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The Global South and the Normative Standing of Humanitarian Interventions and R2P: A comparative case study of India, China and Brazil

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The Global South and the Normative Standing of Humanitarian Interventions and R2P

A comparative case study of India, China and Brazil

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1. Introduction

Over the past two decades, the international community was faced with a rising number of conflicts and humanitarian crises which highlighted the centrality of human rights protection to the future developments of international cooperation. There can be little doubt that states have long aimed at transforming contrasting political and legal perspectives into a mutually agreeable solution on the matter. Yet, discordance over the foundations of humanitarian interventions persists between those who argue in favour of their deployment as an effective tool to protect human rights and those who object it as the mere export of Western ideals to domestic crises (Moravcová, 2014).

Humanitarian interventions are primarily regarded by some as ‘belonging to’ the Western World, behind which states could advance their geopolitical ambitions. Nonetheless, despite most humanitarian operations have been carried out by Western troops, the role played by the Global South has grown significantly (Amar, 2012). Considering the importance of the humanitarian discourse to the Global South’s rising powers, it becomes evident how the shaping of the normative standing of humanitarian interventions has been high on the Global South agenda (de Carvalho & de Coning, 2013). Nonetheless, while the positions of non-Western actors on the use of force have been extensively researched, the nature and consequences of their impact remain largely unexplored (Amar, 2012). Moreover, despite claims of an increasingly globalized world order, the study of International Relations rarely questions the global nature of contemporary international politics, frequently lacking a non-Western perspective (Anderl & Witt, 2020). Taking a broader approach that sheds light on the multiplicity of actors contributing to norms of military humanitarianism, this project seeks to add to the existing literature by assessing the impact of the Global South on the normative standing of humanitarian interventions and R2P. To accomplish this, it will respond to the following research question:

In what ways has the Global South’s approach impacted the normative standing of R2P and humanitarian interventions?

This paper will first review previous attempts in the literature to assess a Global South’s perspective on humanitarian interventions. Then, it will develop a conceptual and theoretical framework through which exploring the debate on the Global South’s contributions to

humanitarian interventions. After analyzing the perspectives of China, India, and Brazil, the paper will conclude by comparing the findings in the three respective cases and arguing that, due to the Global South's views, the normative standing of humanitarian interventions and R2P is not yet firm.

2. Literature Review

While the existing literature abundantly features studies on Western and non-Western sources of international law, the question of international legal agency and norm-entrepreneurship inevitably raises well-known scholarly controversies. This section will shed light on the Global South's role in shaping and creating norms of international law. It will do so, first, by investigating Southern sources of international law in general and then by looking at the Global South's approach to humanitarian interventions and R2P more in depth.

2.1 The Global South and International Law: Southern legal agency and norm entrepreneurship

While in the literature, some, like Ratner (1998) have argued that international law consists of global norms, such globality is often contested by those who stress the inherently Western-centric nature of international norm-making and by others who, on the contrary, despite acknowledging such bias, often argue for the relevance of southern sources of norm-entrepreneurship. In this regard, Ikejiaku (2014) argues how, given the subjugation faced by the Third World, norms of international law were subject to a continuous reconstruction to accommodate the interests of Western powers. Chimni (2007), first builds on Ikejiaku's argument and claims this has played a crucial role in shaping modern international law, instilled with the Global North's biased interpretation. In this respect, he maintains that, as shown by the application of modern practices of international law in the Third World, this has largely contributed to the growing 'north-south divide' (Chimni, 2007). Nonetheless, Ikejiaku's findings seem to rigidly point to the inherent Western domination of international law. Chimni (2007), indeed, disagrees with Ikejiaku's claim and argues that this divide, is not one of exclusion of the Global South from the process of norms-creation in international law. On the contrary, the growing importance of many Southern powers in the global economy has increasingly shaped their role as active actors in influencing the formation of international norms (Ahmad, 2020).

Building on Chinni's argument, Ahmad (2020) observes that numerous scholars in the literature have shown how countries of the Global South have significantly contributed to develop and shape norms of international law. Among these, Acharya (2018) observes that southern sources of international norms mostly create, shape and diffuse norms through 'norm subsidiarity' or 'norm localisation'. He explains how, Southern actors became 'borrowers and modifiers' of norms which then became central to the functioning of the United Nations (UN) (Acharya, 2018). In this sense, Acharya (2018) demonstrates not only that the Global South has largely contributed to the active development of new norms, but also that it translated so-called 'originals' – norms shaped by an inherently Western thinking – into non-Western contexts. In this respect, he also maintains that, instead of passively accepting the establishment of 'proper' international law shaped by the West, these norms have been actively reconstructed to fit the Global South's international legal agenda. Further elaborating Acharya's argument, Berger (2020), finds that the legal agency of the Global South has resulted in a great pluralism of legal sources which increasingly challenge the literature's assumption of a Western-made international legal order. However, both Acharya and Berger's works do not specifically investigate the Global South's role within the UN normative framework. In the literature, others have delved deeper into this topic by looking at the role of Southern countries across the history of the UN. For instance, Bode (2019) argues how portraying powers of the Global South as mere 'norm-takers' omits the historical relevance of many examples across the history of the UN where actors from the Global South '[...] have contributed decisively to the making of international norms' (p. 360). Jorge Dominiguez (2009) applies Bode's logic and highlights how the Latin American defence of non-intervention massively contributed to the development of new norms which, then, became part of the UN Charter. Similarly, Acharya (2014), in an earlier work, found that the 1955 Bandung Conference served as the cradle of creation and widening for many norms on human rights protection and non-interference, later included in the UN Charter. In this sense, he argues that not only the participating countries paved the way for the establishment of such fundamental norms, but also demonstrated the enormous significance of norm entrepreneurship of the Global South.

