THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT PRINCIPLE IN SHAPING INTERNATIONAL MILITARY INTERVENTION: THE CASE OF SYRIA

By
(B1645173)

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ABSTRACT

The study looked at the Responsibility to Protect principle in shaping international military intervention with particular reference to the case of Syria. The study adopted a qualitative research methodology and a case study research design. Furthermore, three research participants were drawn, each from the Zimbabwe Republic Police, Zimbabwe National Army and Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the basis of their previous experiences in various United Nations peacekeeping missions. The study made use of primary and secondary data. The study found out that the importance of using the Responsibility to Protect principle in shaping military intervention in Syria was paramount in order to save thousands of Syrian civilians who continue to die as a result of the protracted conflict. The study further established that the causes of the Syrian conflict were motivated by social, economic, political and religious factors. Findings of the study also revealed that the self-interests of UNSC members in the Syrian conflict were one of the major reasons why both humanitarian and military interventions under Responsibility to Protect have failed. The divisions amongst the Permanent Members of the UNSC had resulted in the selective application of the Responsibility to Protect norm at the expense of fostering peace in Syria. The study, therefore, recommended that there was greater need for the United Nations to urgently invoke military intervention under the Responsibility to Protect in order to end the mass atrocities in Syria. Furthermore, there is need to reform the UNSC as its current structure clearly places disproportionate amount of power and influence over the actions of the international community in the hands of a few powerful nations.
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DECLARATION FORM

I, registration number B1645173, by submitting this research project declare that the entirety of the work contained herein is my own, original work and has not been copied or lifted from any source without the acknowledgements of the source. I have not in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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(Signature of student) (Date)
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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my husband, Benoni Senior and my two sons, Benoni Junior and Brayden.
First and foremost, I would like to give glory and honour to the Lord Almighty for the countless blessings in my life. This research would not have been possible without the assistance and guidance of several individuals who in one way or another contributed to the completion of this study.

I would like to extend my sincere appreciation and thanks to my supervisor, Dr. J. Kurebwa who was always there to guide me through the rigorous steps of my dissertation. Without his support, guidance and assistance, I would not have been able to successful complete this dissertation. Thank you very much.

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I wish to also heartily thank my husband, Benoni Senior, for the financial support, love, encouragement, and patience especially when a balance could not be struck between my academic journey and commitments at home. To my loving mother, Ms Terry Mlambo, thank you for having faith in me even when the whole world thought I could not make it. You gave me hope hence I am what today because of you.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICISS</td>
<td>International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty</td>
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<td>P-5</td>
<td>Permanent members of the UNSC</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<td>NTC</td>
<td>National Transition Council</td>
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<td>R2P</td>
<td>Responsibility to Protect</td>
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<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Committee</td>
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<td>SNC</td>
<td>Syrian National Council</td>
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<td>UNGA</td>
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<td>Zimbabwe National Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZRP</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Republic Police</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ............................................................................................................................... i  
DECLARATION FORM ........................................................................................................... ii  
DEDICATION......................................................................................................................... iii  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ......................................................................................................... iv  
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS ......................................................................... v  
TABLE OF CONTENTS ......................................................................................................... vi  
CHAPTER ONE ......................................................................................................................... 1  
1.0 INTRODUCTION .............................................................................................................. 1  
1.1 Background of the Study ............................................................................................... 1  
1.2 Statement of the Problem ............................................................................................ 2  
1.3 Purpose of the Study .................................................................................................... 3  
1.3 Significance of the Study .............................................................................................. 3  
1.5 Assumptions of the study ............................................................................................. 4  
1.6 Objectives of the study ................................................................................................. 4  
1.7 Research questions ....................................................................................................... 5  
1.8 Delimitations of the study ............................................................................................ 5  
1.9 Limitations of the study ............................................................................................... 6  
1.10 Definition of key words ............................................................................................. 6  
1.11 Proposed chapter Outline .......................................................................................... 7  
CHAPTER TWO ..................................................................................................................... 8  
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ........................................ 8  
2.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................... 8  
2.2 Theoretical Framework ............................................................................................... 8  
2.2.1 Theory of Liberal Institutionalism ........................................................................ 8  
2.3 The Concept of Responsibility to Protect .................................................................... 9  
2.3.1 Coercive Measures of the Responsibility to Protect ......................................... 11  

5.2 Summary .................................................................................................................................................. 41
5.3 Conclusions of the study ......................................................................................................................... 42
5.4 Recommendations of the study ............................................................................................................... 45
5.0 Areas for Further Research ..................................................................................................................... 46
REFERENCES .................................................................................................................................................. 47
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

International politics after Cold War have been characterised by increased focus on human rights (Brown, 2008). In some states such as Iraq, Syria, Libya, South Sudan and Palestine, human rights are being violated while United Nations (UN) member-states continuously engage in protracted debates on whether to intervene in order to prevent further bloodshed. The use of force to prevent gross human rights violations in other states is highly controversial because it violates fundamental norms and principles in international relations protecting states from interference by other states, such as the principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention. However, in September 2005 at the UN World Summit in New York, the General Assembly (UNGA) unanimously adopted the principle of ‘Responsibility to Protect (R2P). According to Evans (2012) the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a set of principles that provide the international community with a framework for taking action to prevent or stop mass atrocities.

Gartner (2011) points out that the R2P principle was in response to a number of recent historical cases which included the Rwandan genocide of 1994 which killed thousands of people, the massacre of 8,000 Bosnian civilians in Srebrenica in 1995, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) air bombardment of Kosovo in 1999. On March 17th 2011, the UN Security Council (UNSC) adopted resolution number 1973, which demanded an immediate ceasefire of all hostilities in the civil conflict in Libya and authorised the international community to impose a no-fly zone to enforce this ceasefire. On March 19th, implementation of resolution 1973 commenced as French fighter jets bombed military vehicles belonging to the former Libyan leader Colonel Mummar Gadaffi’s regime that were advancing on the rebel stronghold of Benghazi. According to Bellamy (2012), NATO assumed command of all operations relating to enforcement of the no-fly zone on 31 March 2011, which ultimately and actively helped foster regime change in Libya. On October 31st the UN effectively ended NATO’s mandate for military action on the basis of resolution 1973.
The military intervention in Libya was the first time that the UNSC explicitly authorized the use of military force.

The 2011 Syrian uprising is part of the wider Arab revolts against governments and its leaders. These demonstrations across Syria developed into a nationwide revolt organized by opposition left thousands dead (Beauchamp, 2012). According to UN (2012) the over 220 000 innocent civilians have been killed since the war broke out in 2011. Adams (2015) asserts that government forces were alleged to drop crude improvised barrel bombs packed with chemical weapons while extremist groups linked to the Islamic State of Iraq. The above examples show the need for intervention through responsibility to protect principle as a useful norm in shaping military humanitarian intervention in any state.

Notwithstanding the successful implementation of the R2P principle in Libya which culminated in the ouster of Colonel Gaddafi’s regime from power in Libya, the situation in Syria is however different. Adams (2015) allude that there is a lack of political will from the international community to use the R2P through the United Nations to intervene and stopping the civil war in Syria. The turmoil and massive human rights violations have led to numerous calls for the international community to take decisive action by implementing the R2P principle in Syria just like in Libya. This study therefore seeks to understand through an academic enquiry the impact of the non-implementation of the R2P norm in Syria by the international community.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is lack of consensus on the R2P among the permanent five members of the UNSC. Russia and China have used the veto power to block decisions that will bring an effect to the implementation of the R2P in Syria. As a result of the clash of interests between the UNSC members more than 220,000 people who include innocent civilians, children and women have been killed from 2011 to 2017. Non-military measures including diplomatic efforts, economic sanctions, travel bans and arms embargo on the Syrian government and opposition groups have failed to halt the mass atrocities and profound levels of migration of Syrians fleeing the war. The people of Syria are now displaced all over the world and few countries are willing to give them shelter and food. Despite such a tragic scenario, there is seems to be
no urgent desire by the international community to implement the R2P principle as done in Libya. The inaction by the international community is perpetuating the humanitarian crisis in Syria. Each day innocent Syrians are bombarded by heavy military weapons by Government forces while opposition groups are also beheading and exterminating people suspected to be sympathetic to the ruling party ((Bellamy, 2012) notes that if the Syrian crisis is not urgently stopped, it poses a serious threat to international peace and security, specifically to neighbouring countries such as Iran, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel. Negative spill-over effects will be felt through the massive flow of refugees into these countries.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to assess the impact of using the R2P principle in shaping military intervention in Syria.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study hopes to be of significant importance to the following:

**Government of Syria**

The study is socially relevant because it deals with the tension between national sovereignty and respect for human rights. A significant and recurring topic in the realm of international politics is the need to protect citizens from atrocities. The study shall thus assist in awakening the moral conscience of the Government of Syria to engage various opposition groups with a view to stop the civil war and also make efforts address various grievances through peaceful mechanisms.

**Middle East Countries**

The findings of the study can be of use to Middle East countries (Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey and Iraq) that might face a similar internal conflict that is underway in Syria. The way in which the conflict will be resolved can become a lesson through which other conflict situations might be addressed.
United Nations member states

Military intervention has severe effects on the country concerned especially in the aftermath of implementation of the R2P principle in Libya. The Syrian conflict serves as a litmus test on the commitment by the international community to use the R2P to intervene and stop mass atrocities. This study shall be important in demonstrating to UN member states the dangers associated with the selective application of R2P in conflict torn states. In equal measure, the study shall add weight to the urgent need for the international community to intervene in Syria in order to save innocent civilians.

Scholars

This inquiry is scientifically relevant because it contributes to the academic debate on the R2P principle. This study shall therefore contribute to academic discussion on the reluctant application of the R2P principle in the Syrian context.

1.5 Assumptions of the study

The following assumptions guided the study:

(i) The international community appears not to be willing to implement the R2P principle in Syria.

