International Organizations and War

Last week…

- Violence in the context of intl anarchy
- Bargaining and the puzzle of war
- Focus on: rationalist explanations (w/ application to the Iraq War)
  - Information asymmetries
  - Commitment problems
  - Indivisibility* (see lecture slides)

Today

- International anarchy and international institutions (IOs)
- What can IOs do to halt or prevent war?

What is an IO?

World Health Organization







Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord

NATO
OTAN

Logo

Flag





Headquarters of the Arab League, Cairo.

What is an IO?

- An organization that governs the behavior of states (or their actors) in the intl system
- Can treaties or established by intl law
- Examples include:
  - Cultural organizations
    - e.g., Commonwealth of Nations, Arab League
  - Economic organizations
    - e.g., World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank
  - Security organizations
    - e.g., North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
  - Criminal justice organizations
    - e.g., INTERPOL, International Criminal Court (ICC)

Functions of governance under anarchy

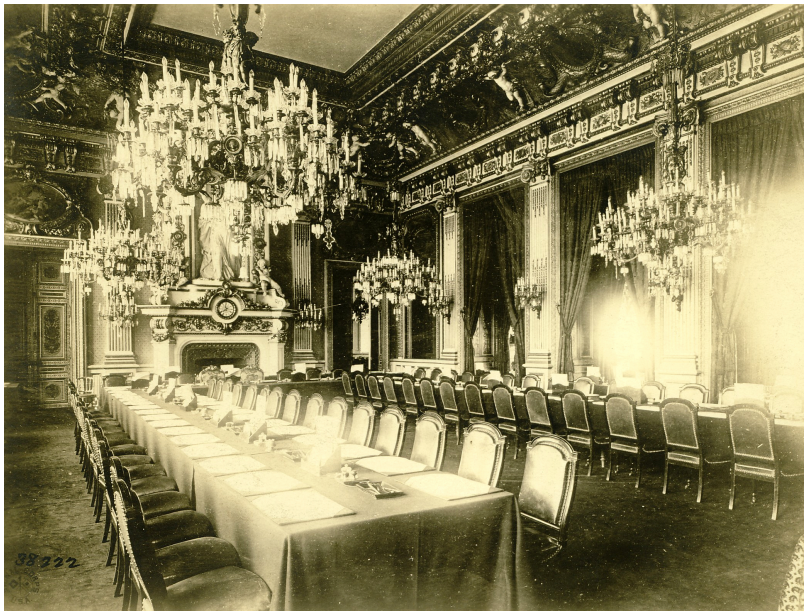
1) Redistribution
    - States decide how much foreign aid to give and to whom
    - IOs help to distribute money
2) Regulation
    - States decide how much to reduce polluting activity
    - IOs create standards and help monitor efforts
3) Law, order and security
    - States decide whether to provide resources (troops, $) to stop or prevent conflicts
    - IOs can help organize a collective response

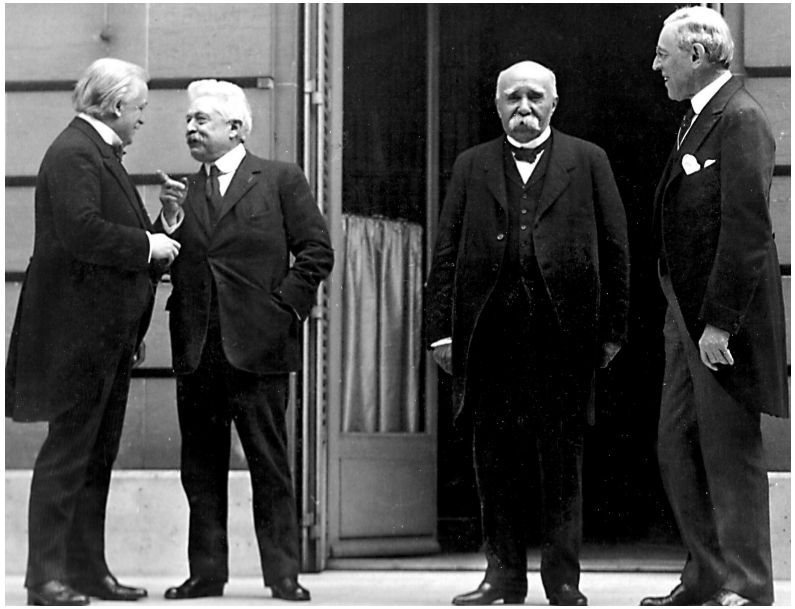
Focus today: The United Nations (UN)