On the contrary, others have pointed to the marginality of the role played by the Global South in shaping and developing norms of international law. Building on Chinni's point that international law helps 'legitimizing and sustaining' hierarchical structures of inequality, Ikejiaku (2014) argues that practices of international law build on imperial foundations that

allow dominant powers to shape them to ‘protect, project and promote’ their interest. Similarly, Caserta (2020), despite pointing to increasing inclusiveness in the international legal system, observes that Western centrism continues to play a major role in the formation of international law. In this regard, Caserta (2020) focuses on sovereignty and explains how, over the years, dominant states of the Global North have ‘reshaped’ and adjusted such concept to legitimize their actions. Yet, despite the two patterns are clearly identifiable in the literature authors, such as Helleiner (2014), acknowledge both spheres of influence and increasingly argue for a continuum rather than a sharp separation between the two. According to Helleiner (2014), who, compared to the previous authors, takes a broader perspective acknowledging the role that both realms play in such processes, the global norms are no longer a product of the Global North but of wider interactions in which actors from the Global South have played a significant role as norm-makers. The increasingly influential role played by Southern countries in global processes of normative change must be acknowledged. Yet, he elaborates, the centrality that Western actors continue to play in such processes cannot be ignored.

2.2 Global South’s contributions to international humanitarian law: humanitarian interventions and R2P from a Southern perspective

As found by Moravcová (2014), humanitarian interventions rely on certain international norms, the emergence of which is heavily reliant on a process of 'consensus building'. This process, according to the author, on the one hand, involves actors supporting military interventions as an effective tool to safeguard civilians while, on the other, a variety of actors, frequently non-Western, adopt a more cautious approach, appealing to the concepts of national sovereignty and non-interference (Moravcová, 2014).

Acharya (2018) extensively described such process by focusing on the role played by the Global South. If during the Cold War, he argues, the dominant idea of security was national security, mainly driven by the West’s security interests, the post-Cold War era brought significant challenges to such concept. Countries from the Global South found the sphere of national security too ‘restrictive’ and advocated for the emergence of a much broader concept – human security – which implied several changes regarding the norm dynamics of humanitarianism (Acharya, 2018). Weiss (2013) agrees with Acharya’s findings and explains that one of the key features of such development was the influence and localization of the European idea of ‘common security’ brought about by the Global South and, in particular,

Asian countries. After the failures of the international community to intervene in the face of mass atrocities in the 1990s, a new idea of cooperative security came about to ensure the fulfilment of such responsibility: the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). Weiss' (2013) findings explicitly reject the widespread belief of the doctrine's Western origins and argue R2P has a 'wider genesis', largely grounded in Southern sources of norm entrepreneurship. Going back to Acharya (2018), he observes that the work of Francis Deng and Kofi Annan laid the foundations for the concept of responsible sovereignty, thereby treating the latter as a responsibility rather than a right, '[...] without question the source of the [R2P] norm' (p.106). Nonetheless, Acharya and Weiss both focus on the role played by the South but do not explicitly build their argument on the inherent intertwining of Western and non-Western norms which characterize contemporary international humanitarian norms (Mende, 2019). Building on this broader perspective, Stephan (2021) demonstrates how the work of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) 'built on' existing ideas of the Global South, and especially those coming from Africa. Yet, despite most of the literature focuses on the evolution of R2P, Kenkel (2019) explores further and explains how the controversial application of R2P during the intervention in Libya served as the pretext for various powers from the Global South to 'call for' increasing influence in designing the norms and institutions of global governance (Kenkel, 2019). According to the author, NATO's plea in Libya alarmed the Global South, fearing such militarized operations could serve as a shield for the West to pursue illegitimate strategic interests. Amar (2012) agrees and, shedding light on the consequences of Western actions, concludes that 'The BRICS group promised either to never support another UNSC resolution of this kind or to control the character and terms of such humanitarian interventions, themselves, in the future' (p.2). In this respect, he maintains that these powers began pushing to discard the UNSC authorization to use force – in their view often illegitimately misinterpreted by the West to accommodate its needs – and for a 'new set' of mechanisms and norms. While increasingly influential alliances from the Global South produced powerful 'consensus-based alternatives' to the Westernised 'humanitarian militarism', their influence in the humanitarian norms-cycle grew exponentially, '[...] inverting essential pillars of global hierarchy' (Amar, 2012, p.3). Within this context, one of the most notable contributions from the South was that of Brazil and the development of the Responsibility while Protecting (RwP). In this regard, Stefan (2021) observes that Brazil became part of a 'cross-regional group' which combined Western and non-Western actors tasked with discussing the future of R2P. This made the country a key component in the UN humanitarian leadership. Therefore, he concludes, '[w]hen countries of the Global South are

[granted] a visible platform [...], they are given the space to display leadership and show initiative' (p.207).

