

# *Term Papers*

## *Great Powers and International Organizations*



## **School of International Studies**

### **Research Guide**

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# GREAT POWERS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

## *1. Introduction:*

Great Powers are those states that have system shaping capabilities and intentions. By definition of Ranke “A Great Power must be able to maintain itself against others, even when they are united.” International Organizations are those Institutions which are based on principles of Sovereign equality, Territorial integrity and Political independence of all states, also, the participation and representation.

My research question is that whether International Organizations follow these principles or not? Or do they function on basis of capability, willingness and intentions of Great Powers? What matters more- capabilities or International norms (Law)?

Dominating IR literatures have shown that capability is more important than anything as has been demonstrated in Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Kosovo. The voting system of Bretton Woods is also an example of powers politics as United States of America has voting share of 15.8%, Japan 6.8%, China 4.4% and Indonesia 1%. Moreover, World Trade Regime practices have shown that it always pursues and fulfills the interests of Great Powers. I am trying to focus on the behavior of United States as a Great Power within major international organization especially in United Nations. I will use secondary data, International law and Realist literature.

*Introduction*

*Theory and Law*

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## ***2. Theory and Law***

### ***Realism***

According to Realism, international organizations are tools of states to be used when desired; they can increase or decrease the power of states, but they do not affect the basic characteristics of the international system; because they reflect the basic distribution of power among states, they are no more than the sum of their member states<sup>1</sup>. Causes of states power greediness is based on the first principle of Morgenthau which says that Politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature(Hobbesian human nature) , which is unchanging. According to Kenneth waltz, system shapes power politics of international system because system is based on self-help principle and distribution of power. So the structural anarchic system made a state insecure which only comes with increasing relative power capability of a state. Any cooperation between the states will come with mutual gains which lead to destabilize the distribution of power because who will gain more and who less problem.

### ***Liberalism***

According to Liberalism, international organizations can help states to cooperate successfully in the pursuit of common interests when these interests are neither totally aligned nor mutually exclusive. However, each state have an incentive to defect from such joint cooperation in order to reap extra gains, or fears that others might secretly abandon it, such cooperation is hard to achieve without international organizations. International organizations reduce uncertainty and transaction costs, stabilize states' expectations towards one another and thus remove various obstacles to cooperation. The best known which applied by neo-institutionalist Robert keohane and Joseph Nye<sup>2</sup> to explain why international institution are necessary is Prisoner Dilemma. According to prisoner dilemma, there are two parties which have strong incentive to renege on a cooperative solution but are likely to end up both in a worse situation than if they had cooperated. International institutions fulfill a number of functions, such as providing reliable information, reducing uncertainty, providing forum to discuss the problem and legalizing the punishment on the cheating that help states to overcome this dilemma.

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<sup>1</sup> Volker Rittberger, *International Organizations* , pp-15-20

<sup>2</sup> Keohane & Nye, *Cooperation Under Anarchy*

## ***Social Constructivism***

Social constructivism does emphasize that social actors does not only act rationally according to their selfish interests, as in realism and institutionalism, but also in response to shared values and norms. Social actors not only ask what gains they may derive from their action (interests orientation), but also what is expected of them on the basis of the ideals, values, and norms of their society (norms orientation). Social constructivism stresses that the creation of international organization in general and of international organizations in particular, depends on whether there is a consensus over values and norms. International organizations are likely to emerge whenever the values and norms they represent are widely shared in the participating societies. Social constructivists draw attention to the importance of cognitive agreement when it comes to the creation of international organizations, acknowledging the fact that the problems to be tackled are frequently perceived differently in different societies. Wherever there are fundamental differences in the perception of the problems at hand, it is particularly hard to set up a successful international organization. The creation of effective international organizations is therefore only likely when the participating societies share a basic perception of the problem. According to Alexander Wendt<sup>3</sup>, social constructivism underlies the dual role of international organizations, of both reflecting the values and norms on which they are founded, while at the same time influencing the values and norms of participating societies. According to Hedley Bull, international norms and rules transform the international system into an international society. An international society exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with another, and share in the working of common institutions.