UN Predecessor: The League of Nations

- Paris Accord, January 1920 ending WWI
- Main goal to prevent armed conflict
- Severe blow with WWII 1939
- Replaced in 1946





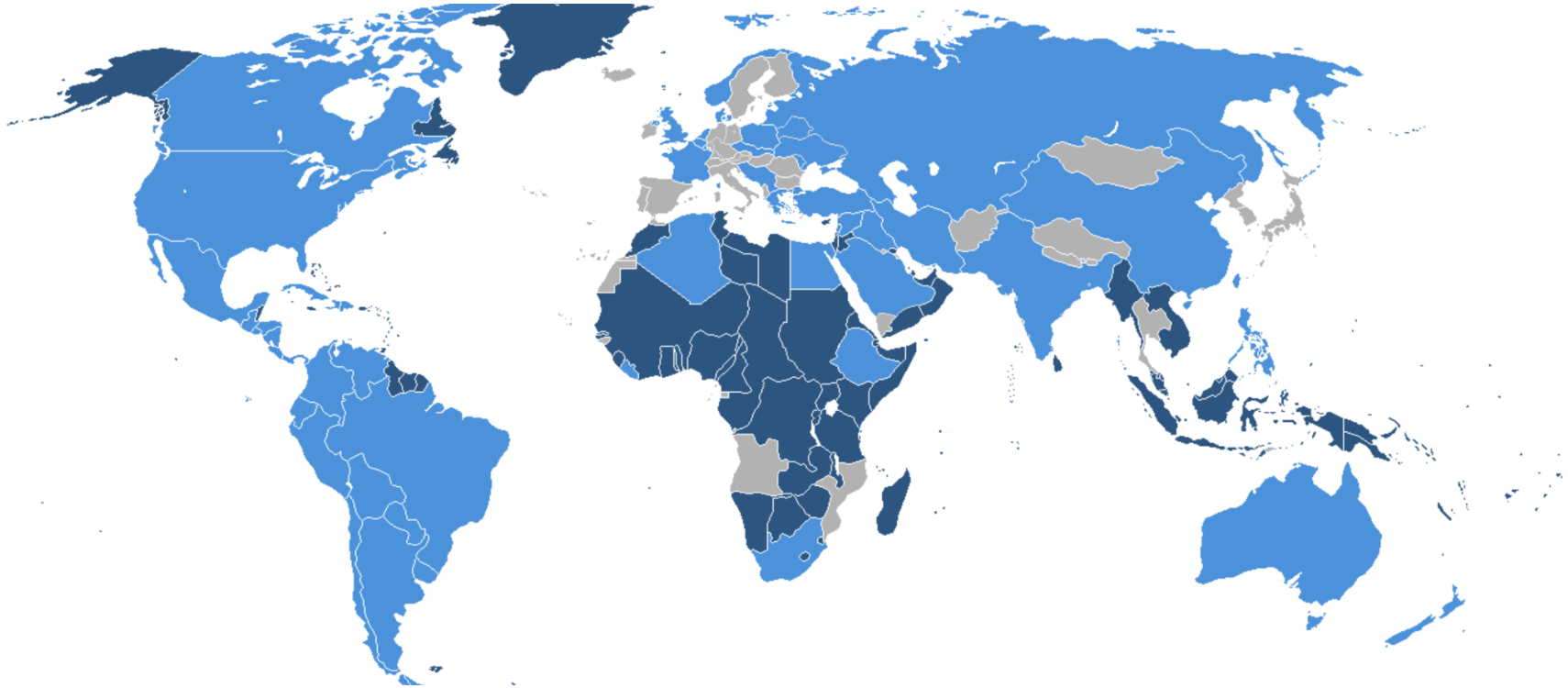
UN Founding

- Conference in San Francisco in 1945
- Big four led sessions: China, USSR, US, UK
- Drafted the UN charter
- 51 founding member states (today 193)





Founding states of the UN



Founding members in light blue.
Protectorates (colonies) in dark blue.
Non-members in gray.

