, motivated US in seeking an alternative to Assad regime.

The evolving National security interest of US since 2010 has led to the inclusion R2P in its National Security strategy.¹¹⁷ Unlike Libya, Syria presents a delicate power play among the relevant actors. Despite the United front put forward by US and its European partners led by France, UK and Germany, all the actions designed to end the conflict have been thwarted by Russia and China. Despite the support from Arab League, any planned consensus through resolutions have been voted by Russia and China.

Washington policy makers believe that the fall of Assad will be a massive geostrategic blow for Iran and other perceived Iranian radical groups. Although, Washington was determined to have Syria without Assad, however, recent events in Libya and Iraq, where the government of both countries were incapable of governing have dampened US resolve to post Assad materialize.¹¹⁸ The filtration of Syrian opposition by ISIS and other Al Qaeda affiliate like Nusra front made US to be particularly reluctant in using aggravated force in Syria.

According to Centre for American Progress US has five core National Security interest in Syria (1) “Preventing the slipover of conflicts into neighboring countries, including the mitigating effect of

¹¹⁶Thomas, W., 2014. Military Humanitarianism: Syria Hasn't Killed It. *The Washington Quarterly*, 37(1), pp.7-20.

¹¹⁷Paul, W. & Bellamy, A., 2012. Principals, Politics, and Prudence: Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Use of

¹¹⁸Sharp, J.M. & Blanchard, C.M., 2013. *Congressional Research Service*. [Online] Available at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/211136.pdf> [Accessed 13 May 2015].

refugee outflows¹¹⁹ (2) Ensuring that security of Syria's chemical weapon stockpile and preventing their use¹²⁰ (3) Eliminating the space for Al Qaeda and other terrorists groups to operate inside Syria¹²¹ (4) Safeguarding against further State collapse, which would cause an even larger humanitarian crisis¹²² (5) Preparing the groundwork for a political and economic transition to a new regime in Syria in the foreseeable future"¹²³ Contextualizing the above National security goals with overall geostrategic objectives of US in the Middle East have left a large vacuum due to irreconcilable differences of P5 members, particularly from Moscow and Beijing.

International isolation of Assad by US and European allies has done nothing to change the situation on ground except for chemical weapon disarmament which received unanimous approval from the UNSC; otherwise other resolutions have been vetoed by Russia and China. The limited accomplishment in Syria indicates that when the interests of the P5 members are at variance with each other, UNSC will be completely incapable of maintaining peace or resolving conflict.

3.4: UNITED KINGDOM

When the Syrian conflict erupted in the 2011, United Kingdom saw an opportunity to replicate Libya experience in removing another sworn enemy. Clinging on the interventionist agenda driven by National economic, security and wider geopolitical interests, UK decided to support the

¹¹⁹DeLeaon, R. et al., 2013. *Issues: Foreign Policy and Security*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2013/02/28/55158/a-new-phase-for-u-s-policy-on-syria/> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

¹²⁰Ibid

¹²¹Ibid

¹²²Ibid

¹²³Ibid

Syrian opposition in order to achieve its objective. Despite the motivation of quasi humanitarian concerns (although morally justifiable), the main goal of UK is to see Damascus not governed by Assad dynasty through the application of R2P doctrine (which is approved by UN but not recognized by international law).

British action in Syria is driven by a usual historical precedent. In 1922 League of Nation, Syrian territories of the defunct Ottoman Empire were divided between Great Britain and France, in what is known as "Sykes-Picot Agreement"¹²⁴. While Britain received the present Jordan and Palestine, France was given the present Syria and Lebanon.¹²⁵ British intention to dominate France paid off, when she secretly supported opposition to French rule within the Syrian territories through independence in 1945.¹²⁶

After the above incident General de Gaulle told Duff Cooper, the British ambassador to Paris: "We are not, I admit, in a position to open hostilities against you at the present time. But you have insulted France and betrayed the West. This cannot be forgotten." On that same day, June 4, 1945, Cooper wrote in his diary: "He is genuinely convinced that the whole incident has been arranged by the Britain so as to carry out their long-planned policy of driving the French out of the Levant in order to take their place".¹²⁷ The core interest of UK in seeking the ouster of Assad dynasty is primarily guided by wider economic gain, geopolitical objectives and Mediterranean oil route. British officials believed that the fall of Assad and composition of a new democratic government in Damascus will open enable her control major economic projects based on

¹²⁴Kulkova, O., 2013. *Great Britain and Syrian Dilemma*. [Online] Available at: http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=2041#top-content [Accessed 30 July 2015].

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶ Ibid

¹²⁷ Ibid

previous relationship with local actors in the country.¹²⁸ Even though US economic interest is limited, it is believed that Washington is not happy with Russian influence and increasing Chinese clout in the region. Accordingly, US interest will be best protected with visible British presence. On the geopolitical front, toppling of Assad will deal an embarrassing blow to Iran and its radical groups, which are considered as terrorists' organization (Hamas and Hezbollah). Syria Arab neighbors led by Saudi Arabia, Turkey will be encouraged if Assad is removed. This potential regional re alignment is believed to be critical in cutting Iranian influence. Finally, black gold (oil) was also another major factor that influenced the decision to remove Assad.¹²⁹ Following the meeting of oil Ministers from Syria, Iraq and Iran, approval was made for the transportation of oil from these countries through Syrian Mediterranean Sea port. Kirkuk- Baniyas route running from Iraq to Syria together with Lebanese ports of Tripoli and Saida which handled Saudi oil means that Damascus is poised to be the king maker in the emerging oil and gas business.¹³⁰

UK believed that Syria without Assad will be important in achieving the control of the new oil and gas network in Europe.¹³¹ UK was the first Western Nation to recognize Syria opposition as a legitimate representative of the Syrian people, by allowing them to open an embassy in London. Bashar-Al Assad is still in power after four years of brutality perpetrated by government forces and rebels. With over 220,000 dead and millions displaced, it is argued that UNSC has been rendered incompetent due to over bearing National interest of P5 members and their allies.