This section provided a comprehensive overview of the existing contributions to the debate on the role of the Global South in shaping international norms and rules governing humanitarian interventions. In an increasingly multipolar order, the findings of the authors demonstrate the significance of Southern sources of norm entrepreneurship in international and humanitarian law. However, none of the studies adopt a comparative approach to determining whether the Global South affects the normative standing of humanitarian interventions. This tends to make the research less generalizable to the highly diverse number of countries which constitute the Global South. Moreover, despite the literature explores the non-Western perspective on humanitarian interventions in detail, it does not concentrate on the specific ways in which the South might affect their normative standing. Therefore, this thesis aims at filling these gaps by comparing the stances of different countries on the issue to, ultimately, demonstrate whether and how the Global South influences the normative stance of humanitarian interventions.

3. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

3.1 Defining Humanitarian Interventions: unilateral and collective interventions

For the purpose of this project, humanitarian interventions are referred to as 'coercive action by states involving the use of armed force in another state without the consent of its government, with or without UNSC authorisation, for the purpose of preventing or putting to a halt gross and massive violations of human rights or international humanitarian law' (Christiansen, 1999, p.11). While Unilateral Humanitarian Interventions (UHI) refer to a state, a group of states or an organization acting without the authorization of the UNSC, Collective Humanitarian Interventions (CHI) are generally defined as military interventions with UNSC authorization (Brennen, 2022). UHI, acting without UNSC authorization are illegal under international law as they do not fall into the legal framework provided by Chapter VII and, in particular, article 42 of the UN Charter, according to which the UNSC may take actions including the use of force (UN, 1945). On the contrary, CHI imply the intervening actor holds 'legal title for their action' and is legally delegated with enforcement actions (Kolb, 2003).

3.2 The Responsibility to Protect (R2P): a new norm of humanitarian intervention

Following the international community's failure to respond to mass atrocities in Kosovo and Rwanda in the 1990s, in 2001 the Canadian government established the ICISS which released the *Responsibility to Protect* report on the '[...] primary responsibilities of states to protect their own populations and the residual responsibility of international society when states failed to protect their own from genocide, mass killing, and ethnic cleansing' (Bellamy & Dunne, 2016, p.6). In 2005, the concept was unanimously approved at the World Summit and later adopted by the UNGA. Ban Ki-moon, at the time UN Secretary-General, further elaborated the R2P doctrine into three pillars. First, 'the primary responsibility of states to protect their own population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity, and from their incitement'. Second, 'the duty of states to assist each other to build the capacities necessary to discharge the first responsibility'. Third, the international community's responsibility to take timely and decisive action to protect populations from the four crimes when the state in question fails to do so' (Bellamy & Dunne, 2016, pp.7-8). When compared to humanitarian interventions, R2P entails a preventive strategy to tackle humanitarian crises and a wider range of tools which include, but are not limited to, the use of force. Moreover, R2P was developed as a state's duty where sovereignty becomes a responsibility rather than a state's right (Henderson, 2022).

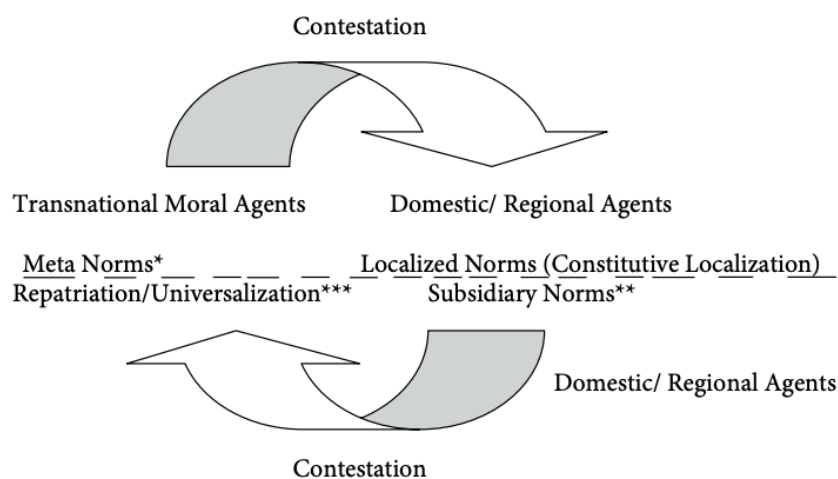
3.3 The Global South: a definitional problem

'The phrase "Global South" refers broadly to the regions of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania. It is one of a family of terms, including "Third World" and "Periphery," that denote regions outside the political and economic core of Europe and North America' (Dados & Connell, 2012, p.12). On the contrary, the Global North generally refers to the highly industrialised Western regions. The term's overlapping features with the Third World are still largely debated in the current literature. While some, like Grovogui (2011), see a continuum from the Global South to the Third World, others such as Stavrianos (1989) and Prashad (2022) see some sort of continuity but also stress the importance of some ruptures and shifts. Contrastingly to the Third World, the 'Global South incorporates not only spaces that used to be referred to before as Third World, but also spaces in the North that are characterized by exploitation, oppression and neocolonial relations [...]' (Sajed, 2020, p.4). Nonetheless, as argued by Kloß (2017), the term's contemporary use remains largely metaphorical, and it is

often applied to refer to the Third World. For the purpose of this bachelor project, the Global South will be used interchangeably with the Third World, as frequently done in the literature (Freeman, 2018).

