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paper text:

Humanitarian Intervention in the perspective of Marxism, Constructivism and Postcolonialism Sofia Trisni International Relations Department Universitas Andalas Abstract Humanitarian Intervention is a debatable issue in international relations. This article uses Marxism tools of colonialism and imperialism, constructivism tools of norms and idea and postcolonialist resource of imperialism for discussing difference arguments produced by those three perspectives related to humanitarian intervention. This article found that the meaning of this phenomenon for Marxism is a conducting of a new model of occupancy, while Constructivism tends to argue that the reason of this action should be investigated through the ideas and norms available during the coin of the decision to intervene. Postcolonialism provides similar reason to that of Marxism, that the motives of humanitarian intervention is to colonialize the weak country and to get maximum benefit from it. Keywords : Humanitarian Intervention, Marxism, Constructivism and Postcolonialism Introduction Humanitarian intervention is a controversial issue in world politics. The three theories discussed in this article provide resources for understanding, explaining and interpreting the phenomenon of humanitarian intervention. This article will examine the following resources: the Marxist resources of capitalism and imperialism, the Constructivist resources of norms and the Postcolonialist resource of imperialism and their uses regarding humanitarian intervention. This article consists of two parts: the first part will describe each mentioned resource that used as a central tool by each tradition to analyse humanitarian intervention. The second part will examine how these resources are applied to humanitarian intervention by each of the theories and provide relevant case studies. Beginning with the Marxist view that the reason behind humanitarian intervention is to maintain capitalist' state assets in the periphery and the case of U.S. companies in Libya that threatened by the conflict. It follows by looking at the changes in norms proposed by the constructivist as the reason of humanitarian intervention and take Somalia as a case in point. Finally the article discusses the Postcolonialist view of imperialism and its application to the humanitarian intervention in Iraq. Part I This part outlines the Marxist resources of capitalism and imperialism, the Constructivist resource of norms and idea, and the Postcolonialist resource of imperialism, which are used to understand, explain and interpret the humanitarian intervention phenomenon. Both Marxists and Post-colonialists see this phenomenon as the practice of imperialism, because it is seen as a form of occupation of other countries by foreign outsiders while Constructivists tend to analyse this phenomenon by identifying the social conditions that lay behind the state's reason to intervene. Marxism The Marxists approach to international relations has a difficult linkage to humanitarian intervention, as Marx was not primarily talking about international relations.¹ However, there are a few resources in this approach that can be used in understanding international relations phenomena. Marxist conceptions of capitalism and imperialism are identified here, as being specifically used in the approaches theorising about humanitarian intervention. Marxist understandings of capitalism are closely related to the belief of the importance of economic power. Marxists believe that economics are a major requirement, that economic motives are the basis of all human activities, including in the political sphere.² Furthermore, the term capitalism is associated with the activities of the owners of capital (bourgeoisie) who profit through the exploitation of the working class (proletariat). The bourgeoisie will try to 1 K.L. Shimko,

26 **International Relations : Perspectives and Controversies, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York,**

2008, p.57

192 **R. Jackson ; G. Sorensen, Introduction to International Relations ; Theories and approaches (4th edition), Oxford,**

2010, p. 190 maximize their profit through the exploitation of the proletariat. In politics, the bourgeoisie will tend to dominate the political realm, because they have major strengths, namely economic power.³ As the state or government in a capitalist society is driven by the interests of the capitalist class, the government will serve to protect the interests of the capitalist class. This concept refers to the state as non-neutral actor; and stipulates that the decisions of the state are dominated by the ruling economic class. Thus, every state's actions and policies, in either the domestic or international realms, can only be understood in the context of class interests.⁴ The capitalist system will lead us toward imperialism; due to the nature of capitalism as expressed by Marx: "...the very essence of capitalism is to 'strive to tear down every barrier to intercourse', to 'conquer the whole earth for its market' and to overcome the tyranny of distance by reducing 'to a minimum the time spent in motion from one place to another'⁵ The capitalists will seek all means to achieve their economic goals. As Lenin stated capitalism requires the exploitation of the less developed periphery by the dominant core;⁶ this exploitation of weak states by more powerful states is seen as a form of imperialism. Speaking further on the relationship of Marxism and imperialism, Scott Burchill stated that imperialism basically occurs due to the needs of states to meet domestic economic interests of the capitalist class, and therefore their foreign policies are a reflection of the effort to meet those needs. These needs require the leading capitalist states to act aggressively in international affairs; seeking market expansion, they must find new places for intervention and maximize their profits. Often they will treat countries that cannot, or will not, meet their interests as the enemy. As a result the weaker countries could be attacked, occupied, claimed as a 3