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹²⁹ Muradyan, I., 2012. *Combination of interest in Syria*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.lragir.am/russrc/comments25924.html> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

¹³⁰¹³⁰ Hope, C., 2012. *Britain could intervene militarily in Syria in months, UK's top general Suggests*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/9670289/Britain-could-intervene-militarily-in-Syria-in-months-UKs-top-general-suggests.html#hash> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

¹³¹ Ibid

3.5: FRANCE

Middle East and North Africa have occupied the center stage in French foreign policy since 20th century. Aside from bilateral interest, the issue of common security had re-enforced French resolve to have an engaged international relations.¹³² French ruling elites subscribed to the notion that violence in the Middle East and North Africa would threaten the Mediterranean, including Southern Europe. The intention of French leading diplomats is that independent minded France will challenge US hegemon by building consensus and soft power within the regions. In 2001 Jacques Chirac decision not to join US led forces in Iraq added impetus to this doctrine of constructive engagement.¹³³ France tried to re invigorate its stance during the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy.

The success of Libya crisis under President Nicolas Sarkozy prompted the regime of François Holland to join other Western allies in calling for the resignation of Bashar Al- Assad. The growing hawkish attitude of French in emerging international security surprised many policy makers within and outside France. By engaging with UK and US on the need to save the humanitarian catastrophe in Syria, France has decided to re-write history in a country/ region with mixed results on foreign policy.

As the Massacre in Syria continues with government forces and rebels committing egregious human rights violation and crime against humanity, the notion of humanitarian intervention

¹³²Guler, S., 214. *French Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Case of Syria*. 1131. Istanbul: BILGESAM the Wise Men Center for Strategic Analysis.

¹³³Guler, S., 214. *French Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Case of Syria*. 1131. Istanbul: BILGESAM The Wise MenCenter for Stratgeic Analysis.

began to assume a center stage. With the toll of “responsibility to protect” effectively applied in Libya, France and its Western allies erroneously conclude that such action will succeed in Syria. Carl Schmitt quoted in Jeanbaptiste stated that “whoever invokes humanity wants to cheat” it is never humanity which wages war, but States citing the concept of humanity”.¹³⁴

The above quote underscores the widely held opinion that National interest drives foreign policy action not the so called humanitarian necessity. Consistent with its western allies France is motivated to intervene in Syria on economic, military and diplomatic interest, which surprisingly runs counter with that of Russia and China. The economic and military romanticism of the established powers seems impractical and counterproductive as demonstrated in Syria crisis. Intervention is never for the victim, rather such selective intervention make mockery of international system and concomitant peace and security.

The bogus R2P doctrine, which is not only an aberration from the international law, but its justification, in seeking selective intervention in conflict areas make the concept a non-starter in the current Syria humanitarian disaster. Criticisms from (BRICS) which comprise two veto power members; Russia and China together with India, Brazil and South African have rendered R2P defective in combating humanitarian crisis involving State, due to glowing perception that sovereignty is under attack from Western powers.

¹³⁴Jean-Baptist, 2012. *Libya to Syria: R2P and the ‘Double Standards’ Issue*. [Online] Available at: http://www.faiobserver.com/region/middle_east_north_africa/libya-to-syria-r2p-double-standards-issue/ [Accessed 15 May 2015].

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS, RESULTS AND ANALYSES

The uprising in Syria and its consequences has intensified debate on the role of Security Council in curtailing excessive power of the state against its own people. States have routinely used the doctrine of sovereignty as a defense against foreign intervention, effectively deploying its resources to commit egregious human right violations, war crimes, genocide and ethnic cleansing. The above crime against humanity as suggested by many commentators has been going on in Syria for about four years with no solution in sight.

This chapter which is dedicated to research results and findings will be examined under the following sub sections. It will open with an examination of the research questions in the context of the research goals. The above mechanism was aimed at bringing to fruition to how the security paralysis in Syria has defiled every steps taken by relevant agencies to address the

situation. Furthermore, because the study is essentially a literature review format devoid of primary research sources; the questions will be analyzed with published materials from trusted authorities connected with the conflicts.

Defense and National security is a money-spinning industry which has accelerated the pace of development in many developed powers, particularly the five permanent members of the UN. For example, when Mummer Gadhafi government was toppled in Libya, Russia lost more than \$5 billion in defense contract, which was taken by US and her European allies.¹³⁵ A Washington institute report argued that Military interest was the main driving factor in Syrian conflict.¹³⁶

Using the experience in Libya, Russia, being one of the P5 members was reluctant to follow the path of US and her European allies in taking serious action in Syria which she believed is aimed at toppling Assad regime. US Military and defence interest are the major motivating factor for planned intervention in Syria.¹³⁷ US regards Syria as a main threat to her Middle East policy, particularly on Damascus support of groups deemed hostile to US interests and growing romantic relationship between Tehran and Damascus.¹³⁸ The growing cosy relationship between Tehran and Damascus portends danger to US interest in the volatile but strategic region.¹³⁹

¹³⁵Anna Borschevskaya: Russia's Many Interests in Syria. The Washington Institute, January, 2013.

¹³⁶Ibid

¹³⁷Sharp, J.M. & Blanchard, C.M., 2013. *Congressional Research Service*. [Online] Available at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/211136.pdf> [Accessed 13 May 2015].

¹³⁸DeLeaon et al. Issues: Foreign Policy and Security.

¹³⁹Blanchard et al: Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S. Response. July, 2015. A new Phase for US policy in Syria. Centre for American progress. February, 2013.

Another reason why military and overall security interests of P5 were counterproductive was in the global navy war. Syrian port of Tartus remains the only port outside Russian territory; hence any regime change in Damascus would be the end of the facility together with concomitant diminished status on the part of Moscow. This position was reinforced by Putin during his last inaugural address; where he vowed to project strong and effective naval capabilities aimed at countering perceived weaknesses after the fall of the Soviet Union.

4.1: Does Military Interest of P5 Members Affects the Achievement of Comprehensive Security in Syria.

In other to answer the above question, the following data as presented below would be helpful.

