

## The Limitations of the UN's Practice of "New Interventionism": Observing Political Power Relations from the Military Trade and Economic Trade between 1990 And 2019

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### Abstract

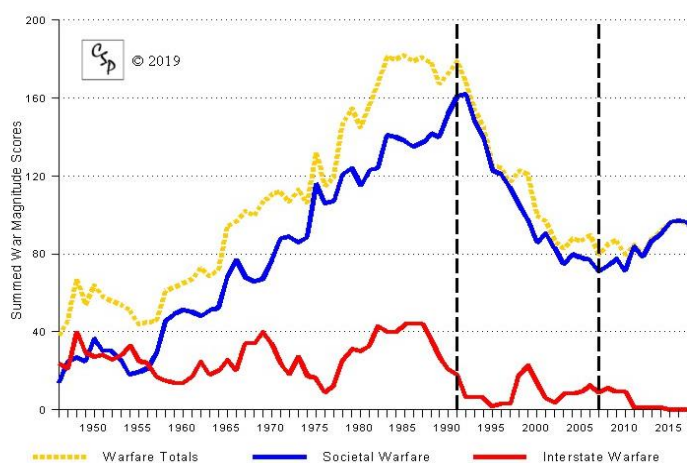
After the end of the Cold War, the greatest threat to peace and security is humanitarian disasters caused by ethnic conflicts or civil wars within the country. However, in the international intervention of conflict cases, not all countries will be subject to strong intervention by the United Nations (UN). For example, the UN stationed troops to intervene during the Kosovo and Libya conflicts. In contrast, the organization only expressed condemnation against the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The practice of new-interventionism has not been universal, and there must be factors that affect resolutions of the UN Security Council. From the perspective of realism, the behavior of the international organization is nothing more than the pursuit of "interests." The researcher thus proposes that when there is a humanitarian crisis in a country, the level of UN intervention is relevant to the level of military and economic partnership between intervened countries and member states. In this paper, fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) is used to conduct a causal analysis of two factor variables (military trade and economic trade) and outcome variables (intervention level). Topics on fair treatment of intervened countries and limitations of the UN Security Council in the practice of new interventionism are also discussed.

**Keywords:** humanitarian, New-interventionism, military trade, economic trade, fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA)

### 1. Introduction

After the end of the Cold War, the greatest threat to peace and security is the humanitarian disaster caused by ethnic conflicts, civil war or government instability within countries. According to research from the Center for Systemic Peace and George Mason University, a detailed statistics on the trend of international conflicts since World War II (Figure 1) presents a gradual reduction of international wars and conflicts between countries mainly based on internal conflicts.

Figure 1: Global Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2018



Source: Center for Systemic Peace, accessible <http://www.systemicpeace.org/CTfigures/CTfig03.htm>

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If the international law and principle of nonintervention and the prohibition of the use of force in other countries were strictly followed, why is the world still facing humanitarian disasters in Bosnia, Malaysia, Sudan, the DRC and Haiti? "New interventionism" emerged against this background. Since the 1990s, the United Nations Secretary-General's report and the Security Council have made a series of resolutions to revise the traditional non-intervention principle and establish the foundation of a new interventionist approach (Ye, 2010: 165-166). New-interventionism has become a legal and legitimate military intervention under multilateral authorization (Doyle, 2001: 221). It through military intervention into a country's dispute, and into conflict prevention.

The legitimacy of intervention in conflict and post-conflict reconstruction comes from the authorization of the United Nations Security Council. Since member states of the Security Council hold the "power to veto," they have become a key part in the resolution of military intervention. Nevertheless, in the cases that call for international intervention, not all countries have been subject to adequate intervention. During the Kosovo and Libya conflicts, the UN stationed troops to intervene. Conversely, the organization only expressed condemnation during the 2014 Israeli-Palestinian conflict. New interventionism is thus biased, and there must be factors that affect the decisions of the UN Security Council.

From the perspective of realism, the behavior of the organization is nothing more than the pursuit of "interests." The researcher proposes that when there is a humanitarian crisis in a country, the level of UN intervention is relevant to the level of military and economic partnership between intervened countries and member states. In this paper, a fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) is used to conduct a causal analysis of various permutations and combinations of two factor variables (military trade, economic and trade) and outcome variables (international intervention). To further explore the limitations of the UN Security Council in the practice of new interventionism, the reasons for the differing levels of UN intervention in different countries must be investigated.

## **2. From Nonintervention to New-Interventionism**

### **2.1 The Principle of Nonintervention**

The Nonintervention Principle indicates that "States or international organizations shall not directly or indirectly interfere in all matters within the sovereign jurisdiction of other countries for any reason or in any way during their interactions" (Shen, 2001:7). Therefore, the principle of non-interference not only refers to the prohibition of the use or threat of use of force against other countries, but also includes respect and non-interference in the affairs of other countries (Yang, 1996: 101).

Traditional international law holds that sovereignty is equal and that other countries should not interfere in internal affairs (Alhaj, 2013: 131). Therefore, Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations clearly states the following: "In order to achieve the purpose of maintaining the security of international peace, the United Nations and Member States shall abide by the principle of sovereign equality of all Member States" (para.1), "their international "Dispute" (para. 3), "Do not use threats or force in its international relations ... infringe the territorial integrity or political independence of any Member State or country" (para.4), "This Charter shall not be deemed to authorize the United Nations to" interfere in Essentially an event under the domestic jurisdiction of any country ... "(para.7) (UN, 1945).

In December 1965, the UN General Assembly adopted "the Declaration on the Non-interference in the Internal Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty"(UNGAR,1965). In October 1970, the UN adopted "the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among Nations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations"(UNGAR,1970). In both documents, the importance of the principle of national sovereignty and equality was re-emphasized. The UN General Assembly adopted the "Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States" on December 9, 1981, emphasizing that in economic, social, military and other aspects, all countries have the obligation to avoid interference with another country (UNGA, 1982).

It can be seen that in the past, the international community believed that national sovereignty, internal affairs, and diplomacy were inviolable as international principles unless Chapter VII of the Charter took place. In other words, if international peace was threatened and infringed the UN Security Council could pass a resolution to intervene with "non-defensive" weapons. Otherwise, even when a country has a civil war, it is still considered to belong to that country's jurisdiction (Alhaj, 2013: 137-142).

### **2.2 New- Interventionism**

In the second half of the 20th century, as the US-Soviet war ended, new international security situation and challenges emerged.

First of all, in view of the fact that the cause of the war was due to the violation of domestic human rights, the international view that “human rights are above sovereignty” and “the principle of non-interference in internal affairs do not apply to human rights issues” holds that sovereign states have an obligation to protect human rights and weaken the traditional concept of absolute sovereignty (Araujo, 2000: 1477-1532; Lafont, 2017: 47-73). Second, due to the impact of globalization, countries cannot avoid the impact of the spillover of human rights conflicts within a country (Jones & Stedman, 2017:34).

In order to protect international human rights, the 1945 Charter of the United Nations established new human rights principles. According to Article 1 of the Charter: "Maintaining international peace and security ... by peaceful methods and in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, adjustments or solutions are sufficient to destroy peace. International disputes or situations" (para. 1), “promote international cooperation to solve international problems of an economic, social, cultural, and human welfare nature, and promote and encourage respect for the rights and fundamental freedoms of all mankind "(para. 3). Through legislation, the name of international human rights has rightly attracted the attention of other countries and even the international community. At the same time, to "internationalize" human rights issues, if the country adopts human rights violations that affect peace and security, it will no longer be a single domestic jurisdiction (Friedman, 1993: 189-198).

On June 20, 1999, Clinton (William J. Clinton) proposed the concept of “new interventionism” based on humanitarianism by interfering in foreign affairs to protect human rights and stop genocide. It is also called "new Clintonism" (Shah, 2000), emphasizing that "civil war is not internal affairs, human rights are above sovereignty, and sovereignty knows no borders", and "moving threats" (Stedman, 1992/93: 1-4). He believes that it is necessary to intervene in various world crises and even human rights issues. When the United States is seriously threatened, it will cooperate with allies to force military intervention (Metz, 2002: p.207; Simms & Trim, 2011: 365-380; Brinkley, 1997: 110-127).