3.4 Acharya's Theory of Norm Circulation

Amitav Acharya (2018) argues that, in light of the numerous alternatives put forward by non-Western actors, a broader conception of agency, which includes Southern sources, is needed. In this respect, he considers the Global South's active construction and translation into rules of conduct and points to the wider global relevance and applicability of such norms. In this sense, his work aims at challenging the narrow Western framework of norm circulation in favor of an increasingly global perspective which could give space to the role of non-Western actors and reflect a changing world order, no longer represented by the mere domination of the Global North (Acharya, 2014). By posing the questions of *who are the norm makers* and *whose norms matter*, Acharya (2013) develops a broader framework of norm circulation. He argues that '[...] international relations theories are yet to provide us with a framework for understanding norm diffusion that captures the complex and multi-faceted nature of that agency' (Acharya, 2013, p.468). Therefore, he proposes the concept of 'norm circulation' as an alternative framework to study norm creation and applies it to the case of humanitarian interventions and R2P.



Acharya, A. (2013). *Norm Circulation* [image]

'Norm circulation occurs when the less powerful actors feel marginalised in the norm creation process or feel betrayed by the abuse of the norm by the more powerful actors in the implementation stage' (Acharya, 2013, p.469). In this respect, he observes how the scope of

normative agency is much broader and comprises both Western and non-Western actors. Norm initiation, it follows, either happens in the ‘transnational space’, mainly dominated by Western states, or at the local level where norms are usually developed by non-Western actors to, then, be exported to the transnational level by its initiators and acquire global resonance. Therefore, this not only demonstrates that norms can be initiated by non-Western actors, but also that, independently of where a norm was initiated, the influences on norms creation are various and often come from actors other than the initiators (Acharya, 2013). In particular, when a norm is locally contested by actors other than the initiators, as it happened in the case of R2P’s third pillar, those actors create a ‘repatriation effect’ or, in other words, feedback, which might influence the norm by going back to the transnational space where it was created and, thus, modify it. Acharya (2013) refers to such process as ‘norm subsidiarity’. This is the idea of multiple agency which stands at the core of Acharya’s framework of norm circulation.

When applied to the case of R2P and contemporary humanitarian interventions in general, Acharya’s process of norm circulation and the agency of the Global South become more explicit on different levels. First, considering the origins of R2P and the concept of ‘responsible’ intervention allows to better understand Acharya’s argument on the multiplicity of sources involved in the process of norm initiation. Indeed, Acharya (2013) points to how the ICISS brought together ‘prior threads of the norm’ originated in various contexts and, thus, uncovers the non-Western actors long before involved in the development of human rights principles, then incorporated in R2P as a whole. Second, Acharya (2013) makes use of the example of Brazil’s Responsibility while Protecting as an effective instance of repatriation effect on the norm of R2P. The feedback released by many countries – especially after the controversial application of R2P in Libya – undoubtedly made applications of R2P more difficult and prompted the concept’s reforms. This, according to Acharya (2013) attests to norm subsidiarity, a form of normative agency which ‘[...] may lead to modifications to the existing norm, or the creation of new defence mechanisms with a view to prevent its future abuse’ (Acharya, 2013, p.477). This theory is relevant to the analysis of this project in two ways. First, by exploring the multiplicity of actors – including non-Western ones – involved in the creation of international norms, it provides a framework through which studying non-Western sources of normative change. Second, as shown by Acharya’s explicit application to R2P and humanitarian interventions, it identifies a pattern of active agency from the Global South in the field of military humanitarianism.

4. Research Design and Methodology

4.1 Research Design

This research project attempts at researching the ways in which the Global South has impacted the normative standing of humanitarian interventions and R2P. Nonetheless, given the multitude of countries which falls under the Global South, considering only one country would make the research biased and less generalizable to the entire Global South. Hence, a comparative exploratory study is deemed as an appropriate research method for this research since the large variety of perspectives leads to ‘no pre-determined outcome’ (Yin, 2014). Not only it will enable a holistic comparison of more countries from the Global South but also it will make the findings more applicable to a category – the Global South – which comprises a diverse range of positions.

4.2 Methodology

This study will make use of a qualitative method. More specifically, it will combine qualitative discourse analysis and textual analysis to explore different types of sources. While textual analysis remains strongly relevant to analyze textual sources and identify significant trends and information to this research, discourse analysis, given its emphasis on the contexts in which language is used, will enable contextualization and interpretation of textual sources in a particular setting, as opposed to focusing solely on the text (Snape & Spencer, 2003). In addition, considering the fast-changing environment of the United Nations and the wide range of factors affecting debates within the UNSC, this method will allow for a thorough investigation of the motives and interests behind the use of country statements.