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<sup>3</sup> Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics," International Organization, pp-391-425

### ***3. Great Powers***

Great powers are those states that have system shaping capabilities and willingness to shape the world system. History is always about the great power system that has shaped the world by their capabilities and willingness. Cuba might be willing to play a system shaping role, yet does not have the capability to do so. The United States in the inter-war period (1919-1939) possessed the capability but lacked the willingness to shape the contours of international politics. Before the first world war, Britain, United States, Germany, Italy, France, Russia and Japan were the great power in the system. According to Modelski, A great power must be capable of fighting a war. It's mean that must have military capabilities to fight a war and able to survive in long run. John J. Mearsheimer has given five assumptions for the Great Power; the international system is anarchic but not disorder; great powers inherently possess some offensive capability; states can never be certain about other states' intentions; survival is the primary goal of great powers; great powers are rational actors. According to Mearsheimer<sup>4</sup>, General patterns of behavior result: Fear → Self-help → Power Maximization. According to Ranke definition, a great power must be able to maintain itself against all others, even they are united. The dominating criteria for the great power are the military and economic competitiveness. Great powers are not those states that have to protect themselves or to provide security. According to Michael Howard, a great power is one which has the capacity to control events beyond its own borders; and that is usually based on the ability to use military force to advance their interests and structure the environment. A states that cannot be conquered but lacks the capability to threaten others or influence security affairs in the system as a whole for example, 17<sup>th</sup> century Russia and 19<sup>th</sup> century United States would not be considered a great power.

Thus great power must possess both relative self-sufficiency with the respect to security, including invulnerability against secondary states, and the ability to project military power beyond its borders in pursuit of interests. This formulation does not imply that non-powers cannot project military power beyond their borders but only that qualitative difference exist between them and the Great Powers. These differences include the total amount of power projected, the logistical ability to sustain it over an extended period, and the ability to affect the overall distribution of power at the System level. **Jack S. Levy**<sup>5</sup> has differentiated Great

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<sup>4</sup> John J. Measheimer, *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*

<sup>5</sup> Jack S. Levy, *War in the Modern Great Power System*

powers from others on the basis of six criteria: Military Capability, their interests, their behavior in General, their interaction with other powers, other powers perception of them, and a bunch of formal criteria.

**Military Capability:** A great power possesses a high level of military capabilities relative to other states. At a minimum, it has relative self-sufficiency with respect to military security. Great powers are basically invulnerable to military threats by non-powers and need only to fear other Great powers. Great Powers have the capability to project military power beyond their borders to conduct offensive as well as defensive military operations. They can actively to the defense of allies, wage an aggressive war against other states, and generally use force or the threats of force to help shape their external environment. Nazi invaded France and Soviet Russia & Japan bombing on Pearl Harbor is example of Great power aggressive behavior.

**Their interests:** Interests and objective of great powers are different from those of other states. They think of their interests as continental or global rather than local or regional. Their conception of security goes beyond territorial defense or even extended defense to include maintenance of a continental or global balance of power. For example, extended border defense of India in Bhutan is not the threat to the India-Bhutan border but on the other side Bhutan-China border. Great powers generally define their national interests to include systemic interests and are therefore concerned with order maintenance in the international system. There is only one example when India has projected its power capability beyond the border which was Indian Navy in Maldives to protect their allies' government. Symbolic interests of national honor and prestige are also given high priority by the great powers, for these are perceived as being essential components of national power and necessary for Great Power status. In 1982, England risked their entire navy to rescue Falkland Island from the Argentina. This Island has only 2200 people and England risked entire navy to save these people. This was the fight of honor of a Great power.