22 **R. Jackson ; G. Sorensen, Introduction to International Relations ; Theories and approaches (2th edition), Oxford,**

2003 4 K.L. Shimko, p.59 5 S. Burchill, "Marxism" in R.Devetak; A.Burke and J. Burke

7 **(eds) An Introduction to International Relations** : Australian Perspectives, **Cambridge University Press, 2007**, p. 66 6 S. **Hobden; R. W. Jones**, "Marxist theories of International Relations" in **J. Baylis; S. Smith, & P. Owens, The Globalization of World Politics**

: An introduction to international relations, Oxford, 2011, p.135 colony, exploited, or administratively occupied.⁷ Similarly, Andrew Linklater states that this trend has moved away from laissez-faire and spawned new mercantilist states that do not hesitate to use violence to achieve political and economic goals.⁸ According to Marxists capitalism demands economic needs, which lead us to imperialism, as in carrying out its mission; the capitalists do not hesitate to use violence and occupation against a weaker party, which is seen as a form of imperialism. In relation to humanitarian intervention, this action is considered as an appropriate way to enter into a particular country; for implementing exploitation or

expansion. Constructivism This article identifies norms as being the resource provided by constructivists to analyse and understand humanitarian intervention. Constructivists

39 believe that the social and political world

is not “a physical entity or material object that is created automatically without human intervention”.⁹ Instead, this system exists because of humans’ inter-subjective awareness. The international system is a human creation that is of a purely

28 intellectual and ideational kind, not a physical or material kind.

10 Furthermore, Martin Weber wrote that

3 “...constructivists, while not denying the role that material power (for instance, military capability) plays in international relations, emphasise that ideas and norms are important in shaping the ways in which different actors deal with each other in world politics.”

11 In line with that, Martin Griffiths et. al, state that “state interaction reflects a learning process in which actions shapes, and is shaped by identities, interest and values over time”.¹² Every action taken by actors in international affairs begin with ideas, formed in social environments, and influenced by social interactions. Social interactions lead to the spread of beliefs, 7 S. Burchill, p.72 8 A. Linklater, “Marxism”,

24 in S. Burchill & A. Linklater (eds), Theories of International Relations, Macmillan Press Ltd,

1996, p.127 9

20 R. Jackson ; G. Sorensen, Introduction to International Relations ; Theories and approaches (2th edition), p.253 10 R. Jackson ; G. Sorensen,

p.253 11 M. Weber, “Constructivism and Critical Theory”

12 in R. Devetak, A. Burke & J. George (eds), An Introduction to International Relations : Australian Perspectives, Cambridge, 2007, p.

99 12

13 M. Griffiths; S. C. Roach; M.S. Solomon, Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations, Routledge , London 2009, p.