4.3 Case Selection

This bachelor project will examine and compare three case studies from the Global South, namely India, China and Brazil. These cases together provide a thorough understanding of the Global South’s stances on humanitarian interventions and R2P by considering three of the most developed economies of the South and influential powers within the UN system. When considering the distribution of power in the Global South, India, as the largest democracy in the world and one of the main contributors to the humanitarian work of the UN, is

unquestionably among the most active non-Western foreign policy actors of these days (Mani, 2001). India's 'steadfast engagement' with the UN allowed the country to become increasingly influential in shaping norms of global governance (Thakker, 2018). According to Ayoob (2004), India's lack of societal cohesion and a long past of economic dependence made it more vulnerable to external interference and, therefore, increasingly attentive to the use of force for humanitarian purposes. India plays a significant role within this debate, prioritizing state sovereignty and non-interference as a 'normative barrier against unwanted external intervention' (Choedon, 2017, p.432). China, similarly to India, has often been studied in terms of its 'compliance with Western norms'. Yet its evolution as a 'normative foreign policy actor' is central to the understanding of the Global South's approach to humanitarian interventions (Womack, 2008). Moreover, growing from being a regional to a global actor, combined with its permanent membership in the UNSC, China has become increasingly active in the Council's deliberations. China's rise drastically changed the decision-making dynamics of the UNSC and politics of intervention 'have come to more closely aligned with' the country's foreign policy principles and understandings of appropriate peace strategies (MacLeod, 2017). Lastly, Brazil's major role as an economic power in the South has also been accompanied by an increasing interest in shaping the agenda of international peace and security. The country not only implemented numerous 'concrete initiatives' but also engaged in normative debates and powerfully 'advocated' for alternative approaches, as shown by its re-elaboration of the R2P concept into the *Responsibility while Protecting* (Call & Abdenur, 2017). Brazil unquestionably provides a solid example to counter the traditionally Western narrative of norm-making agency (Stefan, 2016). All these factors make India, China and Brazil significant players in the roster of southern actors, whose contributions to the debate on humanitarian interventions are central to the conduct of this analysis.

4.4 Data Selection and Collection

In order to explore the Global South's impact on the normative standing of humanitarian interventions, this project will mainly rely on primary sources such as press releases of the UNSC and General Assembly (UNGA). By looking at country statements within these two bodies, this analysis will focus on investigating the countries' perspectives on several humanitarian interventions such as NATO's 1999 and 2011 interventions in Kosovo and Libya, the 2003 US-led operation in Iraq and, finally, the discussion over the 2011 Civil War in Syria. The operations in Kosovo and Libya are often regarded as game changers in the authorization

to the use of force, especially by non-Western actors, and played an important role in the evolution of military humanitarianism (Pommier, 2011). At the same time, the discussions over the US-intervention in Iraq and the applicability of R2P in Syria equally constituted important forums of debate among Southern states both before and after the post-Libya skepticism over R2P (Lichterman, 2013). Moreover, it will consider UNGA statements released by India, China and Brazil on R2P. UN press releases are widely available on the Meetings Coverage and Press Releases section of the UN website. These sources allow to gain direct access to the debates surrounding certain humanitarian interventions, the establishment of the R2P norm and the proposal of other related norms within the UN. Nonetheless, in order to make this analysis more easily generalizable and to minimize the risk of selection biases, this project will also consider some secondary sources such as academic studies and newspaper articles.

5. Analysis

While the Global South is largely believed to often take a more cautious and rather critical approach to humanitarian interventions and, specifically, to the terms under which such operations are undertaken, this section will look at China, India and Brazil's perspectives on certain humanitarian interventions and R2P. The analysis will build on several examples of intervention both with and without the UNSC's authorization.

5.1 Case Study: India's approach to humanitarian interventions and R2P

India's post-Cold War role at the UNSC made the country one of the most notable contributors to the work of the Council, seeking permanent membership and advocating for an increasing representation in the UN. Since the 1990s Western enthusiasm for humanitarian interventions, India's top priority in the Council has been to 'reasonably moderate' and warn Western countries about the dangers of authorizing force against another sovereign country (Mukherjee & Malone, 2013). After the start of NATO's operation Allied Force, India was among the sponsors of a resolution - then rejected - demanding the immediate cessation of hostilities. Kosovo's case serves as an example for the later exacerbation of India's critique of unilateral interventions (Choedon, 2017). During the 3988th UNSC meeting, India's representative made such critique even more evident and argued the attacks 'clearly violated' Article 51 as no country or group could carry out unilateral interventions against others. 'That would mean a return to anarchy' (Sharma, 1999, para.96). In addition, he recalled how such acts constituted

a clear breach of domestic sovereignty and, thus, NATO not only was undermining norms of international law but also the Council's authority. '[...] [They claim] to be champions of the rule of law, including some permanent members of the Council, whose principal interest should be to enhance, rather than undermine, the Council's paramountcy in the maintenance of international peace and security' (Sharma, 1999, para.100). This type of narrative results particularly surprising considering that in the post-Cold War, India was internally 'riven' by political instability and economic crisis, while 'externally disoriented' by the fall of the Soviet Union (Mukherjee & Malone, 2013). The country was not in the position of taking an 'adversarial approach' to dominant Western powers, but it did not opt for an entirely cautious approach – as shown by its words of strong opposition – which will rather characterize India's later phases in the UNSC (Choedon, 2017). Similarly, during the 4726th UNSC meeting on Iraq, India's representative said the Council should have focused on Iraq's compliance with the resolutions and the inspection process but 'this, unfortunately, did not happen [...] because some members had decided to proceed unilaterally' (Nambiar, 2003, para.63). 'The international community should ensure that the sovereignty and integrity of Iraq were fully preserved [...]', he said (Nambiar, 2003, para.63).