(ii) The continuous abuse of the veto power by the five permanent (P5) members of the United Nations Security Council namely America, Britain, France, China and Russia is worsening the Syrian crisis.

1.6 Objectives of the study

The following research objectives guided the study:

(i) To establish the importance of using the R2P principle in shaping military intervention in Syria.
(ii) To understand the causes of the Syrian conflict.

(iii) To identify the merits and demerits of the R2P principle in humanitarian intervention.

(iv) To understand the self-interests of the UNSC members in the Syrian crisis.

(v) To provide recommendations on the strategies that can be used to resolve the Syrian conflict.

1.7 Research questions

The study was guided by following research questions:

(i) What is the importance of using the R2P principle in shaping military intervention in conflict torn states?

(ii) What are the causes of the Syrian conflict?

(iii) What are the merits and demerits of the R2P principle particularly its possible use in military intervention in Syria?

(iv) In what ways are the five permanent (P5) members of the United Nations Security Council abusing their veto power in the Syrian conflict?

(v) Which strategies can be utilised by the international community to resolve the Syrian conflict.

1.8 Delimitations of the study

This study focused on the usefulness of the R2P principle in the Syrian civil war from 2011-2016. Reference was also made to other countries such as Libya where the implementation of the R2P has been successful.
1.9 Limitations of the study

Moen (2006) posits that every empirical study has its limitations. The current study was not able to sample people from Syria whose views could have enriched such a research. However, the study was only limited to three research participants whose knowledge and experience in United Nations peacekeeping missions in various parts of the world was considered appropriate. Furthermore, qualitative methodology used in this study does not allow much objectivity hence the study findings were context specific and could not be generalised. The researcher also faced challenges of access and appointments with the key respondents. While access was later granted, appointments had to be continuously rescheduled as some of key respondents had busy schedules. The researcher, however, eventually succeeded in interviewing the key respondents.

1.10 Definition of key words

Military intervention

Activity undertaken by a state, a group within a state, a group of states or an international organization which interferes coercively in the domestic affairs of another state (Vincent, 1994).

State sovereignty

A defining principle of interstate relations and a foundation of world order for the past several hundred years (ICISS, 2001).

Humanitarian intervention

The trans-boundary use of military force in order to avert large-scale and grave human suffering of people (Heinze, 2009).

Principle

A fundamental truth that serves as the foundation for a system of beliefs or behaviour and for a chain of reasoning (Evans, 2007).
1.11 Proposed chapter Outline

This dissertation comprises of five chapters as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction

Focuses on the general introduction and brief background of the study as well as the identification of the research problem. The chapter also outlined the purpose and objectives of study, delimitation and limitations of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Looks at the theoretical framework underpinning the research study. Relevant research literature on the R2P and the Syrian conflict were also reviewed as well as the theoretical framework underpinning this study.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

Outlines the research methodology, research design, the data collection strategy and tools as well as the data procedures and analysis.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings.

Presentation and analysis of data and a discussion of the findings from the collected data.

Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations and Areas of Further Research.

Provides the synthesis of the findings, conclusions based on the research findings and also advance recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provided a review of available literature on responsibility to protect with particular interest on how this norm could be used to shape humanitarian intervention in Syria. The first part of the chapter reviewed literature on the responsibility to protect by providing necessary definitions and explanations of key issues relevant to the study. The theory relevant to this study was explored as well as the empirical literature from related studies in different parts of world and a literature synthesis is then carried out. The chapter concluded by giving a summary of empirical studies.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The Theory of Liberal Institutionalism underpins this study and is explored in order to establish how it impacts on the application of the responsibility to protect.

2.2.1 Theory of Liberal Institutionalism

This study was anchored on the Theory of Institutional Liberalism which emphasis the role that international organisations and international society play in world affairs. Liberal institutionalism argues that in order for there to be peace in international affairs, states must cooperate with each other and in effect yield some of their sovereignty to create integrated communities aimed at promoting economic growth and respond to regional and international security issues (Keohane, 2012). According to Bull (2010) international society exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common interests and common values, for a society which binds them through common set of rules in their relations within one another and share in working together. Keohane (2012) identified four characteristics of liberal institutionalism namely: multiple channels which allow for interaction among actors across national borders, increasing interaction and links between actors and non-state actors, states seeking to maximize absolute gains through cooperation, and also addressing the greatest obstacle to cooperation in world affairs due to non-compliance or cheating by states.
The Theory of Liberal Institutionalism also postulates that non-state actors and those that are marginalized by the modernist project can be brought back into world affairs as it focuses on international organisations and international regimes that are based on rules, norms and principles governing interaction of state and non-state actors (Jackson and Sorensen, 2012:9). Keohane (2012) assert that the international regimes such as principles, norms, rules and procedures contain injunctions on behaviour and obligations. The rise in globalization and concerns over terrorism, drug trafficking and pandemics such as HIV/AIDS has shown that states can no longer react unilaterally to these threats but rather through regional and global regimes where policy responses can be coordinated in dealing with such new security threats (Jackson and Sorensen, 2012:9). For instance, the development of the African Union is a good example of how states have formed regional communities aimed at dealing with policy issues. It can be argued that the African Union has created a set of rules permitting states to collectively achieve outcomes which cannot be obtained acting individually (Evans, 2008).

Liberal institutionalism has enabled states to deal with security issues such as nuclear non-proliferation, civil wars and the threat of terrorism through international organisations such as the United Nations (Hoffman, 2010). Liberal institutionalism believes in the common interests of human beings and that they are capable of cooperating in domestic affairs as well as in international affairs because this leads to greater benefits for all. Examples of the African Union and the United Nations demonstrate that international cooperation is possible. International institutions promote cooperation between states which reduces the lack of trust between states. Resultantly, the development of norms and principles such as the Responsibility to Protect demonstrate the role international organisations play in international relations. The Theory of Liberal Institutionalism is therefore relevant to evaluating the use of military intervention in Syria as the obtaining situation requires international cooperation.

2.3 The Concept of Responsibility to Protect

The concept of R2P evolved out of dismay at the international community’s failure to prevent mass atrocity crimes in Rwanda and elsewhere in the 1990s. It represents a re-conceptualization of the relationship between state sovereignty and human rights, in which sovereignty is viewed “not as an absolute term of authority but as a kind of responsibility” (Thakur, 2013: 251). In general terms, R2P seeks to prevent, and respond to, genocide and other mass atrocity crimes by recognising duties held by individual states and the
international community (Lie, 2008).

The term Responsibility to Protect (R2P) was coined by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), established in the aftermath of NATO’s military action during the Kosovo crisis of 1999 and whose report was published in 2001 (Evans and Sahnoun, 2001). It is often described as an emerging international norm, which sets forth that states have the primary responsibility to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing and when a state fails to protect its populations, the responsibility falls on the international community (International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, 2001:2).

The R2P is only intended to protect people against certain specified mass crimes when the State in which they are taking place is ‘manifestly failing’ to do so (Evans, 2011). This view is similar to the original United Nations General Assembly World Summit Outcome Document (2005) which articulated that the R2P approach assigns states the primary responsibility to protect its citizens from war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and ethnic cleansing. Only if this responsibility has not been acted upon domestically, responsibility is transferred to the international community which is allowed to use force as an instrument of last resort and when other peaceful means have failed.

The R2P encompasses instruments of early warning, conflict prevention, mediation, good governance, military enforcement and may even extent into peace building and reconciliation after the end of a conflict. Despite the emphasis that R2P has much broader aspects, there is nevertheless a persistent and widespread perception that R2P is essentially synonymous with military action in response to mass atrocities (Evans, 2011). Indeed, the elastic nature of the R2P definition has sometimes created confusion. This unfortunately contributes to resistance of the R2P by some quarters and has also led to a tendency to overlook the importance of non-military efforts to mitigate mass atrocities. According to Thakur (2013), military activities or their threat can indeed be useful to prevent or halt mass atrocities and, with the caveat that R2P is more than military action.
Although there is growing international acceptance of R2P, a minority of states remain suspicious of the concept, particularly because its association with non-consensual military action for humanitarian purposes presents challenges to traditional notions of state sovereignty and non-intervention in domestic affairs (Garwood-Gowers, 2012). Those concerns are worsened by a perception that R2P is being applied selectively and inconsistently as a tool of powerful Western states (Boreham, 2011).

It should be noted that most academic attention and political debate on R2P has centred on the military intervention aspect of the concept rather than the preventive dimension which offers the greatest potential to enhance civilian protection. The former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stressed that the best form of protection is prevention. According to Ban Ki-moon, prevention saves lives as well as resources (UNSG, 2011). Breau (2007) acknowledges that while others disagree with this view, in practice, preventive action has remained an under-utilized part of the R2P norm (Breau, 2007). He further posits that decisive international action to protect civilians has usually been taken only after full-scale conflict or mass violence has erupted. The R2P therefore offers a more effective international engagement platform aid at assisting states under stress or at risk of imminent crisis. This potential stems from R2P’s dual functions as a “speech act” to catalyse political will for earlier action, and as a specific “policy agenda” for preventing mass atrocity violence (Bellamy, 2009:160). Furthermore, R2P’s major contribution to advancing the protection of civilians agenda lies in its scope ability to mobilize political support for operational preventive action in circumstances where a state is willing but unable to fulfil its obligations under the First Pillar of the R2P. Where there are initial signs of violence that threatens civilians, R2P may act as the catalyst for the international community to offer timely assistance to a state to stabilize a volatile situation before it escalates to the point of mass atrocity crimes. In such circumstances, international involvement occurs with the consent of the state. The international community’s engagement in Kenya’s post-election unrest in 2008 is a recent example.