123 norms and created identities. Therefore, to see the reason why humans behave as the way they do, we need to look at social norms and ideas around them, which constructivism tries to apply to understand the

behaviour of the state as well as international actors.¹³ Moreover, the reason behind actors' actions is explained by the logic of obligatory action: Actors often make decisions not using the logic of consequential action, the cost – benefit analyses of realist and institutionalists, but rather using the logic of obligatory action, the normative guideline for legitimating conduct that are specified by a given social order that itself the emergent by product of interaction among actors in the system.¹⁴ Constructivists stress actions as being the product of social interactions, with norms as an influencing factor. Constructivists believe that the change in norms is the right reason to explain why interventions occur. In line with that, Hill quoted that "At the core of the constructivist enterprise is understanding how certain normative or cultural understanding emerge as 'social' or 'institutional facts' that both enable and constrain human action and interaction".¹⁵ Furthermore, Constructivists also believes that changes in norms may be the reason behind a decision to intervene. Take Somalia as an example, which generated Finnemore's argument that "the absence of geostrategic or economic advantages to be gained for the U.S. indicates that intervention can only be explained by reference to norms".¹⁶ The U.S. had very little material interests in this intervention, whether economic or strategic. Liberalism and Realism failed to explain the reasons behind intervention in Somalia.¹⁷ The failure of those core theories has strengthened constructivists' argument that the change in norms is a strong reason behind that phenomenon. ¹³K.L. Shimko, pp. 65-66 ¹⁴J. Goldgeier& P. Tetlock, "Psychological Approach", inC.

4Reus-Smit; D. Snidal (eds), The Oxford Handbook of International Relations"Oxford University Press, 2008 p. 469 ¹⁵C. J. Hill, Ships in the Night? Constructivism, Critical Theory

6and Humanitarian intervention, view online
apsa2000.anu.edu.au/confpapers/hill.rtf

2 June 2013, p.3 ¹⁶L. Glanville, "Somalia Reconsidered : An Examination of the Norm of Humanitarian intervention",

25the Journal of Humanitarian assistance, accessed online
<http://sites.tufts.edu/jha/archives/98>

p. 8 ¹⁷M.

1Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention in Peter. J. Katzenstein (ed), The Culture of National Security : Norms and Identity in World Politics, 2002, p.

² Constructivists believe that any behaviour from states or actors in international affairs is rooted on norms that occur in their social environment. In analysing humanitarian intervention, constructivism may analyse what norms have changed that may lead to decision to intervene. Post Colonialism This article identifies the post colonialism resource of imperialism for understanding, explaining and interpreting humanitarian intervention. Post colonialism approach to International relations closely related to the history of world's imperialism: postcolonialism arises from a temporal rupture in European modernity, following then end of formal colonial rule. It is precede by anti-colonialism or opposition to colonial occupation or administration another anti-imperialist movement, including resistance to the so-called colonial penetration. In short, postcolonialism signals the decline of the European colonial order and associated truths.¹⁸ The purpose of

this approach is to take into account the views from ex-colonial countries to balancing the view of super power.¹⁹ As a part of critical theory in international relations, this approach criticized this discipline for being too Euro-centric so that the accuracy of its application in non-western countries is still in doubt.²⁰ Post colonialist's view in general is: An important feature of postcolonial thought is its claim that modernism and modernity are both part of the colonial project of domination. Thus, the ambition of postcolonial scholarship is to undo the legacies of all forms of European or Western imperialism and colonialism in order to transform the international order and associated notions of community, society and morality.²¹ Postcolonialist believe that any actions taken by the western countries is part of their attempt to repeat the golden period of their imperialism. Each action labelled with modernity cannot be separated by a desire to colonize. 18SN Grovogui, "Postcolonialism",

16in **T. Dunne; M. Kurki; S.Smith (eds), International Relations Theories Disciplines and Diversity, Oxford, 2009, p.**

250 19C.