**Their behavior in General:** Great powers are distinguished from other states by their general behavior. They defend their interests more aggressively and with a wider range of instrumentalities, including the frequent threats or use of military force. Chinese aggressive policy in South China Sea, Russian armed intervention in Crimea and Georgia, Britain and France in Suez Canal, United states in Nicaragua is the example of Great Powers General behavior.

**Their interactions with other powers:** Great Powers interact with other Powers frequently. The Great powers account for a disproportionate number of alliances and wars in the international system, particularly those designed to maintain the balance of powers and prevent the dominance of any single state. They are also involved in major territorial partitions and compensations (the partition of Poland in the eighteenth century), guarantees (the Barrier treaty guaranteeing the Utrecht settlement), and informal international organizations (the Concert of Europe).

**Other Powers Perceptions of them:** Great powers are perceived and treated as relative equals with respect to general attention, respect, protocol, negotiations, alliance agreements, and so forth. Equal perception and treatment of one another are among the most important criteria of great power rank, for perceptions determine behavior. This perpetual criterion involves an element of circularity, but is useful operationally, particularly in the absence of a rigid set of objective criteria establishing both necessary and sufficient conditions for Great Power rank.

**A bunch of Formal Criteria:** Great Powers are differentiated from others by formal criteria, including identification as a Great Power by an international conference, congress, organization, or treaty, or the granting of such privileges as permanent membership or veto power by an international organization or treaty. The treaty of Westphalia, for example, named France and Sweden as the guarantors of Vienna explicitly identified certain states as Great Powers.

We can define the Great power on the basis of attributes. Great powers have six attributes to define themselves.

1. Military Capability
2. Economic Competitiveness
3. Social Cohesion
4. Cultural Attractiveness
5. Geographical Reach
6. Policy Coherence



## ***Military Capability***

Great power possesses a high level military capability relative to other states. At minimum, it has relative self-sufficiency with respect to military security. Great powers are basically invulnerable to military threat by non-Powers and need only fear other Great Powers. To become as great power a state must have competitive military capability. There are two types of indicators which reflect the military capability of a great power; Quantitative indicators and Qualitative indicators. Quantitative indicators have included the size of military manpower, size of the military expenditure and militarization of society. The increasing trends of size of military and size of military expenditure will lead to greater status in the system. The militarization's society reflects how vulnerable society is? Former Yugoslavia civil war was violent because of the compulsory army serving. Qualitative indicators of military capability are that what is share of voluntary military service, war fighting tradition & martial art culture, naval power and militarization of industry. After 1945, Nuclear weapon have greater role to become a great power for a state. The all 5-P country has nuclear capability as Great Powers.

***Economic competitiveness:*** Economic competitiveness is the most basic criteria to sustain their military spending. There are more consensuses that Soviet disintegration become true is because of economic reason. Soviet Union was not in the condition to fulfill the economic needs of their people. When soviet started to open their economy, the demand has the more exceed over the supply. Economic competitiveness include size of economy, economic attractiveness (size of markets, investment opportunities, & availability of resources), pillars of competitiveness (institutions, infrastructure, macroeconomic environment, health and primary education, higher education & training, goods markets efficiency, labor market financial market development, technological readiness, market size, business sophistication and innovation)<sup>6</sup>, food security, energy security, environmental sustainability, & technological generation.

***Social cohesion:*** Social Cohesion is viewed as a characteristic of a society dealing with the connections and relations between societal units such as individuals, groups, associations, as well as territorial units. The sociologist Emile Durkheim was the first who used the concept of social cohesion. He considered social cohesion as an ordering feature of a society

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<sup>6</sup> World Economic Forum :criteria of economic competitiveness

and defined it as the interdependence between the members of the society, shared loyalties and solidarity. Aspects often mentioned in described social cohesion are the strength of social relations shared values and communities of interpretation, feeling of a common identity and a sense of belonging to the same community, trust among societal members as well as the extent of inequality and disparities. The social cohesion network of the policy research initiative of the Canadian government defined social cohesion as the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope, and reciprocity among all Canadians. United States had made her society as American Identity which make them united.