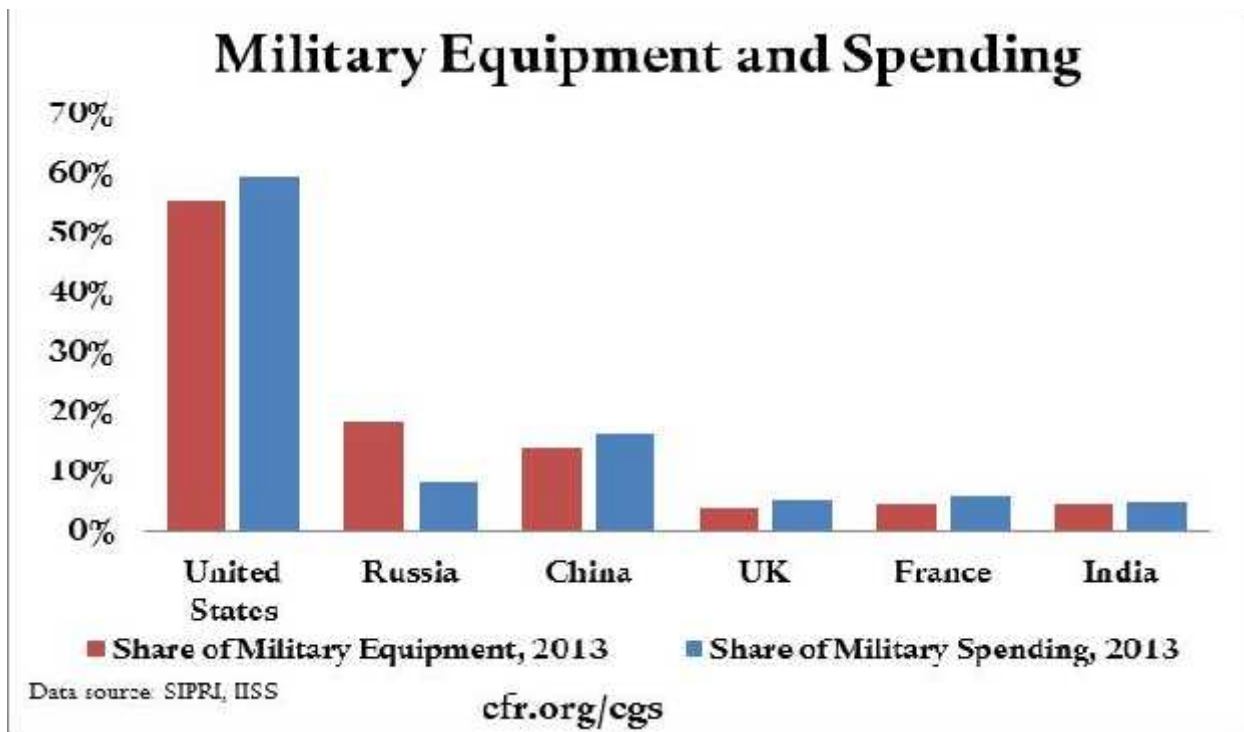


Figure 3: Military Equipment and Spending.

Military budget and actual spending is a major indicator of a country's show of power and influence. Effectively, a sustained increase in military budget could be a sign of growing coercion by a Country. Although the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are currently being wound down, the share of US military as percentage of GDP is still increasing modestly. Using the above figure, US share of military spending and equipment is almost equal to the other Nations combined including the other four of the P5 members (Russia, China, UK and UK). In an article published by Middle East monitor, Abdulrahman All-Masri argued convincingly that Syria conflict is not a civil war rather a proxy war by many actors¹⁴⁰escalated the conflict. For example, the axis of Iran-Hezbollah Vs GCC/US, suggests that Iran funded Hezbollah and GCC (Gulf cooperation council) backed by US remains a potent obstacle in achieving a comprehensive and sustained peace in

¹⁴⁰Abdulrahman al-Masri: Syria: Proxy war, not civil war. Middle East Monitor, March, 2015. The author cited known instances where direct military interests of nations and groups have

Syria. Another proxy dimension is Russia vs US, which by estimates is the greatest impediment to peace. Russia has effectively used its veto power at UNSC to not only scuttle justifiable criticism of Assad instead potential military action against Damascus is a red line to Moscow.