2.3.1 Coercive Measures of the Responsibility to Protect

The R2P’s Second Pillar envisages the possibility of preventive deployment of military forces to assist a state that is under stress. The Secretary-General’s 2009 Report expressly states that
“pillar two could also encompass military assistance to help beleaguered States deal with armed non-state actors threatening both the State and its population” (UNSG, 2009). In this regard, R2P is entirely consistent with, and seeks to build on, earlier UN reports (DPKO, 1995; UNSG, 1992; Brahimi, 2000) that have identified preventive deployment of peace operations in the early stages of unrest as an important component of the Security Council’s tools for preventing conflict and maintaining international peace and security. Despite long-standing UN recommendations to utilize preventive deployment, there has been little progress towards implementing such a vision. In fact, the Security Council’s approach to conflict situations has continued to be reactive in nature, intervening only after societies have disintegrated and full-scale conflict has broken out (Breau, 2012). This is despite the R2P’s explicit emphasis on preventive action to assist states under stress could provide an opportunity to finally realize the potential of preventive deployment.

Preventive deployment usually consist of “multi-faceted operations with at least “three constitutive pillars” military, political and socioeconomic (Stamnes, 2011:19). In addition, given that every R2P situation will be based on its own set of historical, political and cultural circumstances, each preventive deployment should be specifically tailored to those conditions on a case-by-case basis. However, existing UN peace forces are not trained to identify the risks of, or respond to, genocide and other mass atrocity crimes due to limited capacity. The UN Secretary-General acknowledged that current UN missions are “constrained by limited resources, competing mandated priorities, and operating areas that are confined by national borders” (UNSG, 2011).

2.3.2 Non-coercive Measures of the Responsibility to Protect

Article 34 of the UN Charter gives the Security Council the power to “investigate any dispute, or any situation that might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuation of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security”. While this investigative function remains under-utilized, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in 2011 referred to Article 34 as a basis for a range of non-coercive preventive measures in the face of impending crises (UNSG, 2011). Two of the tools mentioned by the Secretary-General are the use of preventive diplomacy and mediation to de-escalate situations where mass atrocity crimes are looming as well as the deployment of fact-finding missions or human rights monitors.
Kenya stands as an example of the successful employment of such preventive tools in an R2P context (Evans, 2010). Early action by African Union mediators, with the support of the United Nations and civil society actors contributed to the cessation of post-election violence. The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (GCR2P, 2010:2) described the international engagement in the Kenyan crisis as a model of “how non-coercive tools, such as mediation, can help halt atrocities when employed early with sufficient resources and international support”. Others such as Bellamy (2010) have however suggested that the African Union’s involvement, rather than R2P, was the major catalyst for international engagement with Kenya. Nevertheless, it should be appreciated that R2P strategies played a role in the international community’s diplomatic response as non-coercive tools were effective in diffusing mounting violence in Kenya.

The second form of non-coercive preventive action is the deployment of fact-finding missions or human rights monitors in the face of mounting violence. Such missions have the potential of contributing towards the protection of civilians. For instance, the presence of international players on the ground may help to de-escalate a volatile situation and contribute to a decrease in violence. Evans (2011) cites the example of the 2005 establishment of a UN human rights monitoring field operation in Nepal as contributing to a “dramatic reduction in violations, with summary executions and disappearances nearly eliminated”. According to Weinstein (2007) where the presence of a UN mission is not sufficient to prevent violence from increasing, such field operations may still be able to operate as a valuable source of information-gathering and reporting for R2P early-warning systems. By sounding the alarm bells on possible mass atrocity crimes, such a mission could contribute to the mobilization of political support for more robust international assistance involving coercive measures.

2.3.3 International Debates on the R2P

There has been a series of efforts to operationalise R2P, both within the reasoning as well as the daily work of institutions aimed at building political support for the concept (De Franco, 2015). The R2P is a principled norm that does not create precise legal obligations and therefore its implementation is largely depended on practice and precedence (Betts &
Orchard, 2014). According to Welsh (2014), the R2P is a complex norm containing more than one set of prescriptions, which not only apply to different actors (e.g in Pillar One, national governments, and in the case of Pillars Two and Three, to various international actors), but also exist at different levels of specificity. This means that there are substantial variations in the degree and nature of implementation of different prescriptions and that one set of prescriptions therefore may become more heavily “weighted” in the overall understanding of the norm. Welsh (2014:136) rightly stresses that “whether or not military intervention occurs is not an appropriate “test” for effectiveness.

The “R2P’s core function, as a norm, is to emphasise what is appropriate and to shine a spotlight on what is deemed inappropriate” (Welsh, 2014:136). R2P’s strength should be measured by the degree to which notions of protection are invoked by international actors during times of real or imminent crisis. The R2P should also be measured on how it serves as a catalyst for debate ((Bellamy in Welsh, 2014). Therefore, “what the second and third pillars of R2P demand is a “duty of conduct” by members of the international community: to identify when atrocity crimes are being committed (or when there is threat thereof) and to deliberate on how the three pillar framework might apply.

Many interventions have been falsely justified in terms of humanitarianism and in turn tarnished the credibility of the norm (Wheeler, 2000). Moreover, Stuenkel (2014:11) observes how literature relating to the use of force tends to crudely differentiate between the ‘pro-interventionist Global North and a pro-sovereignty Global South. This can be attributed to the fact that military intervention has often been deemed as representing as Weiss (2004) put it, a ‘trojan horse’. Exhorting an appearance of humanitarian concern whilst concealing neo-imperialist strategic interests; the legacy of the 2003 Iraq Invasion best demonstrates this perception.

Whilst R2P does not alter pre-existing norms, rooting itself in international laws regarding the coercive use of force, when operationalised R2P directly violates conventional understandings of territorial integrity and sovereign independence. Notably, the third and final pillar of R2P stipulates that certain provisions ought to be met prior to implementation. Traditionally, the use of force for the defence of human rights has been challenged by legal and moral discussions, regarding issues of legitimacy and selectivity. In this sense, non-
adherence, as Hehir (2012:207) argues, can be understood as being due to the misuse of the duty to intervene, rather than defending sovereignty as an absolute inviolability irreconcilable with Humanitarian Interventionism.

It should be appreciated that there is currently no single world system which could effectively implement the R2P. As observed in the Libyan scenario, different elements are implemented by different actors at different levels. The fragmentation, divisions at regional and global level regarding the R2P that presently exist fuels criticism against application of R2P. The UN has also demonstrated its inability to implement its own resolution on the R2P due to significant resource gap. The UN does not have the military means for a rapidly deployable R2P operations and thus delegates the implementation to militarily more capable actors most of whom it has practically no oversight control. This has tended to weaken the implementation of the R2P.

2.3.4 The Libyan Conflict

The decision to intervene in Libya on March 17th 2011 and thus the adoption of the Security Council Resolution 1973 was the first time that the UN Security had authorised military intervention in a functioning and non-consenting sovereign state for the purpose of protecting civilians (Glanville 2012:325). Libya was the first and thus far the only time R2P was invoked in full force. Libya is also an important case in point; first and foremost, because of the serious threat the recent crisis brought and still brings to people in that country. Moreover, NATO’s 2011 intervention has been promoted by some as a clear-cut case of successful R2P implementation (Evans, 2011), whilst others have accused it of killing the concept altogether (Rieff, 2011).

The Libyan conflict began in the wake of the Arab Spring and the uprisings of civil societies in the MENA-region. Libyans took to the streets on 15th of February 2011 demanding the resignation of the Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi (Evans, 2011). The protests quickly expanded to different cities and shortly the National Transition Council (NTC) was established as a replacement to the government once defeated. Gaddafi responded with brutal force and threats to “chase the cockroaches” and “cleanse Libya house by house”, forcing the
international community and regional organizations to condemn such actions and rhetoric (Madsen & Selsbaek, 2012:14).

Many countries and organizations reacted instantaneously, as France recognized the NTC as the legitimate government and called for intervention against the regime to stop further atrocities against the people; followed by the UK and League of Arab States (LAS). The situation quickly escalated to a civil war, with governmental and pro-Gaddafi regimes controlling most territories, while the NTC held others in East Libya. Resultantly, the UN Security Council Resolution 1970 was adopted by the UNSC on 26th of February 2011, only two weeks after the initial protests, following demands by the Libyan civil society, the African Union (AU), and Human Rights Council, among others. The Resolution proposed the imposition of arms embargo and travel ban of members of the regime, along with freezing their assets. The EU immediately imposed economic and diplomatic sanctions on the Gaddafi regime. However, this proved not sufficient and resolution 1973 was suggested in March 17th, demanding an immediate cease-fire and ending of mass atrocities, along with an imposition of a no-flight zone over Libyan territory to obstruct further use of airstrikes against the population. The critical part in the resolution specified the use of “all necessary measures”, to protect the civilian, yet with no foreign boots on Libyan soil. NATO led this operation known as “Operation Unified Protector”, assisted by Sweden, Jordan, UAE and Qatar (Madsen & Selsbaek, 2012:46).

It should be noted that the opaqueness of terms in the UNSC Resolution 1973 such as “all necessary measures” led to increased criticism against the misuse of R2P in Libya. There is limited doubt that NATO overused force by supporting the NTC with arms and also striking pro-Gaddafi forces who did not cause any threats against civilians at the moments of the strikes. This view is supported by Evans (2013) who also observed that NATO indeed misused the R2P to guarantee regime change and its actions were not in line with the principle which only emphasizes the protection of citizens, and not agenda setting or regime removal. In sum, the UN Security Council Resolution 1973 threatened the survival of R2P as it lacked clear guidelines on procedures to be followed during military intervention and also ensuring no risk of the principle overarching.
2.4 The Syrian Conflict

The Syrian conflict erupted in March 2011 after the torture of some students who had painted anti-government graffiti (Thakur, 2013). The anti-government protests grew steadily across Syria as tens of thousands of Syrians demanded extensive reforms as well as the resignation of President Bashar al-Assad. Faced with growing uprising, the Syrian government resorted to unleashing violence against the protesters while also banning many foreign journalists (Gifkins, 2012:375). Realising that the anti-government demonstrations continued to persists, the Syrian government adopted a harsher strategy and bombarded Dera, the city where the protests broke out (Thakur, 2013). In 2012, the growing unrest reached Damascus, the capital city later Aleppo before becoming a fully-fledged civil war. The protestors are demand more freedom and political and economic reforms (Allison, 2013). According to Hansson (2014), Syria became a battlefield between governmental forces and rebels following the crackdown on protestors by military forces in 2011.