10Sylvester, "Post-colonialism", in **J. Baylis; S. Smith; P. Owens, The Globalization of World Politics :An Introduction to international relations, Oxford,**

2011, p.184 20BES Mgonja; IAM

18Makombe, "Debating international relations and its relevance to third world", **African Journal of Political Science and International relations, V .3(1), pp.027-037, January 2009,**

p.28 21 BES Mgonja; IAM Makombe, p. 29 Moreover, S.N. Grovogui explained that; Postcolonialism also disputes propositions by rationalists and critical theorists that Western methods, particularly rationalism and humanism, suffice as context for critiques of imperialism and colonialism and by his token, offer the way to comfort and salvation for others.²² In

35regard to humanitarian intervention, it can be interpreted that the

alibi to provide comfort and serenity is not true; because in fact, these actions only show the form of imperialism. Similarly, P. Darby and AJ Paolini explained that what is meant by colonization not only the West's colonization of Non-Western countries that have ended some time ago, however, the practice is still continues in the third world countries through identity or cultural imperialism.²³ Thus, an action is identified as imperialism, not only because of physical exploration, but exploration of identity and cultural can be classified as imperialism as well. Part II The second part of this article will use the resources that have been described in the previous section for understanding, explaining and interpreting humanitarian intervention. The meaning of humanitarian intervention can be explained as follow: Humanitarian intervention refers to (forcible) action by one state or a group of states in the territory of another state without the consent of the latter, undertaken on humanitarian grounds or in order to restore constitutional governance.²⁴ Marxists see humanitarian intervention as the way that used by capitalist state to run capitalism system, which requires expansion and exploration of new resources they can use to maximize profits. In this regard, the capitalists do not hesitate to take a variety of ways including the occupation and aggression, including

looking for a strong justification to justify their actions. Humanitarian Intervention maybe 22SN Grovogui, p.241 23P. Darby and

23 **A. J. Paolini Bridging International Relations and Postcolonialism Alternatives: Global, Local, Political 1994 19: 371**

24

17 **M. Griffiths; T. O'Callaghan; S. C. Roach, International Relations : The Key Concept, Routledge, London 2008, p. 149** seen as a proper justification²⁵ for the

capitalists to carry out its mission. Further, Marx's belief that capitalism would spread industrialization throughout the world then echoed Lenin's theory of imperialism which argued that western capitalist would change non-western world as the way they want through western globalization.²⁶ Focus more clearly on the Marxist analysis can be seen from the following quotation: Marxist....are more focus on understanding the institutions and processes that sustain what they see as an unequal, exploitative and unjust international order. Whether it is states (through military intervention or imperialism), quasi-state actors (such as World Bank or International Monetary Fund), or nonstate actors (such as multinational corporations), Marxist analysis always returns to the central reality and problems – understanding the role this actors play in maintaining and perpetuating an unequal and exploitative global capitalist order.²⁷ Marxist interested in analysing the phenomena in which it saw in equality or exploitation related to the capitalization system. A concrete example of the above statement can be seen from the humanitarian intervention in Libya in 2011. Assumptions which may be given by Marxism associated with this phenomenon that humanitarian action carried out by NATO-with the U.S. as one of the countries that joined in it, -was the work done by the capitalist state in order to protect its assets. There were several

9 **U.S oil companies operating in Libya**

when the crisis hat demands revolution occurred in 2011. They include Conoco Phillips which holds 16

9.3 **percent interest in Libya's Waha' s concession; Marathon Oil**

Corp which hold

9a **16 percent interest in** the outside-operated **Waha**

concession in the Sirte Basin, Hess Corp with an interest of about 8 percent, and Occidental Petroleum Corp., which produces \$ 243million in net sales from Libya in 2009.²⁸ The turmoill in Libya has threatened the U.S. assets in Libya ;prolonged crush would make Marathon Oil Corp cannot access its facility in Libya, which is responsible for 11percent of world oil production. U.S. assets in Libya would be at risk if the crisis continues, so the U.S. needs to find a way to protect these assets. ²⁵S. Assaf, "Libya at the crossroads",

29 **International Socialism, a quarterly journal of socialist theory, Issue : 133,**

2012 26S. Burchill & A. Linklater, *Teori-teori Hubungan Internasional*, Nusamedia, 1996 27 K.L. Shimko, p.60 28B.Reddal,