In December 2001, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) Released the “Responsibility to Protect” principle (R2P) (ICISS., 2001: 1-91). The core of R2P is that the sovereign state has the responsibility to protect its citizens from the persecution of four kinds of crimes: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. It advocates that the state has the responsibility to protect all its citizens. The international community is responsible for this task (Bellamy, 2010: 143-169). Therefore, in order to protect the universal human rights value, the United Nations or the international community should or must intervene if necessary.

However, international intervention requires reasonableness and legitimacy. The UN Charter is signed by almost all countries, thus providing the legal source and authority for the use of force (Badescu, 2007: 58). Article 24, para.1 of the Charter states: "In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf." The Council shall determine whether there is a threat or acts that disrupt peace in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, and take measures to maintain international peace.

Article 42 of the Charter also indicates that, "Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security." According to the spirit of the Charter, only the Security Council can use force. In fact, the Security Council authorizes the use of force through the "authorized execution" model and the "authorized resolution" (Blokker, 2000: 542-545; Yang, 2001: 186-187).

Therefore, New Interventionism advocates using force to intervene in a country’s internal conflicts, breaking the absolute exclusivity of national sovereignty, expanding the purpose and scope of the use of force, and accepting legitimate intervention (Danish Institute of International Affairs, 1999: 23-26).

### **3. Analysis of United Nations interference in international violations**

#### **3.1 Major international violations after the 1990s**

Table 1 lists incidents of international humanitarian crises that occurred after the 1990s, covering 20 countries including America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and unified the response of the United Nation.

Table 1 *Major international violations after the 1990s and the response of the United Nations*

<b>Intervened country</b>	<b>Major international violations</b>	<b>the response of the United Nations</b>
<b>Bosnia-Herzegovina (Europe)</b>	<p>March 1992, The Croats and Bosniacs tried to become independent from Yugoslavia, while the Serbs strongly opposed independence.</p> <p>In April 1992, the two sides fought fiercely and carried out "ethnic purification" for three and a half years. The war caused about 200,000-250,000 deaths and about 3 million people became refugees (Smith, 1996: 32).</p>	<p>Sep. 1991: "UNSCR 713", arms embargo (S/RES/713).</p> <p>May 1992: "UNSCR 752", economic sanctions (S/RES/752).</p> <p>Oct. 1992: "UNSCR 781", established "no-fly zone" (S/RES/781).</p> <p>July 1995, "UNSCR 1004", authorized NATO to launch an airstrike on a military facility (S/RES/1004).</p>
<b>China (Asia)</b>	<p>In March 2008, Tibetan protests took place in the Tibet Autonomous Region and Qinghai Province of China. In order to eliminate the unrest, the Beijing authorities sent troops to the bloody crackdown in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa, resulting in the death of about 80 people and hundreds of unknown whereabouts. Thousands were detained (Human Rights Watch, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2010).</p>	<p>The Secretary-General verbally called on the Chinese government to exercise restraint in controlling the situation (Reuters, 2008; BBC, 2008).</p>
<b>Democratic People's Republic of Korea (Asia)</b>	<p>DPRK caused a humanitarian crisis due to the dual factors of natural disasters and human disasters in 1994-1998. The latter included murder, imprisonment, slavery and torture and other serious human rights violations. About 80,000-120,000 people were imprisoned (Human Rights Watch, 2017).</p>	<p>In 2017, 2018 and 2019, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution condemning North Korea without a vote (UN General Assembly, 2017, 2018, 2019).</p>
<b>Democratic Republic of the Congo (Africa)</b>	<p>The first Congolese civil war (1996-1997) was caused by the influx of refugees from the conflict between Rwanda and Burundi in 1994, which indirectly triggered the ethnic conflict in the country. There were more than 60,000 refugees from 1997 to 1999 (UNHCR, 2000: 34).</p> <p>The Second War (1998-2003) was the result of many countries intervening in the internal affairs of the DR Congo. From August 1998 to April 2004, the civil war killed 3.8 million people, resulting in 3.2 million internally displaced persons and 440,000 refugees</p>	<p>The First Congolese Civil War: UNSCR made many verbal appeals and issued a statement calling for belligerent negotiations for ceasefire (S/RES/1097; S/PV.3784).</p> <p>The Second Congolese Civil War: Nov. 30, 1999, "UNSCR 1279" was adopted to establish the "United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo" (MONUC), which was responsible for the tasks related to the Ceasefire Agreement (S/RES/1279).</p> <p>July 2003, "UNSCR 1493", arms embargo (S/RES/1493).</p> <p>Mar. 2008, "UNSCR 1807", arms embar-</p>

<b>Intervened country</b>	<b>Major international violations</b>	<b>the response of the United Nations</b>
<b>Haiti (America)</b>	<p>(IRC, 2004: 3).</p> <p>Sep. 30, 1991, the armed forces commander Raoul Cedras launched a coup to expel the elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide from Haiti, restore dictatorship, and arbitrarily arrest, torture and detain people. It is estimated that 3,000-4,000 people were killed and 300,000 people were displaced (Dobbins,2003: 72; Forced Migration Projects, 1995:3).</p>	<p>goes and the prohibition of economic assistance(S/RES/1807).</p> <p>June 1993, "UNSCR 841" and May 1994, "UNSCR 917", both were worldwide embargoes on Haiti (S/RES/841; S/RES/917). July 31, 1994, "UNSCR 940", 12 votes to 0 (China and Brazil abstained, Luanda was absent), the multinational force led by the United States entered Haiti and disarmed the country's military (S/RES/940).</p>
<b>India Pakistan (Asia)</b>	<p>On July 8, 2016, there's a conflict between Kashmir and IND gov., causing at least 150 civilian deaths and thousands of injuries (Al Jazeera, 2018a). Between mid-July 2016 and the end of March 2018, 130 to 145 civilians were killed by security forces, and 16 to 20 civilians were killed by armed groups (OHCHR, 2018).</p>	<p>June 2018, proposed to consider the establishment of a "Council of Investigation (COD)" to conduct a wide-ranging independent international investigation of human rights violations in Kashmir (Al Jazeera, 2018b; UN News, 2018). The UN condemned the casualties caused by the conflicts in 2016 and 2019 (UN News, 2016, 2019).</p>
<b>Indonesia (Asia)</b>	<p>Due to the "UNSCR 2504" of 1969, merging West Papua into Indonesia, both side have entered a long-term conflict. The civilians killed by the IDN government since the 1960s is estimated to be more than 100,000 to as high as 500,000 (Anderson, 2015: 14; Elmslie, 2007).</p>	<p>Although the Secretary-General of the United Nations expressed "to make every effort to ensure the protection of human rights in West Papua", but it has yet to take any action (Robinson,2012).</p>
<b>Iraq (Asia)</b>	<p>On Jan. 2014, I.S. militants had conflicts with the government. The war then spread to northern and central Iraq. There were more than 1.8 million Iraqis displaced. The conflict was classified as a "third-level emergency" (BBC, 2014; Guardian, 2014). The war between 2014 and 2016 caused more than 70,000 casualties and displaced 3.6 to 5 million people (OHCHR ,UNAMI, 2016: 4; WBG, 2018: I).</p>	<p>Aug. 15, 2014, "UNSCR 2170" , condemned verbally and listed relevant persons on the list of economic sanctions, and called on countries to prohibit the provision of economic resources to relevant individuals or groups (S/RES/2170). Nov. 20, 2015, "UNSCR 2249", called on member states to take all necessary measures to prevent terrorist acts by Islamic State and Al-Qaida (S/RES/2249).</p>