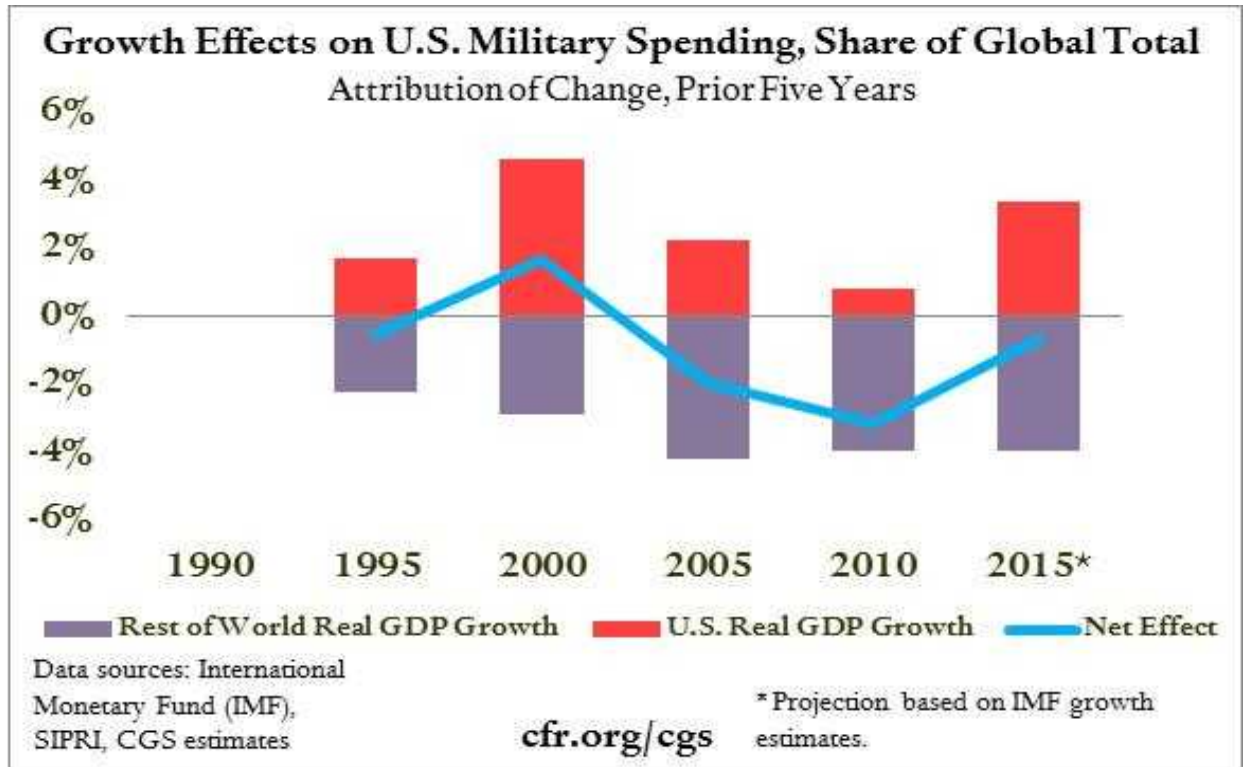


Figure 4: Global Share of US military spending
Source: IMF

The figure above is another chilling example, whereas the GDP per global military spending is relatively flat or at best decreasing, US share which peaked in 2000 started to rise from 2010. The implication is the US is not relenting in using military spending to project power and influence.

Mark Fisher in 2013 Washington post Colum outlined four compelling reasons why Russia will continue to protect Assad; (1) Russia still has only naval base outside Soviet Union in Syria port of Tartus; hence Moscow may be reluctant to trade such facility with any deal in Syria. (2) Moscow still harbours some remnants of cold war mentality and associated insecurity, which makes the

support of Damascus palatable to project cover its perceived weaknesses (3) Russia also hates the idea of "international intervention" against countries like Syria because it sees this as Cold War-style Western imperialism and ultimately a threat to Russia influence (4) Russia is not ready to relinquish its lucrative military and defence spending contract with Assad government which will be cancelled with regime change.¹⁴¹

Although, Cameron lost the common vote for military action in Syria, UK has pursued a tactical diplomatic engagement with leading powers such as US and Arab leaders. Such limited but targeted engagement has enabled UK galvanised international support for rebel's.¹⁴² In the wake of the Cold War, the concept of sovereignty has become a persistent target of suspicion and criticism. The rediscovery of international human rights and the rapid emergence of international criminal law have even aggravated the decline of sovereignty. Following the ugly experience in Libya, where the US led invasion toppled the government on the guise of protecting civilians, China effectively vetoed three draft resolutions on Syria (S /2011/612, S /2012/77, and S /2012/538) purported to impose aggravated military campaign in Syria (UNSC, 2012).¹⁴³ Based on the above figures and analysis, it is clear that military interest of the P5 members is fuelling the crisis in Syria. Without resolving the military interests of P5 members, peace in Syria may be elusive.

¹⁴¹: Mark Fisher: The four reasons Russia won't give up Syria, no matter what Obama does. Washington post. September 5, 2013.

¹⁴²BBC: Syria crisis: Cameron loses Commons vote on Syria action. 30th August, 2013.

¹⁴³: United Nations Security Council, S /RES /2043 (2012), adopted at the 6,756th meeting, 21.4.2012; S /RES /2059 (2012), adopted at the 6,812th meeting, 20.7.2012.

Russo-Chinese partnership at the UN has become the stabilising force in the UN. Aside from vetoing three resolutions, considered critical to their interests, Russia and China

Have effectively provided a counter weight to increasing unilateralism of the west led by US.

TABLE 1: P5 VOTING IN THE UNSC, (2000-12)

Source: European Parliament, briefing paper (2013, p. 30).

From the table it is clear that Russia and China have followed a consistent path in balancing alleged US led Unitarianism in managing pressing global issues.¹⁴⁴ Surprisingly only the three nations (US, Russia and China) have used vetoes as indicated above. For absenteeism, Russia was

(Votes)N: 796	United States	Russia	China	France	United Kingdom
YES	776	772	776	789	786
Rate	97.5%	97%	97.5%	99.1%	98.7%
Abstentions	9	17	16	7	10
Rate	1.1%	2.1%	2%	0.9%	1.3%
Vetoes	11	7	4	0	0
Rate	1.4%	0.9%	0.5%	0%	0%

number one followed by China, while US is placed third. However, the Yes votes were fairly distributed among the P5 members, which ultimately were driven by their respective national interests. The counter balance from Russia is rapidly shaping opinions in UNSC concerning global security and sovereignty.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴Pandey, A. Aid groups accuse UN of failing Syrians as conflict enters fifth year. March 12, 2015

¹⁴⁵: EU Parliament: Directorate General for External Polices, briefing paper, March 2013.

4.2: Does Economic interest of P5 members relate with security crisis in Syria?

Since March 2011, when the conflict in Syria started, following the arrest and torture of 14 school children for allegedly writing anti-government slogans, the crisis has assumed a pathetic dimension due to increasing human and economic consequences. Although, several attempts have been initiated to address the crisis, very little has been achieved due to conflicting interests of the permanent five members, especially on economic perspective. Even though, the economic divide of the P5 members may be grouped as West vs. East (US, UK and France vs. Russia and China), its wider ramifications via regional divisions has polarised the council in finding lasting solution for the problem.¹⁴⁶

4.2.1: Russia and China

The continued conflict in Syria has alluded fear that unrestrained interests of P5 members in managing global affairs could spell doom for conflict resolution and achievement of comprehensive peace. Principally economic interests of China and Russia have allowed both Nations to veto any resolutions deemed critical of Assad regime. Russia has a booming construction business in Syria together with lucrative oil business which is of primary interest to China.¹⁴⁷ The insistence of US led effort to refer Damascus to ICC was seen as a pretext to lay a ground military action against Assad government, which China and Russia vehemently opposed as a major threat to sovereignty.¹⁴⁸ Aside from arms sales, imports from China and Russia have eclipsed those from Turkey and other EU allies. Since 2005, Russia has been

