The Review of the Effectiveness of Humanitarian Intervention in "third world"
countries: A Case Study of the ongoing civil war in Syria.

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DECLARATION

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I Sivuyile Sibabalo Mkhulisi hereby declare that:

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As the candidate's supervisor, I have approved this dissertation for submission

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Belinda Johnson

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my brother Nelson Zwelithini Mkhulisi (Mkhuluwa) who passed away during this study.

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ABSTRACT

The review of the effectiveness of Humanitarian Intervention in "third world" countries: Case study Syrian civil war. This study seeks to review the effectiveness of Humanitarian Intervention since its inception, given the ongoing conflict in Syria. This study has used available scholarly sources such as articles, journals and books to arrive at compelling conclusive remarks on the subject matter. Therefore, this study has applied a quantitative research method. It has relied on desktop information to review the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept in third-world countries focusing on the ongoing crisis in Syria. This study has further outlined factors that are said to be the cause of the Humanitarian Intervention concept not being effective enough to end the ongoing conflict in Syria. It has used two theories of international relations to analyse the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept in "third world" countries and those theories are realism and idealism theories. This study has found that the concept of Humanitarian Intervention is used to pursue the interests of the powerful states in the international community. This study has recommended a review of the relevancy of veto power in the current nature and character of international relations since interstate wars have been eliminated in global politics.

Key words; *Humanitarian Intervention, Right to Protect, Third World Countries, Syria, United Nations, United Nations Security Council and Civil War.*

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

ADB   - Asian Development Bank

AIIB   - Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank

BC   -Before Christ

ASEAN   -Association of Southeast Asian Nations

EU   - European Union

FSA   - Free Syrian Army

GDP   - Gross Domestic Product

HI   - Humanitarian Intervention

ICISS   -International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty

IHL   -International Humanitarian Law

IHRL   -International Human Rights Law

IMF   - International Monetary Fund

IL   -International Law

ISIL   - Islamic States in Iraq and Levant

JAN   - Jablat al Nusra

NATO   - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OAU   - Organization of African Unity

OECD   - Organization for Economic Cooperation Development

R2P   - Responsibility to Protect

RtoP   - Right to Protect

SAARC   -South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

UAR   - United Arab Republic

UN   - United Nations

UNESCO - United Nations Education Scientific & Cultural   Organizations

UNHI   - United Nations Humanitarian Interventions

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Funds

UNMI   - United Nations Military Interventions

UNSC   - United Nations Security Council

US   - United States

WHO   - World Health Organizations

WW II   - World War II

WWF   -World Wide Fund for Nature

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1. Introduction and Context

1.1 Chapter Introduction

One of the prevailing debates in the field of international relations today, when the issue of conflict and Humanitarian Intervention (HI) in "Third World" or "Developing" countries is raised, is the extent to which such measures are effective. This study seeks to review the effectiveness of HI in "third world countries", focusing on the ongoing Syrian crisis as a case study. The study used desktop research to draw upon existing material, including published material such as articles, books, periodicals, international studies, and reports to assess how HI took place during the Syrian Conflict and what factors influenced the effectiveness of the Syrian conflict these measures. This chapter starts with a discussion of the background of the study. It outlines the research questions and objectives that served as focal areas of the study. It then discusses the research methods employed to investigate the research questions that were posed. Lastly, the chapter discusses the structure of the research project.

1.2 Background of the study

The debates about Humanitarian Intervention (HI) have gained increasing significance since the end of the Cold War. Scholars have defined HI as the justifiable use of force to protect the inhabitants of another state from irrational and persistently abusive treatment to the extent that it exceeds the limits within which the sovereign is supposed to act with reason and justice (Finnemore, 2008). Falk (1995) defines intervention generally as arbitrary interference by a state in the affairs of another state to maintain or order the actual conditions of things. HI includes armed responses to specific acts that involve gross abuse resulting in widespread suffering of people in a country or region due to the external forces, their own government's actions, or its inability to act (Chesterman, 2001). The acts can be perpetrated by outsiders or fellow citizens, or by different countries or the state experiencing conflict, who often make use of their armed forces or military to do this. They also include interference with the delivery of humanitarian relief to the endangered states. The type of acts that are generally seen to warrant these HI interventions include genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, crimes against humanity and other massacres involving loss of life on a significant scale. The collapse of governments

and civil order can also result in gross atrocities and brutal attacks by different groups trying to gain advantage or control of regions within the country or the state itself. States experiencing conflict can call for HI. However, there are situations when the upheaval may be of such magnitude that it results in a substantial loss of life. This results in situations where it is impossible to identify any authority capable of granting consent to international involvement to help restore order (Chesterman, 2001). In such cases, the United Nations can authorize HI, including military intervention, but this is regarded as an extreme measure because it violates that state's sovereignty. The point at which such interventions should occur, and the criteria that need to be met before this occurs is also a hotly contested issue with no clear parameters.

HI may be carried out by a single state called individual intervention or by a group of states referred to as collective Intervention. Either form of intervention could be unilateral or unauthorized. Unilateral interventions are essentially characterized by the lack of formal authorization from any universal or regional competent bodies (Holzgrefe, 2013). Holzgrefe (2013) states that HI takes place in many forms; it can include material assistance through aid, relief or sanctions. As has already been pointed out, it could also consist of coercive but non-military pressure   to end abusive practices and dispatch military forces to prevent any further massive human atrocities. It is also the latter form that is most forcefully challenged or questioned in the current debate regarding the effectiveness of HI in the global community. It is being challenged or questioned because it is unclear when to dispatch the military forces to prevent further massive human atrocities. At this stage, of the conflict it said that an intervention is justified. A common topic in this debate is whether the use of HI during periods of war or in conflict situations is an effective method to resolve or address conflict? This central question informs this study's approach and the design of its more specific research objectives and questions. The effectiveness of the provision of HI as a response to the conflict in Syria has been used as a case study that allows these issues to be investigated. The discussion thereafter explores the extent to which HI is a successful method of intervention in conflict when certain factors come into effect and debates the relative merits or detractions of using forcible HI. It also investigates IL's role in conflict situations since it forbids force. The exceptions here are when violence is resorted to as a means of self-defence or when the United Nations Security Council authorizes collective enforcement action. This study also looked at the "Responsibility to Protect" concept, one of the more substantive measures introduced to address HI and peacekeeping challenges.

The concept of HI has long been and continues to be a subject of debate both in public IL and international relations. There is no single definition of HI, but it is generally understood to be the infringement of a state's sovereignty by an external agent to prevent human rights violations (Badesco, 2010). The ethics of HI and whether intervention using force is unethical, even if it is moral, are widely debated. This is because it threatens state sovereignty, which is a fundamental component of IR.

Notwithstanding the lack of consensus on the matter, the 1990s and, to a lesser extent, the 2000s witnessed several military campaigns aimed at preventing or stopping the occurrence of situations that were a danger to civilians. In some cases, these have been carried out with the approval of the UN Security Council. In other cases, they have been illegal or illegitimate according to the principles of international public law; even the morality of such acts was apparent. Where there has been some form of HI involving very limited interventions or none, the ongoing conflict often worsens the situation and results in even more harm to civilians. Combined with the results of successful HI, these effects have helped establish the idea that the international community is responsible for protecting civilians in great danger (Rouw, no date). However, the legacy of post-Cold War interventions has resulted in disagreements about their effectiveness as instruments that provide peace and stability to conflict zones (Badesco, 2010). The issue of interventions being vetoed has also raised issues about the effectiveness of HI because the exercise of political power can undermine efforts even to initiate these processes. This is especially true for those interventions that have to be authorized by the UN Security Council, and such authorization is denied by its member states because of political issues.

A distinction does need to be made between humanitarian assistance and humanitarian intervention. The former includes the provision of non-military aid such as water, food, medicine, clothing, blankets etc. This kind of support is regarded as a right afforded to civilian populations during conflict situations. This type of scenario is known as the principle of inviolability (Stoffel, 2004) and is one of the core concepts of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL). In the absence of UN Security Council Authorization, HI involving the use of force is regarded as illegal, irrespective of the moral imperatives. However, in the wake of the Cold War, the obligation of all parties (including State and non-State actors) involved in a conflict to allow the free passage of humanitarian aid has become an essential component of customary law (Maybee & Chakka, 2005). Humanitarian rescue (including extraction and exfiltration) can also take place in a legal

manner under IL as an act of defence taken to protect the country's civilians and can be justified by the concept of necessity (Badesco, 2010).

This study uses Syria as a case study to illustrate how powerful states' interests undermine the effectiveness of the HIs concept in developing states. It also seeks to review the geopolitical contexts hampering HI because this is the central point to understand HI in its entirety and the limitations, as well as the importance of this in the Syrian crisis. It also examines the positivity of IL and the relationship between international politics and IL. It concludes that while some aspects of IL are ambiguous and may have a negative effect, most IL is unambiguous. When there are scenarios characterised by ambiguity, it can be eliminated from IL by developing the ability to understand IL's sources and methods and the relationship between National Law (NL) and IL (Badesco, 2010). Ambiguity may also be purged of presumptions and burdens of proof (Engel, 2015). In the context of the conflict in Syria, the veto by Russian Security Council members ensured that the U.S. has no unilateral right to intervene in Syria for political reasons, such as the development of democracy; and it is limited to the provision the humanitarian relief. In the absence of Russian and Chinese cooperation, any use of military force by the US and NATO would seem unlawful and cannot be used lawfully in Syria by the U.S. or NATO without Russian and Chinese cooperation. Consequently, aside from the costs of war, the U.S. is compelled to resort to multilateralism and establish alliances or agreements with countries that share the same viewpoints and goals (Adams, 2015).

1.3 Research questions

(i) To what extent has the concept "HI" been used to pursue the political interests of the superpowers during the Syrian crisis, even though the civilian population has been forced to flee to neighbouring countries for their safety?

(ii) What needs to be done to ensure that the HI's effectiveness is not compromised and is used to prevent situation/s which pose a danger to people's lives?

(iii) When atrocities in conflict occur, is the use of HI determined to be justified, despite undermining the state's sovereignty?

1.4 Research objectives

(i) The first broad objective that this research looks at is the effectiveness of HI as a mechanism that could mitigate conflict in 'developing" or "third world" countries.

The key issue that forms the basis of this objective concerns HI and looks at those factors that influenced its use and efficacy in the Syrian civil war. Current critiques emerging from research conducted on HI and intra or interstate violence have suggested that the process of gaining authorisation from the United Nations has a number of fundamental weaknesses. These critics include; Jemirade Dele, a scholar from York University, in his writing on *HI and the responsibility to protect (P2P): The United Nations and international security* and Tedelech B. Welde & Baiq L. S. W. Wardhani in their writings on *Paradox of Humanitarian Intervention: A critical analysis of theory and practice*. The Security Council is vulnerable and risks becoming a dysfunctional institution because its members use it to further their interests. In the specific case of the Syrian conflict, it looks at the behaviour of Russia, which is a member of the Security Council, and actively blocked any form of HI from being authorized, even though Syrians were moving to neighbouring countries as refugees to ensure their safety. The justification given by Russia was that there was no need for intervention because there was no conflict.

Russia further suggested that outside intervention was an issue that should be avoided because it compromised Syria's sovereignty. Additionally, it was suggested that Syria needed to start dealing with its internal affairs, free from any external influence which might undermine the state's sovereignty. The fact that Syrians were seeking refuge in other countries did not form part of the considerations looked at by Russia.

(ii) The second broad research objective of this study looks at the effectiveness of HI in ending grave systematic mass human rights violations against the use of force.

Any form of HI needs to be authorized by the UN Security Council, or else it is unlawful. This resulted in the inability to address what was happening in Syria. In 2005, UN Secretary-General issued a report[1] which addressed the long-standing question about the measures that could be taken to address and strengthen HI. The report also raised the issue that the concept of HI, especially military intervention, was generally compromised during its deployment process, as opposed to when it is actually operational on the ground. This is because of how the veto system works in the Security Council. While there is already an unequal relationship in the Council because permanent member countries have veto power, other countries do not; the structure is

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[1] 2005 United Nations Secretary-General report, this was the report of the secretary-general on the work of the organization.

further weakened when veto power is utilized for political purposes and gain, as opposed to good faith.

(iii) The third broad objective of this research looks at the point at which military intervention is justified.

While other humanitarian organisations and governments can intervene in Syria and provide non-military assistance and aid such as water, food, medicine, clothing, blankets, shelter, etc., military intervention is contentious. The possibility of undermining the sovereignty of other countries through the use of force is a contentious issue, especially when it comes to protecting civilians from any atrocity. However, establishing firm indicators and providing a clear direction for justified military intervention has yet to be adequately addressed. Greater clarity and understanding of the "responsibility to protect" or the "right to protect" is needed as well as clear criteria that determine the stage at which greater HI is justified to protect the citizens against any form of atrocities, even though this means forcefully undermining the sovereignty of the state. The 2005 report raises the issues about the seriousness of the harm being inflicted and how the need for (military) interventions should be used as a final resort. However, it does not specify the exact time when this should occur, and intervention is justified.

1.5 Research methods

In the context of academic research, methodology refers to the overall theoretical and philosophical approach that will inform the study's approach when researching a topic. Research methods refer to the specific procedures, mechanisms and processes undertaken to investigate the topic. The specific methods used to assess the effectiveness of HIs in "third world countries" using Syria as a case study and remedies to the problem are outlined below.

When designing a research project, the three key issues that need to be considered are: what the data sources will be used, how they will be collected, and, once acquired, how they will be examined. This study's desktop-based research technique used secondary qualitative data such as journals, books, reports, and dissertations. An extensive array of sources were sourced and reviewed to provide an in-depth understanding of the issues associated with the research issues. This also allowed for an extensive series of sources that were drawn on when it came to addressing the research questions and providing adequate answers.

The term "data source" refers to a component or source where information about the study can be collected (Blaikie, 2000). Data can either be primary or secondary. Primary data is raw

information collected by the researcher during the fieldwork stage of the research and can be qualitative or quantitative. Whereas primary data has not been examined or analysed, Secondary data refers to information another party has collected that may have already been analysed. It can also be quantitative (like election statistics or census results) or qualitative in nature. This rsearch used primary and secondary sources of data including books, journals, papers, and research reports (Blaikie, 2000).

A qualitative methodology was adopted in the study, using the Syrian conflict as a case study to determine the effectiveness of HI in "third world countries". According to Rose and Irny (2005: 8), research methodology is "a systematic, theoretical investigation of the methodologies employed to the topic of study." Both inductive and holistic approaches are used in qualitative research because they provide more detailed findings than just explaining and forecasting. Data analysis that takes place at a subsequent state takes place in order to give meaning to the data gathered for the investigation.

The qualitative data collected was assessed in terms of its relevance in addressing this study's broad research objectives and key questions. The literature and other types of information were examined to determine whether they were relevant to the research objectives, questions, and overall research topic. The research used a case study approach, which was the conflict in Syria, to analyse the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of HI in "third world countries". The study further analyses factors that cause the concept to be ineffective enough to end the current civil war in Syria. Case study research is a research method that comprises an up-close, in-depth and extensive evaluation of a specific case for analytical purposes. According to (Yin 2013), case studies offer a rich source of information and are not limited to explanations of abstract concepts. They provide snap-shots or paint pictures of real-life events. The material was assessed in terms of its relevance data collected for this study was examined following its objectives and the central questions posed in this chapter.

1.5.1 Interpretive Research Paradigm

This study used the interpretive research paradigm to inform the methodology and methods used. It is a paradigm "rooted in methods used to understand knowledge in the humanities and social sciences". It argues that research and analyses will not continuously provide the same results because researchers' beliefs, ideas, and norms influence how they interpret information. This approach rejects the idea of positivism and the argument that research is objective and is

not subject to influence from external processes. The interpretivist paradigm acknowledges the centrality of implicit and subconscious factors and how they might influence the investigative processes. They also influence how the data collected is analysed and understood, so no two studies can ever generate the exact result. Humans interpret their world and then act based on such interpretations. This approach allows for the experiences of others and what the data means to them to be interpreted, even if the information is derived from secondary sources how they are interpreted even if the data is from secondary sources (Pham 2018); further believes that interpretive seeks to explore and provide interpretation and meaning to people's experiences.

In the context of this research, an interpretivist approach allowed for a deeper explanation of the perspectives and ideas expressed about the effectiveness of HI, including those given limited scrutiny. The interpretivist paradigm also allows for the exploration of possible solutions and, once again, can consider suggestions that have been disregarded for different reasons. (Pham. 2018).

1.5.2 Data type and Collection

This study has used secondary qualitative information collected from journals, periodicals, books, reports, and news articles related to the investigated subject matter. It also used web pages and national and international databases.

1.5.3 Study Location

This research focused on Syria's geographical location, but this was not the physical location.

This was not an empirical study and involved no fieldwork.