By mid 2011, a number of opposition groups were formed against the Assad regime in Syria. The Syrian National Council (SNC) created in Turkey in October 2011 is the largest opposition group (Trenin, 2013:6). The SNC has pursued a total regime change agenda in Syria and called on the international community to intervene. The SNC established the Free Syrian Army (FSA) which includes deserters from military forces and rebellious civilians. The goal of the FSA was to overthrow the Assad regime (ICRtoP, 2013). The establishment of rebel army led to the breakdown of dialogue aimed at preventing the outbreak of a civil war. By the end of 2011, the Syrian government had lost control of many cities and the conflict had also evolved into a major civil war among ethnic, sectarian and ideological groupings (Gifkins, 2012:375). Many different minorities, such as the Alawites, Christians and Kurds, took up arms in order to protect their villages in case of repercussions for historical reasons by other minorities or even the Sunni majority in an effort to establish autonomous regions.

It is important to also appreciate that Assad’s refusal to relinquish power gave rise to the creation and competition of two axes. The pro-Assad axis consist of Russia, China, Iran, Venezuela and North Korea while the anti-Assad axis consists of the United States of America, European countries, Turkey and some Arab states (ICRtoP, 2013). These two axes
have been supporting either the Assad regime or the rebels in accordance with their own interests. In fact, Syria has become a regional and international battlefield with various groups with very different ideologies involved in a multi-layered conflict (ICRtoP, 2013).

Since the Syrian conflict began in 2011, over 280,000 people have been killed (The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2016). The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs reported that as of October 2016, there were over 4.8 million Syrian refugees and at least 6.1 million internally displaced persons, which is the largest number of people displaced by any conflict in the world (The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2016).

The United Nations Human Rights Council–mandated Commission of Inquiry has asserted that Syrian government forces have committed crimes against humanity as a matter of state policy. Syrian government airstrikes in residential areas have breached the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2139, which demanded all parties cease attacks on civilians and the use of indiscriminate weapons (The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2016). The Commission of Inquiry has reported that government-allied militias and other pro-government forces have also conducted widespread attacks on the population, committing crimes against humanity, including extermination, murder, rape or other forms of sexual violence, torture, imprisonment, enforced disappearance and other inhumane (The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2016). Numerous armed opposition groups, such as the Islamic State of Iraq, have also committed war crimes, violating International Humanitarian Law by targeting religious minorities through mass killings and sexual enslavement. According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, between June 2014 and October 2016, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria executed 4,500 people, including nearly 2,450 of them being civilians (The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2016).

The Syrian government has not been able to stop mass atrocities and has also committed much of them. The international community has not been able to prevent further escalation of the conflict or to create a common approach to the Syrian crisis, arguably as a result of Russian and Chinese vetoes of every proposed resolution in the UN Security Council (Human Rights Commission, 2012). The danger and illegitimacy of Western interventions in previous
instances are repeatedly used by Russia and China as examples illustrating the negative consequences unilateral action could result in. Trenin (2013:6) argues that, the NATO-led intervention in Libya and the subsequent removal of Gaddafi damaged Western credibility in the minds of the Russian authorities. The intervention in Libya, for instance, had according to the Russian leaders shown that when certain states take it in their own hands to act beyond the UN mandate, it not only damages the responsibility of the UN to deal collectively and multilaterally with threats to peace and security, but it also leads to chaos.

Due to the persisting humanitarian crisis in Syria which is immense, there is an opportunity for the international community to utilize the R2P to restore peace and security in that country. The R2P principle notwithstanding some of the apparent challenges remains an effective mechanism for shaping humanitarian intervention and stopping mass atrocities occurring daily in Syria. The Assad regime in Syria has not only immensely failed to abide by Pillar One of R2P, but also bears primary responsibility for the ongoing commission of mass atrocities and crimes, exacerbated by their refusal of Pillar Three involving intervention. As hostile divisions thrive within Syria, the United Nations Security Council continues to fail in enforcing compliance with intervention. Outside political influence, including western liberal democracies and the wider middle eastern regional powers, continue to weaken Syria’s chances of ceasing hostilities.

2.5 Role of the UNSC in the Syrian Crisis

Taking into account the multiple use of the veto by Russia and China in the six year war in Syria, it is imperative to analyse the use of the veto in such situations. The veto goes back to the founding of the U.N. in 1945 and was seen as a way of enticing the Great Powers into the UN (Evans, 2013). Overtime, the veto, and the threat of a veto, has given the powers major leverage that they have never been willing to limit in any previous U.N. reform package. This view was by eloquently articulated by the Russian President Vladimir Putin who wrote to a Russian and foreign audience, “Let me remind you that the veto right is not a whim but an integral part of the global system, codified in the U.N. Charter” (Zongze, 2012). The U.N. Security Council is a political body which gives major power to its five permanent members namely; United States of America, Britain, France, China and Russia. More often than not, its
voting rules have ended in stalemate. This has been a major reason why both humanitarian intervention, and R2P, has been perceived as politically driven and selective because of the workings of the U.N. Security Council.

Importantly, the authorization and enforcement of R2P rests firmly with the United Nations Security Council. This status is derived from the UN Charter, according to which, the Council has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security (United Nations Charter Article 24). The U.N. Security Council is the one that assesses whether there is a threat to peace, breach of peace or an act of aggression and also decides whether and what kind of measures (without or with force) should be taken to deal with the situation (United Nations Charter Articles 39, 41 and 42). In addition, through United Nations Charter Article 25) all United Nations member states agreed to accept and carry out decisions of the United Nations Security Council. Furthermore, the R2P is considered to be a normative standard and a moral imperative of the international community hence paragraph 139 of the World Summit Outcome Document (2005) recognises that the United Nations Security Council has the authority to invoke the R2P. Calls for restricting or even eliminating the veto available to the five-permanent member states of the Security Council are as old as the UN itself.

The former Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon in his Report on the R2P in 2011 urged the permanent members “to refrain from employing or threatening to employ the veto in situations of manifest failure” in order to meet their obligations concerning R2P and therefore calls them “to each a mutual understating to that effect” (Glanville, 2012:325). France holds the belief that the permanent membership and the veto should not be considered a privilege but a responsibility. Therefore, the Security Council should be an institution that finds solutions and not one that will paralyze them. The United Kingdom generally supports the idea not to use its veto in cases of mass atrocities. The USA accepts R2P including the issue of military intervention. Bearing in mind the vast military power that the US enjoys before other countries, USA does not want to be restricted or controlled by the UN Security Council. Even when the Council confirms USA’s position and the US is acting through the Council, “the United States tends to reserve to itself the role of arbiter of what a Council’s yes means”. Hence, USA does not want any type of restriction to its veto (Evans, 2013). The United States is by far the most influential UN member state, Washington more than any other
national capital still sets the UN agenda, and its policy on R2P will continue to be the most decisive in conditioning the UN’s record of R2P implementation (Glanville, 2012).

Zongze (2012) points out that Arab and Western countries introduced draft resolutions in October 2011 as well as in 2012 calling for an end to the flow of arms into Syria, that President Bashar al/Assad to yield key power to a deputy, for a government of national unity, and for preparations to hold free presidential and parliamentary elections. China and Russia have however vetoed all these resolutions as they resolutely opposed to any resolution which could set off a chain of events leading to one similar to UNSC Resolution 1973 that authorised military intervention in Libya. The two countries have further advanced several arguments that such a resolution, would put Syria on the path to civil war; the Security Council should not dictate internal politics and succession; and the only solution to the Syrian crisis is through an inclusive, Syrian led process to address the legitimate aspirations of the people in an environment free of violence and human rights abuses (Garwood-Gowers, 2012).

It is also interesting to note that Russian has been the most explicit about the connection of Libya and Syria. It has repeatedly stated that it will not accept a “Libya-style” solution for Syria. The Russian President, Putin even went further to point out that, “Learning from that bitter experience, we are against any UN Security Council resolutions that could be interpreted as a signal for military interference in the domestic processes of Syria” (“Russia’s Putin, 2012). It is also not difficult to appreciate that Russia has long-standing ties with Syria and sees these ties as a way to keep Russian influence in Middle East discussions including selling Syria military supplies and having a naval base in Syria. According to Russia, the veto is an “indispensable element of the international system which ensures checks and balances” and also stimulates members to seek compromise and consensus. Furthermore, the veto is a safeguard to the UN against “doubtful undertakings” such as the use of force over Kosovo in 1999, in Iraq in 2003 or the “pushing of Syria towards collapse” (Garwood-Gowers, 2012). Additionally, Russia believes that not vetoing Libya led to the bombing and toppling of the “legitimate government” hence continues to stoutly resist efforts to authorize any robust resolution for dealing with the Syrian crisis.
China has rather strict and traditional understanding regarding state sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs, China supports Pillar 1 of the R2P and in regard to Pillar 2, it calls for a ‘constructive assistance’ on the part of the international community by respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the host country (Zongze, 2012). An editorial in the People’s Daily referred to Libya as “a negative case study” (Garwood-Gowers, 2012). Zongze (2012) further argues that Libya demonstrated how the R2P proved nothing more than the pursuit of hegemony in the name of humanity hence Russia and China have used a double veto in the Security Council to block even mild punishments for Syria. China therefore calls for a peaceful solution first in Syria and only supports the use of force if that is conducted in a prudent way, authorized by the Security Council and on a case-by-case basis.