¹⁴⁶ Bagdonas, A. Russia interests in Syria: power, prestige and profits. 2012. pp.81-104

¹⁴⁷ Buckley, C, A. Learning from Libya, Acting in Syria. (How the removal Muammar Gadhafi changed the Syria war response from Russia and China)

¹⁴⁸ Kramer, A. and Killeen R. Security Council Referrals to the ICC: A politicised System. Pp.106-147

a major stockholder of Syria arms trade with 3.5-3.8 billion dollars contract value.¹⁴⁹ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute reported that Russia has been supplying 78% of Syria's arms for the last five years, an increase by 580% from the 2002-2006 periods to the 2007-2011 periods.¹⁵⁰; Hence China and Russia are hell bent on protecting those interests. Hiding on the guise of humanitarian catastrophe which the Syria conflict had manifested is severally being by Russia and China to challenge the US effort to seek regime change in Damascus.

4.2.2: US, UK and France

Even though, humanitarian reasons were often adduced as the main reason for intervention in Syria, the driving force is economic ties which the world powers want to establish or maintain. Martini, in a Rand Corporation published research, argues that strategic economic competition among the P5 members, together with divergent regional interests were the driving force for continued instability in Syria.¹⁵¹ Economic interest was fundamentally responsible for proposed Syrian invasion.¹⁵² Assad refused to sign on with a planned gas pipeline connecting Saudi Arabia, Jordan, UAE, and running through Turkey which would have cut off supply from Russia, the main European energy supplier.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹Oleg Nekhai, 'Russia Will Continue Arms Sales to Syria', The Voice of Russia (6 December 2011). Available [Online] at

<http://sputniknews.com/voiceofrussia/2011/12/06/61648892/>

¹⁵⁰Paul Holtom et al., 'Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2011', Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (March 2012), p.8.

¹⁵¹Martini et al: Syria as an Arena of Strategic Competition. Rand Corporation, 2013.

¹⁵²Ahmed. N. Syria intervention plan fuelled by oil interests, not chemical weapon concern, 2013

¹⁵³ Ibid

The Proposed Nabucco Gas Pipeline



Source: Pipelinistan in Europe (2011).

As indicated in the gas pipeline on the previous page, the real conflict in Syria was not dictatorial tendency of Assad or absence of thriving democracy, instead the real battle is the long term control of gas flow from Persian Gulf to Europe, which is Damascus is central to the whole bargain.¹⁵⁴ In many Western capitals, the double standard employed in Syria case speaks volume of the influencing factors of economic dimension in the whole episode. How can Al-Nusra and other al-Qaeda affiliates in Syria be regarded as freedom fighters, while in many instances such groups are classified as terrorist organizations.¹⁵⁵

It is not difficult to notice that the rebellion in Syria began to grow two years ago, almost at the same time as the signing of a memorandum in Bushehr on June 25, 2011 regarding the construction of a new Iran-Iraq-Syria gas pipeline. It is to stretch 1500 km from Asaluyeh on the largest gas field in the world, North Dome/South Pars (shared between Qatar and Iran) to

¹⁵⁴: Minin, D: The Geopolitics of Gas and the Syrian Crisis: Syrian "Opposition" Armed to Thwart Construction of Iran-Iraq-Syria Gas Pipeline. March 31, 2013.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

Damascus. The length of pipeline on the territory of Iran will be 225 km, in Iraq 500 km, and in Syria 500-700 km.¹⁵⁶ This pipeline called Islamic pipeline would effectively kill the Western backed Nabucco pipeline that would transport gas from Azerbaijan.¹⁵⁷ In all the available scenarios to transport gas from East to West, Syria remains an undisputable link, which underscores the thought in Washington and EU that Assad should go.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1: CONCLUSION

Looking through the lens of 2011 when the first and most successful humanitarian intervention in Libya was conducted, one would have expected to see an intervention to liberate Syrian people from cruel massacre from their own government.

However, in order to achieve a peaceful world, we have to admit the anarchy system that engulfs the world interactions today is more than relevant.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

As the most notable world representation today, the United Nations have about 193 member states with each have different national interests and approaches in dealing with issues around the world through General Assembly forum. We think that this—because of the number—might cause a problem in generating consensus, but it is on entirely new level if we take a look on UN Security Council.

UN Security Council is the only platform for action within today's system while other bodies could only recommend to governments. It consists of region representatives and the 5 winner of World War II; in which hold their own right to veto a resolution.

In drafting Responsibility to protect, International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty wanted to make it as close to practical implementation as possible. They called on the permanent members to resort to *abstention* when discussing humanitarian intervention. The three-times double veto in the resolutions to condemn the Syrian Civil War proves that these call were not even close in persuading abstention. States will necessarily go through every channel it has to maximize their interest.

Multitudes of resolutions have been proposed by the West and Arab Leagues—and vetoed for that matter—since the beginning of Syrian civil war. The draft resolution that condemned *the continued grave and systematic human rights violations in Syria and the use of force against civilians by Syrian authorities*¹⁵⁸ in 2011 and the following premise in 2012 were double vetoed by Russia and China

¹⁵⁸UN News Centre. —Russia and China veto draft Security Council resolution on Syria. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39935>

Realists believe that state survival is the main motive behind how a state interact with one another. The state survival is translated into achievement of national interest and preservation of security. The anarchic system endorses these behaviors by having no sort whatsoever of higher authority to endorse conforming behavior.

Synthetizing that logic, the veto by Russia and China is understandable; it is the most rationale option that serves their best interest. Apart from the strategic ties that Russia has with Syria and their agenda post Syrian Civil War, Russia and China has experienced uncalculated loss after their abstention in resolution 1973 which prelude intervention to Libya.¹⁵⁹

With the conflict of interest between the US-led West and regional powers; of Russia and China; there is a growing concern that R2P is only another tool to advance the political interest of the intervening country.