**Cultural Attractiveness:** According to Nye<sup>7</sup>, soft power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes you want. There are several ways one can achieve this: you can coerce them with threats; you can induce them with payments; or you can attract and co-opt them to want what you want. Soft power – getting others to want the outcomes you want – co-opts people rather than coerces them. It can be contrasted with 'hard power', which is the use of coercion and payment. Soft power can be wielded not just by states but also by all actors in international politics, such as NGOs or international institutions. It is also considered the "second face of power" that indirectly allow you to obtain the outcomes you want. A country's soft power, according to Nye, rests on three resources: "its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when others see them as legitimate and having moral authority)." Angelo Codevilla observed that an often overlooked essential aspect of soft power is that different parts of populations are attracted or repelled by different things, ideas, images, or prospects. Soft power is hampered when policies, culture, or values repel others instead of attracting them.

**Geographical Reach:** Geographical presence gives boost for country to become a Great Power. By having the geographical control, state can able to shape international system. There are so many factors which makes states to have geographical reach. Overseas military bases are factors of Geographical reach-this reflects that where the core interests of great power are is located & Multi-oceanic sea power which reflect worldwide presence of great power. Economic penetration is represented by the world most influential companies on the basis of their market share in the world. United states have most influential companies in the

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<sup>7</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Soft Power: The means to Success in World Politics,pp-153-171

world like Google, Boeing, Facebook, Yahoo, Microsoft, Wikipedia, and etc. Diplomatic presence is also an important indicator of G.P. Presence in most of the international organizations reflect consensual engagement with other states.

***Policy Coherence:*** Policy coherence is an increasing important element of development policy. It requires countries, when designing their domestic policies, to be aware of the possible impacts, both negative and positive, on developing countries. It expects countries, when implementing their domestic policies, to take steps to avoid any negative impacts on developing countries and, where possible, to seek to create positive spillovers and effects.

Components of the National Interests: its include Security, Prosperity and Identity. Security means protection from existential threats. Prosperity means enhancement of well-being. Identity means preservation of core values. Switzerland is good example which has their “core value”- Security, Industry and Agriculture.

***4. Foreign Policy of United States:*** Foreign policy is the relationships which central governments have with other countries, their central governments, and international organizations, both intergovernmental and nongovernmental. The conduct of foreign policy is primarily directed at influencing the behavior of other central governments. Since all central governments are, however, impacted by their domestic societies over which they rule, some effort is exerted at influencing public opinion in foreign counties and maintaining contacts with powerful non-governmental groups in those other countries. Central governments are well advised to maintain contact with opposition groups, especially political parties, which might some day gain control of that county’s central government. Conversely, foreign governments maintain relations not only with our own central government in Washington but also with non-governmental, private organizations in America. Where possible they also seek to influence the American media and public opinion. With these caveats made, foreign policy is still primarily a central-government-to-central-government relationship. Foreign policy can be either bilateral or multilateral. Bilateral, as the word implies, is the relationship between two countries. Multilateral relationships involve a group of countries. International organizations like the United Nations or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are established through multilateral agreements (treaties) between the member states. During the Gulf War in 1991, the United States led a multilateral coalition sanctioned by the Security

Council of the United Nations against Iraq in order to liberate Kuwait. Since the leader of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, has halted United Nations imposed inspections of his country in 1998, The United States has attempted to rebuild a multilateral coalition to force Iraq to comply. But, President William Clinton indicated that the United States would act unilaterally even if he could not get the support of the Security Council for renewed military actions. France and Russia, two members of the Security Council, were not willing, in 1998, to approve military actions to force compliance with previous Security Council resolutions. Clinton and Tony Blair did bomb Iraq in 1998, but they did not follow up with a ground invasion. President George W. Bush renewed the struggle against the Iraqi regime after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the United States by Al Qaeda. He has charged that Saddam Hussein might have weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and might hand them over to terrorist organizations. He has continued the process of utilizing the Security Council while proceeding with unilateral plans to go to war if he cannot get UN endorsement for his policies. On Wednesday evening, March 19, 2003 our time, the United States commenced its war against Iraq with a missile strike against Saddam Hussein in what was called a target of opportunity. Bush took the decision to go to war unilaterally without a second Security Council Resolution.