Intervened country	Major international violations	the response of the United Nations
<b>Israel Palestine (Asia)</b>	<p>Because of the nation-building plan adopted by the UN in 1947, Israel and Palestine have long fallen into ethnic conflicts and territorial disputes.</p> <p>Israel and Palestine broke out war in the Gaza area in 2008, and conflict broke out again in the Gaza area in 2014. In response to the military invasion of Hamas, Israel launched the "Operation Protective Edge" , causing about 2,000 casualties and 100,000 refugees (OCHA, 2017).</p>	<p>2014, The proposal at the 7354th meeting called for Israel to withdraw its troops failed because of US opposition (S/PV.7354).</p> <p>Dec. 2016, "UNSCR 2334"(U.S. abstained) condemned Israel's violation (S/RES/2334).</p> <p>June 2018, the Council's proposal condemned Israel's use of live ammunition against civilian demonstrators. Ultimately, the resolution did not pass because of US opposition (S/PV.8274).</p>
<b>Libya (Africa)</b>	<p>The Jasmine Revolution was launched in Libya in 2011, demanding the resignation of Muammar Gaddafi. The Gaddafi government ignored the needs of the people and adopted bloody methods of repression. According to statistics, this civil war caused about 300-500 deaths, 1 million people needed humanitarian assistance, and about 400,000 people had to leave Libya (BBC, 2011; UNNews, 2011).</p>	<p>Feb. 2011, "UNSCR 1970", economic or diplomatic means such as arms embargoes, asset freezes, and travel bans (S/RES/1970).</p> <p>Mar. 17, 2011, "UNSCR 1973", authorized UN member states to take "all necessary means" and set up no-fly zones.</p> <p>Mar. 19, the multinational force headed by the United States carried out the "Odyssey Dawn" military operation (S/RES/1973).</p>
<b>Myanmar (Asia)</b>	<p>On August 25, 2017, the ASRA attacked around 30 police stations, outposts, and barracks. The Myanmar military launched a "cleansing operation" against the Rohingya people. The OHCHR pointed out that "crimes against humanity" were likely forced upon the Rohingya people (OHCHR, 2017). An UN reported in 2018 pointed that the Myanmar military was involved in genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, and estimated that 725,000 refugees were displaced (S/PV.8381).</p>	<p>During the UN meeting, it only gave verbal condemnation and called for accepting humanitarian assistance from the UN. China also expressed that the international community should be patient and provide support and assistance to this incident (S/PV.8060).</p> <p>In 2018, the Security Council proposed to investigate the crimes of genocide, war crimes and crimes against committed in Myanmar under international law. However, the result of the vote was opposed by China and Russia and failed to be passed into a resolution (S/PV.8381).</p>

<b>Intervened country</b>	<b>Major international violations</b>	<b>the response of the United Nations</b>
<b>Russia (Europe)</b>	After the first Chechen War in 1994, Chechnya temporarily achieved de facto independence. In 1999, Russia launched the second war. It was estimated that the two civil wars caused approximately 160,000 deaths and 250,000 displacements (MSF, 2014: 75,197; The New York Times, 2005).	In January 2000, the Secretary-General verbally called for a truce in Russia (BBC, 2000). On April 16, 2003, the Human Rights Commission voted for the "Condemnation of Russia's violation of human rights in Chechnya." While voting, countries including China, Cuba, Syria, and Libya expressed support for Russia. The final resolution was not passed (UN News, 2003).
<b>Rwanda (Africa)</b>	In Rwanda, from April 6 to mid-July 1994, the Hutu people committed a genocide against the Tutsi people, and about 500,000-1 million people were killed, 2 million Hutu became refugees (Banks, 1997: 709; Glahn, 1996; Prunier, 1995:263; Emizet, 2000:165; BBC, 2004 ).	June 22, 1994, "UNSCR 929", authorized France to take the action coded "Turquoise" to "use all necessary means" to use force to intervene (S/RES/929).
<b>Serbia-Kosovar (Europe)</b>	In March 1991, the Albanian Asians in Kosovo demanded independence, which was ordered by the president Milosevic to suppress it. Eight years of conflict have caused the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people (Independent International Commission on Kosovo, 2000: 101; Hong, 2005:177) .	Mar. 1998, "UNSCR 1160", arms embargo (S/RES/1160). Oct. 24, 1998, Security Council sanctions Yugoslavia resolution rejected by China and Russia, the draft was not passed (S/PV.3937). June 1999, "UNSCR 1244", established United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) (S/RES/1244).
<b>Somalia (Africa)</b>	In Jan. 1991, President Siad Barre was overthrown and fled abroad. Two major factions broke out in Nov., causing 300,000 to 500,000 deaths and 1.7 million displaced (Lewis, 2002:265; Atalay, 2019: 93-94; Ahmed & Green, 1999: 113-127). <sup>2</sup>	Dec. 3, 1992, "UNSCR 794", authorized the restoration of "peace, stability, law and order" by force (S/RES/794). Dec. 1992, established the "United Special Forces" (UNITAF) mainly composed of the US military, and launched the "Operation Restore Hope" military operation.

<sup>2</sup>Some studies indicate that by the end of 1992, it was estimated that more than 400,000 people had died and 1.5 million people had fled the country to seek asylum abroad (Bradbury, 1994:16).

Intervened country	Major international violations	the response of the United Nations
<b>Sudan (Africa)</b>	In February 2003, the blacks in Darfur formed the “SLM” and “JEM” armed forces. They believed that the government oppressed “non-Arabs” and launched anti-government armed activities, resulting in a large number of casualties. The conflict between the two sides killed between 200,000 and 450,000 Africans and some 4.2 million refugees. <sup>3</sup>	July, 2004, "UNSCR 1556", arms embargo (S/RES/1556).
<b>Syria (Asia)</b>	On 21 August 2013, Damascus civilians were attacked by chemical weapons, killing at least 500. In June 2015, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reported that approximately 220,000 Syrians had been killed and 1 million injured since the civil war in 2011. The total number of refugees reached nearly 4 million (OCHA, 2015: 1).	Sep. 2013, "UNSCR 2118", The UN verbally condemned the Damascus chemical weapons incident(S/RES/2118). May 22, 2014, The draft of "Syria question submitted to the International Criminal Court" was voted. The result was 13 votes in favor, and Russia and China voted against it. The draft was not approved (S/PV.7180).
	On April 04, 2017, Khan Shaykhun, a town in northern Syria, was hit by gas bombs, killing at least 50 people and injuring more than 300 people (Al Arabiya, 2017).	Apr. 12, 2017, The Security Council voted on the draft of "investigation of chemical weapons in Syria." The resolution was ultimately rejected because China and Russia vetoed it (S/PV.7922).
	On April 7, 2018, the Syrian city of Dumat was suspected of being chemically attacked by a conscript. The World Health Organization estimates that there are 500 injured and 43 dead (W.H.O., 2018).	Apr. 10, 2018, the United States proposed to "investigate who uses chemical weapons." This proposal was ultimately rejected because China abstained and Russia vetoed it (S/PV.8228).

<sup>3</sup> Some studies estimate that more than 200,000 people were killed (Hagan & Palloni, 2006: 1579); Some studies estimate that about 400,000 people were killed (Danielová, 2014: 45); Some studies estimate that about 200,000 to 450,000 people were killed (G.A.O., 2006: 56-61); UN Official Website, ABOUT UNAMID.



<b>Intervened country</b>	<b>Major international violations</b>	<b>the response of the United Nations</b>
<b>TimorLeste</b>  (Asia)	In 1999, East Timor voted for independence, and radicals who opposed independence and East Timorese pro-Indonesian militia forces supported by the Indonesian army began to attack civilians. About 1400-2000 people were killed in this war, and about 400,000 refugees fled to West Timor Wen (CAVR, 2005: 145; Huang, 2012: 115).	Sep. 15, 1999, "UNSCR 1264", Australia lead a multinational force (East Timor International Force, INTERFET), took all necessary actions to restore peace in East Timor, and temporarily managed East Timor until its official independence in 2002 (S/RES/1264).
<b>Yemen</b> (Asia)	The Yemen Civil War was a five-year civil war conflict from 2012 to 2019. The conflict between the Yemen government led by President Hadi and Houthis, the domestic opposition triggered a war of agents between Saudi Arabia and Iran. According to statistics, there were countless casualties during the civil war, and about 80% of Yemen's population (24 million people) needed humanitarian assistance and protection (OCHA, 2019; Sharp, 2019: 13-14).	Feb. 2014, "UNSCR 2140", condemned the armed attacks on civilians by both sides, and imposed economic and travel sanctions against specific individuals (S/RES/2140). Feb. 2015, "UNSCR 2201", UN verbally condemned Saddam Hussein (S/RES/2201). Apr. 2015, "UNSCR 2216", arms embargo (S/RES/2216).