30 Factbox : U.S oil companies' interest in Libya, Reuters, 22 Feb 2011

In line with that, Ray Bush et.al. stated that "imperialist forces want African leaders with whom they can do business"²⁹, so as to expedite its economic objective; the imperialist countries would not hesitate to find a way to overthrow the government that they found difficult to control. The overthrow requires a reasonable explanation, because Western countries certainly do not want the title as the imperialist countries labelled on them, so that humanitarian intervention be the reason. However, despite 'to protect civilian' put forward as justification, assumption that this justification is merely the way to eliminate themselves from imperialist label will continue to emerge, and especially when talking about Libya, Bush et al argue "Imperialism requires leadership and political forms of democracy in Africa that conform to Western interest".³⁰ Overthrow Gaddafi is an attempt to find a new leader who can accommodate the desires of the West, so they can control the country as they wishes. Constructivist' view of humanitarian intervention is unlikely to be used to answer the question "whether humanitarian intervention against State A is a right decision?" Because Constructivism, unlike other approaches does not provide moral answers, rather this approach analyses "what kind social conditions that lead behaviour to occur". Therefore, Constructivists will analyse the social conditions that existed at the time under which the decision of humanitarian intervention is born; which include the changing of norms and ideas. Constructivists argue that a change in norms has precipitated the occurrence of humanitarian intervention.

40 Humanitarian intervention in Somalia in 1992-

4 is an example of an intervention that occurs due to changes in international norms.

5 With the end of the cold war a new optimism has emerged

in international society, many actors can finally think of other issues rather than a rivalry between two superpowers. This issue was humanitarian issue.³¹ In addition

11 Orford states that "a new kind of international law and Internationalist spirit seemed to have been made possible in

29R.

15 Bush; G. Martiniello & C. Marcer, "Humanitarian Imperialism ", *Review of African Political Economy*, 38:129, pp .357- 365 : 357 30 R. Bush; G. Martiniello & C.

Marcer, p. 358 31J.

2 Davidson, " Humanitarian Intervention as Liberal Imperialism : A force for God?", *Polis Journal Vol.7, Summer 2012, p.129*

the

2changed conditions of a world no longer structured around the old certainties **of a struggle between communism and capitalism". 32 The end of the cold war**

also brought with it an end to global fears of dangerous superpower competition. This allows international actors to look at other problems and take actions to resolve them. Focus moved from the dangers of communist revolution to international responsibility to deal with moral issues. A close example of that is humanitarian intervention in Somalia. Changes of world's structure, from bipolar to a unipolar left the US as the remaining superpower, which made Americans feel that they had a moral responsibility to respond to Somalia's crisis.³³ Changes occur in the context of what conditions can provoke the U.S' actions.

5During the cold war era **the** focus was one **the Soviet Union'**

actions, as it was U.S' largest concern.

27However, after the end of the cold war the suffering of

a fellow human being has become a U.S concerns. Power and security concerns shifted to humanitarian concerns, although it does not mean that concerns of power and security have vanished. There were changes in the value which constitute state's reason to intervene. Changes in norms can

36change state interests and create new interests.

³⁴ Constructivists argue: ...the ongoing debate over the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention must be placed in the context of those changing norms and practices surrounding sovereignty as an ideational structure that shapes states' mutual expectation and underlying 'logics of appropriateness'³⁵ The sovereignty concept may change over the time. Humanitarian interventions happen due to changes in perceptions regarding the concept of sovereignty, as well as the application of that concept. Changes of norms and perceptions regarding the concept of sovereignty may induce states toward previously unthinkable intervention. ^{32A}. Orford, Reading Humanitarian Intervention,

33Cambridge University Press, U.K, 2003, p.2

^{33L}. Glanville, p.13 ^{34M}.

1Finnemore, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention in Peter. J. Katzenstein (ed), *The Culture of National Security : Norms and Identity in World Politics*, 2002, p.