1.5.4 Ethical Consideration
This study had no ethical issues.

1.6 Structure of dissertation

 (i) Introduction

This chapter introduces the research topic and then provides an overview of research objectives and questions. It then looks at a brief outline of how the research took place, what the study

aimed at, and how it was achieved. It then discussed the following; the background to the study, research questions, objectives, methodology, and methods used in this study.

(ii) Literature Review

This chapter starts by looking at the concept and definition of HI and how it has gained increasing significance since the end of the Cold War. It then discusses the historical development of the conflict in Syria and looks at the underlying causes of the emergence of conflict. It looks at the application of HI within the context of Syria. The chapter then starts with an overview of what options might increase the effectiveness of HI. It raises the issue of the UN doctrine "the right to protect" and how this is understood in contemporary settings, as well as whether it is being employed properly. Finally, it investigates regional and international organizations (like the United Nations) and their role in Syria, especially those concerned with humanitarian aid and relief in Syria. Finally, it will examine how key role players of the Security Council have used the provision of HI and whether this has been motivated by political reasons.

(iii) Theoretical Framework

This chapter introduces and discusses the theories of Realism and Idealism, which were drawn to serve as the analytical framework of this research. It starts with a discussion on how the analytical approach of this research was developed and how realism and idealism were used as a theoretical framework. It starts by defining realism and then discusses what this theory entails. It then provides a brief account of the history and development of the theory. It examines the ideological departure from the classical conception of realism, which resulted in the development of the theory of neorealism, and how this relates to the importance of universal bodies in global politics. This chapter discusses the definition and history of idealism and what this theory entails. Lastly, it discusses the new emerging superpowers in global politics and their importance in the Syrian crisis.

(iv) Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

This chapter analyses the secondary qualitative data collected during the research process, using the concepts and constructs discussed in chapter 3. This looked at the theories of realism and Idealism, which were drawn on to serve as the analytical framework for this research. This chapter looks at the data collected in relation to each of the study's broad research objectives and key research questions, using them as thematic topics to sort and order the data. It also uses

the theoretical concepts drawn from Realism and Idealism as the analytical lenses that allow the interrelation of the data. Finally, it discusses the outcomes of this research in comparison to other studies and its relevance.

(v) Summary, Recommendation and Conclusions

The conclusion looks at whether the concept of HI is being used as intended or utilised to pursue the superpowers' otherwise interests and compromised. This study has identified several factors that are said to compromise the concept of HI. This study has also recommended that the institution (United Nations) revisit its veto power to the permanent member-states. This is so because veto power is used by the states with a history of mutual animosity in most cases. With the reduction of interstate wars over the past number of decades, countries are now using the UN committees, like the Security Council, to wage a different form of political war against states that were historically enemies to fight their battles. This does not suggest that the concept of HI will no longer be compromised on the ground where different actors can abandon human rights protection to pursue other interests. In the contemporary situation, most states do appear to agree that the veto power can be used to undermine HI when it is most needed. The majority opinion is that if there is a compelling reason for intervention that is significantly important, the Security Council should authorise the action. In these situations, the decision to provide HI should not be derailed by the actions of a single state exercising its veto power.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Chapter Introduction

HI has been characterized by several challenges, including the lack of consistency in applying the concept in different states, particularly in third-world countries. It is a mechanism that has often been used to pursue political agendas. Therefore, using the Syrian crisis as a case study, this study has focused on whether its effectiveness has been diminished and compromised either at the deployment stage or on the ground. This will allow for a better understanding of the nature of the crisis itself and the effectiveness of strategies like HI. This chapter will start by discussing the establishment and history of the HI concept, incidents where this concept, and how it has been applied since the early 1990s. It then covers the historical development of Syria and identifies the root causes that caused the conflict. The discussion will then focus on the concept of HI and the "right to protect" doctrine in relation to the Syrian conflict. It also outlines the role of regional and international organizations (United Nations) in Syria. Finally, it discusses whether powerful states have compromised HI as a mechanism with political agendas or continue to function correctly. Lastly, this study also discusses the extent to which the concept of HI has been used to pursue the otherwise interest of the superpowers.

2.2 Establishment and History of Humanitarian Intervention Concept.

The inception of guidelines regarding the HI concept can be linked to the first theories concerning natural law and early IL. At the time, the main proponent of HI was Hugo Grotius (1583 to 1645), who proposed that international relations be regulated by introducing new perceptions of the international system, including new political and moral standards to promote international order (Christiansen, 1999). Throughout the 19th century, the concept of non-intervention gradually gained significance and attracted attention. However, it was only at a much later stage where support from prominent public figures and intellectuals, the scholars mentioned above, acknowledged the right of HI (Herachides and Dialla, 2015). Later in the 20th century, the ideas of HI began to gain popular support from well-known and well-respected scholars, including Jürgen Habermas, one of the most important German philosophers and an influential social and political thinker. Other advocates include individuals like Michael Laban Walzer, who was a prominent American political theorist and a public intellectual; Bernard Kouchner, a French politician and physician who held a variety of

different political posts in France, including the first Minister of Humanitarian affair, and at a later stage the French Minister of Health. He was also a co-founder of doctors without borders (Herachides and Dialla, 2015).

In 1945, the United Nations Charter began a debate that lasted several years (it is not clear the exact number of years), dealing with the issue of the point at which HI took place and how many casualties needed to happen before the intervention was regarded as just. The literature discussed here will concentrate on those sources that look at military type of intervention and its application process, particularly in "third world countries" and specifically in the Syrian conflict. IL opposes interventions that serve as threats and the use of force in international relations, especially if it puts the lives of ordinary citizens in danger, as is stipulated in article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter, which reads as follows "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" (United Nations Charter, 1945: 03).

The United Nations Charter further provides two exceptions for the use of force in international relations as per article 2 (4). Firstly an exception is granted for the use of force in exercising the right of individual or collective self-defence in response to an armed attack against a state as per article 51 of the United Nations Charter (1945)[2]. Secondly, the use of force can be through the Security Council of the United Nations in cases of threats, a breach of international peace, or an act of aggression as stipulated in Chapter vii, Articles 39 and 42 of the United Nations charter (1945). Historically, the international system was characterized by wars that threatened its stability. One of the first attempts to minimize the impact of was to reduce the instability they caused was the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which ended the Eighty Years' War between Spain and the Dutch and the German phase of the Thirty Years' War (Osborne, 2018). The next significant attempt was the formation of the League of Nations, which was subsequently dissolved after it was unsuccessful in controlling the development and spread of conflict in the international system. This was replaced by the United Nations in 1945

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[2] Article 51 of the United Nations Chapter "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security." (United Nations Chapter, 1945)

(Osborne, 2018). This research does not focus on interwar country war and conflict, which poses a threat to international peace. However, it does examine the regional conflicts and wars which occurred towards the end of the Cold War when discussing the effectiveness of the HI concept in "third world" countries and looks at their relevance to the Syrian conflict. During the period of the Cold War, humanitarian reasons interventions became difficult, if not impossible, because of the threat of escalating the tensions between the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and their respective alliances (Christiansen, 1999). The breakup of the USSR in 1989, publicly heralded by the fall of the Berlin Wall, saw a period where more interventions became possible as less contentious matters characterized this period, and the Security Council was more prone to supporting intervention on several issues, even in cases where they had not gained the authorization of the Security Council. Several interventions took place in countries such as; Somalia, Yugoslavia/Kosovo, Haiti, Iraq, Rwanda, Bosnia, and East Timor. It should be noted that all these interventions were for different purposes.

2.3 HI incidents in the early 1990s.

In 1992, the Security Council of the United Nations declared that the Somalian civil war threatened international peace and security. Therefore, it authorized military intervention to protect the citizens of Somalia (Patman, 1997). The events that led to an intervention in Somalia began in 1991, immediately after Somalian dictator Mohamed Siad Barre was overthrown in a military coup staged by a coalition of opposition warlords (Marangio, 2012). The UN intervention in Somalia was regarded as partially successful because the apprehension of high-ranking Aydid associates[3] helped curb the spread of civil war. However, the intervention was widely perceived as a partial failure because of its high cost to human lives (Marangio, 2012). From 1991 to 1993, a Civil War took place in Yugoslavia, and this was declared a severe violation of international humanitarian law and a threat to international peace. This resulted in the Security Council of the UN authorising HI and later establishing an international tribulation prosecution for war criminals (Cockayne, Mikulaschek, and Perry, 2010). The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia disintegrated into several states starting in early 1990 when the communists lost power to separatist parties in their first multi-party elections held across the country except in Serbia and Montenegro were already under their leadership (Anderson,

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[3] Aydid associates this is an arganization associated with Hussein Aydid that fought US forces in Mogadishu, it was regarded as a group rebelling Somalia.

1995). The tensions among the ethnic groups caused territorial conflict between the Bosniaks, who wanted to preserve the newly independent Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Anderson, 1995). The UN ended the conflict by deploying NATO[4] (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) to bomb the Bosnia Serbs, Muslim and Croat armies that had infiltrated the ground for several years, trying to end the conflicts in Yugoslavia (Anderson, 1995). However, the intervention only came after widespread atrocities and ethnic cleansing. Once again, this demonstrated the effectiveness of HI in ending the conflict, but not in preserving lives. The outcomes of both of these interventions are relevant to what occurred in the Syrian crisis.

The intervention in Haiti was also successful to some degree, although it was regarded as very controversial. From 1993 to 1994, a military coup took place against the democratic government, and the Security Council declared that this posed a global threat to international peace and security. Military intervention was therefore authorized, and although the conflict continued for a number of years, it was viewed as a success because it did stem the conflict (Kreps, 2007). However, it is a controversial example because military intervention was not deployed to protect civilians but to protect and restore democracy (Williams, 1995). This type of intervention reflected the strongly held perception that the spread of democracy would assist in eliminating all wars that seek to threaten international peace and security.

Iraq is another country that has experienced UN-authorised intervention of some form to address conflict. The initiation campaign of repression resulted in serious humanitarian suffering and resulted in numerous groups leaving for the safety of neighbouring countries. This initiation was led by Saddam Hussein against Kurdistan in 1991. This resulted in the Security Council issuing a directive for free access to the cross-borders states, with the justification that Iraq invaded Kuwait in a bid to gain more control over the lucrative oil supply of the Middle East (Blaydes, 2018). Military intervention in Iraq was approved, and the UNSC demanded that Iraq dictator Saddam Hussein withdraw all his troops in Kuwait, but he refused (Quigley, No date). The military intervention involved an extensive bombing campaign in strategic places in Iraq. This was followed by a military manoeuvre called Operation Desert Storm, which was a four-day ground campaign against the Iraq forces (Quigley, No date). This operation finally led to the cease-fire agreement and the withdrawal of Iraq troops from Kuwait after a Seven-month operation (Quigley, no date).

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[4] (North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an alliance of countries that safeguard the freedom and security of its members by political and military means)

HI in Rwanda is one example of how these actions are limited. Rwanda experienced widespread genocide and ethnic conflict. Prior to the genocide, a number of events occurred, which made it obvious that there would be an outbreak of conflict. However, HI only took place after the genocide, resulting in the UN receiving a significant amount of criticism because of its delayed. HI was authorized, but this only took place after 100 days of fighting, which was when the genocide occurred. The delay was widely criticized, especially in comparison to how quickly intervention took place in Yugoslavia during the violence (Farrell, No date). It was only in 1994 that the Security Council declared that the hostilities and actions perpetrated were an act of genocide and a violation of international humanitarian law and human rights (Farrell, No date). Therefore, in Rwanda, the UNSC failed to intervene and stop the carnage effectively.

The HI in East Timor was far more successful in protecting non-combatants. In August 1999, their citizens voted to be independent after 24 years under Indonesian rule. After the announcement of the results, the country descended into mayhem by the Indonesian military force (Lachica, 2011). East Timor was under Indonesian rule. In the 1999 election majority of them voted in favour of East Timorese independence. The crisis began when the East Timorese attacked a pro-Indonesia militia group. This expanded to general violence throughout the country. This resulted in 7,000 people being killed and about 300,000 to 400 000 people being displaced (Lachica, 2011). The UNSC passed a resolution authorizing a coalition of troops to be deployed in East Timor to restore peace due to acts of terror in East Timor, resulting in a massive loss of human life (Lachica, 2011). This intervention was a success because it halted the organized attack against a defenceless civilian population (Lachica, 2011).

These examples demonstrate that HI is not entirely effective. Most of these examples demonstrate that HI was effective in stopping the conflict but unsuccessful in protecting people's lives. HI was usually authorised to address active conflict instead of preventing it. This is where the issue and controversy of HI is apparent and exemplify the problems regarding a lack of clearly defined terms on when the military intervention should be authorised and how many people have to die before this happens. For example, if a military coup can be organized secretly and then bomb and kill one million people a day, will this be blamed on UNSC? If the answer to this is yes, then one cannot judge honesty or the effectiveness of the concept of HI. This is so because military interventions are mainly used as a last resort when all other available options, including diplomatic engagement, have been tried and failed. The concept of HI has got the ability to end the conflict by military intervention to infiltrate crisis zones, but it fails

to protect the lives of the citizens. From example mentioned above shows that HI is deployed for different purposes. It then depends on whose interest it is for that deployment. For example, in Haiti, military intervention was deployed t protect democracy as the belief that democracy is the only system that can eradicate interstate and intrastate wars in global politics. HI on principle is very progressive, and there is nothing on its founding principle that speaks about defending democracy, which then compromises the concept of HI when it is used to end conflicts, not to protect infringing human rights.

Research by Nkosi (2015) looked at the impact that non-states actors such as HI (at the international level) have on democracy, particularly in third-world countries, where they might undermine the nation-states and the exercise of sovereignty. The non-state actors, such as the UNHI, can and are responsible for protecting the people who might be in danger. This remains primarily a responsibility of each state to protect its citizen. If the state fails to protect its people or is unwilling to do so, the responsibility shifts to the international community. This then undermines the authority of the nation-states and sovereignty. Contemporary research argues that non-state actors are increasingly replacing the nation-states in the international community. However, Nkosi (2015) suggests that this perception is inaccurate and that nation-states have actually found a new way of becoming dominant actors in the international community. While their ability to use militarily interference in the affairs of another state is limited, the use of some type of an organization non-state actors is not. These non-state actors serve the interest of particular states in the international community, and this might compromise the genuine effectiveness of the non-states actors.

2.4 The Historical Background of Syria.

This section will look at the historical background of Syria. Syria gained its independence from France in April 1949, after it was involved in a battle between two superpowers (the USA and USSR) in the Middle East Region. At that time, there were no dividing boundaries in the Middle East, and it was still regarded as a Middle East Region in which many countries had interests (Dostal, 2014). The Triple Entente[5] in 1907 formalized their bond of an alliance which served as a defence line against Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy's aggression, which was mainly led by Germany (Dostal, 2014). So, the Triple Entente secretly signed an agreement

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[5] The Triple Entente was the military alliance formed between Russia, Great Britain and France before World War 1.

called the Sykes-Picot[6] agreement. This agreement caused serious divisions within the Middle East Levant Region of Bilad al-sham, under the Ottomans Empire (Abosedra, Fakih and Haimoun, 2020). Those divisions then resulted in the emergence of four territorial entities: Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine, as per the instructions of the League of Nations. All these entities were then placed under the British and French colonial administrators (Abosedra, Fakih and Haimoun, 2020). This was done because of the prevailing perception that the people of these territories were not mature enough for political independence (Abosedra, Fakih and Haimoun, 2020). The territory called Syria was further subdivided into cantons or districts to try and effect peaceful relationships between local ethnic and religious minorities. (this is because everyone had a position, either 'for' or 'against' the regime). However, these political divisions cut across families, parents, siblings, spouses and friends (Stolleis, 2015). The different minority groups, which include; Alawites (who were Shia Islam), Christians (who were Arab Christians), Druze (who were Arab) and Ismailis (who were Muslims), were also divided. Within these minority divisions, some were loyal to the regime, which was the French Administrators (Stolleis, 2015). The French Administrators imposed a divide and rule strategy to take control, including the Sunni Muslims, who were the majority group (Stolleis, 2015). The Sunni Muslims[7] are regarded as the main religion in Syria because they comprise more than 70% of the Syrian population.