**Source:** collated by researcher. (In alphabetical order)

### 3.2 The form and level of UN interference

According to Article 39 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN: "The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security"(UN, 1945).

Therefore, the UN Security Council can judge the situation according to Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter and intervene in countries that disrupt peace, including three forms, armed interference, economic interference and diplomatic (political) interference.

In Martin Binder's research on international intervention, he believes that the Security Council's response to humanitarian crises is not just military intervention or "doing nothing", but rather using various forms of intervention to achieve different objectives. Judgment of the level of intervention of the Security Council depends first on its coercive or intrusive nature, that is, to what extent it violates the principle of sovereignty, and secondly on the cost of intervention in terms of financial resources and personnel. After considering the above two indicators, he suggests seven levels of international intervention, in order from highest to lowest: military humanitarian interventions, "robust" peacekeeping operations, economic sanctions, substantial "traditional" peacekeeping operations, observer missions, humanitarian assistance, complete inaction or non-intervention (Binder, 2017: 67-68).

Based on the research classification of scholar Martin, the researcher divided the international intervention (I) from low to high into 7 levels, and regarded verbal condemnation (admonition) as no action (level 1), as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 *UN intervention form and level classification*

<b>International intervention</b>	<b>Level</b>
military humanitarian interventions	7
“robust” peacekeeping operations	6
economic sanctions	5
“traditional” peacekeeping operations	4
observer missions	3
humanitarian assistance	2
complete inaction or non-intervention	1

**Source:** *The United Nations and the Politics of Selective Humanitarian Intervention* (pp.67-68), by Martin Binder, 2017, Cham, Switzerland : Palgrave Macmillan. Copyright 2017 by Palgrave Macmillan.

Combining Table 1 and Table 2, the researcher summarized the degree of intervention by the United Nations in the humanitarian crisis incidents of the 20 intervention countries in Table 3. If the UN responded more than once to the same humanitarian crisis incident, only the strongest reaction was taken into consideration. As a result, it has been found that the level of international interference by various countries was different.

Table 3 *Level of UN intervention in humanitarian crisis*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Intervened country</b>	<b>Level</b>
1	Bosnia-Herzegovina	7
2	China	1
3	DPRK	5
4	DR Congo	5
5	Haiti	6
6	India	3
7	Indonesia	1
8	Iraq	5
9	Israel	1
10	Libya	7
11	Myanmar	1
12	Pakistan	3
13	Russia	1
14	Rwanda	7
15	Serbia (Kosovar)	5
16	Somalia	7
17	Sudan	6
18	Syria	3
19	Timor-Leste	6
20	Yemen	5

**Source:** collated by researcher.

#### 4. Analysis of the practice of new interventionism from the perspective of realism

Realist scholars believe that "interest" is one of the goals pursued by the country and can also be regarded as a bargaining chip for international interaction. Humanitarian intervention is indeed one of the ways to end the civil war in a timely manner, but humanitarian intervention has nothing to do with morality. The purpose of humanitarian intervention is to maintain justice, but certain powerful countries use excuses to package and white-wash their foreign military activities. The motive and purpose of a country's intervention in humanitarian intervention have come into question. Humanitarian interference has been criticized by scholars as a state's selective intervention (Mandelbaum, 1999: 2-8).

Hans Morgenthau pointed out that "as long as the world is still politically constituted by the state, then the final thing in international politics is actually the last Language can only be the national interest" (Hoffmann, 1990: 94) In addition, Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff Jr. proposed that "power is the purpose of politics, and interest is the essence of politics" (Daugherty & Pfaltzgraff, 2004: 82).

National interests are divided into security and economic interests. The two interests affect each other and are inseparable. Therefore, this section will analyze the relationship between the intervened country and the permanent members from the perspective of "interests", and discuss the two aspects of the "military trade relationship" and the "economic trade relationship" between both sides.

##### 4.1 The "Military Trade" Relationship between the Intervened Country and the Permanent Member

In the process of pursuing interests internationally, military trade relations among countries also play an important role. Among them, arms trade is an important indicator because of the benefits it brings and its international influence. Generally speaking, the international and domestic arms trade usually involves a large amount of economic and financial resources, often reaching a deal agreement worth billions of dollars. It is thus closely related to international political and military issues. The benefit for the government of the supplier country is to maintain viable weapons production and technology, employment, and tax revenue, and even exert influence on the government of the receiving country; for the receiving country, it is possible to establish or strengthen friendly political forces with the supplier country through the purchase of weapons Relationship and other interests (Catrina, 1994: 196). T. Wheelock believes that manipulating the arms transfer relationship can force or entice the receiving country to make its policies or actions meet the expectations of the supplier country. He calls this "leverage" (Wheelock, 1978: 123-137).

Levine, Mouzakis and Smith (2003: 55-77) believe that international arms sales activities are based on economic motives. Sprecher and Krause (2006: 363-369) found that arms sales are an alliance between nations. Wang (2016) believes that arms export as a special form of international trade can not only bring huge economic benefits, but also help exporters gain political and diplomatic influence. In addition, it helps countries control power and change the contrast of regional forces. The arms export plays a key role in the country's foreign strategy. Other studies also point out that weapons are partial extended deterrence strategies of a state. (Fearon, 1994: 236-269; Huth & Russett, 1993: 61-73; Huth, 1988: 423-443; Signorino & Tarar, 2006: 586-605).

The importance of military relations is further verified by the fact that the former US Secretary of State Henry Alfred Kissinger promised to provide Israel with a large number of new weapons in exchange for Israeli leadership through the 1975 Sinai Disengagement Agreement (Pierre, 1982: 16).

In all, arms sales affect the development of relations between exporting countries (supplier countries) and importing countries (receiving countries), other relevant countries, and even major global powers. It also affects diplomatic decisions among countries. When facing the issue of humanitarian intervention, military trade relations will be one of the considerations for "selective" intervention.

##### 4.1.1. The "sum" of the arms trade volume between the intervened countries and permanent members

In this regard, the researcher compiled the following from the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database. Since this article explores the post-Cold War era, the data presents the cumulative total of "import and export transactions" in the arms trade between the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the intervened countries from 1990 to 2018. The top five countries with the highest arms trade volumes are India, China, Russia, Pakistan, and Israel, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. *The cumulative amount of arms trade (import and export) between the intervened countries and the permanent members from 1990 to 2018*

No.	I. country	UN P.M.					Total
		China	France	Russia	UK	US	
1	Bosnia and Herzegovina	12	0	0	0	87	99
2	China	0	4315	35331	1220	39	40905
3	D.P.R. of Korea	369	0	489	0	0	858
4	DRCongo	1	50	0	0	28	79
5	Haiti	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	India	0	2032	39613	2850	3334	47829
7	Indonesia	350	582	1147	1272	1126	4477
8	Iraq	37	194	2147	10	4699	7087
9	Israel	350	85	4	241	15072	15752
10	Libya	0	10	90	0	4	104
11	Myanmar	3100	16	1660	5	0	4781
12	Pakistan	10208	1641	693	579	3897	17018
13	Russian Federation	35331	5	0	2	16	35354
14	Rwanda	14	5	68	0	0	87
15	Serbia( Kosovar)	0	0	97	0	0	97
16	Somalia	2	2	0	2	1	7
17	Sudan	568	0	997	0	0	1565
18	Syrian Arab Republic	76	0	2184	0	0	2260
19	Timor-Leste	18	0	0	0	0	18
20	Yeman	150	2	1180	0	36	1368

(Unit: million USD)

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database.<sup>4</sup> (In alphabetical order)

#### 4.1.2. Number of "individual" arms trades between the intervened countries and the permanent members

As mentioned earlier, the closer the arms sales relationship between two countries, the more interests will be involved. Since the Security Council's resolution requires only one permanent member to exercise veto power to exert influence, even if the overall arms trade of the interfered country is not high; if the interfered country is closely related to the arms trade of a single permanent member, it can affect the intervention decision of other major powers.