It suffices to state that there is heightened caution about yet another Western invasion of another Muslim country Responsibility to Protect raises international consciousness but does not significantly improve the international response to humanitarian crises. In this regard, it is prudent to strengthen international law based on obligations rather than discretionary rights. The threat of vetoes has led to repeated efforts to water down resolutions, for example by taking out any mention of the word sanctions. This reinforces the fact that, with current UN rules, future R2P resolutions are likely to be blocked, or to be so toothless that they put little additional pressure on states.

2.6 Summary

This literature review has provided diverse scholarly perspectives on the R2P. This chapter has also outlined the definition of R2P, its application and impact in conflict torn states has also been examined. The chapter has also discussed the causes of the Syrian conflict. A case study on the implementation of the R2P was also drawn from the Libyan conflict. The Institutional Liberalism Theory underpinned this study and assisted in the review of related literature. Furthermore, the review of related literature also unravelled certain gaps in the use of the R2P as a norm for shaping military intervention. Most academic discourse and analysis has largely been Western dominated which has tended emphasize on military intervention rather than other non-coercive tools are available in undertaking humanitarian intervention. The possible manipulation of the R2P has resulted in power contestations among the five
permanent members of United Nations Security Council and also affected the veto system. The chapter has underscored that the R2P was meant to enhance response to atrocities from the point of view of those in need of urgent protection, not the rights, privileges and interests of the intervening powers. As this interplay persists, innocent people in the Syria continue to suffer and die as a result of the protracted conflict.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on the research design, research methodology, population and sampling techniques, data collection methods and the instruments used in this study. The chapter concluded by describing the data analysis and presentation process as well as the ethical considerations underpinning this study.

3.2 Research Design

According to Kothari (2011), a research design is a plan that illustrates how one intends to conduct a research from the formulation of the problem to the writing of the final research report. This view is buttressed by Creswell (2009) who noted that a research design is a plan of action that links philosophical assumptions to specific methods. In other words, the research design ensures coherence between the chosen research methodology and the research methods employed. A research design, thus, is essential in ensuring that coherent and proper procedures are adopted throughout the study.

In this study, the case study research design was chosen. This particular research design was adopted as it allowed for the assessment of the use of the responsibility to protect norm as a tool for military intervention in the Syrian conflict. According to Silverman (2008), the case study design allows examination of how particular actions and perceptions are embedded in particular patterns of social organisations. In addition, a case study approach enables detailed and complex phenomena to be unravelled and explored using people's subjective realities (Denscombe, 2010).
Yin (2008), outlines the four characteristics of a case study as follows;

1. A descriptive study is one where the data collected constitute descriptions of psychological processes and events, and of the contexts in which they occurred (qualitative data). The main emphasis is always on the construction of verbal descriptions of behaviour or experience but quantitative data may be collected. In addition, high levels of detail are provided.

2. Narrowly focused case study typically offers a description of only a single individual, and sometimes about groups. Quite often the case study focuses on a limited aspect of a person, such as their psychopathological symptoms.

3. Combined objective and subjective data is where the researcher may combine objective and subjective data. All are regarded as valid data for analysis, and as a basis for inferences within the case study. Details of the subjective aspect, such as feelings, beliefs, impressions or interpretations may be combined. In fact, a case study is uniquely able to offer a means of achieving an in-depth understanding of the behaviour and experience of a single individual.

4. Process-oriented which enables the researcher to explore and describe the nature of processes, which occur over time.

3.3 Research Methodology

Research methodology is the overall approach to a research process. According to Creswell (2009), in order to systematically solve a research problem, there are three approaches that are used namely, qualitative, and quantitative and mixed approaches. This study was premised on the qualitative research approach. A qualitative research is an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning of naturally occurring phenomena in the social world (Welman, 2009). Tabinant (2012), asserts that qualitative research is a subjective process inquiry done in a natural setting in order to build a complex, holistic picture and described in words, in which the views of the informants are reported in informal and personal language. Qualitative research was chosen because it seeks to understand human experiences and their behaviours. The other reason for using qualitative research was the desire to fully understand the conception of the responsibility to protect norm given its
varying interpretation and application on the global arena. Furthermore, qualitative research was adopted because this research was exploratory and inductive in nature. According to Ngandu (2014), qualitative results are termed inductive since the researcher comes up with explanations from information gathered from research participants.

3.4 Population and Sample

Welman and Kruger (1999), affirm that a population is the study object made up of people, organisations, human products and events, or the conditions to which they are exposed. Similarly, Kolb (2008) confirms that a population is a group of people selected on the basis of their demographics, psychographics and geo-graphics to participate in the study. A study population therefore refers to the entire group of people to whom researchers wish to generalise the findings of a study, including persons who did not participate in the study. The study population comprised of the people of Syria, United Nations Member-States, the permanent five member-states of the United Nations Security Council and United Nations Peace Keepers.

Borg and Hall (2004) define a sample as that part of a large population that gives a representation of the entire population. In this study, a sample of three key participants shall be drawn from the target population, namely, one of senior officer of the rank of Captain from the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), one senior officer of the rank of Chief Superintendent from Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and one official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly from the International Affairs Desk responsible for Asia. The three participants were chosen on the basis of their United Nations peace keeping experiences in various missions in Africa and Asia.

3.5 Sampling Methods

In qualitative studies of this nature, non-probability sampling methods are considered more appropriate for selecting research participants on the basis of their knowledge and experience (Tabinant, 2012). In this regard, judgmental or purposive sampling method which is a non-probability approach was used to select research participants who possess wider knowledge and experience in international affairs especially the use of the R2P norm. MacDonald and
Tipton (2006), support such a stance by asserting that in purposive sampling the researcher selects particular elements from the population that are representative or informative about the topic of interests. Three research participants were therefore drawn, each from the Zimbabwe Republic Police, Zimbabwe National Army and Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the basis of their previous experiences in various United Nations peacekeeping missions. The Captain from ZNA gave views on the use the merits and demerits of military intervention under the R2P principle in Syria. The Chief Superintendent from ZRP discussed how the prolonged use of the R2P principle has on the internal security of Syria. Foreign Affairs official highlighted on the impact of the UN Security Council’s P5 is affected the use of the R2P principle in Syria.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

Data in this study was collected from primary and secondary sources. Primary data was gathered using research participants mentioned above. The Captain from ZNA gave views on the use the merits and demerits of military intervention under the R2P principle in Syria. The Chief Superintendent from ZRP discussed how the prolonged use of the R2P principle has on the internal security of Syria. Foreign Affairs official highlighted on the impact of the UN Security Council’s P5 is affected the use of the R2P principle in Syria. Moreover, the research participants shared their perspectives and interpretation of the R2P norm, its application in global affairs, merits and demerits, whether it was a useful tool for military intervention.

Similarly, secondary data was generated from documents on United Nations General Assembly’s Resolutions on Syria, United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Syria as well as Secretary-General's Annual Reports on Syria. As supported by Cooper and Schindler (2014) who pointed out that secondary data are interpretations of primary data which include textbooks, magazines newspaper articles among others. Furthermore, three peer reviewed journals highlighting the impact of inaction in the Syrian conflict as well as use of the R2P principle, were also used. This information was regarded as historical data structures of variables previously collected and assembled for some research problem than the current study (Denzil and Lincoln, 1994).
3.7 **Validity and Reliability**

According to Cooper and Schindler (2014) validity is the extent to which a research tool measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. This is also supported by Rilwan (2013) who refers to validity as something whose final results can be relied upon when tested. Validity in this study was ensured through meticulous record keeping, including rich and thick verbatim descriptions of participants’ accounts to support findings and ensuring that interpretations of data remained transparent. In addition, the researcher used in-depth interviews and document analysis to gather data from different sources of information in order to enhance validity.

On the other hand, Saunders (2009), defined reliability as the extent to which the research instrument yields consistent results by measuring what it is wished to measure. Likewise, Adams (2007) pointed out that reliability is used to measure consistency or more simply, to measure the degree to which an instrument measures the same way each time it is used under the same conditions with the same subjects. The study compared and identified similarities across accounts to ensure that different perspectives were represented. Furthermore, the researcher took steps to ensure that the findings are accurate and supported by data. The researcher also engaged the participants more than once during interviews to ensure that their viewpoints were consistent. Other seasoned researchers were also engaged to assist in bias in the study report.

3.8 **Data Presentation and Analysis**

Data presentation is the description of data in the form of tables, figures, charts and text (Creswell, 2005). Data in this study was obtained through document analysis and in-depth interviews and was analysed qualitatively. Data was coded, categorised and classified before comparisons and conclusions were drawn. The data was presented according to themes derived in the study.

On the other hand, Marshal and Rossman (1999) view data analysis as the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. In this study, data was analysed using the thematic analysis approach. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic
analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data. This approach of data analysis was considered appropriate for this study as it is a widely used qualitative research among a cluster of methods that focus on identifying patterned meaning across data sets.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

According to Angen (2000), ethical issues in qualitative research as was the case in this study are moral issues because he believes that the burden for conducting ethical research lies with the researcher. In this context, careful consideration was premised on how to access the selected participants and institutions, through obtaining permission to carry out the research. Informed consent was sought from each selected participant who took part in this study. Participants’ privacy, cultural values and protection were also observed and respected through the use of anonymity. Research participants were further reassured that in order to protect their identity, their names will never appear anywhere in this study including research report. In addition, participants were also assured that the information obtained would only be used for the purpose of this academic study. The research participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any point whenever they felt the need to do so. Permission to carry out the research was sought from the institutions involved.

3.10 Summary

This chapter has discussed issues pertaining to the research design and the justification for adopting the case study research design. The chapter has also focussed on the research methodology, population and sampling. A total of three (3) key informants shall be drawn from key populations. In addition, data shall be gathered using Key Informant Interviews and document analysis of peer reviewed articles as well as other materials on the use of the Responsibility to protect norm in Syria. The chapter concludes by discussing ethical issues which shall be taken into consideration in an effort to enhance the protection, privacy and confidentiality of research participants.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on data presentation, analysis and discussion. The data from interviews and document analysis was presented thematically. Analysis was done following the order of research questions. The discussion was aimed at finding meaning and relating the findings to the research questions.