⁴ ³⁵ C. J. Hill,

6*Ships in the Night?* Constructivism, *Critical Theory and Humanitarian intervention*, view online apsa2000.anu.edu.au/confpapers/hill.rtf

2 June 2013 Furthermore,

38 **constructivism argues that identities and interests** in international politics **are**

not stable; they may change over time. People's understanding of sovereignty has changed with the rise of humanitarian intervention. Sovereignty is seen as social institution which forms from social perception. Thus, particular states would have seen to have sovereignty when other state perceives them to have so.³⁶ The definition of sovereignty has shifted from its original concept. Sovereignty previously

42 **defined as** "authority (the right to rule over a delimited territory and the population residing with it)"³⁷ with the **international** recognition. The definition **is** starting **to**

change over time. Popular definition today is "sovereignty resides in the political will or consent of the population of a territory, rather than its ruler or government".³⁸ Thus the focus today is on population of the state, not the authority of government. Changes in this definition can be seen as a change of view towards moral values, because this new understanding makes clear that state authority is not unlimited. State authority can be not honored if that state committed rights' violation to its citizens. The definition of popular sovereignty shows the changes in the value from being not concerned about moral values (state sovereignty is not limited) to consent about moral values (consent of the population of the territory). Further understanding of this popular definition emerge an argument that sovereignty means responsibility. It can be interpreted that the responsibility here including the responsibility to act when right's abuse occurs. This responsibility implemented through collective action of humanitarian intervention,³⁹ which is formed due to similarities of views on moral values. Constructivism, as an approach that is based on social analysis, see humanitarian intervention as a phenomena that occurs due to changing norms that shape the countries decision to intervene. 36l. Hurd, "Constructivism"

4 **in C. Reus-Smit; D. Snidal (eds), The Oxford Handbook of International Relations"Oxford University Press, 2008,p.**

300 37M. Ayoub,

5 **"Humanitarian intervention and state sovereignty "The international Journal of Human Rights, 6:1, 81-102,**

p.82 38R.

43 **Jackson**, "Sovereignty in World Politics : A Glance at the conceptual and historical landscape" **Political Studies , 431-456,**

1999, p. 444 39K

21. **M. Fierke**, "Constructivism", **in T. Dunne; M. Kurki ; Smith, International Relations Theories : Discipline and Diversity, Oxford,**

2007, p.179 Postcolonialists and Marxists have similar view regarding the imperialist nature of humanitarian intervention. However, while the Marxist view is closely related to economic aspects, postcolonialists see imperialism through a wider lens and argue that coercion of belief and identity is also a form of imperialism. Post colonialist do not completely disagree about humanitarian intervention. However, the implementation of it that tends to be Western-centric are seen as unjust because it does not involve non-Western countries. In analysing humanitarian intervention, post colonialist tend to suspicious about western motives to impose their belief. The term humanitarian intervention is closely related to human rights abuse, while the term human rights itself is still controversial, due to the fact that many non-western people think that the values therein are not universal. Many people believe that human rights are western centric for the fact that it comes from Western thought. Rights language grew step by step through the development of western political history, which reached its peak in the European Enlightenment.⁴⁰ This fact often leads to the assumption that western human rights is only applicable to the western people, because its represents the desire of the western people. Human rights are often seen as a desire to impose Western values that they think is right. When it is applied to humanitarian intervention, this action can be considered as a western view of the abuse in particular country through West perspective, which may be different meaning when viewed from the perspective of non-western. Moreover, if we take humanitarian intervention in Iraq as an example, postcolonialist may see that this intervention is the way used by the U.S. for spreading liberal democracy which they consider to be best government. They wanted to create a world state that apply democracy, those who are considered outside the liberal way is outside 'civilization' ; "as it is these swathes of the population that are evil, the antithesis of life".⁴¹ Humanitarian intervention in Iraq can be seen as the imposition of belief,

32that democracy is the most appropriate form of government for the whole community in

the world. It can be seen through 40A

14.J. Langlois. "Normative and Theoretical Foundations of Human Rights" in Michael Goodhart (ed), Human Rights : Politics and Practice, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2009, p

41J. Davidson, p.147 the Bush administration 'National Security strategy, which was issued in September 2002. One of the points stated that the