UN Charter

The purposes of the UN are to:

Article 1: To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace…

UN Charter

Article 2: All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

Article 51: Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

UN Charter

Charter VI: Pacific Settlement of Disputes

Article 33: The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

Article 36: The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

UN Charter

Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression

Article 39: 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… to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 43: All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the security council, on its call… armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Institutional structure







- Secretariat (+Secretary-General)
  - Chief administrator (advocate, diplomat, servant)
- General Assembly
  - All member nations
- Security Council
  - 5 permanent members (P5)
  - 10 rotating non-permanent members

The UN Security Council

Permanent Members



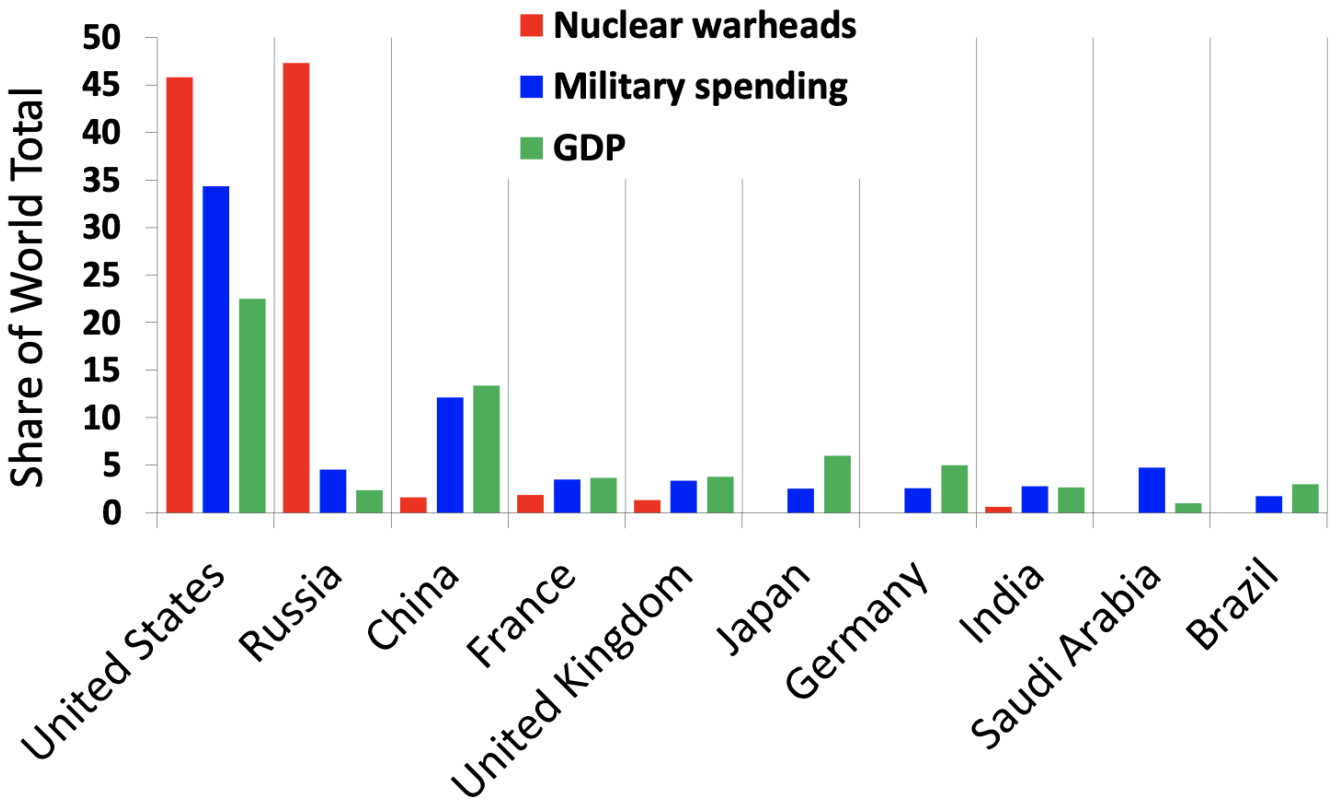
Rotating Members (current)