***The purpose of foreign policy***<sup>8</sup>: The goals and objectives of a country's foreign policy are as varied as are the motives of human beings. They can, however, be arranged in an order of priorities. The following foreign policy objectives may be identified for the United States and for all other foreign countries.

1. Protecting the Territorial Integrity of the Home Country. The top foreign policy goal of any country is to protect the territorial integrity of that country from foreign attack. This extends beyond the physical territory. It also includes protecting one's embassies and safeguarding one's military forces stationed in or visiting other countries.
2. Protecting the Territorial Integrity of Allies
3. Maintaining the International Balance of Power
4. Fostering International Security through the United Nations
5. Protecting Access to Strategic Resources
- 6, Maintaining International Legal Principles, such as Freedom of the High Seas
7. Furthering the Interests of American Business
8. Safeguarding American Nationals in Foreign Countries

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<sup>8</sup> <http://faculty.ucc.edu/egh-damerow/US%20Foreign%20Policy.htm>

9. Fostering Modernization and Economic Development throughout the World

10. Protecting Human Rights, Democracy, and other American Values.

### ***5. United Nations and USA***

The history of international organizations is a longer one than is usually supposed. It starts not with the United Nations or, even with the UN's predecessor the League of Nations, but with such institutions as the Universal postal Union, the International Bureau of Weights and Measures and the International Sanitary Conference, among many other similar organizations set up in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. United States has become engaged with international organization from the Hague Conference (1899 & 1907). United States had played an important role to establish the League of Nations (1919), but they withdrew because of domestic reason. And United States has started playing important role with the establishment of United Nations and Bretton Woods institutions.

United Nations is an international organization which is historically has greater importance because it's recognized the sovereignty of every state globally. United States is a founder member of United Nations with a permanent membership of Security Council. United Nations have six principal organs: Security Council, General Assembly, International Court of Justice, Secretary General, Trusteeship Council, Economic and Social Council. Security Council is composed of 15 members with five permanent memberships Veto Power (to stop any resolution) which gives special privilege for 5P (United States, Russia, China, France, and Britain) and 10 non-permanent memberships for only two years (elected after every two years). UNSC is the most powerful body of United Nations which has principal work to maintain peace and security of World). General Assembly has 193 members and gives one vote and three representatives in UN. ICJ is court which has advice legality of any issues and every UN member is the part of this. Secretary General is elected person by the members including 5P for 5 years to advice UNSC council on security issue and perform official work of United Nations. Economic and Social council is council for developing country to deal their economic and social problem. United Nations and United States relations have two phases: First phase from the 1945-1991 and Second phase is from 1991 to now. First phase was full of superpower politics between United States and Soviet Union. They had used United Nations as an instrument to fulfill their national interests. To having Veto Power, United States have used this privilege to protect their interests. By the Veto power, United

States of America have power to stop any resolution against her national interests. Most of Veto share of USA is to protect Israel.

The World War Second coalition of Great Powers (5P) has moved from their primary purpose to their own interests because of rising conflict between two poles based on two political ideologies and governing system: First was based on Liberal Ideology, & Liberal Democratic Model led United States, and second was based on Marxist Ideology and Dictatorship of proletariat led by Soviet Union. So USA relations with UN is not practically too familiar with UN agenda because United States used her power to enhance their interest like the case Nicaragua Case (1986) where ICJ had ruled that USA have violated basic principal of non-intervention against Nicaragua State but decision was blocked by US VETO in UNSC. Most controversial case was the Vietnam intervention by the United States because they intervene on the basis to protect nationalist government in Vietnam but they violated right to protect people by using chemical weapons.