The French Administrators then established an armed force where recruitment solicited involvement from only the minority groups and excluded the Sunni Muslims majority (Savrun, 2017). This armed force was known as Troupes Specials, and immediately after the establishment of this armed force, there was a series of rebellions against the French colonial rule (Savrun, 2017). This rebellion was mainly led by a group called themselves "The Syrians", consisting of Sunni Muslims (Savrun, 2017). The revolt lasted for three years, from 1925 to 1927, and then expanded to other parts of Syria (Antonius, No Date). In 1938, another conflict started when the French decided to hand over some Syrian territory to Turkey (Antonius, No Date). The League of Nations described this act as irrational, but the French claimed they were trying to improve their relations with Turkey (Antonius, No Date). France was attempting to enlist Turkey, a neutral country, as support against Germany, which was their enemy at the time (Bailony, 2015). In the events leading up to the Second World War, an intervention was

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[6] Sykes-Picot was a British politician and a diplomat deployed to France
[7] The Sunni Muslims believe that there is only one God who has many characteristics and Muhammad was the Final prophet to whom God has revealed the Qur'an (Stolleis, 2015).

needed to resolve the conflict between French authorities and Syrian Nationalist leaders. This resulted in a treaty signed in Paris on 9 September 1936, before the 1938 conflict (Bailony, 2015). The treaty was called the Franco-Syrian treaty[8] , and the parties involved agreed that Syria would be granted full independence after a three-year probation period. They would also sign a 25 years friendship agreement with France (Bailony, 2015). As part of this 25 years friendship agreement, France agreed not to interfere in the domestic affairs of Syria, and France agreed to reduce the number of French troops and military personnel based in Syria (Bailony, 2015). Syria also pledged to support France in times of war and place its resources at its disposal to try and ensure that France would win any wars it participated in (Provence, 2015). On the 15 of April 1946, France withdrew its troops from Syria, and two days later, on 17 April 1946, Syria was declared an independent state, and the first President was Shukri al-Quwatli, was installed. He immediately removed anything that showed any French influence in all sectors, including the education system (Provence, 2005). He also advanced a linguistic Arabization policy and severed Syria from French regional economic objectives. The latter action breached their 25 years of friendship agreement and resulted in France being rejected by the new leadership of Syria.

After receiving independence, Syria's next action was to send a request to the United States of America to come and train their military forces. This request, however, was rejected. The request was made when clear agendas concerning the Cold War were emerging, and Syria had already contacted both the Soviets and their proxies. These countries responded by sending some arms to Syria. At this point, Syria's relationship with the USSR and its proxies was not of any political significance, and Syria had not adopted any anti-western policies. These types of policies only began to emerge in the mid-1950. This was because, by the 1950s, the Middle East region had become one of the main sites of geopolitical competition between the superpowers. During this period, Syria was practising a two-party system (until 2012, when a new constitution adopted a multi-party system based on the principle of political pluralism without guaranteed leadership of any political party). The two parties included the Damascus-based National Party (this was the party of the sitting President of that time, Quwatli) and the Aleppo Based People's Party (which was referred to as a popular or populist party because its government was influenced by industrialists & bankers who favoured gold to back U.S dollar). Syria, at this stage, had become a very strong entity that could not be ignored in the competition

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[8] Franco-Syrian treaty this was a treaty negotiated between France and Syria to grant Syrians their independence from French authorities.

for regional hegemony. However, and conversely, it was still too weak to be considered a credible contender for the regional leadership on its own. In the early 1950s, the U.S had become the new hegemonic present in the Middle East region, and they infiltrated Syria using a group called Za'im, who consisted mainly of males of Arabic descent. This group had indicated that they were willing to work with the U.S. They successfully removed incumbent President Quwatli and replaced him with a military man from the al-Za'im group. The new incumbent was pro-American objectives on the issue of the tapeline pipeline, which was the oil pipeline that crossed over Syrian territory in its path from Saudi Arabia to Lebanon.

As Za'im gained more power, it created enemies, which included the traditional Syrians. Their power was not sustainable because they did not have a domestic political power base as a party. At this point, Adib al-Shishakli, the then Syrian Prime Minister (who was from a Socialist National Party), dissolved the parliament to establish a personal dictatorship, which was later forced out by another military coup on the 25th of February 1954. The group members who had been involved in the military coup with Adib al-Shishakli submitted themselves again to western powers for aid, particularly the U.S. However, once Adib al-Shishakli and his supporters were removed from power, they received no response from the US government (Saouli, 2014). Despite this group being regarded as favourable to the western countries. Their power over domestic politics was limited, and, in their struggle to gain leadership of the country, they had made enemies. On the 6 of September 1955, Shukri Al-Quwatli, a member of the National Party, was once again re-elected as the President, and he became a leader of Syria from 1955 to 1958. Western countries, including France, the U.S, and the British, attempted to infiltrate Syria to control it, but they were unsuccessful (Saouli, 2014). They were trying to use their forces in Syria to protect their investment interests in the Middle East region. During this time, the Syrian leadership mended their relationship with the Soviet Union under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev assumed power after Joseph Stalin's death in 1953 (Saouli, 2014). In 1958 Syria was placed under the control of the United Arab Republic (UAR), which was a political union after Quwatli merged Syria with Egypt and then stepped down as the President of Syria. Since Syria did not have leadership, it was placed under the United Arab Republic. This lack of leadership led to growing dissent amongst the people of Syria, who were concerned that the lack of leadership meant that the national interests of Syria were not being protected (Yahya, 2020). This then resulted once again in a military coup being formed in Damascus, which withdrew the membership of Syria from the United Arab Republic (Yahya, 2020).

Political power was then assumed by the Ba'ath Party, an Arab socialist Ba'ath party that took power in 1963 after the coup d'état, which is referred to as the 8 March Revolution. The Ba'ath party was gaining strength within the Middle East region. It had already gained control over some areas in Iraq a month before it took over Syria. The Ba'ath party had been active in the region of the Middle East since the 1940s, but deep-rooted factionalism led the party to become ineffective and inactive during their regime. The internal conflict in the Ba'ath Party continued as a series of events took place, including Israel's defeat of Syrians and Egyptians in the war of 1967, which resulted in a situation where Syria lost some of its territory (Ford, 2019). The factionalism within the party was between those who called themselves "progressives" and "nationalists". The party was still ineffective when it secured control but ended factionalism and united the party to gain strength. These events took place during the assumption of power by the then Minister of Defence, Lieutenant General Hafez Al-Assad, who led a bloodless military coup in November 1970 (Ford, 2019). In March 1971, Hafez Al-Assad was approved as the president after a popular referendum (which encouraged unity, equal values among everyone regardless of an ethnic group or religious background and empowerment of women). At this point, Hafez Al-Assad quickly moved to establish an authoritarian regime where power was centralized around himself and his position. At this point, he quickly managed to instil order and maintain control over the population of Syria and provide much-needed cohesion and stability in government (Ford, 2019). Hafez Al-Assad managed to run a successful government from 1971 till his death in 2000. This was regarded as a successful government because no military coup was staged against this government, and it has been the longest-serving government in Syria. Hafez Al-Assad managed successfully to run Syria from 1971 till his death in 2000, and he was then succeeded by his son Basher Al-Assad who promised to end the dictatorship when he assumed power. However, he failed to fulfil his promise, which resulted in protest action against the Al-Assad regime (Khaddour, 2015). The response to these protests was widespread violence, starting with an incident that took place in March 2011(Khaddour, 2015). In the same year, in July, the rebels formed what was called the Free Syrian Army, a group aimed at overthrowing the regime. The formation and activities of this group are one of the reasons the civil war escalated (Khaddour, 2015).

2.5 How the Syrian crisis began

Bashar was a Western-trained politician, and he was brought into politics by his brother Bassel Al-Assad (while their father was still the President of Syria). Bassel Al-Assad, at the time, was a potential successor to his father before his death in 1994 (Haran, 2016:3). After Hafez's death, when Bashar Al-Assad took office in 2000, there were great hopes that he would be a more empathetic and less authoritarian leader and usher Syria into a new era. He had become president at the very young age of 35 years. At that time, he was a commander-in-chief of the Syrian Armed Forces and Regional Secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party in Syria (Khaddour, 2015). However, under his rule, human rights and freedom were still suppressed, and he was able to assert his authority over all the Syrians as he gained influence at a regional level (Khaddour, 2015)

The Syrian crisis began immediately after the Arab Spring Uprising, which initially started in Tunisia on 18th December 2010. It eventually extended to other countries in the North of Africa and the Middle East (Slim and Trombetta, 2014). This Arab Spring Uprising was supported by 15 boys (who have not been identified, except to say they are not related but share a common family name) in Syria who started writing graffiti[9] that critiqued the regime and were in support of the Arab Spring. These boys were detained and tortured severely, and one of them, a 13-year-old tortured so harshly that he was killed (Idris, 2016). After this incident, Syrians started peacefully protesting to demonstrate that the government was not supposed to respond with such brutality to young people. The people started peaceful anti-government protests. Despite the peaceful nature of the protests, the response by Basher Al-Assad's regime was brutal, resulting in hundreds of demonstrators' killing and many more imprisonment (Idris, 2016).

 The anti-government protests resulted in a civil war regarding the government's need to reform and critiquing its entitlement. Different groups, including Alawites, Christians, Druze (Arab and Arabic speaking, their religion includes many beliefs from Islam, Judaism and Christianity), Tsherkess, Shiite and Secular Sunnis, feared a possible hegemonic Sunni Islamist rule (Haran, 2016). The promulgated economic reforms to promote economic stabilization and strengthen the private sector were another factor that led to the civil war (Haran, 2016). Unfortunately, these resulted in unemployment and income inequalities between different socio-economic groups. (Haran, 2016). Between 2006 and 2011, Syria also experienced a

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[9] Graffiti this is a writing or drawing made on a wall or other surface, usually or a form artistic expression.

severe drought which resulted in a significant crop loss to farmers and at the same time, oil revenues decreased by 39% in 2009 (Singh and Stroul, 2019). The poverty rate started to increase initially in rural areas, but this eventually extended to the cities (Singh and Stroul, 2019). The country started experiencing economic problems due to corruption and a lack of adequate infrastructure, resulting in major protests in March 2011. This resulted in the security services strongly suppressing any sign of rebelling (Wimmen, 2016). Many Syrian citizens were arrested and murdered and while others were severely tortured. This resulted in the civilians seeking revenge against the current regime because of the brutality meted out during peaceful protests. Many people joined the conflict seeking personal revenge for losing family members or destroying property (Wimmen, 2016). In response to the situation, the Assad regime responded with violence, which resulted in 100, 000 people killed and nearly 1.8 million people driven to neighbouring countries to become refugees (Haran, 2016). At this juncture, the country stood divided, with the citizens and the opposition parties standing against the regime, which had begun to deploy Hezbollah forces to enter the country to fight the opposition (Wimmen, 2016).

On 29th July 2011, the opposition farmed military wing called Free Syrian Army (FSA), the officers who had defected from the Syrian Armed Force, claimed that their goal was to bring down the regime of Bashar Al-Assad (Berzins, 2013). The (FSA) became an umbrella organization that consisted of many armed resident groups that positioned themselves against the regime because of its brutal tactics against its citizens. This organization was supported by Western countries that placed resources at their disposal to protect the citizens and take control of Syria (Berzins, 2013). It was at this point that concerns regarding the need for HI began to surface in the international system. The next section will look at the application of HI and what this means in the Syrian context.

2.6 The Application of the concept of HI.

During the 1990s, many military interventions took place in countries despite any form of agreement by governments of that particular state or without meaningful consent using only the concept of HI as a justification (Weiss, 2007). Robert (2001:1) defines the concept of HI as a coercive action by one or more states. This involves the use of armed force to compel another state against the consent of its authorities and is generally used to prevent widespread suffering or death among its inhabitants. In situations such as this, a state or states do not need to consent for an intervention to occur if it is to prevent widespread suffering or genocide within

a state. This is per an agreement at the United Nations World Summit of 2005, where all member states made a global political commitment to the Responsibility to Protect (R2P or RtoP). The R2P addressed four key worries, including the prevention of genocide, war crime, ethnic cleansing and crime against humanity (Weiss, 2007:7). However, some scholars, including Atwood (2012), argue that the definition of HI should also cover the deployment of both authorized and unauthorized intervention of military force. According to the only definition of this concept of HI, the intervention must be authorized by the Security Council of the United Nations

2.7 The Right to Protect concept.

The Right to protect concept was adopted at the 2005 World Summit, which the United Nations hosted. At this summit, world leaders declared that all states are responsible for protecting their citizens from genocide, ethnic cleansing, and other crimes against humanity (Bellamy, 2010). This concept of responsibility to protect, also referred to as a right to protect, has been a subject of continuous debate among the international community (Weiss, 2007). This debate can be traced back to the HI of European powers in the second half of the 19th century, and the controversy caused where intervention by military forces to protect Christians in a foreign land when their life and wealth were endangered (Pattison, 2010). The concept acquired more significance in the past twenty-seven years due to the severe humanitarian crisis of the early 1990s, especially after the incidents such as ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia and the genocide in Rwanda (Pattison, 2010). The failure of the international community to take decisive actions against the cases mentioned above resulted in the establishment of the concept of responsibility of states to protect the basic human rights of their citizen. The principle of a right to protect allows the international community to intervene and protect citizens against unjust violence that places human lives in danger when a state fails to protect its citizens (Francioni and Bakker, 2013). This concept of responsibility to protect is not a new idea. The international community has in the past, either collectively or via the actions of an individual state, intervened forcefully within any sovereign state that was either unwilling or unable to end any atrocities that involved mass murder, starvation, and crimes again humanity (Francioni and Bakker, 2013). Several events have also motivated the establishment of the responsibility to protect concept. The Rwandan genocide exposed the apolitical will of states and the lack of legal obligation to protect its citizens. A civil war resulted in 2 000,000 Rwandans being

displaced and becoming refugees, and about 1 000,000 people were killed, and that was 20% of the population of Rwanda at the time (Francioni and Bakker, 2013).

2.8 The role of the Regional Organizations in the Syrian Civil War.

The concept of Humanitarian Intervention should first be exercised by the regional organization based in that particular region and other regional organizations based in different regions (Christopher, 1994). This section examines the role of regional organizations that have first-hand experience in the Syrian Crisis. This study first examines the role of the European Union, League of the Arab States and African Union in the Syrian conflict. This section further examines the role of the United Nations as the international organization in the Syrian crisis.

One issue was that different regional organizations held different views about the Syrian crisis. The European Union condemned the civil war in Syria and called for all the authorities to intervene and stop the fuelling violence. It also suspended its bilateral cooperation with Syria because of the Syrian state's brutality against its citizens when it was responsible for protecting its citizens. The League of Arab States'[10] stance was evident, and it initially started by using force to maintain order in Syria. Several sitting with Syrian leadership took place, and they reached a consensus to work together and stop the ongoing violence. However, the Syrian leadership failed to cooperate and violated their agreement, resulting in its membership being suspended from League and economic and political sanctions imposed on the Syrian government (Rishmawi, 2012). African Union was reluctant to intervene in Syria, claiming that they were once misled in the case of Libya by external influences and therefore not prepared to commit the same mistake (Barqueiro, Seaman & Towey, 2016). The role of these regional organizations is further discussed below.

2.8.1 The Role of the European Union in the Syria Conflict.

In March 2011, many public protests by unarmed civilians resulted in a severe response on the part of the Syrian government. This resulted in the European Union issuing many statements condemning the violent repression of the demonstrations, and it also urged the relevant

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[10] The League of Arab States is a union of Arabic-speaking African and Asian countries.

authorities to exercise their duties and stop the ongoing conflicts in Syria (Turkmani and Haid, 2016). In May 2011, just two months after the beginning of the civil war in Syria started, the European Union took its first action against the Syrian government. At first, the European Union suspended the bilateral cooperation programs (these are programs that assist in a spirit of partnership and support opinion-forming processes in the partner countries to promote reliable, legal and organizational conditions) between the Syrian government and the European neighbourhood policy (Turkmani and Haid, 2016). The European Union also suspended the right of Syrian authorities to participate in European Union regional programs and suspended loan operations and technical assistance in Syria, which the European investment bank had extended. Later on, European Union also imposed sanctions on Syria. This happened shortly after a statement released by the foreign minister in Syria, which rejected the European Union's statement on Syria (Turkmani and Haid, 2016). Immediately after the Syrian statement regarding the European Union, the Syrian government was also suspended from the Union for the Mediterranean countries and sought support from Iran, China and Russia. Although the attempts by European Union were a failure in terms of curbing the violence in Syria, it continued to urge President Bashar Al-Assad to at least pay attention to the international community and put an immediate halt to the violence and exercise its mandate to protect its citizens (European Union, 2016). At this point, the European Union claimed that President Basher Al-Assad had lost the consent of the Syrian people to govern and, therefore, it was necessary for him to step down (European Union, 2016). This sentiment seemed to gain the support of many other countries' leaders, including the President of the United States of America, Barack Obama, the former British Prime Minister David Cameron, the French President Nicolas Sarkozy, and the German chancellor Angela Merkel. All of these leaders were united in a call for the Syrian leader to resign immediately because he failed to provide good governance on behalf of his citizens (European Union, 2016). This was motivated by the idea that a concerted front of other leaders would result in the president of Syria resigning and that a political transition would replace the Assad regime.