41administration's goal is to

"expand the circle of development by opening societies and building the infrastructure of democracy".⁴² The belief that their form of government is the best form, which is to be 'forced' onto countries they consider undemocratic is considered a form of imperialism. In relation to the intervention in Iraq, Saddam Hussein's government was deemed to be inconsistent with their belief in what is good. The perpetrators of humanitarian intervention tend to ignore the relationship between humanitarian intervention and imperialism, as in this case they saw international law as an agent of liberation from the corrupt elites in Third World countries or the liberation of violence against a religion or ethnicity.⁴³ However, in reality, humanitarian intervention has given reasons to continue

37to intervene against the domestic affairs of a state:

Indeed, intervention in the name of humanitarianism too readily provides an alibi for the continued involvement of those interested in exploiting and controlling the resources and people of target states.⁴⁴ In the end, exploitation and excessive interference is imperialism. If we observe from that side, humanitarian intervention is not a solution. When a country experiencing a crisis related to a tyrannical government, then the people themselves who have to move and overthrow the government,⁴⁵ Western State interference means to giving a gap to foreign countries to intervene. Furthermore, humanitarian intervention is sometimes used simply to look for opportunities

2to intervene in the domestic affairs of a state.

This action can be distorted through the provision of support to those who oppose the government, thus allowing it to intervene in the situation created. This discourse is often heard, although further research is still needed to prove it.⁴⁶ In the end, humanitarian intervention is just a 42C.V. Pena, "American Dominion : How Global; Intervention Jeopardises US Security",

31Global Dialogue Vol.7 No.1-2, 2005, p.

2 43A. Orford, p.40 44 A. Orford, p.17 45A

8.J. Bellamy; N.J. Wheeler, "Humanitarian intervention in world politics", J. Baylis; S. Smith, & P. Owens (eds), The Globalization of World Politics : An introduction to international relations, Oxford,

2011, p.515 46A.J. Bellamy; N.J. Wheeler, p.515 means of particular interest, namely to interfere and possibly to dominate a country. For this reason, postcolonialists argue that for real humanitarian interventions to exist, they must include a majority of the countries in the world, not just the dominant countries that have particular interests and values that are not globally shared. Conclusion This article has discussed the resources of Marxism (capitalism and imperialism), Constructivism (norms) and Postcolonialism (imperialism). This article has explored how each one is used to interpret humanitarian intervention. Marxism is worried that imperialism may occur due to capitalism; that capitalist forces will control the world. Constructivism considers humanitarian intervention as a changing norm in international society and postcolonialism is suspicious about it in a similar way to Marxists due to its consideration of the legacy of western imperialism. This article has given an example of Western commercial interests in Libya for Marxists, the intervention in Somalia for constructivist in how the norm changes; and intervention in Iraq as an example of western efforts to impose their views, which is seen as imperialism by postcolonialist. Overall this article thinks that constructivism provides the stronger resource for us

34to understand the phenomena **of humanitarian intervention** because **it has**

in-depth approach to studying this phenomenon; it looks at the changes of social fact rather than Marxism that coming from specific ideological land regarding capitalist and postcolonialism that deal to much on history. Bibliography Books Burchill, S & Linklater, A, Teori-teori Hubungan Internasional, Nusamedia, 1996 Griffiths, M; O'Callaghan, T ; Roach, S.C, International Relations : The Key Concept, Routledge, London 2008 Griffiths, M ; Roach, S.C ; Solomon, M.S, Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations, Routledge , London 2009 Jackson, R ; Sorensen, G, Introduction to International Relations ; Theories and approaches (4th edition), Oxford, 2010 Jackson, R ; Sorensen, G, Introduction to International Relations ; Theories and approaches (2nd edition), Oxford, 2003 Orford, Anne, Reading Humanitarian Intervention, Cambridge University Press, U.K, 2003 Shimko, Keith L, International Relations : Perspectives and Controversies,

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