When NATO began striking Libyan territories in 2011, India was among the most critical actors of Western actions and strongly advocated for the principles of non-interference and national sovereignty (Terry, 2015). During the 6498th UNSC meeting, India's representative stressed its country's preoccupation with the 'unintended consequences of armed intervention'. Acting on the draft of Resolution 1973 (2011) – authorizing all member states to protect civilians under the threat of attack – the country justified its abstention pointing out how the resolution risked serving as a pretext to escalate and impose violence, clearly worsening the situation. Other than authorizing a wide range of measures without clear boundaries, it was also based on very 'little clear information' (Puri, 2011). Throughout the UNSC 6528th meeting, India's representative reiterated his country's objection to the use of force by all parties – including NATO – in favor of political dialogue. He further stressed that no external actor had the right to depose a sovereign ruler (Puri, 2011). Despite largely condemning NATO's actions and noting its dangers, in the case of Libya, India's stance was characterized by more moderate words, seen by many as a safeguard of the African Union and the Arab League's political requests (Terry, 2015). Few months later, however, India's stance on R2P was even more skeptical. During a UNSC emergency meeting on Syria, India, despite strong Western pressure to accept, abstained from voting explaining 'constructive dialogue was the

only way forward’ (Puri, 2011). In 2012, however, India voted in favor of the Peace Plan proposed by the Arab League as it promoted the ‘Syrian-led inclusive political process’ (Choedon, 2017).

In the UNGA plenary debate on R2P, India’s representative cautioned that ‘[a]ny attempt to create new norms should at the same time seek to prevent their misuse [...]’ (Puri, 2009, para.111). Moreover, he added that the norm should have touched upon the ‘willingness to act’ of some member states when confronted with such brutal crimes. This was the ‘necessary ingredient’ to reform UN decision-making bodies in humanitarian issues (Puri, 2009). Building on its traditional approach in favor of state sovereignty and non-intervention, India precisely made use of this meeting to recall that the protection of civilians is among the primary responsibility of a state, without which no sovereignty exists. Appealing to such aspect, the country has justified its reluctance to accept the norm’s third pillar - calling on the international community to intervene when a state fails to protect its citizens. India believes it amounts to aggression and domestic interference (Chandra, 2021).

5.2 Case Study: China’s approach to humanitarian interventions and R2P

After gaining the permanent seat in the UNSC in 1971, China adopted the so called “fifth-voting style” of abstention. This allowed the country to block interventions and to advocate against power abuse without isolating itself from Western powers. Yet, over the years, despite still defending non-intervention and state-consent, China’s stance toward humanitarianism became more flexible and even saw the country actively contributing to some interventions, like in Darfur (Fung, 2019). Concerning Kosovo, during the 3988th UNSC meeting, China’s representative said his country strongly opposed the use of force in international affairs, especially when characterized by a “strong bullying the weak” approach and when interfering with the internal affairs of another country (Huasun, 1999, para.5). He further elaborated that not only the act ‘exacerbated’ the situation in the FRY but also ‘[...] amounted to a blatant violation of the [UN] Charter, as well as the accepted norms in international law’ (Huasun, 1999, para.74). In this instance, China argued that establishing a precedent in the regulation of the use of force would be dangerous and, thus, urged the UN to appeal to the concepts of national sovereignty and internal affairs. Nonetheless, the country’s routine opposition to the West became more explicit when China’s representative, during the 3968th UNSC meeting, claimed that NATO’s willingness to infringe Yugoslavia’s sovereignty was an indicator of

double standards. '[H]uman rights over sovereignty theory serves [...] to promote hegemonism under the pretext of human rights. This totally runs counter to the [...] United Nations Charter' (Fung, 2019, p.10).

Throughout the 6498th UNSC meeting on Libya, China's representative said '[...] China is always against the use of force when [all other] means are not exhausted' (Baodong, 2011, para.43). Yet, after the intervention was approved, China's representative called for the 'strict implementation' of the Council's decisions and claimed that any action that violated the territorial integrity of Libya, would have amounted to a violation of international law (Baodong, 2011). China's response to NATO's actions in Libya has been 'the most forceful' with Chinese officials calling the intervention an 'assault' and warning for the risk of a 'humanitarian disaster' (Jacobs, 2011). The tones used by China might be related to the country's permanent membership in the UNSC and its confidence in exercising notable influence – through the right to veto – on its Western counterparts. The country's emphasis on such principles remained unchanged few months later when, during a UNSC meeting on Syria, China's representative said the Council should have encouraged a 'process of dialogue' while respecting Syria's sovereignty and territorial integrity – principles on which his country was 'consistent and firm'. He also explained how his country couldn't support the resolution advanced by other member states since, contrarily to the one supported by China, it suggested coercive actions instead of facilitating political dialogue (Baodong, 2011).