Therefore, the researcher here will further analyze the "number of individual arms trades" between the intervention country and the permanent members. According to the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, the researcher will compare the arms trade volume of the five permanent members with the Rank of top 20 (Intervened) as listed, as shown here in Table 5.

Table 5 *Number of "individual" arms trades between Intervened countries and permanent members (Rank of top 20)*

I. country	UN P.M.		China		France		Russia		UK		US	
	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank
China			4315	2	35331	2	1220	9				
DPRK	369	12										
India			2032	7	39613	1	2850	3	3334	20		
Indonesia	350	13	582	20	1147	17	1272	7				
Iraq					2147	10					4699	16
Israel											13895	7

<sup>4</sup> SIPRI, "International Arms Transfer Database", <http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/values.php>. Database data updated to 2018. SIPRI is an independent international research organization devoted to the study of conflict, arms, arms control and disarmament issues. It was built in 1966 and uses public data to provide policy makers, researchers, media and interested public in various countries with information, analysis and recommendations in the above fields.

Myanmar	3100	2			1660	14				
Pakistan	10208	1	1641	10			579	17	3897	18
Russia	35331	1								
Sudan	568	9			997	19				
Syria					2184	9				
Yemen					1180	15				

**Note:** The quantities listed are the quantities of arms "exported" by the permanent members of the Security Council to the intervened countries, and the quantity imported from the intervened countries is negligible, because the number of intervened countries usually exported to the permanent member is very low, with the exception of Russia. According to the data in the table, when Russia is listed as intervened countries, it appears to be "exported" to China. The reason is that Russia is a major exporter of arms sales, and the amount of imports from the permanent members of the Security Council is very low, so it is ignored.

According to the unification results in Table 5, the bilateral arms trade with the single permanent member of the Security Council ranks among the top 20 intervened countries, including China, North Korea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Myanmar, Pakistan, Russia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen.

This data helps to make up for the lack of a single observation of the overall arms trade volume. For example, although the "sum" of arms trade between North Korea and the permanent members is not high (858 millions), when observing arms sales relations between intervened countries and one single permanent member, it is evident that the trade volume between North Korea and China is 369 (millions), and ranks the 12th highest country among China's arms exporters.

When the intervened countries maintain a close arms trade relationship with one single permanent member of the UN Security Council, it is reasonably inferred that when a humanitarian crisis occurs in the intervened country, UN tends not to take intervention because of the vested interests of major power member states.

#### 4.2 Economic Trade relations between the Intervened Country and the Permanent Member

Under the trend of economic globalization, the closer the economic interdependence of various countries, relatively, the faster the contagion of the financial crisis and the economic crisis and the role of proliferation will expand and develop. Once an economic crisis occurs in a country, it will inevitably affect the economies of other countries, and the economic imbalance of a country will inevitably affect other countries. Therefore, the concepts of economy and security, which belong to the same domain, began to integrate, and the concept of so-called "economic security" appeared (Xu, 2004: 9-11).

Keohane and Nye. (2001: 21-25) pointed out that a state's interdependence will bring about trade interaction. When there is a high degree of interdependence (trade is frequent), the possibility of using force will be reduced. American scholar George Friedman believes that after the end of the Cold War, relative to military confrontation during the Cold War period, international society has turned to an era of economic and trade dominance, emphasizing that economic cooperation development has priority over military competition (Friedman, 2013). Chinese scholar Chu (2003: 52) also proposed that the world's interdependence will make the national power more restricted because it tries to bring losses to the other side. This behavior may also bring corresponding losses to oneself. Therefore, in international relations, the economic trade relations between two countries will inevitably affect each other's foreign policy, because any choice will have an impact on both sides.

Based on data from the International Trade Center (ITC), <sup>5</sup> the cumulative total of "import and export trade" between intervened countries and permanent members from 2001 to 2018 are shown in Table 6. Table 6 Cumulative total amount of "import and export trade" between intervened countries and UN permanent members from 2001 to 2018

<sup>5</sup> Founded in 1964 and headquartered in Geneva, it is a subsidiary of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The official website only provides international trade import and export data after 2001.

Table 6 Cumulative total amount of "import and export trade" between intervened countries and UN permanent members from 2001 to 2018

No.	UN P.M. I. country	China	France	Russia	UK	US	Total
1	Bosnia -Herzegovina	1,679,123	3,287,269	4,279,642	956,656	1,412,742	11,615,432
2	China		974,599,902	956,771,642	1,111,280,794	7,886,458,925	10,929,111,263
3	DPRK	61,005,247	252,101	1,945,863	156,686	179,262	63,539,159
4	DR Congo	42,763,420	3,994,905	195,826	835,967	5,560,741	53,350,859
5	Haiti	4,230,704	924,821	71,302	389,156	28,757,906	34,373,889
6	India	867,200,659	142,741,094	113,053,364	239,386,522	869,317,323	2,231,698,962
7	Indonesia	583,468,649	38,829,940	28,594,509	42,305,922	356,966,536	1,050,165,556
8	Iraq	199,167,720	24,510,503	4,860,004	5,850,107	227,363,210	461,751,544
9	Israel	129,383,930	49,641,405	40,434,770	73,097,186	566,652,659	859,209,950
10	Libya	55,438,757	55,324,428	2,776,202	23,463,726	32,306,531	169,309,644
11	Myanmar	123,225,080	2,550,604	1,844,092	2,843,836	3,904,715	134,368,327
12	Pakistan	178,114,571	20,849,003	7,002,093	36,488,498	94,391,176	336,845,341
13	Russia	1,002,236,486	327,788,608		245,389,404	470,413,875	2,045,828,373
14	Rwanda	1,853,724	604,894	137,228	306,833	970,868	3,873,547
15	Serbia ( Ko- sovar) <sup>6</sup>	7,639,367	11,614,668	19,771,653	5,425,804	5,380,545	49,832,037
16	Somalia	2,745,970	263,074	11,074	164,404	434,940	3,619,462
17	Sudan	152,831,082	5,966,179	5,083,048	7,065,620	2,874,578	173,820,507
18	Syria	22,694,814	11,775,204	11,420,918	3,677,336	6,456,992	56,025,264
19	Timor-Leste	889,622	31,301	1,944	24,310	101,340	1,048,517
20	Yemen	27,883,678	3,002,491	1,913,942	1,887,337	7,473,900	42,161,348

(Unit : US Dollar thousand)

Source: collated by researcher, retrieved from the International Trade Centre(ITC) (In alphabetical order)

## 5. Using fuzzy sets (fsQCA) to analyze the impact of "interests" on international intervention

### 5.1 Basic concepts of fuzzy sets

Although the research of fuzzy set analysis is through quantitative analysis, the numbers in the fuzzy set are not to define a clear critical point (0 or 1), but to define the different levels of members (ie research cases) between the two limits (Zadeh, 1965: 338-353). Therefore, in this analysis process, the researcher can refer to the past literature results of each variable and the prediction direction of the study, and use the purpose of continuous variables for calibration. In order to indicate the clearly defined membership level and the specified set, the scope of membership that is consistent with its own research topic is defined, which is called "membership" (Hesketh, B., Hesketh T., Gleitzman & Pryor, 1988: 425-454; Zwick, Budescu & Wallsten, 1988: 91-125). According to this, the membership of fuzzy concepts usually has subjective awareness (Wu, 2005: 4), and fuzzy sets combine quantitative data and qualitative analysis in the calibration of set membership, so they have both qualitative and quantitative features.

<sup>6</sup> The data between Serbia (Kosovar) and the permanent members from 2001 to 2005 is the transaction data of Serbia Montenegro at that time. Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992. The Federation was reorganized and renamed "Serbia and Montenegro" on February 4, 2003. On May 21, 2006, Montenegro held an independent referendum. After the independence faction won, it officially announced its independence from Serbia on June 3. On June 5 of the same year, the Serbian Parliament also declared its independence and became the legal successor of Sémont. Sémon was thus disintegrated and disappeared from there.