The EU warned all other states that further militarization of Syria would promote and fuel conflict. The EU also expressed serious concern about the protection of the people of Syria, especially the vulnerable groups and certain religious communities, including children, youth, elderly, women and girls, and people with chronic illness, disabilities and injuries). Concern was also raised about religious minorities such as Alawites, Christianity, Shia Islam and Druze (European Union, 2016). The European Union also expressed their unease about the

militarization of Syria by those states who were in support of Bashar Al-Assad and were anxious about them delivering weapons to Syria (Cretu, 2015). They claimed that as soon as President Assad stepped down, it would result in the beginning of a democratic transition. At this point, the European Union was ready to develop a new and ambitious partnership with Syria across all spheres of mutual interest (Cretu, 2015).

Furthermore, the European Union had committed itself to strengthen its support to build the capacity of civil society to participate in a future Syria. It would need to meet the legitimate demands of the citizens of Syria for a more accessible, open and inclusive political system that involves all citizens regardless of their religion and ethnicity (Cretu, 2015). The failure of the superpowers to revive political negotiations in Syria resulted in a situation where the opposition operating within the country began to gain more support from other states. Eventually, this resulted in the formulation of Al-Qaeda, which was affiliated with extreme organizations in Syria. Organizations such as Jablat al Nusra (JAN), the Islamic State in Iraq, and the Levant (ISIL). These organizations developed Syria and Iraq's counter-terrorism and foreign fighters' strategy in October 2014 (Turkmani and Haid, 2016:11). However, the number of atrocities and economic crimes continued to increase. The Syrian government also began to lose control of oil wells to groups affiliated with Jablat Al-Nusra, Al-Daedal and ISIS. These groups now owned a portion of the economy that exceeded that of the Syrian government. The government began to allocate more resources to the military and security, which led to fewer resources allocated to essential services. This resulted in the collapse of the education system in Syria and the effect led to a situation where half of almost all children of school age did not attend school from 2014 to 2015 (Turknani and Haid, 2016).

2.8.2 The role of the League of Arab States in the Syrian crisis.

The position of the League of Arab States was adamant that the use of force was needed to maintain the situation in Syria (Ford, 2019). They also called all other countries to accept an independent monitoring mechanism (the Monitoring Mechanism is a working group created by Māori in 2015 and is independent of government. Members of the Monitoring Mechanism have been selected by their iwi (tribal nation) and endorsed by the National Iwi Chairs Forum

(the Forum)[11] to act as independent experts. Technical advisers support the Monitoring Mechanism. The objective of the Monitoring Mechanism is to promote and monitor the implementation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (the Declaration) in Aotearoa/New Zealand) to assist with the Syrian crisis and maintain order (Ford, 2019). In October 2011, the League of Arab States formed an agreement with Bashar Al-Assad, the Syrian president, to stop violence by all parties involved. The League of Arab States also called for the release of all those arrested and the removal of armaments planted in civilian residential areas.

However, the Syrian government failed to cooperate with the plan of the League of Arab States, and the council of the League decided to suspend Syria's right to participate in meetings of all bodies of the League of Arab States in November 2011. After this resolution, they and the council of the League of Arab states also imposed economic and political sanctions on the Syrian government (Ferris & Kirisci, 2016). The League of Arab States council condemned the killing of civilians by the Syrian government and its forces. Also, it urged the international community to put resources at people's disposal so they could defend themselves (State of Civil Society/Strengthening Regional Mechanisms, no date). They also urged Basher Al-Assad to step down and assured him that the League of Arab States would safely ensure that the President and his family exit power (State of Civil Society/Strengthening Regional Mechanisms, no date). Despite these attempts by the League of Arab States to maintain order in Syria, countries like Iraq and Algeria expressed their dissatisfaction with the decision of the League of Arab States calling for the President of Syria to step down (Nakamura, No date). They claimed that the League of Arab States had several meetings privately with the opposition's leadership. They also said that the League of Arab States had sponsored a conference with the Syrian opposition, which was made up of different groups with a similar motive. This conference was made to draft a clear plan for the transition to power after the Assad regime failed to implement a peace deal following a six-month violent crackdown, resulting in the death of 3,500 people (Nakamura, no date).

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[11] [11] The Iwi Chairs Forum is the national collective of Iwi chairpersons who represent hapū (groupings of extended families) and iwi. It functions in accordance with tikanga (Māori law) and on the basis of He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (He Whakaputanga), Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Te Tiriti) and the Declaration. It meets regularly to discuss and act collectively on issues ranging from constitutional transformation, resource protection and recovery and economic development. The Forum also addresses government policy and practice as it impacts on iwi and hapū and engages in regular dialogue with government on priorities, issues and projects.

League of Arab States had already taken the side of opposition groups who planned to overthrow the Assad regime, which meant their opinion on intervention was not objected to the Syrian crisis, resulting in them receiving a significant amount of criticism from other regional organizations, including AU (Kucukkeles, 2012). In November 2011, the League of Arab States suspended its membership in Syria. Syria had acted outside the agreements of the League of Arab States (Kucukkeles, 2012). Other countries that were part of the Middle East alliance were silent about protests which had started in March and continued till October 2011. One reason put forward for their silence is that it was related to their resolution regarding the Arab Spring Uprising[12] (Kucukkeles, 2012). The Arab States, who were trying to distance themselves from the international community's call for the Syrian President to step down due to political confusion, were also affected by this popular uprising known as Arab Spring. It had led to Hosni Mubarak (Egyptian President) being overthrown after 18 days of demonstrations as part of the broader Arab Spring movement after he had been in power for 29 years. In February 2011, Arab Spring protests broke out in Libya and eventually led to the NATO-Libya operation that resulted in the assassination of Gaddafi in October 2011 (Hinnesbusch, Zartman, ParkerMagyay & Imady, 2016). The League of Arab States embarked upon new talks between the opposition forces and the Syrian government, lasting 15 days. The League also formulated a Syrian committee to coordinate talks between the Syrian government and the opposition (Hinnesbusch, Zartman, Parker-Magyay & Imady, 2016).

Additionally, as discussed in the above paragraph, the League of Arab States acknowledged some gaps within itself and the effectiveness of dealing decisively with disputes on a regional level. The role of the League of Arab States had been ineffective in the past regional wars, including post-war Iraq and post-revolution in Egypt, as well as the recent incidents, including the assassination of Gaddafi in Libya. Therefore, there was little hope that the League of Arab States would effectively address the conflicts in Syria.

2.8.3 The role of the African Union in the Syrian crisis.

The African Union is a regional institution or organization where numerous actors interact and where ideas, values and policies compete for dominance (Williams, 2011: 15). The African Union was once known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was formed in

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[12] The Arab Spring was a series of anti-government protests, uprisings, and armed rebellions that spread across much of the Arab World in early 2010. It began in response to corruption and economic stagnation and was influenced by the Tunisian Revolution

1963. In 2001, it changed its name to the African Union. Its objective is to achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and, therefore, the people of Africa and defend its members' sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence. This organization is also meant to accelerate the continent's political and socio-economic integration and promote and defend African positions on issues of interest to the continent and, by default, its people. It also encourages international corporations, taking due account the United Nations and the universal declaration of human rights (Williams, 2011). As the uprisings of the Arab spring began to level up at the end of 2011, several protests began in Syria, which suddenly escalated into an ongoing humanitarian crisis. The African Union's response to the Syrian crisis mirrored Russia and China, which aimed to negotiate a peaceful resolution. The African Union expressed their concern that foreign intervention could make things worse, as had happened in Libya and advocated that there should be no foreign military intervention in Syria (Barqueiro, Seaman & Towey, 2016). At that time, the doctrine of responsibility to protect or right to protect individuals and minorities was not present in the African Union's remarks on the Syrian crisis. However, the African Forum's statement on the Syrian crisis did refer to the concept of responsibility to protect (R2P) in its call for the African Union to intervene peacefully, taking into consideration the rules and regulations of IL. The African Union's stance on non-intervention in Syria was based on the continent's previous experience where there had been several cases of humanitarian crises, and African leaders have had first-hand experience of seeing how this resulted in people subjected to severe suffering (Forum for former African heads of states and government, 2013).

On the other hand, Tom Wheeler (2016) of the African Institute of International Affairs claimed that African Union had no compelling reason to intervene in the Syrian crisis if one takes into account and compares the more localized crises that have happened like that of Egypt in 2013 and Burundi in 2015. In an address during the 70th session of the United Nations General Assembly in September 2015, the then President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, said that the crisis in Syria could have been avoided. He argued that it would not have occurred if non-interference had been the approach and if United Nations had acted as a multilateral institution by including and respecting regional organizations. This was a response to the United Nations not engaging the African Union and not including it in their diplomatic engagements with the Syrian Leadership (Forum for former African heads of states and government, 2013). Although the African Union accepted the concept of the Responsibility to Protect in theory or principle, the reality is that it has failed to implement it on many occasions and these failures demonstrate

the obstacles that occur in efficient and appropriate interventions, especially in situations like that of Syria where the massive flow of refugees has resulted in one of worse humanitarian crisis since WWII (Wheeler, 2016)

2.9 The role of international organizations in the Syrian crisis.
2.9.1 Introduction.

There are several international organizations in the international system, but for the purposes of this study, only the following relevant15 international organizations are as follows; United Nations Organization (UN), United Nations Children Funds (UNICEF), World Health Organization (WHO), World Economic Forum, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, World Trade Organization, United Nations Education Scientific & Cultural Organization (UNESCO), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of South East Nations (ASEAN), Organization for Economic Cooperation Development (OECD), Asian infrastructure investment bank (AIIB), New Development Bank (ADB), World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF). The UN is the most popular intergovernmental institute responsible for preventing war and conflict worldwide. Its main mission is to ensure peace and security and promote cordial relationships among countries in the international community (Yalem, No date). United Nations Children's Fund is a United Nations organization responsible for providing humanitarian and developmental aid to children worldwide. The World Health Organization is a UN specialized organization in charge of international public health. World Economic Forum is an international non-governmental organization that is responsible for improving the world's status by engaging commercial, governmental and other societal leaders to influence the global agenda (Dupendant, 2016). International Monetary Fund is the international financial institution responsible for promoting monetary cooperation, securing financial stability, facilitating international trade, and promoting high employment and sustainable economic growth. World Bank is an international financial agency that lends and gives money to governments in low and middle-income nations to fund capital projects (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2018). World Trade Organization is a multilateral organization that is responsible for regulating and supporting international trade. United Nations Education Scientific & Cultural Organization is a UN specialized agency that promotes world peace and security through education, science and culture (Abidin, 2016). The Association of South East Nations is an economic union made up of ten member states in South

East Asia that are responsible for promoting international cooperation in its member states and other Asian countries. Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development is an intergovernmental economic organization that is responsible for promoting economic advancement and global trade (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2018). Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) is an international development bank responsible for improving Asia's economic and social conditions. The New Development Bank is a global development bank responsible for supporting public and private initiatives through loans, guarantees, equity participation and financial instruments (Abidin, 2016). Asia Development Bank is an international organization responsible for Asia's social and economic development. Lastly, the World Wide Fund for Nature is an international non-governmental organization that seeks to preserve wilderness and reduce the human effects on the environment (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2018)

The central focus of this study is on the United Nations as one of the intergovernmental organizations tasked with promoting international cooperation and creating and maintaining international order. It critically reviews the effectiveness of this institution's operations in third-world countries in general and Syria in particular. This institution has been publicly criticized for being biased, and it only serves the interests of those powerful states in the international system. Many perspectives seek to explain the nature of the international system. The effectiveness of the HI concept in "third world countries" is better understood when it is discussed based on these two theories of Idealism and Realism, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters of this study using the ongoing crisis in Syria.

2.9.2 The role United Nations in the Syrian Crisis.

Numerous scholars have criticized the effectiveness of the United Nations in Syria for failing to end the ongoing conflict. The factors that prevented the United Nations from effectively intervening in Syria are how this institution is structured. Before its development, numerous countries acted aggressively, which heightened the prospect of conflict occurring, including Russia, China, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. To minimize the chances of wars in the international system and, after the League of Nations failed to prevent wars among states, the United Nations was established to maintain peace (Pfeifer, Nkukwana & Diez de Diego, 2016). To make this institution more effective than the previous one, there were initial attempts to introduce democracy to these countries. This was driven by the belief that no democratic state would go to war with other democratic states (Murray &

Steward, 2016). Those countries had been embroiled in war in the past became permanent members of this institution (United Nations) because of the perception that this would reduce outbreaks of wars in the international system. These countries that were permanent members of the United Nations also have veto power, leading to genuine activities by the institution being compromised (Pfeifer, Nkukwana & Diez de Diego, 2016). In the case of Syria, Russia, which is the head of the Security Council portfolio, refused to authorize intervention in Syria, claiming that external intervention in Syria would undermine the current leader of Syria, President Basher Al-Assad, and claimed that as he was a capable leader, he should be allowed to try and resolve the internal crisis first (Knapp, no date). However, other world leaders, particularly Western countries, offered a countervailing argument and claimed that Russia's stance on non-intervention is because of a long-standing relationship with Syria since it was the only country in the Middle East alliance that supported Russia during the Cold War (Adams, 2015). This will be further discussed in the next Chapter using the theories of Realism and Idealism as the analytical concepts.

2.9.3 Conclusion.

HI has been characterized by several challenges, including the lack of consistency in applying the concept in different states, particularly in third-world countries. The concept has been used to pursue political agenda and this study, therefore, reviews whether the concept is being compromised on its deployment process or the ground. This has been discussed in detail in this chapter using different examples to review the effectiveness of HI in "third world countries" Different scholarly sources are consulted to arrive at a compelling conclusive remark on whether the HI concept is an effective mode of intervention or not. In so doing, this chapter discussed the establishment and history of the HI concept, incidents where this concept was applied from the 1990s, and the historical background of HI. It further discussed how the Syrian conflict began and the application of the concept of HI. The right to protect doctrine and the role of regional and international organizations (United Nations) in Syria. Lastly, this study also discussed the extent to which the concept of HI has been used to pursue the otherwise interest of the superpowers.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Chapter Introduction.

This study drew upon two international relations theories, Realism and Idealism, to develop the analytical framework that informed its approach. These theories were well suited as the theoretical lens, which could be employed to determine the effectiveness of Humanitarian Intervention in "third world countries" using Syria as a case study. This chapter will define Realism and discuss the history and development of this theory. It will then examine the current and conventional understanding of what Realism entails. The chapter then proceeds to look at the ideological departure from the classical conceptions. It firstly gives a definition and history of realism theory and a definition and history of idealism theory. It then discusses what realism theory entails. This chapter further discusses the ideological departure of classical from neo-realism or structural realism. It then looks at the new emerging superpowers in global politics and discusses what the theory of idealism entails. Lastly, this chapter discusses the importance of universal bodies in global politics.

3.2 The definition and History of Realism theory.

There is no single, shared understanding regarding the definition of realism theory in international relations. According to Antunes and Camisao (2018), realism comes from the school of thought that emphasizes international relations' competitive and conflictual side. The theory of Realism in international relations can be traced back to older texts like the account given by Thucydides[13] of the history of the Peloponnesian war, which took place from 431-404 BC (Antunes) (Camisao, 2018).

Although many of Thucydides' ideas resonate with those expressed in concepts regarding realism, he is not conventionally regarded as a proponent of realism or a realist per se. This is largely because Thucydides was writing when theories of international relations had not been

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[13] Thuycidides was an Athenian historian and general and his account of the Peloponnesian war looks at the conflict that took place between Sparta and Athens in the fifth-century BC. This war, which lasted until the year 411BC was fought by the Delian League, which was led by Athens against the Peloponnesian League, which was led by Sparta (Antunes and Camisao, 2018).

conceived since their development took place in the twentieth century (Antunes and Camisao, 2018). However, Toledo (No Date) claims that the concept of realism was first used to formulate the philosophical doctrine that claims that the universe exists outside our thinking. In political theory, this concept of realism represents a school of thought, as discussed above, that analyses the political process as it is or as the forces of history disclose it. In international relations, this concept of realism is a theory concerned with how power is both a competitive and essential tool in world politics. It operates on the premise that states, in their capacity as important actors in the arena of international relations, operate in a manner that serves to increase the power that they can exercise in relation to and over other states (Christopher and Lawson, 2018). This theory emphasises the idea that a state can always use military strength to dominate its competitors and that this is the most powerful force that a state can wield in order to can to influence other states (Christopher and Lawson, 2018). Of course, in the contemporary context, the changing nature of the global system has meant that military strength is no longer the only factor that leads to dominance in the international community. The preponderance of a state's economic strength and associated global influence is also considered to be dominating factors in the international system. This is mainly due to how the spread of democracy has created a new perception about how states currently operate to dominate the international system. A state's ability to influence and be a dominant actor in global politics is now perceived to be exercised by its powers of persuasion, which are linked to its economic capacity, as opposed to military strength.