Concerning R2P, in occasion of the UNGA debate on R2P, China's representative said '[i]t was important that R2P [does] not contravene principles of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. There must be no wavering on any of those principles. [...] There [is] a need to avoid [any] abuse of the concept' (Zhenmin, 2009, para.53). Most significantly, he stressed how it was imperative to prevent any country from intervening unilaterally or making pressures on another country based on R2P (Zhenmin, 2009). This clearly shows how China's cautious stance toward R2P implementation and its reluctance over the third pillar - in China's view amounting to 'non-consensual military intervention'- reinforced over the years allowing China to increasingly advocate for the idea of state consent with regards to UNSC actions (ECR2P, 2011)

5.3 Case Study: Brazil's approach to humanitarian interventions and R2P

Brazil's shift from regional to global economic power progressively pushed the country to claim increasing visibility on the international stage. Yet, before the advent of R2P, Brazil did not constantly play a role in peace operations, as shown by the country's delegation simply sharing the non-alignment's usual position of non-interference. On the contrary, with the rise of R2P, Brazil aimed at bridging its 'firm support for multilateralism' and its more conservative stance on sovereignty and interventions (Kenkel & Stefan, 2016). Looking at Brazil's approach to the 1999 Intervention in Kosovo, despite condemning the escalation of events, the country did not explicitly address NATO's actions nor talked about the related violations of international norms and the Council's authority. Brazil's representative said 'his government regretted that the escalation of tension had resulted in recourse to military actions' (Cordeiro, 1999, para.49). This is suggestive of Brazil's initial contributions to the UNSC, characterized by the traditional belief that 'the use of coercive measures and military force must be the absolute last resort in the resolution of international peace and security challenges' (Stuenkel & Tourinho, 2014, p.383). Nonetheless, with the unfolding of the crises in Iraq and Libya, Brazil demonstrated an increasingly active engagement within the UNSC.

In the first UNSC debate on the Iraqi situation in 2003, Brazil's representative said his country 'deplored' the military actions in Iraq, especially since they happened without authorization of the UNSC. Since 'Military action without the express authorization of the Council had profound [...] implications, [there must be] respect for Iraqi territorial integrity and sovereignty' (Sardenberg, 2003, para.73). Similarly, during the 6498th UNSC meeting on Libya, acting on resolution 1973, Brazil's representative argued it included measures that 'went beyond' its purpose and, thus, were unlikely to contribute to the protection of civilians. Instead, such measures might have the opposite effect of 'exacerbating tensions' and cause harm to civilians (Viotti, 2011). 'No military action alone would succeed in ending the conflict, [a political process would]' (Viotti, 2011, para.33). Brazil's abstention, indeed, built on the old fear that military interventions with such unclear 'terms of enforcement' would become a justification for regime change – then happened few weeks later (Stuenkel & Tourinho, 2014). This episode led Brazilian diplomacy to increasingly make sure R2P was not at the direct disposal of dominant powers acting against international law.

During the 6650th UNSC meeting, Brazil's representative made what has been defined a key contribution to the debate on R2P and interventions in general, thereby a guiding principle for the international community's engagement with collective security (Kenkel & Stefan, 2016). Brazil's representative urged other states to develop an awareness of the dangers and risks related to the Council's ability to authorize force under the R2P framework. According to the representative's words, the departure point to reframe such concept should be 'first, do not cause harm' because the international community, while exercising its responsibility to protect, must ensure responsibility while protecting (RwP) as well (Viotti, 2011). This represents not only the culmination of Brazil's increasingly active engagement with the realm of interventions but also one of the most notable example of norm-sponsorship in the UN (Kenkel & Stefan, 2016).

6. Discussion of the results

Despite some differences, China, India and Brazil perspectives are clearly suggestive of the Global South's cautious and rather skeptical approach to humanitarian interventions, as well as of its sensitivity to the use of force against another sovereign entity. When looking at each country's perspective in different instances over time, the analysis suggests a continuum in the countries' discourses. Indeed, the three countries positions' share several characteristics which allows to identify how the Global South has affected the normative standing of humanitarian interventions and R2P. First, despite the fact that Brazil's diplomatic tradition appears to be cautious in counterbalancing the West's enthusiasm for humanitarian interventions, all three countries' actions suggest the existence of a Southern strategy aimed at moderating and limiting the dangers of the Western interpretation of the use of force. Second, they all strictly require the UNSC authorization to intervene and advocate for state-consent. In all three instances, the countries demonstrated their absolute objection to unilateral interventions happening without UNSC mandate. Third, the three countries equally stressed the importance of building such actions in respect of the principles of non-interference and national sovereignty. No country, under the UN charter, is or should be allowed to infringe the domestic affairs of another sovereign country. Fourth, in their view, military interventions should only be used after all other peaceful means have been exhausted. In this sense, humanitarian interventions become a tool of last resort which entails a range of side effects, political and economic implications and, thus, should not be used as the primary resource in the protection of human rights. Fifth, a pattern of inherent mistrust in the actions of the West seems to be constitutive of the three countries' views. Indeed, they all advocate against broad terms of enforcement, reject

resolutions lacking clear boundaries and, ultimately, commonly perceive the existence of secondary ends behind the pretext of the use of force to protect human rights. Lastly, guided by Brazil's conceptualization of RWP, China and India share the same reluctance in adopting R2P's third pillar and support the UN's continuous efforts in achieving a mutually agreeable solution for the implementation of R2P in the complete respect of the UN Charter's principle.