This study mainly refers to the setting method proposed by the scholar Charles C. Ragin's fuzzy qualitative comparison analysis method (fsQCA), and uses the software designed by it to perform correlation analysis such as consistency and truth table.<sup>7</sup> Using fsQCA to analyze the causal relationship between variables as following.

**5.2 Fuzzy scores setting of factor variables and outcome variables**

In the first step, the researcher "assigns" the factor variables and the outcome variable to obtain the original value, and further normalizes the original variable value using the numbers in the 0-1 interval, and converts the original value of the factor variable and the outcome variable into Fuzzy value. This process is also known as "Assignment" and "Calibration", which is to calibrate the "membership scores" of each variable.

Next, the "calibration" of fsQCA is to use the numbers in the 0-1 range to "standardize" the original subjective assignment. The value obtained after the standardized "calibration" is called the "membership scores" of the variable. The membership score of the fuzzy set ranges from 0 to 1, in which three anchor points (that is, membership degree) need to be set, which are full membership, (represented by a score of 1), and crossover point (represented by a score of 0.5, representing semi-subordination) and full non-membership (indicated by a score of 0), setting three different degrees of membership for different variables (Ragin, 2008: 29-33).

**5.2.1. Fuzzy membership of the "outcome" variable**

The setting of outcome variable (the fuzzy-set membership scores of the degree of international intervention) in this study is according to the setting of Martin Binder. He uses fuzzy set theory to convert different degrees of international intervention into fuzzy-set membership scores. Given that military intervention is the strongest response to humanitarian crises, military intervention cases are completely "strong responses to humanitarian crises," so their affiliation score is (1). In contrast, a situation of complete inaction in the face of huge human suffering can be regarded as non-intervention, so its score is (0). According to this standard, Martin's converted fuzzy set scores are as follows: military intervention (1), "powerful" peacekeeping mission (0.8), economic sanctions (0.64), traditional peacekeeping (0.48), observation mission (0.32), humanitarian Aid (0.16), and no action (0) (Binder, 2017: 67-68).

**5.2.2. Fuzzy membership of the "factor" variables**

The factor variables in this study included Military Trade (MT) and Economic Trade (ET) between the intervened countries and the permanent members. Before setting the fuzzy set (membership) scores of various factors, anchors must be set first, that is, set 0 (completely not affiliated), 0.5 (cross point), and 1 (fully affiliated) (Charles C. Ragin , 2008: 75). Since the fuzzy set (membership) score is a series of consecutive numbers, the researcher finds the median of 20 sets of numbers and sets the anchor to 0.5 (cross point). Based on this, the situation that each factor variable is continuously distributed in the fuzzy set score and the number in the 0-1 interval have been calculated.

The researcher anchored the "factor" variables and the "outcome" variable for assigning fuzzy set (membership) scores, as shown in Table 7.

*Table 7 An anchor list for assigned to fuzzy set (membership) scores of "factor variables" and "outcome variable"*

Variable	Indicator	Membership scores	Qualitative anchors		
			0.00	0.50	1.00
(1) Military Trade(MT)	Total arms sales	Continuous	0	1466.5	47829
	Individual arms sales (Top 20)	Dichotomous	0	-	1
(2) Economic Trade(ET)	International trade	Continuous	1,048,517	98,953,743	10,929,111,263
Intervention	Intrusiveness of reaction	Seven-value scheme	Inaction	→	Military intervention

**Source:** collated by researcher.

<sup>7</sup> Download the fsQCA software webpage, reference: <http://www.u.arizona.edu/~cragin/fsQCA/software.shtml>. The instruction manual for using the software can refer to: Charles C. Ragin, "USER'S GUIDE TO Fuzzy-Set/Qualitative Comparative Analysis," July 2017, <http://www.socsci.uci.edu/~cragin/fsQCA/download/fsQCAManual.pdf>.

According to Table 7, an analysis of the fuzzy set (membership) scores of the "factor" variable and the "result" variable, is shown in Table 8.

Table 8 *List of scores of fuzzy sets (membership) of factor variables and outcome variable*

No.	Intervened Country	Factor variables		Outcome variable
		Military Fuzzy Scores	Trade Economic Trade Fuzzy Scores	Intervene Level Fuzzy Scores
1	Bosnia-Herzegovina	0.03	0.06	1
2	China	1	1	0
3	DPRK	1	0.32	0
4	DRCongo	0.03	0.27	0.64
5	Haiti	0	0.17	0.8
6	India	1	0.6	0.32
7	Indonesia	1	0.54	0
8	Iraq	1	0.52	0.64
9	Israel	1	0.54	0
10	Libya	0.04	0.503	1
11	Myanmar	1	0.502	0
12	Pakistan	1	0.51	0.32
13	Russia	1	0.59	0
14	Rwanda	0.03	0.02	1
15	Serbia ( Kosovar)	0.03	0.25	0.64
16	Somalia	0	0.02	1
17	Sudan	1	0.503	0.8
18	Syria	1	0.28	0.32
19	Timor-Leste	0.01	0.01	0.8
20	Yemen	1	0.21	0.64

**Source:** collated by researcher. (In alphabetical order)

### 5.3 Establish Truth Table

Using the fsQCA software to establish the truth table, the researcher was able to get  $2^k$  (presence / absence) condition factor variable combinations, and evaluate the corresponding results of various combinations (Ragin, 2008: 124-125). For example: Assumption there're 2 factor variables affecting international intervention (A, B), and  $2^2=4$  combinations of factors will be obtained.

Using the fsQCA software to do statistical analysis the data from Table 8 yielded results in the truth table of the " Two factor variables and the outcome variable", as shown in Table 9. The relevant descriptions are as follows:



Table 9 *The truth table of "Two factor variables and the outcome variable"*

MT	ET	Cases numbers	Strong Intervene	Cases	raw consist.
0	1	1	1	LBY	1
0	0	7	1	BIH,DCO,HTI,RWA, XKX,SOM,TLS	0.937192
1	0	3	0	DPRK,SYR,YEM	0.453675
1	1	9	0	CHN,IND,IDN,IRQ, ISR,MMR,PAK,RUS, SDN	0.368606

**Source: fsQCA software calculation results. (Arranged in descending order of related consistency)**

First of all, the combination of factors in the truth table will be the Nth power of 2, so there are two factors in this study, and there will be four kinds of combination of factors.

Secondly, the degree of intervention (I) in the truth table is set by the researcher to 0 (low degree of intervention) or 1 (high degree of intervention), which is based on raw consistency. The higher the correlation between this combination of factors and international intervention, the higher the degree of international intervention. On the contrary, when the consistency score is less than 0.75 or even 0.8, there is a considerable inconsistency. Ideally, the score should be higher than 0.9. The reason is that the consistency below 0.75 means that the combination of this factor and the international intervention is low, that is, the international intervention will be less likely (Ragin, 2017: 40-41; Kent, 2008: 6).

In summary, the researcher set the degree of intervention in the first to second rows to 1, which means that when these two factors are combined, the international community is more inclined to "strong" intervention actions to the intervened countries. The degree of intervention in the third to fourth lines is set to 0, which shows that when these two factors combine, the international community is more inclined to "limited" interventions to the intervened countries.

According to the statistical results in Table 9, the analysis is as follows:

1. When "military trade" and "economic trade" conditions between intervened countries and the permanent members of the Security Council are both "non-existent", the UN tends to strongly intervene, for example: the second row (0,0). In contrast, if "military trade" and "economic trade" conditions between intervened countries and the permanent members of the Security Council are both "existent", the UN tends to limit intervention, for example: the fourth row (1,1).