3.3 The Realism theory.

The theory of realism still occupies a dominant position in international relations. It emphasises the constraints imposed by human nature and the absence of central or international government (Donnelly, 2015, Freyberg-Inan, A., 2004). Scholars like Reinhold Niebuhr and Hans Morgenthau claim that Realism needs to be defined and grounded in the Hobbesian assumption that the international system is characterised by anarchy and serves as an arena where states, in their capacity as the main actors, will use this platform to maximize their self-interest in international politics (Donnelly, 2015, Turner, 1998 and Mearsheimer, 2014). While the philosophies, arguments and assumptions of Henrik Ibsen[14] have resulted in him being regarded as the father of modern conceptions of Realism, he is not the only scholar whose

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[14] Henrik Johan Ibsen was a Norwegian playwright and theatre director. As one of the founders of modernism in theatre, Ibsen is often referred to as "the father of realism" and one of the most influential playwrights of his time.

views have been influential on this particular school of thought (Cheng, 2010). Concepts and perspectives dealing with this theory can be traced back to writers such as Thucydides and, before that, to Machiavelli and Hobbes (Mansbach and Taylor, 2012). In the 20th century, scholars such as George Kennan, Hans Morgenthau and Henry Kissinger were all firm advocates of realism. In particular, Morgenthau offered a comprehensive and nuanced explanation of this idea (Mansbach and Taylor, 2012). The shared perspective of these writers operates on the assumption that a continual state of conflict characterises the relationships between states. Although this changes from one form to another, power will continue to be in a state of contestation in the world (Korab-Karpowicz, 2018). As a result, power can neither be regulated nor controlled by any international organization, world government or international law (Mansbach and Taylor, 2012). Thus, the theory of realism accepts undoubtedly and as a guiding principle that the power struggle is a permanent feature in global politics.

The central argument of Realism proposes that states are the principal and sovereign actors in an anarchic international system, whose activities are driven by their ambitions. These ambitions concern the accumulation of power and the advancement of national interests, such as survival, security and prosperity (Mangbach and Taylor, 2012, Korab-Karpowicz, 2018). From this perspective, humans are viewed as power-hungry, greedy, and selfish. These characteristics serve to influence the foreign policy orientations of state actors in the international environment (Zang, 2017, Williams, 2004). This environment functions primarily as 'a self-help system', and no central authority or government can stop this.

3.3.1 Classical realism

The advocates of Classical Realism include scholars such as Henrik Ibsen, Niccolò Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Albert Einstein, and Hans Morgenthau. This school of thought argues that humans are by nature destructive, and this fact, alongside other factors, can result in activities that result in war (Dornan, 2011). Classical realism theory and its outlook on human nature are often linked with the writings of John Lock. He proposed similar ideas and argued that man is characterised by weakness and imperfections at the most fundamental level and is tainted by original sin (Walmsley, 1998). For classical realists, the negative attributes of the nature of human beings mean that war is almost inevitable. In the international system, it is human nature to fight for power as it serves as a means of survival. All political activity also indicates that these power struggles are taking place (Morgenthau as cited by Mansbach and

Taylor 2012). In the international system, states are the most important political actors, and their restrictions reduce the likelihood of conflict in the international community. However, if these restrictions are absent at an international level, the belligerent features that characterise human nature mean that war continues to be almost inevitable (Dornan, 2011). The security dilemma is a useful example that illustrates the classical realists' view of politics as a struggle for power. This occurs when certain states continue to increase their security without a concomitant decrease in the security of others. A scenario plays out where states perceive each other's attempts to improve their security as a belligerent action and preparation for war. This results in the escalation of their behaviour, which results in different responses from the other states. The situation can escalate further if the states in question are enemies or hold any enmity towards each other. The eventual result is a negative feedback loop that can eventually lead to an arms race, like the one that took place between the USA and USSR (Dowding, 2011). Classical realism proposes that when the security dilemma cannot be eradicated because of the anarchic nature of the international system, this creates a scenario where conflict is allowed to emerge and grow (Dornan, 2011).

3.3.2 Neoliberalism as Ideological Departure from classical realism

In 1979, Waltz outlined his perspectives on what he referred to as 'neoliberalism' and 'neorealism', thus introducing two particular theories that are still regarded as the most influential approaches in the contemporary field of international relations. The approach taken in this research did not draw upon or make use of neoliberalism in any way and was therefore not an area focused on. However, the definition and explanations of neorealism, also referred to as structural realism, is a critical component of this research. The characteristics and philosophy of neorealism show an abrupt ideological departure from the intellectual hegemony of Morgenthau's classical realism (Telbami, 2002: Waltz, 1979). Therefore, the following section will unpack neorealism's definitions, arguments, and explanations.

The philosophy that underpins neorealism or structural realism proposes that the prime motivator of any state's behaviour is the anarchic nature of the international system as opposed to any specific strengths or flaws found in human nature. Therefore, any aggressive activity on the states is a result of the structural nature of global politics and the international system's architecture (Mearsheimer, 2001). For example, not all states may have agreed on the multi-state NATO-led coalition, which resulted in the military intervention in Libya. However, this process took place because of the structure of the system itself. The United Nations Security

Council Resolution might perceive the other states as enemies of the general call if states openly opposed the resolution of the UNSC. The lack of a central authority that exists above the level of states which can regulate their behaviour in this system creates a scenario where they engage in security competition as a result of uncertainty and the absence of a higher authority that can regulate a state's behaviour through interventions (Mearsheimer, 2001). In this type of scenario, states can only rely on allies' support and possible intervention, but ultimately, the responsibility for their survival falls mainly on them.

Scholars and proponents of neorealism, including Waltz and Mearsheimer, argue that in an international system characterised by pervasive anarchy, the logical response of states is to pursue those means that allow them to engage in 'self-help' (Booth, 2011: Topper, 1998). Under such conditions, states seek to maximize their security, and in the international system, this occurs through the most stable distribution of power in the international system (Booth, 2011, Mansbach and Taylor, 2012). This type of distribution of power is bipolarity. It allows tiny avenues for states to gain enough personal power to go to war and therefore is the best arrangement for the individual states' security (Virtt, 2011). The Neorealist or Structural Realist school of thought perceives power and how it is distributed as the most important factor in global politics. This theory has played a reasonably dominant role in the field of international relations for the last three decades. However, although it has been increasingly associated with foreign policy, it is not a theory of foreign policy (Telbami, 2002). Neorealism proposes that the interests of states increase roughly along with their power capabilities and that the latter factor results in the growth of the former (Kocs,1994). In this anarchic international system, not all states are trying to maximise their own interests via accumulating power. Quite often, their primary objective is to survive in the arena of global politics (Virtt, 2011, Kocs, 1994). In this type of environment, the balance and distribution of power are one, if not the most important aspect of global politics. This leaves very little opportunity for states to advance their interests and amass the power needed to embark on conflict or initiate a war.

In comparison, a unipolar system does allow for the eventuality of a power imbalance and is therefore dangerous since it can lead to exploitation (Kocs, 1994). Unlike the arguments advanced by classical realists like Morgenthau, the nature of humans has minimal influence on why states want to increase their power. However, the structural architecture of global politics dictates that each state must pursue power for their survival (Mearsheimer, no date: Parent, 2015). The nature of the international system has no higher authority that presides over the

great powers. Therefore, states might attack each other, so it makes much more sense for states to pursue power for their self-protection and survival (Mearsheimer, no date, Elman, 1995).

The question of how much power a state needs to have to protect itself and survive in an international system has two distinct and divergent views. Defensive structural realists like Waltz argue that it is inappropriate for states to pursue shared world power because this will result in their systematic punishment because they will have too much power (1979). The perspective taken by this study is contrary to Waltz's position, as it views power as the most fundamental component in the international system, and its increase allows states to realise specific goals. Since states in this scenario are the most important actors in global politics, it raises the question of which state or states can punish others for possessing too much power. Therefore, power is not only the most essential force at the level of global politics only.

Mearsheimer offers up an opposing viewpoint to Waltz from the perspective of an offensive structural realist (2001). As conceived by this school of thought, the pursuit of power is a strategic move and should lead states to try and gain as much as possible if the material conditions to do so are conducive to such activities (Mearsheimer, no date: Parent, 2015). States should therefore seek to increase their power to the extent that they can act as a hegemon. Their ability to become dominant is how they can ensure their survival in anarchic global politics (Wendt, 1992: Snyder, 2002). At the most basic level, classical realism views power as an end in itself and the quest for power arising from an intrinsic part of human nature.

In comparison, neorealism or structural realism sees it as a means to an end. In the latter case, offensive structural realism sees power as a tool for achieving particular objectives in global politics. The behaviour of superpowers toward each other to ascertain what opportunities are available to allow them to expand their power at the expense of other states. In a multipolar system, the chances for interstate wars are very high, unlike in a bipolar system, because the superpowers can exercise the most influence on the changing nature of global politics (Mearsheimer, 2001). Defensive structural realism, however, argues that the anarchic nature of the international system encourages states to try and maintain stability through less aggressive strategies to ensure their security. In the event that conflict does break out, this is generally due to structural modifiers 'including the offence–defence military balance and geography, and domestic and unit-level pathologies such as elite beliefs, perceptions, and logrolled imperial coalitions, which explain overexpansion under balancing, self-encirclement, and overextension (Taliaferro 2000). An analysis of the Syrian crisis from the perspective of realists in the

international system would primarily be concerned about the effectiveness of humanitarian intervention and the core motivations that influenced the activities of the prominent political actors at this point. The focus will be primarily directed at those states which were the prominent political actors at this point. The first of these key role players that will be looked at is Russia. Its importance during the series of events is due to a number of factors. Russia's position as Head of the Security Council portfolio in the United Nations ensured that it occupied an important role at the time. However, of equal importance was its past relationship with Syria, which had been the only country in the Middle East that had been an ally of the USSR during the Cold War. The other key political actor that this research focuses on is the United States of America. The perspective that proponents of realism would take on any behaviour at this point would argue that humanitarian intervention would be a means to an end, and the behaviour of either state would be motivated by the pursuit of power

3.3.3 Neo-realism/Structural realism.

The proponents of structural realism believe that it is not human nature that leads to the process of how states behave but is it the structural nature of global politics that leads to the current behaviour of states. The proponents of structural realism maintain the fact that the behaviour of states in the international system is caused by the structure or the architecture of the international system and is not about the behaviour of human nature (Mearsheimer, 2001). This then affirms that state/s cannot be certain that other states will not come after them because of how the international system is structured. It is not about the nature of human beings being good, but it is about the structure of global politics, which dictates the behaviour of states in the global system. This theory further argues that the anarchy of the international system and the aggression of states in global politics is caused by the structure of the system, as opposed human nature. This is also because no central authority exists above the level of states which regulates their behaviour (Mearsheimer, 2001). The fact that no higher authority above states results in the situation where states engage in the security competition because of the uncertainties since no higher authority regulates states at the international level. If a state is being attacked, it cannot make a call for assistance and request or seek intervention. It can only be its allies that intervene because of the relationship that those states have. Otherwise, there is no central authority to regulate such, and it is not even clear on the concept of responsibility to protect on which stage this concept can be declared as necessary given the conditions in place and therefore justified to be implemented.

The survival of each state in the international system remains its responsibility, and persuading power is posing a threat to other states because gaining hegemony in a particular region will never be easy. For example, if China continues to rise economically, it is going to dominate Asia, the same way as the United States dominating the western hemisphere, this is so because Chinese understand now. It will certainly understand in the future that the best way to survive in the international system is to be powerful and they (China) understand very well what happened to them when they were very weak. In the future, they will make sure that they are very powerful. They are becoming a superpower, but that is not easy because the United States does not want China to dominate Asia. It can even join forces with the competitors of China in that region to ensure that China does not emerge as a superpower.

Additionally, the other countries in the region including Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Vietnam, India and Russia will indirectly join the US to try and contain China from dominating that region. Other scholars might ask whether Russia and the United States of America can join forces against China, despite their ideological differences. The answer is yes, in politics, there are no permanent enemies and permanent friends, but they are only permanent interests. So, this also answers the question that says can China rise peacefully to gain hegemony in that region, and the answer above is based on this theory of structural realism.

An analysis of the Syrian crisis from the perspective of realists in the international system would primarily be concerned about the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention, and the core motivations that influenced the activities of the major political actors at this point. The focus here is primarily directed at those states, which were the major political actors at this point. The first of these key role players that are looked at is Russia. Its importance during the series of events that took place is due to several factors. Russia's position as Head of the Security Council portfolio in the United Nations ensured that it occupied an important role at the time. However, of equal importance was its past relationship with Syria, which had been the only country in the Middle East that had been an ally of the USSR during the Cold War. The other key political actor that this research focuses on is the United States of America. The perspective that proponents of realism would take on any behaviour at this point would argue that Humanitarian Intervention would be a means to an end, and the behaviour of either state would be motivated by the pursuit of power.

This study has outlined the structural architecture of the international system that lacks the central authority to regulate the behaviour of states towards each other in global politics from

a realist's perspective. The perspective of the realists about the structure of the international system is said to be the factor leading to the Syrian crisis not being effectively resolved. This is discussed from the realists' lens. The realist's lens perceives the international system as an arena for the survival of states. In this study, the realist's perspective is used to analyse the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept in "third world countries", using the ongoing crisis in Syria as a case study. This is because a realist's perspective about any situation or incident is informed by what is seen or perceived as reality. Hence, this study uses a realist lens to review the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Interventional concept in ending the Syrian crisis. It also uses the realist's lens to review the importance of gaining hegemony and influence in the affairs of global politics. This study further uses a realist's perspective to analyse the historical background of the international community. It is important to understand the current structure of global politics and factors at play that compromise the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept, particularly in the ongoing Syrian crisis.

3.4 The Definition and History of Idealism theory

The concept of idealism comes from a school of thought that explains the nature of the international system from an idealist perspective. Some of the more well-known proponents of Idealism include Charles Sanders Peirce, Thomas Hill Green, Josiah Royce and Benedetto Croce believe that the ideas are only true to reality (Bowman, 2016). It is regarded as a group of metaphysical philosophies that are at their most fundamental level, intellectual or abstract, exist in one's mind, or are otherwise immaterial. The philosophy of idealism has not been given much credence in the contemporary context and, for the most part, has been out of fashion for nearly a century (Redding, 2009). Despite this, and that certain contemporary scholars critique its philosophical stance and point out the flaws in its assumptions, this does not necessarily mean that it offers nothing of value when employed as an analytical instrument. The primary reason given by its detractors concerning its lack of relevancy is that idealism emphasises international law, international organizations, and morality as dominant factors in global politics, as opposed to focusing on power (Redding, 2009). There is no singular and common definition of the term, and it is often used by its opponents (such as the advocates of realism to refer to any idea, goal or practice that is considered to be impractical or to discredit any ideas that they do not support (Bowman, 2016). However, the core concept of Idealism is the perception that human nature is innately 'good'. However, it is corrupted by the institutions promoting competition among the different political actors. Proponents of Idealism argue that

in an environment characterised by virtuous habits, good education and appropriate international structures, human nature has the potential to become the basic unit of a peaceful and cooperative international community (Guelke, 1976, Lipschutz, 2003).

The concept of idealism dominated the international community in the 19th century and its proponents, including G. W. F Hegel, J. G. Fichte, F. W Joseph Schelling and A. Schopenhauer (Redding, 2009). These scholars viewed the international system as a phenomenon based on a community of states, all of which held the potential to work together to overcome joint problems (Redding, 2009). War was regarded as a last resort, only taken when all other possibilities and actions have been exhausted or failed (Guyer, 2015). This stance is in direct contrast to the position taken by realism, where war is regarded as an inevitable result of the activities of states attempting to maximise their power and dominate other states in the international community. The resulting 'self-help behaviour, used by states to gather power and ensure their security contributes to the anarchic nature of the international system (Parent, 2015). Other scholarly writers who also subscribed to the beliefs that informed Idealism, included Charles Sanders Peirce, Thomas Hill Green, Josiah Royce and Benedetto Croce. They viewed war as a disease that affected the international community in a manner that was contrary to the interest of all actors. This understanding has often been used to explain the behaviour of large business corporations that exploit the international system to pursue their profit and disregard the general human welfare (Seeberg, 2012).

Idealism, as it relates to international relations theory, has a broad and a narrow perspective and outlook. The broader perspective regards idealism as a long-lasting disposition or attitude towards world affairs. The anarchic nature of the international system is overcome and replaced by a far more harmonious and cosmopolitan order (Wilson, 2011). However, a narrow understanding of idealism is a viewpoint that is inextricably linked to the interwar period from 1918 – 1939. The impact and trauma experienced by different countries as a result of World War 1 undoubtedly played a significant role that shaped the outlook and beliefs of this approach. It was almost exclusively focused on using existing international laws, diplomacy, etc., on creating organisations and introducing processes that would reduce war and allow for the development and maintenance of widespread peace (Wilson, 2011, Mahmutoğlu Kutlu, 2019). A significant emphasis was placed on the power of reason to overcome those factors that made cooperation in the international community impossible. This stance regarded the cooperation of states in global politics as an attainable goal, with incentives arising from the mutual benefits that will accrue to all states. These benefits would allow states to overcome

those common challenges posing a threat to the world order. The spread of education and democracy across the globe would also result in the empowerment of a worldwide public opinion invested in a peaceful common future, creating a powerful force that no government would be able to resist (Seeberg, 2012). The underlying belief was that the development and existence of a natural harmony of interest among all people were attainable, which would subsequently undermine the superficial conflicts between states. This could still be affected while acknowledging the diversity of behaviour, beliefs, cultural norms, values, habits and tastes that characterised the world population (Wilson, 2012).