4.2 Importance of using the R2P principle in shaping military intervention in Syria.

According to the Captain from the ZNA who was interviewed on the importance of using the R2P principle in shaping military intervention in Syria:

The use of the R2P principle in shaping military intervention in Syria is noble as it was designed to halt or avert the suffering of defenceless minorities by state or substate groups. However, R2P has not been objectively implemented in states torn by conflicts due to interplay of factors on the international arena. Furthermore, the R2P becomes important if interventions address the root-cause of the conflict but in many instances it falls short if one looks at Libya case in 2011. The intervention by NATO created a security vacuum instead of achieving security.

Similarly, Chief Superintendent from ZRP who at one time was served as a peacekeeper in United Nations Integrated Mission in Darfur (Sudan) pointed out that:

In situations like the one in Syria, only military intervention can directly put a stop to the massacre of civilians. The military intervention is a key tool for preventing escalation of conflict and massacre of civilians by the Syrian government and the opposition forces. It is quite apparent that non-military
measures, such as, diplomatic efforts, economic sanctions, travel bans, and arms embargo, have failed to bring to an end the conflict in Syria and in particular the mass atrocities of innocent civilians.

In the same breadth, the official from the Ministry of Foreign affairs underscored that:

Surely, it is clear that military intervention is required to stop the aggressive attacks on civilians in Syria. The international community cannot continue to cling onto failed efforts to justify its lack of action. By not invoking the deployment of military forces under R2P, the United Nations Security Council is failing to uphold its international mandate of maintaining world peace through protecting defenceless populations across the world.

The above findings are in sync with a study carried out by Evans (2011) which emphasized that the R2P is only intended to protect people against certain specified mass crimes when the state in which they are taking place is ‘manifestly failing’ to do so. Furthermore, the original United Nations General Assembly World Summit Outcome Document (2005) buttresses this view by clearly articulating that the R2P approach assigns states the primary responsibility to protect its citizens from war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and ethnic cleansing. However, if this responsibility has not been acted upon domestically, responsibility is transferred to the international community which is allowed to use force as an instrument of last resort and when other peaceful means have failed. It therefore follows that the use of the R2P principle as a useful norm in shaping military humanitarian intervention in Syria is justified as a coercive measure since non-coercive measures appear to have failed. Thakur (2013) also supports this view by affirming in his study that military intervention or threat thereof can indeed be useful in preventing or halting mass atrocities.

4.3 Causes of the Syrian conflict.

The Captain from ZNA pointed out that:

The causes of the Syrian conflict are multi-faceted ranging from clash of interests of the Great Powers (Russia and America), interference in the domestic affairs of
a sovereign state, dictatorship, repressions, good governance, and regime change agenda by Western governments (especially the USA for its ultra-motives).

The other research participants highlighted during interviews that the civil war in Syria can be attributed to the lack of economic, social and political freedoms amongst the populace. Crimes against humanity and violations of human rights are being committed through uprisings, anti-government protests or civil wars. Thus, thousands of civilian people are being killed in furtherance of personal agendas.

These views above are also supported by the findings made by Thakur (2013) who noted that the Syrian conflict erupted in March 2011 after the torture of some students who had painted anti-government graffiti. The anti-government protests grew steadily across Syria as tens of thousands of Syrians demanded extensive reforms as well as the resignation of President Bashar al-Assad. Faced with growing uprising, the Syrian government resorted to unleashing violence against the protesters while also banning many foreign journalists (Gifkins, 2012:375). Realising that the anti-government demonstrations were persisting, the Syrian government adopted a harsher strategy and bombed Dera, the city where the protests broke out (Thakur, 2013). In 2012, the growing unrest reached Damascus, the capital city and later Aleppo before becoming a fully-fledged civil war. The protestors were demanding more freedom and political and economic reforms (Allison, 2013). According to Hansson (2014), Syria became a battlefield between governmental forces and rebels following a crackdown on protestors by military forces in 2011.

Since the Syrian conflict, in 2011, approximately, over 280,000 people have been killed (The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2016). The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs reported that as at October 2016, there were over 4.8 million Syrian refugees and at least 6.1 million internally displaced persons, which is the largest number of people displaced by any conflict in the world (The Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2016). It can hence be deduced from the views of these three research participants that the causes of conflict in Syria are socially, economically, politically and religiously motivated. These include ethnic cleansing, lack of good governance,
corruption as well as unemployment, among a host of factors.

### 4.4 Merits of the R2P principle in humanitarian intervention.

An interview with the Chief Superintendent of ZRP revealed that:

> From an internal security view point, the R2P acts as a way of preventing mass atrocities and violation of human rights as well as the commission of war crimes in Syria. The role of the police and or military personnel is to ensure that the most cherished values and beliefs, way of life, institutions of governance and unity, welfare as well as well-being of a nation are protected and continuously enhanced. Hence, in the Syrian context, these can only be achieved through military intervention using the R2P principle.

This view was also stressed by the former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon who said that the best form of protection is prevention. According to him, prevention saves lives as well as resources (UNSG, 2011). Similarly, Breau (2007) acknowledges that while others disagree with this view, in practice, preventive action has remained an under-utilized part of the R2P norm (Breau, 2007).

The official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Desk responsible for Asia also pointed out that:

> The R2P principle by its very nature enables mobilisation of political support particularly when the state has failed to play its part. Without the assistance of other outsiders, the concerned nation is unable to deal or to suppress conflict arising to such an extent that it reaches unbearable levels.

The Captain from Zimbabwe National Army however did not see any value in the R2P as he pointed out that:

> There are no merits in using the R2P in Syria since the conflict shows the manifestations of a third hand and in particular attempts to further a regime change agenda. The West led by the United States are demanding for the stepping
down of Basshir Alassad which completely defeats the notion of R2P. It is surprising to note that the same Western forces are clandestinely financing the opposition/rebellion in Syria. In fact, the West’s double standards led by the U.S.A defeats the very notion of R2P gospel they preach.

The differing views above are partially in tandem with a study by Bellamy (2009) who emphasized that the major contribution of the R2P is to advance the protection of the civilians through the mobilization of political support for operational preventive action in circumstances where a state is willing but unable to fulfil its obligations under the First Pillar of the R2P. Where there are initial signs of violence that threatens civilians, R2P may act as the catalyst for the international community to offer timely assistance to a state to stabilize a volatile situation before it escalates to the point of mass atrocity crimes.

4.5 Demerits of the R2P principle in humanitarian intervention.

Commenting on the demerits of the R2P in humanitarian intervention, the Chief Superintendent from ZRP noted that:

*The major weakness of the R2P is that UN peacekeeping operations should only be authorised when the consent of the host government has been obtained. In view of that, the conflict has continued to escalate without any intervention from the UNSC.*

In support of this view, Breau (2007) put it this way, the decisive international action to protect civilians has usually been taken only after full-scale conflict or mass violence has erupted. Likewise, Bellamy (2009) affirmed that where there are initial signs of violence that threatens civilians, R2P may act as the catalyst for the international community to offer timely assistance to a state to stabilize a volatile situation before it escalates to the point of mass atrocity crimes. However, international involvement only occurs with the consent of the
state and when forcefully it directly violates conventional understandings of territorial integrity and sovereign independence (Weiss, 2004).

In the same vein, the Captain from the ZNA pointed out that:

The demerits of the R2P lie in the principle’s inability to embrace its broader aspects and view it as a military intervention strategy applied only when the conflict has reached unprecedented levels. The R2P encompasses instruments like early warning, conflict prevention, mediation, good governance as well as even peace building and reconciliation, but, alas, all these are not utilised.

The above assertion is in agreement with that of Evans (2011) who pointed out that despite the emphasis that R2P has much broader aspects, there is nevertheless a persistent and widespread perception that R2P is essentially synonymous with military action in response to mass atrocities. Indeed, the elastic nature of the R2P definition has sometimes created confusion. This unfortunately contributes to resistance of the R2P by some quarters and has also led to a tendency to overlook the importance of non-military efforts to mitigate mass atrocities.

The above view by the Captain from ZNA was supported by Ministry of Foreign Affairs official from the International Affairs Desk responsible for Asia respondent put across that:

The R2P is a complex norm that is very difficult to implement to dissimilar conflicts that arise in different nations and is not backed by a legal obligation to act. Its application is depended on precedence. In addition, the effective implementation of the R2P is greatly hampered by the divisions and fragmentations that exist between nations at regional and global levels which affect the provision of resources and expertise in the event of a conflict.

Betts and Orchard (2014) buttressed the above statement by asserting that the R2P is a principled norm that does not create precise legal obligations and therefore its implementation is largely depended on practice and precedence According to Welsh (2014),
the R2P is a complex norm containing more than one set of prescriptions, which not only apply to different actors but also exist at different levels of specificity. This means that there are substantial variations in the degree and nature of implementation of different prescriptions and that one set of prescriptions therefore may become more heavily “weighted” in the overall understanding of the norm. Welsh (2014:136) rightly stresses that “whether or not military intervention occurs is not an appropriate “test” for effectiveness.

As was established by Hehir (2012) in his study that it should be appreciated that currently there is no single world system which could effectively implement the R2P. As observed in the Libyan scenario, different elements were implemented by different actors at different levels. The fragmentation, divisions at regional and global level regarding the R2P that presently exist fuels criticism against application of R2P. The UN has also demonstrated its inability to implement its own resolution on the R2P due to significant resource gap. The UN does not have the military means for a rapidly deployable R2P operations and thus delegates the implementation to militarily more capable actors most of whom it has practically no oversight control. In that regard, this has tended to weaken the implementation of the R2P.