2. When "military trade" and "economic trade" conditions between intervened countries and the permanent members of the Security Council, either is "exist" or "non-exist", for example: the first and third rows (0,1), (1,0), the following situations will result:

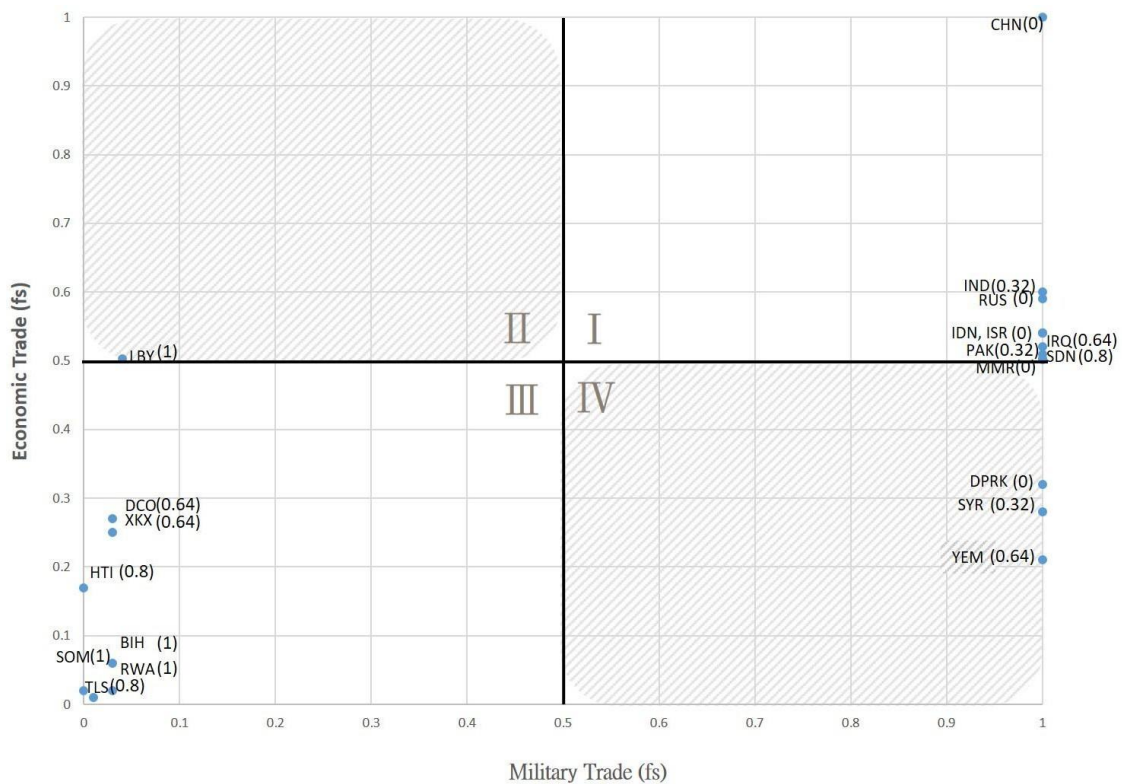
- (1) The "existence" of military trade and the "non-existence" of economic trade leads to a limited international intervention.
- (2) The "non-existence" of military trade and the "existence" of economy trade leads to a strong international intervention.

In summary, it can be seen that the influence of the "military trade" factor is heavier than the "economic trade" factor. When the "military trade" relationship exists, there will be "limited intervention".

In other words, if a country only maintains economic trade relations with the permanent members of the Security Council but does not have close military relations, it is more vulnerable to strong international intervention in the event of a humanitarian crisis.

According to the data in Table 8 the researcher has drawn a quadrant map of "Military trade and economic trade relations between the interfered countries and permanent members", and marked the level of international intervention received by each country.

**Figure 2: Military trade and economic trade relations between the interfered countries and permanent members**



**Note:** The number in parentheses represents the level of international intervention. For the blocks falling in the white area (quadrants I, III), the XY axis values are all high, which is negatively correlated with the level of international intervention; for the blocks falling in the slash area (II, IV quadrant), the XY axis value is only one value "high", the level of international intervention is uncertain.

Examining the correlation between the distribution of the two factors (military trade, economic trade) and the level of international intervention in Figure 2, the following situations were found:

- (1) As for the white blocks (quadrants I and III), the upper right corner represents high values of military trade and economic trade, and the UN tends to enforce limited intervention; the lower left corner represents low values of military trade and economic trade, and UN tends to enforce strong intervention. This shows that the changes in military trade and economic trade have a "negative correlation" with international intervention.
- (2) The slash block (II, IV quadrant) represents low military trade and high economic trade (II) or high military trade and low economic trade (IV). The former, such as Libya, suffered strong international intervention. The latter, such as Syria and North Korea, have received limited international intervention. It can be seen that in influencing international intervention, the "military trade" factor has more influence than the "economic trade" factor.

## 6. Analyze the limitations of "new interventionism"

### 6.1 Humanitarian is the slogan, and interest is the kingly way-The relations of military trade and economic trade affect the level of international intervention.

First, in the first and third quadrants of Figure 2, it is evident that the military trade and economic trade relations between the intervened countries and the permanent members are roughly negatively related to the level of intervention of the United Nations. The closer to the upper right of the figure, the lower the level of intervention, and the closer to the lower left, the higher the level of intervention.

#### 6.1.1 If the two factor variables are both high (the first quadrant), taking military intervention may affect interests. The UN tends to either not use military interference at all or to a limited degree.

For example, in 2014, the Iraqi Civil War between the Iraqi government and the Islamic State, a rebel armed religious Islamic radical terrorist organization, resulted in thousands of Iraqi refugees (BBC news (Chinese),

2014). According to United Nations data, more than 1 million Iraqis have been displaced. This is called a "third-level emergency", which is the highest level of humanitarian crisis. After the incident, the UN Security Council did not have any proposals for military intervention by member states, and only adopted Resolution 2170 to impose economic sanctions on relevant Iraqi personnel.

This is closely related to the interests of Iraq and major powers such as the United States and China. For the United States, the Congressional Research Services Department pointed out in the 2016 "Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2008-2015" report that the two sides have close arms sales relations (Amnesty International, 2015; Theohary, 2016).<sup>8</sup> For a long time, the United States and Iraq have oil and other economic trade interests. Therefore, the United States believes that the security and stability of the region contributes to the interests of both parties (Leng, 2012: 107-110). China is the largest buyer of Iraq's crude oil, and the purchase volume has already accounted for almost half of Iraq's oil production which is nearly 1.5 million barrels per day (Arango, 2013). Since 2014, Iraq has also become one of China's three major crude oil suppliers (Hy, 2015: 119-120). Therefore, with regard to the Iraq issue, China has always supported its maintenance of national independence and territorial integrity, supported accelerated political reconstruction and national reconciliation, and opposed military intervention (Liu & Fan, 2015).

**6.1.2 If the two factor variables are both low (the third quadrant), the United Nations has no benefits in intervened countries. If necessary, the UN tends to use military intervention in the name of humanitarianism.**

Take the Bosnian War as an example. The conflict between Bosniacs and Serbs broke out in an independent referendum held in March 1992. The war ended in 1995, killing about 200,000 people and making 2 million refugees. The responses of the great powers are different.

Since there is no major benefits in Bosnia, the United States adopted a wait-and-see attitude at the beginning. After President Clinton took office, he declared the independence of Bosnia and promoted military intervention. France has switched from opposing intervention to military intervention. The United Kingdom supports intervention based on consideration of relations with the United States and Germany. Russia fears that military intervention will affect the status of its Slavic people and neighboring countries, so it initially opposed against intervention but later changed to act in concert with the West. China also adhered to its consistent position and opposed the use of force to interfere in the Bosnian conflict, but did not want to offend the United States head-on, so it voted to "abstain" replacing "rejection" in United Nations Resolution 770 (Zhang, 2004: 352-357). Finally, from August 30 to September 14, 1995, NATO bombed the Bosnian Serb armed forces under the authorization of the United Nations and under the leadership of the United States.

In summary, when the interests of the interfered country and the permanent members of the Security Council are closely linked, and the whole body is launched, the United Nations tends not to adopt military intervention to avoid affecting the interests of the countries. In the Iraq case, the Security Council only made economic sanctions. China also expressly opposes military interference. Conversely, when the interests of the interfered countries and the permanent members of the Security Council are low, humanitarian military intervention has little impact on interests. Therefore, since there is no interest to confront with the United States, China has no objection to the UN's military intervention in Bosnia.