3.4.1 The Idealism theory.

This study does not focus on the following forms of idealism; objective, subjective and absolute idealism. This is because they are not relevant to this study, and do not provide a fundamental difference in the approach of this theory to the area of focus for this study. The term idealism is generally applied to any idea, goal or practice considered impractical. Bowman (2016) further argues that there is no single and agreed definition of idealism. Indeed, the term is often used in different ways, particularly by the proponents of realism theory to discredit the ideas they do not like. The proponents of idealism also claim that this theory sees war as a last resort when all other necessary actions have been exhausted and failed. Whereas, in realism, war is inevitable as states seek to maximise power and dominates the international community, which leads to the anarchic international system because the self-help system characterizes it.

Idealism in the international relations theory is said to have two ways, the first is known as the broad way, and the second is known as the narrow one. The broader perspective sees the concept of idealism as a perennial[15] concept in world affairs (Wilson, 2011). Idealism is an optimistic concept that seeks to surpass international anarchy and create a more cosmopolitan and harmonious world order. The narrow understanding sees idealism as a way that involves detailed knowledge. It is a concept that dominated the ancient phase of international relations, where it emphasised the growing interdependence and unity of mankind (Wilson, 2011). The proponents of this theory put more emphasis on the power of reason to overcome all that makes cooperation in the international community impossible. This theory suggests that the cooperation of states in global politics is possible given there will be mutual benefits for all states and be able to overcome mutual challenges posing a threat to the world order.

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[15] Perennial concept is a perspective in spirituality that views all of the world's religious traditions as sharing the same metaphysical truth.

Proponents of this theory also believe that the spread of education and democracy around the whole world would empower global public opinion and make it a powerful force that no government can resist (Seeberg, 2012). Idealism scholars such as Charles Sanders Peirce, Thomas Hill Green, Josiah Royce and Benedetto Croce view war as a disease that affects the international community contrary to the interest of all actors. This theory has dealt decisively with large business corporations exploiting the international system to pursue their profit and disregard the general human welfare (Seeberg, 2012). The proponents of this theory put more emphasis on the importance of the universal bodies, which includes the League of Nations, which was proven to be a failure by the Second World War, than the established United Nations, which aimed at championing and organising world public opinion (Seeberg, 2012). Through these universal bodies, it is possible to eliminate global issues from international relations, idealists focus on the existence of a natural harmony of interest among all people. This undermines the superficial conflicting of states while acknowledging that human beings display publicly different codes of behaviour, cultural norms, values, habits and tastes (Wilson, 2012).

The focus here is primarily directed to the universal bodies which play a significant role in the international community. The main universal body that is an area of focus in this study is the United Nations, which has a responsibility to maintain peace and protect human rights. Within the United Nations, the specific portfolio of the Security Council is reviewed to assess the effectiveness of Humanitarian Intervention in the ongoing conflict in Syria and the idea behind the corporation of states in the international community. The analysis of the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept from an idealist perspective focuses on the ideas behind the establishment of the international community. It also provides an analysis role of the United Nations in maintaining peace and protecting human rights. The perspective of the idealist about the cooperation of states in the international system is analysed using the ongoing crisis in Syria. This study further reviews the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept from the idealist lens. This study also reviews the role of the UNSC in maintaining peace in global politics and the ongoing crisis in Syria from the idealist perspective, which is the foundation of the United Nations establishment. Hence, this study uses an idealist's perspective to review the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept in "third world countries", focusing specifically on the Syrian crisis.

Additionally, this study further reviews the impact of having universal bodies in the international system, particularly the United Nations and its Security Council, in maintaining

peace and protecting human rights. This is so precisely because human rights have been infringed in Syria. Lastly, this study reviews factors that are said to compromise the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept from an idealist perspective.

3. 4. 2 The importance of Universal bodies in global politics

In the context of neorealism or structural realists, it is important to note the importance universal bodies play in global politics. These universal bodies refer to the international institutions. These can be defined as an institutional agreement between members of an international system to achieve objectives according to systemic conditions, reflecting its members' attributes, aspirations, and concerns (Hanrieder, 1966). International institutions have existed since the 19th century, but their number and importance increased during the second half of the 20th century (Martens, 2021). International institutions play an important role in global governance, where the states rely on their expertise and professionalism, who often turn to them to decide and implement common policies (Hanrieder, 1966). Although these universal bodies are not a central concern of this study, it is necessary to acknowledge their presence and role in global politics, particularly because of their influence in the international system. Therefore, structural realists argue that they form part of international architecture and contribute to its anarchic nature. Therefore, their emergence and existence result from states acting in a manner that maximises their survival, and their membership is because such associations can be relied on by states to increase their possibility of survival. Such alliances offer the possibility of support to individual member states that face difficulties and even outright disasters. The term international organisation is a term that can be used to refer to an association of states, where the states are often the members of said association. This is why such bodies are also referred to as intergovernmental organisations. Examples of these bodies are United Nations Organisation and The World Trade Organisation, whose members are different states and operate to ensure their interests are protected and advanced. The membership of these institutions is an important component in the arsenal of states trying to extend their power and influence in global politics and attain dominance in the international system.

3.5 The new emerging superpowers in global politics.

One of the debates currently dominating the field of international relations is the emergence of a new world older that seeks to challenge the current status quo in global politics. The

emergence of new superpowers characterises the new world order, leading to multipolarity in the international system. In terms of this research, proponents of realism argue that the Syrian crisis serves as the arena in which the battle of those superpowers trying to dominate the global system is taking place. This research looks at how the current superpowers acted during the Syrian crisis to determine whether the situation has allowed them to pursue their geopolitical struggles in their quest for dominance. One factor that needs to be raised here is that the current superpowers in the international system are no longer confined to the US and Russia in this matter (EKSL, 2017). The activities and behaviour of China, particularly as it relates to the events in Syria and its increasing power in the international system, means that any analysis looking at the performance of key political actors which excludes them would consequently be incomplete.

The has been extensive discussion and debate in international relations by scholars about what the next world order will look like. The main topics are concerned with which countries are going to be the next superpowers and challenge the current status quo in the global politics or which will lead to a multipolar system in international politics, among such scholars. Theorists like Mearsham have put forward substantive arguments which claim that China and Russia are countries that are rising and challenging the US dominance in the international system (Mearsheimer, 2001). These changes in power dynamics will arise because power dynamics the international community would be dominated by more than two countries. This will help two eliminate tensions in global politics since more than two countries have enough power to determine the affairs of the international community. The behaviour of states, particularly the superpowers, would change because no states would want to have tensions with powerful states in global politics. This type of scenario help avoid situations where the superpowers pursue their interests by exploiting their power over other states. Under these circumstances, the realist's perspective of global politics would argue that the new emerging superpowers would monitor the behaviour of states. In this type of international system, the current situation, where Russia has refused to authorize military intervention in Syrian civil war because of their historical relationship, and its interests in that region would never occur. Russia's authority and power to act in such a matter would also not have been bolstered China's emergence as a new superpower, which has increased the difficulty of pursuing interventions. Furthermore, the new emerging superpowers would be a sign of better cooperation of states in the international community if other countries such as China could drastically increase their economy to become

a superpower. Such a country would play an effective role in eliminating global issues which are a threat to global peace and security through the universal bodies that are in place.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the two international relations theories, which are used as this study's analytical framework. It has discussed the history and development of the theories of Realism and Idealism and their core values, objectives and beliefs. The section on realism started by looking at classical realism and then discussed the ideological departures taken from this position in neorealism or structural realism. This chapter also discussed the new emerging superpowers in global politics. It then discusses what idealism theory entails. Lastly, this chapter has discussed the importance of universal bodies in global politics.

4. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion.

4.1 Chapter Introduction.

 The following chapter analyses the secondary qualitative data collected during the research process and discussed in Chapter 2, using the concepts and constructs discussed in Chapter 3. The discussion starts by revisiting the research objectives and research questions. It then analyses this information using the relevant theoretical concepts drawn from the explanations regarding realism and idealism. Finally, this chapter discusses the findings of this research, which relate to the existing body of research.

4.2 Recapitulates research questions and research objectives.

Table 4.2.1: Research objectives and research questions

Research Objectives	Research Questions
1. The first broad objective that this research looks at is the effectiveness of HI as a mechanism that could mitigate conflict in 'developing" or "third world" countries: The key issue that forms the basis of this objective concerns HI and looks at those factors that influenced its use and efficacy in the Syrian civil war. Current critiques emerging from research conducted on HI and intra or interstate violence have suggested that the process of gaining authorisation from the United Nations has a number of fundamental weaknesses. The Security Council itself is vulnerable and risks becoming a dysfunctional institution because its members use it as a geopolitical state. In the specific case of the Syrian conflict, it looks at the behaviour of Russia, which is a member of the Security Council, and actively blocked any form of HI from being authorized, even though Syrians were moving to neighbouring countries as refugees to ensure their safety.	1. To what extent has the concept "HI" been used to pursue the political interests of the superpowers during the Syrian crisis, even though the civilian population has been forced to flee to neighbouring countries for their safety?
2. The second broad research objective of this study looks at the effectiveness of HI in ending grave systematic mass human rights violations against the use of force. Any form of HI needs to be authorized by the UN Security Council, or else it is unlawful. This resulted in the inability to address	2. What needs to be done to ensure that the HI's effectiveness is not compromised and is used to prevent situation/s which pose a danger to people's lives?

what was happening in Syria. In 2005, UN Secretary-General issued a report which addressed the long-standing question about the measures that could be taken to address and strengthen HI. The report also raised the issue that the concept of HI, especially military intervention, was generally compromised during its deployment process, as opposed to when it is actually operational on the ground. This is because of how the veto system works in the Security Council. While there is already an unequal relationship in the Council because permanent member countries have veto power, other countries do not; the structure is further weakened when veto power is utilized for political purposes and gain, as opposed to good faith.	
3. Other international organizations are intervening in the Syrian crisis to provide non-military aid such as water, food, medicine, clothing, blankets, shelter etc. At the same time, the conflict is still ongoing. At this stage of conflict, humanitarian intervention is justified to forcefully undermine the sovereignty and protect the citizens against any form of atrocities. Well, the stage at which Humanitarian intervention is said to intervene is not specific. Instead of answering this paradoxical question, the United Nations established a doctrine called responsibility to protect or right to protect of the report itself speaks of the seriousness of the harm and a need of intervention and this doctrine must be used as a last resort.	3. At which stage of atrocities/conflict is it said that humanitarian intervention is justified to undermine/have undermined the sovereignty of the state?

4.3 Findings and Discussions

The following section presents and analyses data regarding the Syrian conflict to assess the extent to which HI is an effective mechanism when employed in "third world" countries.

4.3.1 To what extent has the concept of Humanitarian Intervention been used to pursue the otherwise interest of the superpowers.

During the Syrian conflict, numerous attempts were made by the United Nations to intervene and try and bring an end to the widespread violence and loss of life. Despite these efforts, the conflict only intensified. Western governments, including France, Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom, responded by imposing bilateral sanctions on the Syrian government

and publicly criticising the incumbent Syrian government (Adams, 2015). These actions were also accompanied by calls for President Al-Assad to step down to allow a political transition in Syria. The President of Syria refused to step down, claiming that the West attempted to effect a regime change in Syria (Eminue & Dickson, 2013). The Russian representative on the Security Council also clarified that their government would also protect Syria's sovereignty and block any interventions. In response, Western leaders claimed this was a political cover for a dictatorship that was killing its citizens. These diplomatic initiatives ultimately collapsed, which aimed to end the mass atrocities in Syria. In 2012, Western governments debated whether they should intervene militarily in Syria to stop the atrocities and protect Syrians against its government (Pfeifer, Nkukwana & Diez de Diego, 2016). This undertaking was made difficult because the Russian government's support of Syria was not only a matter of rhetoric. Russia had also placed resources at Syria's disposal, including weapons. The act directly contravened the international community's call to countries to stop sending arms to Syria because it was fuelling the violence. Allegations were also raised about Western countries funding the Free Syrian Army, which also contributed to the violence (Adams, 2015).

Although the United Nations charter urged that the Security Council respond immediately because the situation threatened international peace and security. This raised a debate among world leaders about whether the council was ineffective and even raised issues about it being corrupt (Khallaf, 2016). One of the critical issues that became apparent during these events was how the ability of Security Council members to exercise "veto" power influenced the possibility of intervention. The concept was implemented during the formation of the United Nations in 1945, where the former Soviet Union (now Russia) insisted on the inclusion of veto powers for all Security Council members. The justification offered was their concern that if the Western powers were the only ones to be given veto power, it would work to their disadvantage, given the political differences and ideological stances of the two superpowers and their alliances (Reis, 2013). As a result, throughout the Cold War, which lasted from 1947 to 1991, both superpowers used their vetoes to block decisions that favoured the other. This also ensured that no actions which undermined their interests could occur (Reis, 2013). Veto politics in the Security Council came to demonstrate a historical trend where the United States continuously failed to use this option. This contrasted with Russia's tendency to make abundant use of the opportunity to use its veto to block actions that seemed beneficial to the United States or damaging to its domestic interests (United Nations Peace Operations, 2012).

A review of other states' actions and non-state actors provides clear evidence that Russia was not the only party blocking certain actions during the Syrian conflict. However, its ability to wield power by exercising its right to veto resulted in it being the most influential actor at this time (Khallaf, 2016). In order to understand how and why Russia exercises their veto power, it is helpful to compare the Syrian conflict with the events that took place in Libya (Ivanov, 2014). In 1973, when the Security Council took a resolution to establish a no-fly zone over Libya, Russia's decision to not exercise its veto was primarily because it had nothing at stake, unlike the circumstances during the Syrian crisis. In the case of the latter conflict, the general consensus among the world leaders is that the Russian and Chinese veto was the main political obstacle that restricted the SecurityCouncils' ability to intervene in Syria and stop that civil war. Both Russia and China view Syria as a strategic state in the Middle East Alliance. Therefore, they vetoed in favour of Syria four consecutive times, which alone compromised the effectiveness of HI in stemming the conflict. It was a clear and unambiguous example of veto power used to pursue the state's interests (Khallaf, 2016).

These activities suggest that the conflict between the superpowers that characterised their interactions during the Cold War did not actually end; it merely evolved and manifested in a different type of battlefield. States' interactions and activities during the Syrian conflict are still characterised by an 'East versus West' divide. The government of Bashar Al-Assad is being supported by the Russian government and states like China, whereas the U.S and other Western countries support the rebelling groups. This prevailing pattern of behaviour raises the question of whether the effectiveness of HI has been sacrificed on the altar of political expediency because veto power is being exercised to further personal political objectives. In this case, the continued presence of external forces only served to fuel the conflict, and the victims of this process are ordinary citizens. The immediate impact of this violence has resulted in a situation where over 80% of Syrians are living in extreme poverty. The circumstances here seem to demonstrate a compelling argument about the lack of effectiveness of HI, especially when the conflict has been ongoing for ten years. In this instance, the responsibility to protect demonstrates the limits of HI to effectively and decisively deal with conflict that poses a threat to international peace and security if the political objectives of powerful states are concerned.

The nature of the international system and its architecture are, in this instance, a primary factor, which results in the decision-making ability of independent institutions being compromised in order to further the biased interests of powerful states. Despite the glaring ethical issues and the morality of allowing processes to unfold where there are mounting civilian casualties, the

interests that appear to be paramount in such instances are related to political power and survival.

In its capacity as head of the Security Council and due to its call for non-intervention, Russia's actions demonstrate how the concept of HI can be compromised during the deployment stage and on the ground. When this behaviour is examined from the perspective of realism, it clearly exemplifies the argument that states will operate in a manner that allows them to maximise power in the global system to improve their chances of survival in an anarchic international community. Russia, in this instance, is operating in the precise manner that advocates of realism predict. By ensuring that its interests are furthered, Russia maximises its power and safeguards its future survival. Although this may seem to be short-sighted because of the threat that the conflict poses to the stability of the international system, proponents of realism would argue that it is, in fact, a rational and logical response. The continued and escalating conflict might further exacerbate the anarchic nature of the international system, but this does not mean that the outcome will disadvantage Russia. The theoretical arguments advanced by Realism in such instances indicate that the interests of powerful states operating in the international system are not always the same. While an increase in the anarchical nature of the international environment may undermine the interests of important actors in global politics, it can also further the interests of others. Therefore Russia's actions in the case of Syria demonstrate how the conflict offered an opportunity to increase its power.