UN-USA RELATIONS AFTER COLD WAR: After dominating the United Nations in the first 20 years, United States become defensive in the General Assembly because of the growing majority of de-colonized countries. So the United States protect their interests by UNSC to having veto power. United States have also used their budget contribution to bargain with UN to save their interests because USA is too big share in UN BUDGET revenue which 22- 25% of total UN budget<sup>9</sup>.

There has been a shift in the Security Council Approach to conflict and its resolution, and sharp drop in the use of Veto. The involvement of Great Power like USA and others have led to threat to international peace and security, because they had promoted intrastate conflict. As we know that US foreign policy objective is to enhance American business interests, to balance the global politics, to protect human right and democracy. United States have only supportive of those UN issues which are protecting her interests. In gulf region, they are always supportive of Israel. Israel is a historically a stronger ally of United States which protecting US interest by being military ally in the region. There is many times violation of human right in the region by Israel, whether in Gaza and West Bank, United States have always supported Israel in the UNSC. Unites States have supportive of Israel to protect their regional oil balancing politics. When Iraq invaded Kuwait (1990), USA has taken initiative to

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/ga/contributions/honourroll.shtml>-May 2014

protect Kuwait via UNSC. But the US has not taken initiative against Israel which has invaded East Jerusalem and continuously violating human right law by construction settlement in occupied territory. US have policy to promote “Democratization”. And they have acted unilaterally in the case like Iraq (2003), Haiti (1994), and Libya (2012).

USA and UN relation has been less interest to cooperate because of two reasons: shifting of the UN membership and clash of interests between Western power & Non-Aligned country. Non-Aligned countries are more vocal towards decolonization and providing technical assistance to the developing country. In 1975, UNGA passed a resolution that Zionism is racism. This resolution made USA worried about their ally Israel. So US become less cooperative towards United Nations. But in 2001, when USA faced terrorists attack on Pentagon and World Trade Centre, they cooperated with United Nations. USA paid arrears to the UN. The day after attacks, the Security Council passed a resolution to terming this assault as threat to the international peace and security and referring to the inherent right of self-defense. After few days UNSC adopted a new resolution to prevent financial assistance to the terrorist organizations. The council established a committee to monitor implementation of the resolution provision. Being attacked by Al Qaeda, United States started campaign against Al Qaeda and Taliban. USA led by NATO attacked Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban regime and deploy humanitarian assistance to help transitional government. Domestic Politics is playing a greater role in US foreign policy Agenda which means that US have to give priority to the National Interests. Domestic criticism of US administration is cycling around the threat to the US Sovereignty.

### **United States as Great Power**

United States has shown their great power behavior whether UNSC will support or not. USA has behaved like a great power in the case of Nicaragua Case (1986), Vietnam War (1955-75), Cuba (1961), Korea (1950), Haiti (1994-95), and Iraq (2003).

Nicaragua Case 1986: US has intervened in Nicaragua (1986) and argued that its actions were "primarily for the benefit of El Salvador, and to help it to respond to an alleged armed attack by Nicaragua, that the United States claims to be exercising a right of collective self-defense, which it regards as a justification of its own conduct towards Nicaragua. El Salvador joined the U.S. in their Declaration of Intervention which it submitted on 15 August 1984, where it alleged itself the victim of an armed attack by Nicaragua, and that it had asked the United States to exercise for its benefit the right of collective self-defence. United States had violated the UN charter Principle of Non-intervention. They did because Nicaragua govt. refused to cooperate with US. This prevented US interest.