Syrian civil war has been one of the worst human rights violations in history. Russia's stance on the issue is one of the reasons for minimum foreign intervention happening there, especially from the west. Russia together with china has vetoed two Western-backed UN Security Council resolutions, against Syria in 2011 and 2012.

There are actually many reasons as of why Russia is very adamant in supporting Syria-Assad regime, apart from the existing economic one. One of it is protection of non-intervention regime. Russia has experienced an *embarrassing loss*" when it is not invested enough in keeping Libyan intervention in line with the mandate delivered within the framework of the UN Security Council. It is also considering Russian view that Libya today has descend into a *puppet state*" by the West.

¹⁵⁹Shirley van As. — Why not in Syria? _R2P not the rule but the exception. 2013

However from the findings in section 4.1, it was clear that the military interests of P5 members of the UNSC were the driving force for the continued crisis. As indicated in the previous section, Russia and china have a lucrative military and defense contract which they are determined to protect and maintain, that is why they will deploy all resources at their disposal to contain US led aggression deemed hostile to her interest.

Interest of Russia in Syria also covers the geopolitics sphere. It is mainly because the existence of Tartus Mediterranean port, a Russian naval maintenance and supply station. Tartus was initially offered to Russia in 2008, triggering wild speculations whether there will be relocation of Russia's navy fleet to Tartus. In one of his interview, Treisman mentioned "Of course Russia would like to preserve its naval base in Tartus, but it will have to adjust to the outcome of the civil war, whatever that is."¹⁶⁰

Economic interests of the P5 members as shown in summary of findings on section 4.2.1 and 4.2.2; Assad refusal to sign Nabucco gas pipeline and planned Iran, Iraq and Syria gas route tagged Islamic gas line was the major sin of the government, which prompted US led pressure to topple him. Also, Russia and China were determined to retain their growing economic interests with the regime together with fear that Damascus could fall just like Libya. The above conflicting economic interests of P5 members were largely responsible for the impasse.

Russia is trying to marginalize Western-US presence in the region and bolster its own regional presence. It is proven through the stance of Russia that it prefers regional and multilateral diplomatic approach rather than intervention.

¹⁶⁰Daniel Treisman, professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles in Yousef Gamal El-Din, *Op Cit.* Fn 71.

Russia is protecting Iran—a strategic partner of Russia in retaliating West presence. As the last solid partner of Iran—of similar characteristic—the fall of Shiite regime in Syria would be troublesome. It is concluded by considering the case of Tunisia, Iraq and Egypt where those after-intervention states were closer to the West than their original stances is. It is openly declared by Churkin that Syrian regime downfall would weaken Iran’s position in Middle East.¹⁶¹ Geopolitically, the Syrian Crisis is a conflict of a super power with former super power.

Apart from the geopolitical aspect of Syrian Crisis, Russia’s investments in confronting the West in Syria were also backed by the domestic appeal. As the Russia also face domestic difficulties from time to time—such as what happens in annexation of Crimea—a call for anti-Western, nationalist approach works greatly to subdue to the populations.

It is proven by multitude of survey that Russian populations were strongly backing up its government on non-interventionism in Syria. —*Some 28% sympathize with the Syrian authorities, 5% speak in favor of the insurgents and 40% deny support to both warring sides*, the Public Opinion Foundation said.¹⁶²

In 2010, the National Security Strategy (NSS) agency published the guidelines of U.S focus for its role in international politics.¹⁶³ It is mainly about protecting U.S citizen and allies, growing economic liberalism, universalism of norms and values, as well as maintenance of U.S roles as hegemony.

¹⁶¹Vitaly Churkin is Russian Ambassador to the United Nations, in an interview by New York Times. Available [Online] at: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/world/middleeast/russia-and-china-veto-un-sanctions-against-syria.html?_r=0

¹⁶²The Voice of Russia. —Russians opposed to military intervention in Syria – poll Available [Online] at http://sputniknews.com/voiceofrussia/news/2013_09_13/Russians-opposed-to-military-intervention-in-Syria-poll-3649/

¹⁶³National Security Strategy, the White House, Washington 2010.

To some extent, United States should have an interest in weakening current regime—or even change it—in Syria as it will significantly reduce Iran position in the region; eliminating another strategic ally of Iran which has been a pain to U.S for quite some time. However, U.S response in Syrian Civil War has suggest theotherwise which can only means other interest taken into account is equally (if not more) prominent to be addressed.

Syria's political ties with Iran and Russia makes it of direct importance to U.S interest. Remembering the nature of hostile relations between Iran and U.S, strategic grasp on Syria will help to deter Iran ambition to attain nuclear capability.

The same case apply for Russia, as United States policy to balance the presence of regional powers with its presence, the loss of Russia's alliance with the current regime will help to achieve that goal. Syria's regime change, is favorable for United States in alienating Iran further as well as containing the re-emergence of Russian presence in middle east.

To some extent, the possibilities as explained above have its merit. However, another assessment on U.S view on this matter is arguably some of the reason that deters U.S willingness to intervene.

Firstly, United States sees the regime change could have uncertain effects to Israel. It could get better for Israel if the regime changes into a stable-reasonable democratic government. In contrast, it would become worse if the fall of current regime turns Syria into a failed *states* " with multitudes of extremist such as what happen in Afghanistan or the newly seizing power has a more hostile policy towards Israel and United States. The second is the prospect of intense civil war that could spill into regional conflict.

Lastly, United States intervention to a Syria in a civil war context would require a lot of resources and sacrifices. A regime transition into an established-self-sufficient-democratic regime would then require United States presence in the peace building norms; to end the conflict and to rebuild it from scratch. Past cases of Iraq and Afghanistan have proven this to be un-fulfilling for U.S interests and thus, avoiding the scenario will serve U.S interest better.