An interpretation of Russia's actions concerning the use of HI during the Syrian conflict can also be offered from the perspective of Idealism. This position would perceive the international system as a platform well-suited for addressing global challenges and eliminating global harms, including terrorism, wars, poverty eradication and other similar challenges. It is a platform that allows for the cooperation of states, who can work to overcome challenges and threats to global security to create an international community characterised by harmony, despite having different interests. This stance would interpret Russia's refusal to authorise military intervention as the best option. Russia's argument that military intervention would compromise the sovereignty of the Syrian government and result in a forced regime change seems to support the apprehension that such actions would prolong the conflict and lead to greater bloodshed. The argument that can be made here is that external involvement would inevitably escalate the conflict. In this instance, proponents of idealism would contend that Russia's claim that non-intervention would be viable. This perspective would advance the idea that diplomatic engagement should always be preferred over military intervention to solve issues of disputes

within the international community. In this instance, universal bodies like the UN play a crucial role in assisting Syrian people who have been subjected to poverty due to political instability by providing humanitarian aid and other forms of assistance. This perspective would argue that HI is not most likely to fail on the ground but rather its deployment process. This is because of the different interests of states and the lack of unity on the part of the actors in the international community because of different and quite often opposing interests.

This study has critically analysed the Syrian crisis from its inception up to date and what measures have been taken to avoid the atrocities. It looked at how the nature of the international system and the architecture allows independent instiutitons whose actions are supposed to be unbiased, make decisions that favour the powerful states that dominiate global politics. In that process, innocent lives on the ground are being lost daily because of the superpowers pursuing their private agenadas. This ocurrs because these states are strong enough to maximise their power in the global system to survive the anarchic international community.

These events show how Russia's activities have blocked HI initially at the deployment stage, and subsequently on the ground (where the latter results in people being killed almost every day). This is so because of the changing nature and architecture of the international system, which makes states behave as they do, every state places its interest first, and it is not always the case that the interests of states will be the same. Hence, it causes anarchy in the international system because the interests of states as the important and dominant actors in global politics, according to the proponents of realism, will not always be the same. This is because of the nature of human beings and the structure of the system itself. On the other hand, the international system is a good platform for states to do away with all the global challenges, which include terrorism, wars, poverty eradication and all other forms of global challenges. It is also a good platform for the cooperation of states to create an international system that is characterised by harmony, where states are working together to overcome all the challenges that seek to pose a threat to global security which as the Syrian civil war, where Russia is refusing to authorised military intervention because it will lead bloodshed and the proponents of idealism believe on the diplomatic engagement to solve issues of disputes within the international community that is why they have been several sitting on paving a way forward concerning the Syria crisis. Universal bodies are playing a crucial role in assisting Syrian people who have been subjected to poverty due to political instability through humanitarian aid and other forms of assistance. So, the concept of Humanitarian Intervention is not most likely to fail on the ground. However, it is mainly failing in its deployment process because of

states' interests and the lack of unity among the actors of the international system, which is mainly caused by different interests of different actors.

4.3.2 What needs to be done to ensure the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept in the global community.

The concept of HI has been used to pursue political agendas. This has led to the situation whereby the concept received significant criticism. The maxim that absolute power corrupts absolutely is undoubtedly one that can be applied to the international community when individual state power is paramount and uncontrolled. The ability of the five most influential states, currently Russia, China, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, to exercise veto power in the international system has resulted in revisiting the integrity of concepts like HI. The actions of Russia during the Syrian conflict have led to concerns that the availability of HI as an option has resulted in its corruption. This is because it is subverted to serve the interests of certain states. This position resonates strongly with the realist perception that individual state interests are not the same, although they masquerade as cooperation. Any real collaboration in the international community is, for the most part, a myth. Therefore, the differences in the international community will persist since they are not primarily related to opposing ideological stances but rather individual state concerns. This scenario does not rule out cooperation between the 'Big Five'. If the prospects and the advantages of cooperation are appealing, the more powerful states can be induced to join forces to resolve any issues that threaten global peace and security. However, a more realistic approach to improve the potential effectiveness of HI would be to review the ability of states to exercise 'veto' power. While this suggestion may be provocative, the reality is that the concept is outdated. The potential for interstate conflict and another world war has been virtually eliminated in the contemporary environment. Therefore, this is the most advantageous time to review the impact of "veto power" on international intrastate wars. One suggestion is that it should be suspended with good intentions. If the Security Council fails to reach a consensus regarding possible actions like HI, it should at least vote on such matters. However, this option is not without disadvantages. The weakness of such an approach is that developing countries could be exploited or threatened on the issue of trade if they vote against particular interests.

An alternative solution could see the Security Council's separation from the United Nations' structure. It could become an independent international agency with representation from all countries globally, which would all have equal powers in the structure. A majority vote would

prevail in situations where there was no universal consensus. Although this system potentially has weaknesses that could be exploited, it is still a far more equable solution when it comes to resolving disagreements compared to the current structure. Currently, the Security Council operates by allowing a minority of powerful states to take decisions on the part of the majority. The most frequent criticism of intergovernmental organizations in the current international system is that their independence is not guaranteed. The current system allows them to be easily suborned by states who use them to pursue ulterior political agendas. While the reform of these structures might not be foolproof, and they could still have their independence compromised, introducing a more egalitarian voting system would at least improve their ability to provide an environment where states are afforded greater equality. In situations where human lives are endangered, a system that affords more widespread involvement in the decision-making process and is less prone to being influenced by other political interests and dynamics seems imminently preferable.

The concept of Humanitarian Intervention has been used to pursue political agendas. This has led to the situation whereby the concept received significant criticism. Individual state power is at play in the international community, and absolute power corrupts absolutely; hence the big five states (Russia, China, France, the United Kingdom and the United States) have veto power in the international system. This has led to the concept of Humanitarian Intervention being corrupted to serve the interests of certain states. Well, this has been clearly stated by the realist perception that the cooperation of states in the international community is just a myth. However, the cooperation of states is based on the interests of individual states, and the interests of the state are not the same. Hence, why differences will always be there in the international community, differences that are not based on ideological stances but based on the interests of the individual states. Ideally, the cooperation of states is appealing so that they unitedly overcome global issues that seek to threaten global peace and security. The concept of Humanitarian Intervention can be more effective if the veto power possessed by the big five is being reviewed. This is precisely because the international community has successfully eliminated the interstate wars. So, the concept of "veto power" should be revisited to review its impact on international intrastate war. This is so because this concept has contributed positively to the long-lasting intrastate wars in the world. Therefore, it should be suspended with good intentions. If the Security Council is not reaching any consensus, it should at least vote on such matters. This might not be an honest system because developing countries might be exploited or threatened on the issue of trade if they happen to vote against a state that is in good relations

with. Another solution to this might be to divorce a Security Council from the structure of the United Nations and become an independent international agency that would have representatives from all countries in the world that would have equal powers to the structure. If the structure does not agree on certain matters, then vote; a majority vote will then prevail, unlike the minority taking decisions on behalf of the majority. Again, this might not be an honest system, but it will serve the purpose because that is an acceptable system to be applied when disagreements arise. This is so because states have used intergovernmental organizations to pursue their political agendas. It has subsequently resulted in repeated criticism of these organizations that they are not independent as it should be the case and serve every state with honesty regardless of political dynamics but as long as human lives are in danger then it should be applied.

4.3.3 At which stage of conflict where it is said that "Humanitarian Intervention" is justified to undermine/have undermined the sovereignty of the state.

HI can be justified in the absence of consent by the government or ruling party concern if it is an explicit opposition to a recognized government, for example, in Haiti (as discussed in the series of interventions in the second chapter of this study). Therefore, the concept of consent or absence was controversial in Liberia and Sierra Leone[16] when the circumstances deemed intervention necessary. However, the issue of consent and lack thereof when it came to authorising HI in Somalia is an example of when these questions are regarded as irrelevant. By the time the intervention and provision of humanitarian aid were undertaken by a US-led effort from 1992 to 1993 (Britannica, 2021), an estimated half a million Somalians were already dead, and hundreds of thousands more were facing starvation. It is probably a result of the events that took place in Somalia. This might be one of the reasons that the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty has not included a clause regarding the overthrow of a democratically elected government or environmental disaster, or even widespread abuse of human rights unless such actions resulted in large scale loss of life (Weiss Hubert, 2001). The motivations that prompt every government to commit military strength to help war victims differ. It might be an ethical choice in some circumstances because it is the right thing to do or

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[16] In Liberia, the UNSC adopted resolution 788 which called on all parties to the conflict to respect a cease-fire. It also authorised an arms embargo against Liberia. In Sierra Leone the UNSC help to stop conflict, in part by putting an end to the illicit trading which helped fuel it. Both of these actions were seen as somewhat controversial at the time because these actions undermined the sovereignty of the states. The question of whether the conflict, including the current, and estimated subsequent loss of life justified military intervention

a legitimate calculation based upon national interest. In the case of a scenario like the latter, intervening might severely reduce the direct and negative impact of a particular humanitarian disaster on that country's national security or economic stability; or it may help strengthen ties in the international community. Interventions can be driven by self-interest or wider political and economic motives where the immediate benefits are not as obvious. Events like this are why some scholars have reservations about the motives underlying the need for intervention. The principle of HI is concerned with the maintenance of order in the international system. So, for example, if a civil war in a particular state poses a threat to the international community, intervention for peacekeeping is justified. However, military intervention can only be justified if all other necessary actions have been exhausted and failed. At this point, the Security Council of the United Nations can use military intervention. In such instances, diplomatic interventions have not arrived at a viable solution, and military intervention can be justified.

The motives behind HI do not advance this discussion in certain instances. This is because not all political and economic motives are said to be inherently in the self-interest of the countries intervening. Their motivations may be impartial and selfless, prompted by a concern for the well-being of others without any underlying self-centred interests. This does explain certain scenarios where there is rarely sufficient motivation to get involved in the first place. The international military involvement in Darfur, which started in 2003, and the US withdrawal from Somalia (after losing 18 rangers in October 1993) are examples that can be interpreted differently. Thus, it can be viewed from the realist perspective in international relations theory, or it can be seen simply as a realistic decision about the key decisions concerning the use of HI. The principle of HI is informed by a degree of idealism, although it may not always be interpreted as such from the idealist perspective. The underlying motivation that prompts states to act is to pursue their interests, and at times the interests of different states may not be the same. It may well be that each state seeks to dominate the international community or the other way around; states are the main actors in the international community and seek to maximize their interests under the principle of collaboration.

However, it is evident that the United Nations needs to revisit its regulatory norms. They need to be revised to be more specific about the stage at which the Security Council can authorise military intervention, although this should still be used as a last resort when all other actions have been exhausted and failed. The specification will prevent a debate about the exact number of deaths that need to occur before interventions are authorised. However, this will still be a difficult decision and may cause further controversy. If the UN decides that the death toll

should not exceed ten people, it excludes HI as a prescriptive strategy. This means HI could not be initiated to prevent civil wars or other crises that threaten human life. All the independent states have sovereignty, and other states must respect it. However, there are times when it should be undermined to protect civilians whose lives might be threatened.

In the absence of more specific criteria about when HI can be authorised, the flaws in the current UN structure become apparent. It allows for powerful states in the Security Council, or the State heading the Council, to use the 'veto' mechanism to pursue their own interests or the interests of its allies. This compromises the effectiveness of the international system and the principle of fairness that is supposed to inform the behaviour of different political actors. It suggests that the system would be more effective if the norms and rules of the United Nations portfolios were more specific on the regulatory terms, making it less easy for states to pursue their interests. To allow the authorisation of HI to remain subject to the discretion of the Security Council will continue to compromise the effectiveness of such interventions.

The case of Syria produces a glaring example of how the principles underlying HI are compromised. As the Syrian conflict escalated and increasing numbers of civilians fled to neighbouring countries, the Security Council remained passive, while other international organisations rushed to provide assistance and humanitarian aid. The escalating loss of lives and reports of growing brutality were evidence enough to spur the activity of other international actors who lacked (and the legitimacy) any capacity for more forceful intervention. This was not an ambiguous situation, and there was more than enough evidence to support the need for a more proactive engagement. The current digital mediums available for communication provide live coverage, and reporting of such events was of such a nature that the possibility of the escalating loss of life should have provoked some response, even if any intervention was not initially military. Instead, in its capacity as head of the Security Council, Russia exercised its 'veto' power more than once, seemingly oblivious or at least disinterested in the apparent need for intervention. The doctrine of Responsibility to Protect stipulates that all states have an obligation to protect their citizens. In the event that a state fails to follow through on this duty, the responsibility then shifts to the international community, which is obliged to intervene and protect the citizens whose lives are in danger. The existence of a historical relationship between Russia and Syria and the fact that this undermined the ability of the Security Council to act demonstrates that the Responsibility to Protect is built on flimsy foundations. If similar scenarios arise that result in unauthorised military interventions by other international actors, the authority of the Security Council will be further compromised.

The perspective of idealism, as previously discussed, regards the international system as an opportunity that allows states to cooperate in order to overcome mutual global challenges. If it becomes apparent that states are pursuing their interests while still cooperating, it is still the idealist approach that has created the space for them to do so. Therefore, in a scenario where the idealist perspective prevails, the intention of enabling a body like the UN to maintain world peace and protect human rights may not be the only result. The unintended consequence was the provision of an avenue that would allow states to pursue their private interests. However, states took advantage of this to pursue their interests. Ideally, the establishment of the UNSC to authorize military intervention when necessary remains a good idea, but it would be incredibly detrimental if the UNSC could authorize military intervention to pursue their state interests. The example of Syria shows how the ability to use 'veto' power makes such a scenario less likely to occur. The argument here shows that idealism can create room for realism to operate concurrently in international relations. The presence of current universal bodies and their ability to regulate the behaviour of states is a precondition in the international system that allows for both realism and idealism to be included as theories of international relations. Using both of these approaches to review the effectiveness of HI as a concept in "third world countries" using the Syrian crisis as a case study demonstrates that it is possible to incorporate both perspectives without any fundamental clashes occurring. However, it does still demonstrate that in such a scenario, the effectiveness of HI is questionable.

At which stage where it is said that Humanitarian Intervention is justified, as in it should be how many people have died or injured for such a crisis to be declared as an emergency issue that needs Humanitarian Intervention. It has been argued that the Security Council should have approved the United Nations action in this situation. It is not specified within the Security Council itself at which stage can the Humanitarian Intervention be justified. It is prone to happen that the Security Council takes a decision that is in favour of the state that heads the Security Council as it has veto power. This shows that with veto power, states can pursue otherwise interests and not that of this ideal international system. These otherwise interests are the interests of one or few states. It is not the case that all other states in global politics are happy with such interests, but power and relations are always at play in the international community. This then suggests that the norms and rules of the United Nations portfolios must be specific on the regulatory terms so that it does not become easy for states to pursue their interests. As things stand, it is within the discretion of the Security Council to authorize Humanitarian Intervention or not to, which among other things, is another factor that

compromises the effectiveness of Humanitarian Intervention.

As discussed above, idealism creates a space for the cooperation of states in the international system to overcome mutual global challenges that threaten stability in global politics. In instances where there is cooperation of states, it results in them pursuing their own interests which supports the contention of realism. This also supports the explanation of idealism, which argues that this cooperation has provided space for pursuing individual interests. This then suggests that ideas may not only produce the intended results. The establishment of the UN was to maintain world peace and protect human rights. However, states took advantage of this to pursue their state interests. Ideally, the establishment of the UNSC to authorize military intervention when necessary remains a good idea, but what is not good about it is when the UNSC authorizes military intervention to pursue their state interests. According to this study, idealism has created room for realism in the international system. If there were no universal bodies that regulate the behaviour of states and that has created an international community that is being interpreted from different perspectives. However, this study has only focused on two perspectives (Idealism and Realism) to review the effectiveness of the Humanitarian Intervention concept in "third world countries", using the Syrian crisis as a case study. The Syrian crisis has been analysed from idealist and Realist perspectives. There were no clashes that were identified between these two theories in analysing the effectiveness of the Humanitarian International concept in the Syrian crisis

4.4 Discussions and Analysis.

The concept of HI in Syria has not been effective in the Syrian crisis; this is so because the Security Council of the United Nations vetoed the intervention in Syria. As the head of the Security Council portfolio in the United Nations, Russia used its veto power to stop any military intervention in Syria. The past relationship between Russia and Syria, where the latter was the only country in the Middle East Alliance that supported Russia during the Cold War, was unmistakeably a critical factor influencing this process. It indeed did appear to influence the response of the Syrian government, whose responses seemed to discount the serious nature of messages being conveyed by other key political actors.

The President of the U.S, Donald Trump, initially issued a statement warning the Syrian President that the use of chemical weapons on the civilian populace would result in the act of retaliation by the US. A year after this statement was issued, chemical weapons were deployed, which nearly resulted in a military strike, supposedly responding to the humanitarian crisis

caused by the Syrian leadership. Proponents of realism would argue that no country will ever admit that its interventions are motivated by power and dominance. In this case, HI was attributed to humanitarian concerns.