**6.2 Choose the best of two options- the benefits are difficult to balance, choose "great benefit" and give up "small benefit"**

Second, in the second and fourth quadrants of Figure 3, only one factor variable has a high numerical value, indicating that the interfered countries still have a "partial" interest relationship with the permanent members of the Security Council. Nevertheless, the level of intervention by the UN are very different. Taking Libya, Yemen as examples, an analysis of the cause are as follows:

<sup>8</sup> Between 2011 and 2013, the United States and Iraq signed a billion-dollar contract to sell 140 M1A1 Abram main battle tanks, F16 fighter jets, 681 portable needle-punched missiles, Hawk anti-aircraft turrets and other equipment. In 2004, the United States has shipped small arms and ammunition worth more than US \$ 500 million to the Iraqi government; in addition, the "Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2008-2015 report" published by the Congressional Research Service also showed that the number of US-Iranian arms sales ranked second in 2015.

### 6.2.1. Libya-China and France support intervention based on "bigger interests"

In 2011, the Jasmine Revolution set off a whirlwind in Libya, and large-scale demonstrations demanded the resignation of Muammar Gaddafi, who had been in power for 60 years. The Gaddafi government ignored the needs of the people and adopted bloody methods of repression. On February 26, 2011, the Security Council quickly and decisively acted in accordance with Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN, unanimously adopting Resolution 1970, demanding that the Libyan government end the violence and report the situation to the International Criminal Court (S/RES/1970).

In addition, the African Union and the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference set up an ad hoc High Level Committee in response to the conflict in Libya; the League of Arab States called for the establishment of a restricted area and a safe area to protect the Libyan people and foreign citizens (Wu, 2011: 64). The international community has condemned the systematic violation of human rights by the Gaddafi government.

In Figure 2, Libya is located in the second quadrant (high economic trade, low military trade), and has the closest economic trade relations with China and France. Wang (2012: 40-44) pointed out that the Libyan crisis will affect economic interests such as China's oil imports, contracted engineering projects, and non-governmental trade exchanges. Therefore, when the UN proposed Resolution No. 1973 on March 17, 2011, it established a no-fly zone.

At that time, China should reasonably use its veto power, but considering the intentions of the League of Arab States and the African Union, it only casted an abstention. Nevertheless, it has repeatedly reiterated respect for Libya's sovereignty and territorial independence and resolve the current crisis in Libya through peaceful means (S/RES/1973; Wu, 2011: 67).

The French government claims to support the intervention based on the spirit of humanity (Jiang, 2012: 66-72); however, academics hold a different view. French scholar Villerme of King's College de Londres believes that France only sends troops out of self-interest (Jean-Baptiste Jeangène Vilmer, 2011); Hansey, the head of the energy plan of the L'Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI), believes that oil interest is an important factor in French military intervention (Bernard, 2011), because assisting the political adversity of Gaddafi would help France to provide a normal supply of oil resources in Africa.

Therefore, the military intervention adopted by France in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 1973 is not a purely humanitarian intervention, which actually hides the motive of interest.

### 6.2.2. Yemen-China and Russia give up the "small" benefits in "Yemen" in exchange for the "big" benefits in "Iranian"

The Yemen Civil War was a five-year civil war conflict from 2012 to 2019. The conflict between the Yemen government led by President Hadi and Houthis, the domestic opposition, has triggered a war of agents between the neighboring countries Saudi Arabia and Iran. According to statistics, there were numerous casualties during the Civil War, and about 80% of Yemen's population (24 million people) needed humanitarian assistance and protection (OCHA, 2019; Sharp, 2019: 13-14).

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2140 on February 26, 2014, condemning the armed attacks on civilians by both parties and imposing economic and travel ban sanctions against specific individuals (S/RES/2140). On January 16, 2019, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2452 and established the United Nations Mission to support the Hodeidah Agreement (UNMHA) during the period of continuous extension of its mission until July 15, 2020 (S/RES/2452). In February 2018, the United Kingdom submitted a draft condemning Iran and putting pressure on it (S/2018/156), but under the veto power of Russia, the bill was not passed (Gladstone, 2018). Until the content eliminates the part about Iran's non-compliance, it was finally approved with 13 votes in favor, 0 votes against, and 2 abstentions (China, Russia) (S/RES/2402; UNsc13225).

On February 25, 2020, the same situation took place again. The UN Security Council wanted to propose a draft sanctioning Yemen and condemning Iran. After China and Russia expressed their opposition, the content related to Iran was eliminated. The voting result was 13 votes in favor and 0 against, 2 abstentions (China, Russia), passed Resolution 2511, and extended Yemen sanctions for one year (S/RES/2511).

From the Figure 2, Yemen's "interest" relationship with the permanent members of the Security Council is "low economic trade, high military trade". Since 1990, Yemen and Russia have accumulated arms trade, and Yemen ranks 15th place among Russian exports. In 2009, Russia and Yemen signed an arms deal worth up to about US \$ 1 billion (Magen, 2013: 45).

On the other hand, the Yemen civil war involved Iran and Arab proxy wars, of which Iran has close contacts with China and Russia. First, China and Iran have established in-depth partnerships in the past few decades, from energy economic trade, arms sales and defense cooperation, and even Iran has played the role of China's original strategic balance against the United States (Swaine, 2010: 1-19; Kamenade, 2010: 99-114; Harold & Nader, 2012: 1-2). Furthermore, Russia's close military relationship with Iran stemmed from the Yeltsin period, when Russia and Iran reached an important arms agreement, selling Tehran jets, tanks and submarines, and building a nuclear reactor for Iran to promote the development of its nuclear weapons (Freedman, 2006: vii). In addition, Russia has a strong interest in Iran's huge natural gas resources, and the development of Iran's energy resources is in line with Russia's economic interests (Freedman, 2006: 7; Trenin & Malashenko, 2010: 21).

Recently, at the end of 2019, the joint military exercises held by the three countries shows the close relationship between them (Westcott & Alkhshali, 2019). Although Yemen has a close relationship with Russia in arms sales, when Iran, an ally of greater interest, is condemned internationally, China and Russia choose to "abstain" and give up "small benefits" in exchange for "great benefits", barely accepting economic sanctions against Yemen.

To sum up, when the interfered countries and the permanent members of the Security Council have only a "partial" interest in economic trade or military trade, whether UN intervenes or not is up to the big or small interests between both sides. "Choose the best of two options" has become the standard of choice for major powers. For example, in the Libya conflict, China regards "international image" and France regards "oil interests" as "great benefits", and regards the "economic interests" between the two countries and Libya as "small profits". In the Yemen war, China and Russia regard "military and economic trade with Iran" as "great benefits," and regard "military interests with Yemen" as "small benefits." Thus, after considering "Choose the best of two options," the international community decides to intervene strongly.

## 7. Conclusion

The practice of new-interventionism is well known under the international slogan "Humanitarianism". However, according to the analysis of "realism", UN intervention is often related to the benefits and costs under consideration, especially when the decision-making power falls on the five permanent members of UN Security Council, the support or opposition of each bill must have its considerations.

Researcher believe that this consideration is the military and economic trade relationship between the interfered countries and the permanent members. The findings of this study are as follows: First, when the intervening countries and the permanent members have high interdependence (both military and economic trade are high), if the UN sanctions the countries, it will affect the interests of the permanent member, so they tend to limit intervention. In contrast, if the interdependence is low (trade and arms sales are low), and the interference does not affect the interests of the permanent members, they will not oppose strong intervention if necessary.

Second, when only the "partial interests" (military or economic trade) of the intervened countries are close to the permanent members, the permanent members of the parliament will "choose the best of two options," giving up "small benefits" in exchange for "great benefits". Third, regarding the influence of international intervention, the benefit of "military trade" is higher than the benefit of "economics trade". In a word, analyzing the practice of "new interventionism" of the UN from a realist perspective, when it comes to benefits such as military or economic trade, the country will choose a beneficial result.

Therefore, although new-interventionism is a humanitarian advocacy, it still inevitably becomes a tool for legal intervention by major powers under international realism, and it also highlights the limitations of international institutions in implementing the moral actions of "new interventionism."