Vietnam (1955-1975): The Vietnam War was a military conflict in which communist forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV or North Vietnam) and the indigenous forces of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, fought against the anti-communist Republic of Vietnam (RVN or South Vietnam) and its allies—most notably the United States—in an effort to unify Vietnam into a single state that would be based on communist ideology. The chief cause of the war was Ho Chi Minh's desire to establish a single Vietnamese state. Ho viewed the existence of South Vietnam as an ongoing reminder of the era of colonization after Vietnam's struggle for independence from France in the First Indochina War of 1946-1954. Allies of the Vietnamese communists included the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. South Vietnam's main anti-communist ally was the United States, but it also received assistance from South Korea, Australia, Thailand, the Philippines, and New Zealand. The U.S. deployed large numbers of military personnel to South Vietnam. U.S. military advisers first became involved in Vietnam as early as 1950, when they began to assist French colonial forces. In 1956, these advisers assumed full responsibility for training the Army of the Republic of Vietnam or ARVN. President John F. Kennedy made a substantial increase in the presence of U.S. military advisers to Vietnam prior to his assassination and, under President Lyndon Johnson, large numbers of American combat troops began to arrive in 1965 and the last left the country in 1973.

Iraq (2003): On March 20, 2003, the United States initiated offensive military action against Iraq for the stated purpose of deposing Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein and preventing his use of suspected nuclear weapons (weapons of mass destruction.) British, Australian, Polish, and Danish forces participated in the invasion. U.S. led forces took control of Baghdad on April 9, 2003. There was both support and opposition to the war. On 7 March, 2003 by press release SC/7682, UN said that Iraq has cooperated unconditional. The Director-General of the IAEA, Mr. ElBaradei, reported that, after three months of intrusive inspections, the Agency had found no evidence or plausible indication of the revival of a nuclear weapons programme in Iraq. This all sign reflecting that US had not bound to the UN Charter, but they have their own interests and strategy to do anything for their country interests. US did because Iraq threatens the US interests in the region.



## ***6. Conclusion:***

USA has followed her own path to work with United Nations. No country played a greater role in the design of, and in setting early aspiration for, the UN than did the United States. Yet in the recent decades and especially over the course of the 1990s relations between the US and the UN deteriorate sharply, and US influence within the body inevitably waned. According to realist scholar, US has been decreased is not because of Law and Norms Practices, but US relative capability is in decline order. These events have given shadows which reflect that power is more important than anything because economic capability and military strength have made United States as most powerful state in the world. What the Levy has argued that Great Power behaved aggressively and come to rescue their ally. United States have also done to protect their allies in Vietnam (1955-75), Korea (1950), Kuwait (1990-91), & Haiti (1994-95). According to Liberal, International Organizations have legal bounding over the states, but this concept also emphasizing on instrumentality of IOs. It says that States create international organization to get mutual benefit. But the realist argued that states are worried about the relative gains. Because increasing relative capability of other states will leads to security threats. Other realist argument that Hegemon states will create international organization to legitimized their action in world and to restore or maintain their status in the system. Activities of US have shown that US have done what they think that something important with cooperation with United Nations or they have unilaterally acted either in Iraq (2003), Vietnam (1955-75), & Nicaragua (1994). Social constructivism underlies the dual role of international organizations, of both reflecting the values and norms on which they are founded, while at the same time influencing the values and norms of participating societies. Means international organization have bounding effects on the states which cannot be violate by the states.

I think social constructivism has effect on the Great Power but it is not sufficient to prevent great power action. So Realism has dominated the great power behavior. US-UN relation is also reflecting this realism thought because US has shown by acting in the world pick & choose policy. Whenever US need UN, they have acted with UN or have acted unilaterally. Thus relative capability matter within international organization, but it does not have absolute dominance over international organization. What social constructivists have argued that whenever there will a norm based consensus, IOs will be created? And they will have bounding effects on the all country. But the thing is that Great Power will behave like great

power whenever they will fill their interests. The most important example is the “Veto” owner country which is symbol of capability in United Nations.

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