Due to the Syrian crisis, the geopolitical struggle that once characterised the Cold War was seemingly reinstated by the powerful states, including the US, Russia, and China. From the perspective of realism, this era marked a new period of power politics in the international community. The Syrian conflict was a testing ground for these great powers, which historically and in the immediate context have been the primary reason for the intervention of the superpowers in the Middle East. Since the end of the Cold War, Russia and China have become increasingly outspoken about HI. They have started to resist the unipolar system and challenge a westernized style concerning interventions, a key component of the United States HI policy. From the perspective of realism, Russia and China's opposition to military intervention has led them to defend the Westphalian system, which emphasizes the importance of traditional sovereignty (Bershidsky, 2015). A comparison of the conflict in Syria and Libya shows a marked difference in the concern held by Russia. During the conflict in Libya and Syria, both countries experienced an increased number of citizens taking refuge in neighbouring countries and escalating casualties. At a superficial level, the decision to use military intervention in Libya, not Syria, implies that the citizens of the latter are less important than those from the latter. However, it can be argued that the stance taken by Russia was because they were unwilling to trust the US and NATO. This was due to them previously being misled by France, Britain and US when they advocated for intervention in Libya.

The existence of universal bodies like the UN in the international community is important because of the perception that it is their responsibility to protect the international community. They play an important role because they can strengthen cooperation while eliminating unjust policies that exploit the less developed states. They can also function in the international system to allow them to intervene and eliminate acts of genocides, civil war, and any other acts that might result in the mass violation of human rights. Intercountry wars have been eliminated because the presence of these bodies in the international system has allowed cooperation by states with similar interests. Therefore, their lack of intervention in Syria has posed a major challenge to the legal framework and the institutional norms about the moral imperative to intervene on behalf of the citizens' lives in danger

Chapter Three discussed the move from a unipolar to a multipolar, and the potential competition that China might pose to the US was explained. If China's influence in the Asian region increases, Russia will ally. The danger here is that these superpowers can use universal bodies to pursue their interests. The example of the Syrian conflict, along with Russia's actions in the UNSC, shows how the effectiveness of these institutions can be compromised. This is, among other things, a factor that compromises the effectiveness of the HI concept in dealing decisively with issues that are posing a threat to human rights.

China's historical relationship with the US has varied. In the Cold War and the Korean War, the US and China were competitors in the early stages of the Cold War. However, in the 1920s, they were both allied against Russia in a partnership until the end of the Cold War (Mearsheimer, 2001). Currently, China would find it difficult to challenge the hegemony of the United States because of its support from universal bodies and the support it provides to them. For example, the United States is regarded as the most significant overall funder of the United Nations, a powerful institution in global politics. The United States took a clear leadership role in the European continent by establishing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), symbolising both the United States' power and its challenges (Mearsheimer, 2001). The United States also has the support of the European Union, which is a very powerful political and economic union whose states are very influential. Proponents of realism would argue that China is unlikely to pose a threat to the US's dominance, and the US is unlikely to surrender that power at any time soon. China's influence in the Asian region is also unlikely to assist its efforts because it is not united in the EU's manner. The US could also use the riots in the region to make sure that China does not get regional hegemony.

4.5 Summary and Conclusion.

4.5.1 Summary.

This chapter analysed the secondary qualitative data collected during the desktop research process, using the concepts and constructs discussed in Chapter 3. It looked at the theories of realism and idealism, which were drawn on to serve as the analytical framework for this research. It looked at data collected concerning each of the broad research objectives and key research questions that served as the focus of this study. It then analysed this information using the relevant theoretical concepts drawn from the explanations regarding realism and idealism

to address the study's broad research objectives and key questions. Finally, this chapter has discussed what the findings of this research are and these relate to the existing body of research.

4.5.2 Conclusion.

The effectiveness of HI on the ongoing conflict in Syria does demonstrate that the theories of realism and idealism do not demonstrate any significant clashes and that it is possible to interpret the crisis from both perspectives. However, it does show that the geopolitical power struggle between Russia, China and the US compromises the ability of the UNSC and the UN to provide HI. One suggestion about remedying this is for the United Nations to revisit its regulatory norms so that they are more specific about when the UNSC should be able to authorise HI, at which stage the Security Council can unleash military intervention. This study has also suggested that the Security Council be divorced from the UN and become an independent agency. It could have representatives of all countries with equal voting powers. In the event that there is no consensus regarding military intervention, this could be resolved by vote. Lastly, this study has suggested that the UN needs to review the relevancy of the "veto power" concept in the current international community.

5. Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion

5.1 Chapter Introduction.

This study has found out that HI is being used to pursue the otherwise interests of the superpowers, which then leads to a situation whereby the concept of HI is compromised. This study has discussed several factors that are said to compromise the concept of HI. This study has answered the research questions in the fourth chapter of this study, using data presented in the second chapter from the analytical framework discussed in the third chapter of this study. This chapter firstly recapitulates the research objectives and the research questions. It then discusses the recommendations presented in the previous chapter in response to the three questions that served as the focal area of this study. This chapter further discusses the summary of each chapter of this study and the main research findings following research objectives and questions. This chapter discusses the significance of this study to the body of knowledge on the concept of HIs, particularly military interventions, which have been the area of focus for this study. Lastly, this chapter discusses the study's conclusion.

The main points of the four preceding chapters are briefly summarised.

5.2 Summary and Recommendations

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter outlined the key research objectives and questions that directed this study in order to determine the effectiveness of HI in "third world countries".It discussed what approaches would be used to investigate the concepts and constructs outlined in Chapter Three. It also described how the Syrian Conflict was used as a case study, and the investigative approach would use desktop research. Finally, it outlined the extensive array of sources that were used as the secondary data for this research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter looks at the concept of the right to protect (HI) and how it has gained increasing significance since the end of the Cold War. It then examined the historical development of the conflict in Syria and the underlying causes of conflict. It described how key roleplayers who are members of the Security Council have used the provision of HI and whether this has been

motivated by political reasons. It pointed out that there have been a number of challenges, including the lack of consistency in applying the concept in different states, particularly in third-world countries, and discussed how 'veto' power related to these issues. This results in problems when trying to deploy HI and also provide assistance on the ground.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

This chapter discussed the theories of Realism and Idealism, which were used as the analytical framework of this research. It starts by defining realism and then discusses what this theory entails. It examines the ideological departure from the classical conception of realism, which resulted in the development of the theory of neorealism. It then discussed Idealism, its essential principles, objectives, and beliefs. It explained why universal bodies are important in the international system. Lastly, it discusses the new emerging superpowers in global politics and their importance in the Syrian crisis.

Chapter Four. Data Presentation & Analysis

This chapter looked at the continuing violence in Syria using the concepts and constructs outlined in Chapter Three. They acted as the analytical lens that was used to analyse the secondary qualitative data obtained during the study process. The theories of realism and idealism theories were used as an analytical framework. The use of these theories' analytical tools showed that there are no substantial tensions between realism and idealism and that the problem can be interpreted from both perspectives. It did, however, demonstrate that the geopolitical power struggle between Russia, China, and the United States jeopardizes the UNSC's and UN's ability to offer HI. One idea for resolving this is for the UN to review its regulatory guidelines and make them more precise about when the UNSC should be able to authorise HI and at what stage the Security Council should be authorized to launch military action. Another proposal was that the Security Council should be separated from the UN and become an autonomous body where all countries hold equal voting powers.

5.3 Recommendations.

The researcher makes the following recommendations concerning the study objectives and questions.

5.3.1 Theme one: To what extent has the concept of HI been used to pursue the interest of individual states in the international community?

This study looked at the international system's nature and architecture and discussed the weaknesses that compromise its independence. From the perspective of realism, this is an example of how states try to maximize power in the global system to survive the anarchic international community. The current system compromises the effectiveness of HI because it can be used to pursue state interests at the expense of human lives. In the instance of the Syrian conflict, it can be seen that HI is being compromised during the deployment process and on the ground because of Russia's actions. Proponents of realism would argue that this shows how the interests of states and the fact that they do not always have shared interests contributes to the anarchy in the international system in which states are trying to survive.

However, the international system is a good platform for states to do away with all the global challenges, including terrorism, wars, and poverty eradication. It is also a good platform for the cooperation of states to create an international system that is characterised by harmony, where states are working together to overcome all the challenges that seek to pose a threat to global security. The interpretation of Russia's actions regarding Syria can be explained by idealism, which would justify the refusal to authorise military intervention because it will lead to bloodshed. Idealism argues that diplomatic engagement should be used to solve issues of disputes within the international community. Universal bodies were still able to play a crucial role in assisting the Syrian people through humanitarian aid. In this instance, HI does not fail on the ground, but states pursue private and dissimilar during its deployment process in a system that lacks unity.

5.3.2 Theme Two: What needs to be done to ensure the effectiveness of the HI concept in the global community?

This research found that political interests compromise the effectiveness of HI. The ability to exercise veto power can result in a situation where the process is corrupted as universal bodies are used as a means to pursue individual interests. This can be interested using realism, which argues that the cooperation of states in the international community is just a myth. Ideally, the cooperation of states is appealing because political actors could untie to overcome global issues that seek global peace and security. Differences of opinions of states are not rooted as a result of ideological stances but based on the interests of the individual states. Therefore, cooperation can only take place if states have shared interests. The effectiveness of HI could be addressed by revisiting the concept of "veto power", which has led to prolonged intra-state war and conflict. Adopting a system where the ability to veto is suspended could improve the situation

because members of the UNSC could resolve the issue by voting. However, it could also lead to developing countries being exploited or threatened on the issue of trade if they happen to vote against a state. The Security Council could also be separated from the United Nations structure to become an independent international agency.

It could allow representatives from all countries to have equal powers in the structure. If there are disagreements on different matters, a majority vote would prevail. This would prevent a minority of powerful countries from making decisions on behalf of the majority. It could address the issue of states pursuing their political agendas using intergovernmental organizations, which compromises independence.

5.3.3 Theme Three: At which stage of conflict is "HI" justified, even if it undermines sovereignty.

The United Nations must again revisit its regulatory norms to specify what criteria need to be met to allow the Security Council to use military intervention as a last resort. The problem here, though, is that this would only allow the UN to intervene once the conflict was taking place instead of being used in a prescriptive manner to ensure that conflict does not occur. The issue of state sovereignty should not be a factor if these criteria are met. This would prioritise human lives above sovereignty should the circumstances demand it. It would avoid the situation that occurred in the Syrian conflict, where the situation warranted assistance from different international organisations that provided humanitarian aid. Military intervention should be allowed if the situation is bad enough to warrant this group's involvement.

As discussed in the previous chapter, idealism creates a space for the cooperation of states in the international system to overcome mutual global challenges that threaten stability in global politics. Although this might be because states are using cooperation to pursue their interests, which is how realism would interpret these actions, proponents of idealism would argue that this had created the opportunity and space to cooperate. This then suggests that ideas may not only produce the intended results; the establishment of the UN was to maintain world peace and protect human rights. However, states took advantage of this to pursue their state interests. Ideally, the establishment of the UNSC to authorize military intervention when necessary remains a good idea, but what is not good about it is when the UNSC authorizes military intervention to pursue their state interests. According to this study, idealism has created realism in the international system. No clashes were identified between these two theories in analysing the effectiveness of the Humanitarian International concept in the Syrian crisis.

The concept of HI has been used to pursue political agendas, which has led to a significant amount of criticism. The Syrian crisis was a battlefield of the superpowers to dominate the international system, including the United States, Russia and China, particularly in the Syrian crisis. Russian leadership in the UNSC blocked intervention in Syria by claiming that there was no crisis. HI was not authorized, despite evidence suggesting it should be including a growing number of refugees leaving for neighbouring countries.

The concept of HI in Syria has not been practical because the ability to exercise veto power allows the UNSC to be compromised. It has become the state on which Russia, the US and China are waging a geopolitical battle. This undoubtedly compromises its deployment and performance on the ground. The weaknesses in the current system need to be reviewed. One mechanism would be to suspend the veto power and force current members of the UNSC to vote. Another approach would be to separate the UNSC from the UN and allow representatives from all countries to have equal voting power. This would prevent a small, powerful minority from making decisions. The case study of Syria and Russia's actions provides clear evidence of the flaws that exist in the current system. Another reform that needs to be implemented is reviewing the criteria determining intervention. The guidelines are too broad, so it becomes difficult to persuade obstinate states of the need. While intervention should only ever be used as a last resort, state sovereignty cannot take precedence over citizens' lives when threatened. The universal bodies in the international community are important to strengthen cooperation while eliminating the unjust policies that exploit the less developed states. However, the international system will remain flawed as long as they can be co-opted by powerful states pursuing their interests.

5.4 Significance of the Study to the body of Knowledge on universal bodies.

The United Nations should revisit its veto power to the permanent member-states; this is so because, in most cases, veto power is used by the states that were historically enemies to fight their battles. This is so because interstate wars have been eliminated in the international community. This does not suggest that the concept will no longer be compromised on the ground (the concept on the ground can pursue otherwise interests, not that of protecting human rights). However, if the majority of states agree and have a compelling reason/s that intervention is of paramount importance, then whatever states heading the Security Council must authorize such intervention. It would seem better if most states agree that intervention must be authorized, unlike a single state because of its veto power.

5.6 Overarching Recommendations of the Dissertation.

This study has critically analysed the Syrian crisis from its inception and what measures have been taken to avoid the atrocities. This study has also looked precisely at the nature of the international system and the architecture 'independent' institutions making decisions biased in favour of powerful states. The pursuit of these individual agendas, where states are trying to ensure their own survival in an anarchic system by enhancing their power can result in widespread causalities. leads to that is a leading factor that makes the independent institutions that are supposed to take an independent decisions make biased decisions in favour of the powerful states who seem to be running the show in the global politics. The United Nations should revisit its veto power to the permanent member-states. This is so because, in most cases, veto power is used by the states that were historically enemies to fight their battles. This is so because interstate wars have been eliminated in the international community. This does not suggest that the concept will no longer be compromised on the ground (the concept on the ground can pursue otherwise interests, not that of protecting human rights), but a majority of states, if they agree and have a compelling reason/s that intervention is of paramount importance then whatever states that are heading the Security Council, must authorize such intervention. It would seem better if most states agree that intervention must be authorized, unlike a single state because of its veto power. The United Nations must revisit its regulatory norms to be more specific on which stage the Security Council can unleash military intervention. This study is aware that it should be used as a last resort when all other actions have been exhausted and failed. The specification will assist in stopping the negotiations and unleashing the military intervention. Should it be ten people or two people? That will not be easy to answer because if the United Nations agrees on a death toll of 10 people, for example, that has its implications, and it will mean that they cannot be able to unleash military intervention at the beginning of the civil war or any other crisis that is posing a threat to human rights. All the independent states have sovereignty, and other states must respect it, and at some point, it must be undermined for the sake of the civilians living in that particular state, whose lives are in danger.

5.7 Study Conclusion.

The Syrian crisis is a battleground for the superpowers to dominate the international system, and this geopolitical struggle between the United States, Russia, and China was reignited due to the Syrian crisis. This era is distinguished as a new period of realist power politics in the international community following the end of the Cold War and a testing ground for the great powers. The only reason for the intervention of the superpowers in the Middle East was the struggle for power and influence. Since the end of the Cold War, Russia and China have begun to resist the unipolar system and the Western-guided intervention of US policy since the fall of the Soviet Union in the 1990s. Russia and China desired to defend the principles of the Westphalian system against the United States of America, which introduced unilateral intervention guided by the West into the newly emerging international community. The United Nations should reexamine its regulatory norms in order to specify at what stage the Security Council is permitted to initiate military intervention. This research is cognizant of the fact that it should be utilized as a last resort after all other options have been exhausted and failed. The specifications will help end the negotiations and launch the military intervention. Should there be ten people or two? This will not be an easy question to answer because, for instance, if the United Nations agrees on a death toll of 10 people, they will be unable to launch military intervention at the beginning of a civil war or other crisis that poses a threat to human rights. All independent states have sovereignty, which other states must respect and, at times, must be compromised for the sake of civilians whose lives are in danger in a particular state. Other international organizations are intervening in the Syrian crisis. In contrast, the Security Council is not intervening to stop the ongoing conflict, which has resulted in a number of Syrians seeking refuge in neighbouring nations. The fact that other international organizations are intervening demonstrates, among other things, the severity of the crisis. However, the Security Council appears to be unconcerned, despite reports from international news sources about the

severity of the harm to civilians and the need for intervention to aid Syrian citizens. The doctrine of responsibility to protect asserts that all states should protect their citizens, and if a state fails to do so, other states have a duty to intervene and protect the endangered citizens. Due to the history between Syria and Russia, which is the head of the Security Council, this will not occur, and any other form of military intervention in Syria will be interpreted as an attempt to undermine the Security Council and will be regarded as an unauthorized military intervention.

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