<i>Table 1 Global South's shared values</i>	
1	Moderating effect to West's enthusiasm for interventions
2	State Consent and UNSC Authorization are essential
3	Respect of Non-Interference and National Sovereignty
4	Use of force only when all other peaceful means exhausted
5	Mistrust in the West's justifications for the use of force
6	Reluctance to adopt R2P's third pillar

Overall, these views suggest that countries from the Global South, despite different economic and political backgrounds, share a range of values which clearly inform their approach and contributions to the normative standing of humanitarian interventions.

On the one hand, it can be argued that such approach inevitably incentivizes the respect for the UN Charter, its principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and, ultimately, upholds the UNSC authority. While acknowledging the need to prevent and respond to gross violations of human rights, countries of the Global South take a rather cautious approach to the authorization to the use of force for humanitarian purposes and act as a system of checks and balances, contesting interventions without UNSC authorization or beyond the purposes of the UN Charter. Over time, however, such skepticism has amounted to a rather constant mistrust in the humanitarian actions of the West, often believed to serve as a pretext to advance their geopolitical interests. As shown by Acharya's framework, such mistrust is central to the theory of norm circulation which, indeed, happens when some actors, like non-Western countries, '[...] feel betrayed by the abuse of the norm by more powerful actors in the implementation

stage' (2013, p.469). As noted in the analysis, India, China and Brazil frequently pointed to the abuses of the West in applying R2P and norms of humanitarian interventions, for instance in Kosovo and Libya.

The Global South's skepticism over military interventions, especially after the misapplication of R2P in Libya, often translates into severe contestation over the normative standing of humanitarian interventions. In the framework of norm circulation, Acharya (2013) explains how, by contesting a norm, actors can provide feedback and, eventually, through what is known as the 'repatriation effect', modify the initial norm or shape it into a new one. This clearly happened in the case of R2P where, as shown by analysis, the three countries stressed the importance of avoiding the misuse of the new norm and any other abuse of the UN principles. Indeed, their contestation over R2P's third pillar and its past misapplications to humanitarian crises resulted in Brazil's proposal to modify the norm into the RwP. However, due to this very contestation, the normative standing of R2P has not reached a level of mutual agreement and has not been formally approved yet.

Nonetheless, the same cannot be argued about the normative standing of humanitarian interventions. As shown in the analysis, despite the explicit presence of contestation due to the violation of UN principles during the interventions, in the cases aforementioned, the countries' feedback - or contestation - did not lead to any development regarding the normative standing of humanitarian interventions. On the contrary, it can be argued that the Global South's shared views which emerged in the findings rather led to a sort of deadlock within the UNSC. Their contestation, indeed, did not translate into any modification to the normative standing of humanitarian interventions but, instead, does not allow the Council to reach a stable and solid consensus over the normative standing of humanitarian interventions. Therefore, it is because of the Global South's shared views over humanitarian interventions that it can be argued that their normative standing and, thus, the consensus over them, are not permanently firm but, rather, strongly volatile.

To conclude, this thesis argues that, despite the Global South's views on humanitarian interventions and R2P, in the case of the latter, led to a proposal to modify the norm, overall, they prevent the normative standing of both humanitarian interventions and R2P from becoming firmly diffused and accepted.

7. Conclusion

This thesis focused on investigating the impact of the Global South on the normative standing of humanitarian interventions and R2P. By conducting an exploratory study of country statements within the UN, it compared China, India and Brazil's views over humanitarian interventions and R2P. The analysis found that the Global South, by strictly upholding fundamental principles of the UN Charter, prevented the normative standing of humanitarian interventions and R2P from reaching a firm consensus. Acharya's framework of norm circulation clearly demonstrated how, through contestation, actors of the Global South were able to give feedback on the normative standing of humanitarian interventions. However, with the partial exception of R2P – given Brazil's proposal on RWP has not been approved yet – the analysis demonstrated that the Global South's contestation did not lead to the evolution or modification of the normative standing of humanitarian intervention. Instead, it found that, because of the Global South's views over the use of force and the UN Charter, the normative standing of humanitarian interventions and R2P is not solid yet. Therefore, this thesis answers the research question *In what ways has the Global South's approach impacted the normative standing of R2P and humanitarian interventions* by arguing that the Global South contributed to impede the normative stability of humanitarian interventions and R2P.

The current research provided a thorough analysis of the Global South's role around the normative standing of humanitarian interventions and R2P. The comparative structure on which it rests makes its findings strongly generalizable to the diverse set of actors of the Global South and allows it to contribute consistently to the existing literature on humanitarian militarism. Nonetheless, this research presents some limitations. First, given the limited amount of words, this thesis could not consider a wider poll of countries from the Global South. Future research might increase the scope of these findings by conducting more case studies, making this research increasingly generalizable. Second, given the purpose of this research, the analysis did not rely on political, economic and other considerations behind each country's perspective. Future research could include such considerations to increase these findings' reliability. Lastly, analyzing qualitative data might cause biases in the interpretation of the results, given the role played by the researcher. Future research may reduce this risk by considering quantitative data, such as the number of veto actions on certain resolutions, even though the researcher bias cannot be fully eradicated.

Despite these limitations, the current study is societally and academically significant. On the one hand, given the importance of humanitarian interventions and the dynamics that characterize the decision-making processes that underpin their authorization within the UN to the current international scene, this thesis contributes to addressing the complexity that lies behind humanitarian interventions' normative standing. On the other hand, it adds to the current literature on the role of the Global South, which is dominated in many ways by Western scholars.

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