From these assertions, it can therefore be concluded that the demerits of the R2P principle in humanitarian intervention include the need for approval by the state concerned in order to invoke the R2P to deal with conflicts, the inability of the R2P to embrace the broader aspects of not only using the military as the humanitarian intervention strategy to avert conflict from reaching unprecedented levels. Furthermore, the R2P principle is viewed as a complex norm that is very difficult to implement in dissimilar conflicts states especially with the fact that the invoking of the R2P should be backed by a legal obligation to act. Rather, its application is depended on practice and precedence. In addition, the effective implementation of the R2P is greatly hampered by the divisions and fragmentations that exist between nations at regional and global levels, this in turn, affect the provision of resources and expertise in the event of a conflict.

According to the views by the Chief Superintendent from ZRP,

*The self-interests of the UNSC members in the Syrian crisis have been a major reason why both humanitarian interventions under the R2P have failed. The UNSC members have been perceived to be politically driven and tend to selectively apply interventions or norms in accordance with their interests as opposed to international world peace. This is evidenced by continued use of vetoes by Russia and China against any military interventions during the six year war in Syria.*

The official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Desk responsible for Asia highlighted that:

*The self-interests of the UNSC members in the Syrian crisis has been characterised by divisions amongst the permanent members, (P5). Due to these divergent interests concrete action to end the conflict has not been undertaken. In response to the crisis in Syria, Russia has refused to side with the terms of Western permanent members of the UN Security Council, it has opposed any policy aimed at dictating the political process in Syria, especially those policies that could result in a military intervention or regime change. Resultantly, till to date, Russia has effectively prevented the endorsement of an intervention in Syria, despite calls by others. Together with China, Russia has vetoed three UN resolutions directed at Syria, and has repelled any pressure on the Syrian government. In light of that, the P5 has failed to act collectively and to find a solution that could prevent further escalation of the conflict in Syria.*

The Captain from the Zimbabwe National Army also pointed out that:

*None of the R2P principle in the Syrian conflict is irrelevant as the dynamic politics of the P5 are the very cause of the escalation of hostilities. While the West supports and arms the rebels, the East supports and arms the Syrian government. Furthermore, by continuously vetoing ceasefire proposals, some members of the P5 are grossly abusing their veto power for their interests. The world is witnessing how the P5 only unite if their interests are not affected as in the Libyan*
case. The Syrian crisis also illustrates an interesting point especially to Russia and America’s approaches to military interventions. The selective application of international norms by the P5 demonstrate the difficulty of diffusing conflicts especially were the interests of these powerful countries are concerned. To this end, mediation by neutral third parties acceptable to both the rebels and the Syrian government can bring the warring parties to the negotiating table. Dialogue can resolve the Syrian conflict especially if it seeks to foster a power sharing and inclusive Government of National Unity (GNU).

The views above are supported by Zongze (2012) who noted that the U.N. Security Council is a political body which gives major power to its five permanent members. More often than not, its voting rules have ended in stalemate. This has been a major reason why both humanitarian intervention and R2P, have been remained to be politically driven and selective because of the workings of the U.N. Security Council. Zongze (2012) further points out that Arab and Western countries introduced draft resolutions in October 2011 as well as in 2012 calling for an end to the flow of arms into Syria, that President Bashar al-Assad to yield key power to a deputy, for a government of national unity, and for preparations to hold free presidential and parliamentary elections. China and Russia have however vetoed all these resolutions as they resolutely opposed to any resolution which could set off a chain of events leading to one similar to UNSC Resolution 1973 that authorised military intervention in Libya. The two countries have further advanced several arguments that such a resolution, would put Syria on the path to civil war; the Security Council should not dictate internal politics and succession; and the only solution to the Syrian crisis is through an inclusive, Syrian led process to address the legitimate aspirations of the people in an environment free of violence and human rights abuses (Garwood-Gowers, 2012).

It is also interesting to note that Russian has been the most explicit about the connection of Libya and Syria. It has repeatedly stated that it will not accept a “Libya-style” solution for Syria. The Russian President, Putin even went further to point out that, “Learning from that bitter experience, we are against any UN Security Council resolutions that could be interpreted as a signal for military interference in the domestic processes of Syria” (“Russia’s Putin, 2012). It is also not difficult to appreciate that Russia has long-standing ties with Syria and sees these ties as a way to keep Russian influence in Middle East discussions including
selling Syria military supplies and having a naval base in Syria. According to Russia, the veto is an “indispensable element of the international system which ensures checks and balances” and also stimulates members to seek compromise and consensus. Furthermore, the veto is a safeguard to the UN against “doubtful undertakings” such as the use of force over Kosovo in 1999, in Iraq in 2003 or the “pushing of Syria towards collapse” (Garwood-Gowers, 2012). Additionally, Russia believes that not vetoing Libya led to the bombing and toppling of the “legitimate government” hence continues to stoutly resist efforts to authorize any robust resolution for dealing with the Syrian crisis.

China has rather strict and traditional understanding regarding state sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs, China supports Pillar 1 of the R2P and in regard to Pillar 2, the country continues to call for a ‘constructive assistance’ on the part of the international community by respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the host country (Zongze, 2012). An editorial in the People’s Daily referred to Libya as “a negative case study” (Garwood-Gowers, 2012).Zongze (2012) further argues that Libya demonstrated how the R2P proved nothing more than the pursuit of hegemony in the name of humanity hence Russia and China have used a double veto in the Security Council to block even mild punishments for Syria. China therefore calls for a peaceful solution first in Syria and only supports the use of force if that is conducted in a prudent way, authorized by the Security Council and on a case-by-case basis.

It suffices to state that there is heightened caution about yet another Western invasion of another Muslim country Responsibility to Protect raises international consciousness but does not significantly improve the international response to humanitarian crises. In this regard, it is prudent to strengthen international law based on obligations rather than discretionary rights. The threat of vetoes has led to repeated efforts to water down resolutions, for example by taking out any mention of the word sanctions. This reinforces the fact that, with current UN rules, future R2P resolutions are likely to be blocked, or to be so toothless that they put little additional pressure on states.
4.7 Summary

This chapter presented and analysed data gathered through interviews and document analysis. Officials from the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) as well as Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials were interviewed. The interviewee expressed their views on the importance of using the R2P principle in shaping military intervention in Syria, the causes of the Syrian conflict, the merits and demerits of the R2P principle in humanitarian intervention, their understanding in the self-interests of the UNSC members in the Syrian crisis as well as their recommendations on the strategies that can be used to resolve the Syrian conflict were captured. The subsequent chapter, focused on the summary of the study as well as advancing pertinent recommendations.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.

5.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter focused on outlining the summary of the study as well as drawing conclusions from the study findings. The chapter wraps the study by advancing recommendations regarding the impact of the R2P principle as a useful norm in shaping international military intervention in Syria on the basis of the study findings.

5.2 Summary

The study sought to assess the impact of using the R2P principle in shaping military intervention in Syria. Chapter one provided a general introduction and a brief background to the study, identification of the problem, purpose and objectives of study, delimitation and limitations of the study as well as other related issues.

Chapter two provided a review of available literature on responsibility to protect with particular interest on how this norm could be used to shape humanitarian intervention in Syria. The first part of the chapter reviewed literature on the responsibility to protect by providing necessary definitions and explanations of key issues relevant to the study. The theory relevant to this study was explored as well as the empirical literature from related studies in different parts of world and a literature synthesis was also carried out. The chapter concluded by giving a summary of empirical studies.

Chapter three discussed issues pertaining to the research design and the justification for adopting the case study research design. The chapter also covered the research methodology, population as well as sampling among other related issues. A total of three participants were drawn from key populations, in particular, one Chief Superintendent from the Zimbabwe Republic Police, one Captain from the Zimbabwe National Army and one official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Desk responsible for Asian Affairs. In addition, data was gathered using interviews and document analysis of peer reviewed articles as well as other
materials on the use of the responsibility to protect norm in Syria. The chapter concluded by discussing ethical issues which were taken into consideration in an effort to enhance the protection, privacy and confidentiality of research participants.

Chapter four presented and critically analysed data gathered through interviews from three research participants drawn from the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) as well as Ministry of Foreign Affairs, guided by the research objectives.

Chapter five focused on outlining the summary of the study, drawing conclusions from the study findings as well as advancing recommendations regarding the impact of the non-implementation of the R2P norm in Syria by the international community.

5.3 Conclusions of the study

In view of the research findings, the study draws the following conclusions under each objective:

- **To establish the importance of using the R2P principle in shaping military intervention in Syria.**
  The R2P principle is an important norm which should be invoked in shaping military intervention in Syria has become paramount in order to save many innocent Syrian civilians from mass atrocities in the protracted civil war. This finding is in sync with the United Nations General Assembly World Summit Outcome Document (2005) which articulated that the R2P approach assigns states the primary responsibility to protect its citizens from war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and ethnic cleansing. However, the Syrian conflict demonstrates that the application of R2P principle has been selective. The relative inaction of the UNSC in Syria cast a deep shadow on the future of the R2P principle.

- **To understand the causes of the Syrian conflict.**
  The study findings have revealed that the causes of the Syrian conflict are multi-faceted as they range from social, economic, political and religious factors. They include ethnic cleansing, dictatorship, repressions, lack of good governance, corruption, unemployment, among others. The conflict has further been perpetuated due to clash of
interests among the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council some of whom are furthering what appears to be a regime change agenda in Syria. The above findings are in sync with the observations made by Thakur (2013) were he noted that the Syrian conflict erupted in March 2011 after the torture of some students who had painted anti-government graffiti.