Moreover, United States public is already war-weary after series of intervention aboard: Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya. Military campaign in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 has cost those 6000 casualties and 6 trillion USD.¹⁶⁴

Conclusively, looking at the factors above, realist view still by and large governs the interactions within international relations. It can be seen when there is a conflict between idea of humanitarian norms and national interest; national interest still prevails. National interest that is mentioned here would be the strategic-survival level that could overshadow other form of interest. In short, a humanitarian intervention will not happen if the intervening state security-survival is at risk and/or that risk is not accompanied by commensurate gains.

The UNSC council could be fundamentally reformed. Its current structure clearly place disproportionate amounts of power and influence over the actions of the international community in the hands of the P-5. There is the need to include more developing nations in the decision making structures of the Security Council and to change the way it does business by doing away with outdated and non-transparent working methods.

¹⁶⁴Linda J. Bilmes, —The Financial Legacy of Iraq and Afghanistan: How War-time Spending Decisions Will Constrain Future National Security Budgets , Harvard Kennedy School Faculty Research Working Paper Series, RWP 13-006, March 2013.

Bibliography

Abdulrahman al-Masri , 2015. *Middle east Monitor*. [Online] Available at:
<https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/articles/middle-east/17515-syria-proxy-war-not-civil-war>

[Accessed 25 Septemeber 2015].

Adams, S., 2015. *Failure to Protect: Syria and the UN Security council*. Report. New York: Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protec The Global Center for Responsibility to Protec.

Ahmed, N., 2013. *Syria intervention plan fueled by oil interests, not chemical weapon concern*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2013/aug/30/syria-chemical-attack-war-intervention-oil-gas-energy-pipelines> [Accessed 30 July 2015].

Aidan, H., 2013. The Permanence of Inconsistency: Libya, the Security Council, and the Responsibility to Protect. *International Security*, 38(1), pp. 137-159.

Annan, K.A., 2000. *We the People: The Role of the UN in the 21st century*. Report. New York: UN UN.

Beauchamp, Z. 2012, 'Syria's crisis and the future of R2P'. [Online} Available at:
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/16/syrias_crisis_and_the_future_of_r2p

Bagdonas, A., 2012. Russia Interests in Syria: Power, Prestige and Profits. *European Journal of Economic and Political studies*, 5(2), pp.55-77.

BBC Media Action, 2012. *Country case study: Syria, Support to media where media freedoms and rights are constrained*. Case Study. London: BBC Media Action BBC.

BBC;, 2013. *UK politics*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-23892783> [Accessed 24 September 2015].

Blanchard, C.M., Humud, C.E. & Nikitin , M.D., 2015. *Congressional Reserach Service*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33487.pdf> [Accessed 25 September 2015].

Bryman, A., 2008. *Social research methods*. 4th ed. Oxford: University Pres.

Buckley, C.A., 2012. Learning from Libya, Acting in Syria. *Juornal of Strategic Security*, 5(2), pp.81-104.

Chatterjee, D. & Schied, D., 2003. *Introduction' in Ethics and Foreign Intervention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, L., Manion , L. & Keith, M., 2000. *Research Methods in Education*. 5th ed. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Collins, J. & Hussey, R., 2009. *Business Research: A practical guide for undergraduate and Postgraduate students*. 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cuncliffe, P., 2011. *Critical Perspectives on the Responsibility to Protect: Interrogating Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.

Dam, N.V., 1996. *The Struggle For Power in Syria*. london: I.B. Tauris.

DeLeaon, R. et al., 2013. *Issues: Foreign Policy and Security*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2013/02/28/55158/a-new-phase-for-u-s-policy-on-syria/> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

Dull, J. & Hak, T., 2008. *Case study methodology in business research*. Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.

European Union ;, 2013. *THE POSITIONS OF RUSSIA AND CHINA AT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT CRISES*. Briefing Paper. Brussels: Policy Department European Union.

Fionna, H., 2013. *The Real Reason Putin Supports Assad*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/chechnya/2013-03-25/real-reason-putin-supports-assad> [Accessed 30 July 2015].

Fixdal, M. and D. Smith (1998), Humanitarian Intervention and Just War, *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 42, 283-312.

Garrett, G., 2010. Strategic choices, Australia, China and the US in Asia. *Asia Link. University of Melbourne Parkville*, 2(5).

Guler, S., 214. *French Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Case of Syria*. 1131. Istanbul: BILGESAM The Wise Men Center for Strategic Analysis.

Gutherie, C. & Quinlan, M., 2007. *Just War*. London: Bloomsbury.

Hehir, A. (2012), 'Syria and the Responsibility to Protect: Rhetoric Meets Reality. [Online] Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/03/14/syria-and-theresponsibility-to-protect-rhetoric-meets-reality/>

Hill, F., 2013. *The Real Reason Putin Supports Assad*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/chechnya/2013-03-25/real-reason-putin-supports-assad> [Accessed 13 May 2015].

Holst, J.J., 1994. Keeping a Fractured Peace' in Subduing Sovereignty. *Sovereignty and the Right to Intervene*, pp.126-46.

Hope, C., 2012. *Britain could intervene militarily in Syria in months, UK's top general Suggets*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/9670289/Britain-could-intervene-militarily-in-Syria-in-months-UKs-top-general-suggests.html#hash> [Accessed 14 May 2015].

ICISS;, 2001. *The Responsibility to Protect*. Report. Ottawa: ICISS ICISS.

ICISS, 2011. [Online] Available at: <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf> [Accessed 16 February 2015].

International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, 2012. [Online] Available at: <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-syria>.

Jason, D., 2013. France, Britain and the intervention in Libya: an integrated analysis. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs`*, 26(2), pp.310-29.

Jean-Baptist, 2012. *Libya to Syria: R2P and the 'Double Standards' Issue*. [Online] Available at: http://www.faiobserver.com/region/middle_east_north_africa/libya-to-syria-r2p-double-standards-issue/ [Accessed 15 May 2015].

Kasi, P., 2009. *Research: What, Why and How? A Treatise from Researchers to Researchers*. 1st ed. Bloomington: AuthorHouse.

Kosturos, N., 2012. *What Drives Russia's Unrelenting Position on Syria?* [Document] Center for American Progress Available at: https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2012/08/pdf/syria_russia.pdf [Accessed 30 July 2015].

Kramer, A. & Killean, R., 2012. Security Council Referrals to the ICC: A politicised System. *Irish Year book of International Law*, 7, pp.117-46.

Kulkova, O., 2013. *Great Britain and Syrian Dilemma*. [Online] Available at: http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=2041#top-content [Accessed 30 July 2015].

Kumar, R., 2010. *Research Methodology: A Step By Step Guide for Beginners*. 3rd ed. New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.

Kuperman, A., 2011. Catchy Name for a Fading Norm. *Ethnopolitics*, 10(1), pp.125-28.

Kuwalil, D. (2012), 'Responsibility to Protect: Why Libya and not Syria?' [Online] Available at: www.accord.org.za/.../brief/policy_practice16.pdf

Lemke, Douglas and Regan, Patrick M. "Intervention as Influence. In *The Scourge of War: New Extensions on an Old Problem*, edited by Paul F. Diehl, 145-68. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Luke, G., 2012. The Responsibility to Protect Beyond Borders. *Human Rights Law Review*, 12(1), pp.1-32.

Luke, G., 2013. The Myth of Traditional Sovereignty. *International studies Quarterly* , 57(1), pp.79-90.

Marianne, M. & Simone, S., 2012. *The Responsibility to Protect and the Intervention in Libya*. Roskilde: University.

Martini, J., York, E. & Young, W., 2013. *Syria as an Arena of Strategic Competition*. Research report serie. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation Rand Corporation.

Massoud, H., 2013. *China, Russia congratulate each other on Syria at APEC*. [Online] Available at: <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/10/8/china-russiacongratulateeachotheronsyriaatapec.html> [Accessed 30 July 2015].

Menkiszak, M., 2013. *Responsibility to protect. itself?: Russia's strategy towards the crisis in Syria*. FII A Briefing Paper 131. Helsinki: The Finnish Institute of International Affairs The Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

Michelle, N., 2014. *Reuters*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/02/22/us-syria-crisis-un-idUSBREA1L0OV20140222> [Accessed 11 May 2015].

- Minin, D., 2013. *Global Research*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-geopolitics-of-gas-and-the-syrian-crisis-syrian-opposition-armed-to-thwart-construction-of-iran-iraq-syria-gas-pipeline/5337452> [Accessed 29 September 2015].
- Muradyan, I., 2012. *Combination of interest in Syria*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.lragir.am/russrc/comments25924.html> [Accessed 14 May 2015].
- Norton, B., 2014. *The Shocking Statistics Behind Syria's Humanitarian Crisis*. [Online] Available at: <http://thinkprogress.org/world/2014/06/02/3443171/syria-crisis-stats/> [Accessed 30 July 2015].
- Nunes, J.R., 2010. *Rethinking Emancipation in Critical Security Studies*. PhD.Thesis. Aberystwyth: Aberystwyth University Aberystwyth University.
- Pandey, A., 2015. *International Business Times*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.ibtimes.com/aid-groups-accuse-un-failing-syrians-conflict-enters-fifth-year-1844532> [Accessed 26 September 2015].
- Paul, W. & Bellamy, A., 2012. Principals, Politics, and Prudence: Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Use of Military Force. *Global Governance*, 18(2), pp.273-97
- Parry, J.E., 2004. International Conflict Prevention and Intervention. *RUSI Journal*, (6), pp.56-61
- Pattison, James. *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Pernin, C.G. et al., 2008. *Unfolding the Future of the Long War: Motivations, Prospects, and Implications for the U.S. Army*. Reserach Report. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation Rand Corporation.
- Renner, J.H. & Afoaku, O., 2015. *The Responsibility to Protect: A Comparative Analysis of UN Security Council Actions in Libya and Syria*. Policy Analysis. Indiana: University of Indiana University of Indiana.
- Roberts, A., 1999. Humanitarian War' over Kosovo. *Survival*, 41(3), pp.102-23.
- Rossmann, G.B. & Rollis, S.F., 2003. *Learning in the Field: An Introductory to Qualitative Reserach*. 2nd ed. California: Thousands Oaks.
- Roy, A., 2013. Russia and Syria: explaining alignment with a regime in crisis. *International Affairs*, 89(4), pp.795-823.
- Roy, A., 2013. Russia and Syria: explaining alignment with a regime in crisis. *International Affairs*, 89(4), pp.795-823.

- Sachdeva, J.K., 2009. *Business Research Methodology*. Mumbai: Global Media.
- Samia, N., 2012. *A Reuters Website*. [Document] Available at: [Web. http://www.reuters.com/assets/print?aid=USL5E8DB0BH20120303](http://www.reuters.com/assets/print?aid=USL5E8DB0BH20120303) [Accessed 12 February 2015].
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A., 2009. *Research Methods for Business Students*. Essex: FT Prentice Hall.
- Sekeran, U. & Bougie, R., 2010. *Research Methods for Business: A Skill Building Approach*. New Jersey: Wiley & Sons.
- Sharp, J.M. & Blanchard, C.M., 2013. *Congressional Research Service*. [Online] Available at: <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/211136.pdf> [Accessed 13 May 2015].
- Thomas, W., 2014. Military Humanitarianism: Syria Hasn't Killed It. *The Washington Quarterly*, 37(1), pp.7-20.
- Tuner, M., Cooper, N. & Pugh, M., 2010. Institutionalised and co-opted: Why human security has lost its way. In D. Chandler & N. Hynek, eds. *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power*. New York: Routledge. pp.83-96.
- Vladmir, P., 2013. *A Plea for Caution From Russia: New York times*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/12/opinion/putin-plea-for-caution-from-russia-on-syria.html> [Accessed 30 July 2015].
- Wedeen, L., 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Weiss, T.G., 2009. *The UN's Role in Global Governance*. Briefing Note No 15. New York: Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies United Nations.
- Wheeler, N., 2000. *Saving Strangers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zamir, M., 2008. *Britain's treachery, France's revenge*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.joshualandis.com/blog/britains-treachery-frances-revenge-by-meir-zamir/> [Accessed