- **To identify the merits and demerits of the R2P principle in humanitarian intervention.**

The merits of the R2P outweigh its demerits. The merits of the R2P make it a vital norm in preventing the commission of mass atrocities in conflict torn states such as Syria. Furthermore, the R2P principle calls for the intervention of the international community particularly when the country concerned has failed to play its part in stopping the atrocities being committed. The use of the military intervention however should be invoked as a last resort if all other instruments have failed to achieve peace. The above findings are supported by Thakur (2013) who is of the view that military intervention or threats thereof can indeed be useful tools for preventing or halting mass atrocities.

The study findings have also revealed that despite the R2P having some advantages it also has some demerits. These include that UN peacekeeping operations should only be authorised when the consent of the host government has been obtained. In view of such a scenario, the conflict thus continues to escalate. The R2P is no doubt a complex norm that is very difficult to implement in various conflicts that arise in different nations and is not backed by any legal obligation to act. This is supported by Welsh (2014) who noted that the R2P is a complex norm containing more than one set of prescriptions, which cannot be uniformly applied to differing conflicts. Its application is depended on precedence. In addition, the effective implementation of the R2P is greatly hampered by the divisions and fragmentations that exist between nations at regional and global levels which affect the provision of resources and expertise in the event of a conflict. It is essential for UN member states to first exhaust various components like early warning, conflict prevention, mediation as well as even peace building and reconciliation. Evans (2011) disputes the widespread perception that R2P is synonymous with military action as the R2P has much broader aspects which can be effectively exploited. This has
resulted in the R2P being applied selectively and inconsistently by powerful Western states in furthering a regime change agenda. The R2P principle does not create precise legal obligations and therefore its implementation is largely depended on practice and precedence (Betts & Orchard, 2014). There is no doubt that the R2P is not an international legal rule hence its implementation largely depends on the political decisions of the United Nations Security Council which cannot be enforced without the consent of its members. The enforcement has on many occasions been impeded by a veto of a member of the P5.

- **To understand the self-interests of the UNSC members in the Syrian crisis.**

  The self-interests of the UNSC members in the Syrian crisis have been a major reason why both humanitarian interventions under R2P have failed. The UNSC members have been perceived to be politically driven and tend to selectively apply interventions or norms in accordance with their self-interests as opposed to international world peace. This is evidenced by continued use of vetoes by Russia and China against any military interventions during the six year war in Syria. The conflict in Syria has left the world in a quandary especially when the Security Council fails to act in the case of mass atrocity. Zongze (2012) noted that China supports ‘constructive assistance’ on the part of the international community by respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the host country. Garwood-Gowers (2012) is of the view that Russia believes that not vetoing Libya led to the bombing and toppling of the “legitimate government” hence continues to stoutly resist efforts to authorize any robust resolution for dealing with the Syrian crisis. China has rather strict and traditional understanding regarding state sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs.

  The self interests of the UNSC members in the Syrian crisis have been characterised by divisions amongst the permanent members, (P5). In response to the crisis in Syria, Russia has refused to side with proposals by Western permanent members of the UN Security Council aimed at dictating the political process in Syria, especially those that could result in a military intervention or regime change. Similarly, Russia has also prevented the endorsement of an intervention in Syria, despite calls by others. Together with China, Russia has vetoed three UN resolutions against Syria. The P5 has failed to act collectively in find a lasting solution that could prevent further escalation of the
Syrian conflict. Given the dynamics of the UNSC it may be necessary for a regional organisation or coalition to authorise and undertake the limited use of force to protect populations from mass atrocities.

5.4 Recommendations of the study

This study recommends that:

(i) The United Nations needs to urgently invoke military intervention under the R2P in order to end the mass atrocities in Syria. The R2P principle calls for the intervention of the international community particularly when the country concerned has failed to play its part in stopping the atrocities being committed. The use of the military intervention however should be invoked as a last resort if all other instruments have failed to achieve peace.

(ii) The United Nations member-states should become norm implementers in order to protect the credibility of the R2P. It is the responsibility of the member states to protect the credibility of the R2P through being norm implementers.

(iii) There is need for the UN Security Council to be reformed as its current structure places disproportionate amount of power and influence of the international community in the hands of a mere five nations. The argument of many critics of the United Nations Security Council is that it is not effective and that it needs to be fundamentally reformed. The loudest calls for reform come from those who believe that the inclusion of a host of new permanent members is the answer to the effectiveness deficit. Others argue that it is folly to suggest that the addition of new permanent members would amount to meaningful reform.

(iv) The UNSC members to take greater care to consider geopolitical implications of intervention; steps including writing more detail into how R2P-related resolutions should be implemented and by whom. The work of the United Nations impacts people around the world on issues related to peace and security and hence the need
to create common ground in coming up with the way the Responsibility to Protect Principle related resolutions should be executed.

(v) The United Nations member-states and regional organizations such as African Union, European Union, among others to impose sanctions and diplomatic pressure on governments committing atrocities against their own populations. It should be noted that sovereignty not only gives a state the right to control its affairs, it also confers on the state primary responsibility for protecting the people within its borders. It was proposed that when a State fails to protect its people either through lack of ability or a lack of willingness the responsibility shifts to the broader international community.

5.0 Areas for Further Research

There is need for further research to unpack the implications of power dynamics of the United Nations Security Council, in particular, the contested use of the veto power.
REFERENCES


ANNEXURE 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ZIMBABWE REPUBLIC POLICE OFFICER

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND GOVERNANCE

MLAMBO M.M B1645173
PROGRAMME: MSc International Relations
Supervisor: Dr. J. Kurebwa

CONTACT DETAILS 0772 342 262
Email: masukamavelous@gmail.com

DISSERTATION INTERVIEW GUIDE

RESEARCH TOPIC: The responsibility to protect principal as a useful norm in shaping International Military Intervention: A case of Syria

(i) What is the importance of using the R2P principle in shaping internal security in conflict torn states?
(ii) What are the causes of the Syrian conflict?
(iii) What are the effects of the Syrian conflict?
(iv) What are the merits of using the R2P principle particularly in the internal security of Syria?
(v) What are the demerits of using the R2P principle in the internal security of Syria?
(vi) In what ways are some among the five permanent (P5) members of the United Nations Security Council abusing their veto power in the Syrian conflict?
(vii) Which strategies can be utilized by the international community to resolve the Syrian conflict?

THANK YOU FOR TIME AND COOPERATION
ANNEXURE 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY OFFICER

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND GOVERNANCE

MLAMBO M.M B1645173  PROGRAMME: MSc International Relations
Supervisor: Dr. J. Kurebwa

CONTACT DETAILS 0772 342 262  Email: masukamavelous@gmail.com

DISSEPTION INTERVIEW GUIDE

RESEARCH TOPIC: The responsibility to protect principal as a useful norm in shaping International Military Intervention: A case of Syria

(i) What is the importance of using the R2P principle in shaping internal security in conflict torn states?
(ii) What are the causes of the Syrian conflict?
(iii) What are the effects of the Syrian conflict?
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(v) What are the demerits of using the R2P principle in the internal security of Syria?
(vi) In what ways are some among the five permanent (P5) members of the United Nations Security Council abusing their veto power in the Syrian conflict?
(vii) Which strategies can be utilized by the international community to resolve the Syrian conflict?

THANK YOU FOR TIME AND COOPERATION
ANNEXURE 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIAL

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND GOVERNANCE

MLAMBO M.M B1645173 PROGRAMME: MSc International Relations

Supervisor: Dr. J. Kurebwa

CONTACT DETAILS 0772 342 262 Email: masukamavelous@gmail.com

DISSERTATION INTERVIEW GUIDE

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(i) What is the importance of using the R2P principle in shaping international relations in conflict torn states?
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(iii) What are the effects of the Syrian conflict?
(iv) What are the merits of using the R2P principle particularly in international relations of Syria?
(v) What are the demerits of using the R2P principle in international relations of Syria?
(vi) In what ways are some among the five permanent (P5) members of the United Nations Security Council abusing their veto power in the Syrian conflict?
(vii) Which strategies can be utilized by the international community to resolve the Syrian conflict.

THANK YOU FOR TIME AND COOPERATION.
ANNEXURE 4: PARTICIPANTS CONSENT FORM

**Study Title:** The Responsibility to Protect Principal as a useful norm in shaping International Military Intervention.

**Researcher:** Mlambo Mwakanyara Mavelous

Dear Participant,

I am a Masters in International Relations Student carrying out a research on The Responsibility to protect as a useful norm in shaping International Military Intervention.

This study is a prerequisite to complete my master’s dissertation program completion. The study is purely for academic purposes only. As one of the identified participant, I hereby seek your voluntary consent to go ahead with my interview. Your identity will not be used in the write up and data will be handed confidentially.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Participants Signature………………………………………………
Date…………………………

Researcher’s Signature………………………………………………Date…………………………
ANNEXURE 5: APPLICATION LETTER TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH

F176 Block 10
Willovale Flats
Highfiled
Harare

29 August 2017
The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of ……………..
…………………………
…………………………

Dear/Sir Madam

RE: Application to conduct Research within your Organisation.

The above subject matter refers. Permission is hereby sought to conduct a Masters research with your Ministry. My name is Mlambo Mwakanyara Mavelous and I am a student at Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) doing research for a Masters Degree in International Relations. My Research topic reads The Responsibility to Protect Principle as a useful Norm in shaping International Military Intervention.

The research is only for academic purposes. Research ethics including voluntary consent and anonymity will be put into consideration. Please note that your identity will not be revealed in the data analysis and coding. See attached (BUSE) letter of research attached.

Thank you for your usual co-operation.

Yours Faithful

Mlambo M.M.

Student No (B1645173)
Date: 04 August 2017

To Whom It May Concern

RE: REQUEST TO UNDER TAKE RESEARCH PROJECT IN YOUR ORGANISATION

This serves to advise that [Student's Name] [Student Registration No.], a MASTERS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS student at Bindura University of Science Education who is conducting a dissertation,

May you please assist the student to access data relevant to the study and where possible conduct interviews as part of the dissertation process.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]

Chairperson – Peace and Governance