The UN Security Council

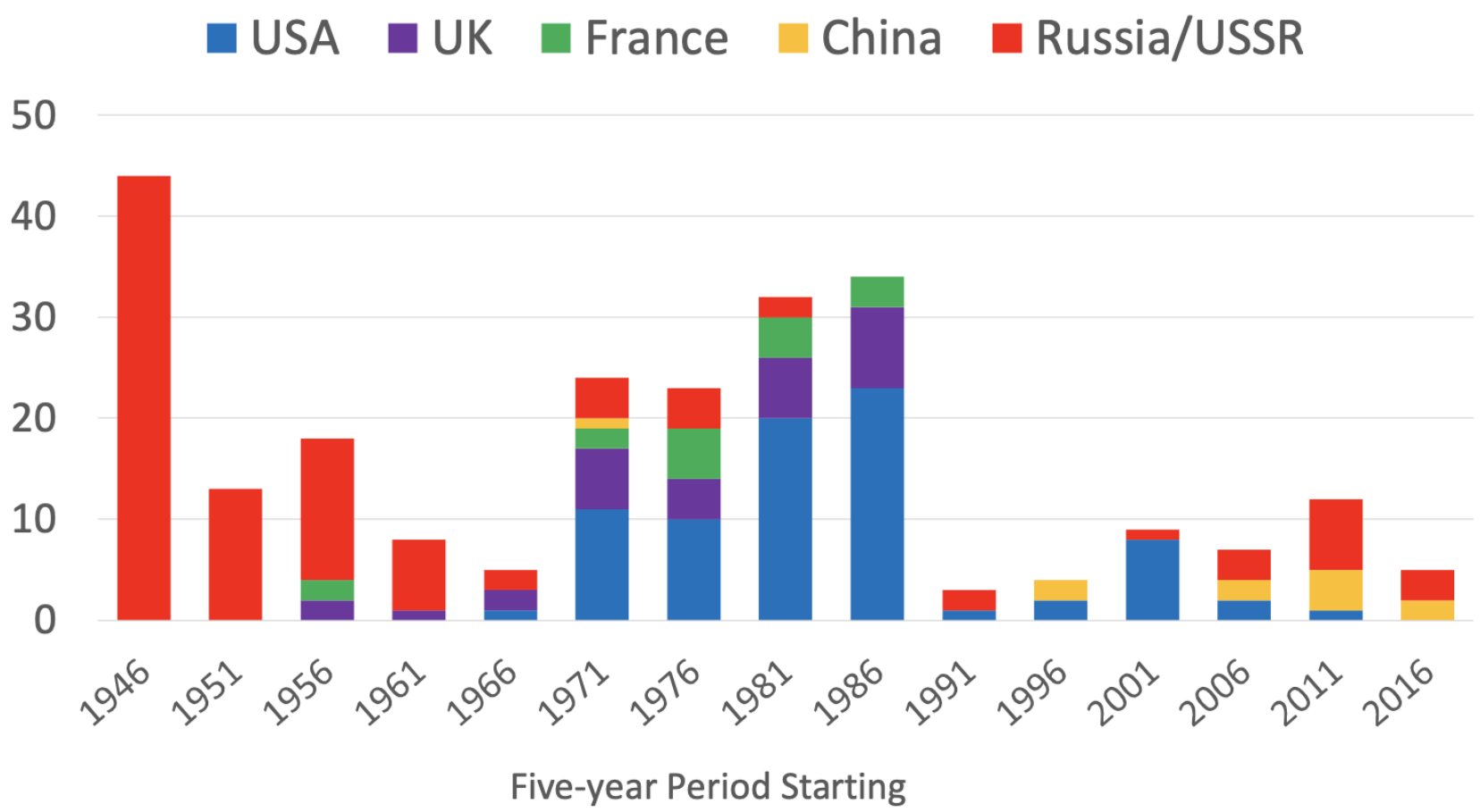
- Rotating members selected on a regional basis for two year terms
- Voting rule:
  - To pass a resolution, must get 9 affirmative votes and not be opposed by any of the P5
  - →P5 have a *veto*

The Distribution of Power



Source: 2014 military spending data from SIPRI: http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=496. 2014 GDP data from IMF. 2015 warhead data from SIPRI: http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/nuclear-forces

Vetos cast



Source: http://research.un.org/en/docs/sc/quick

How can the UN help with war?

1) Intervention
    a) Economic sanctions
    b) Military sanctions
2) Peacekeeping
    a) Send troops
    b) Disarm, demobilize
3) Observation/Monitoring

Intervention

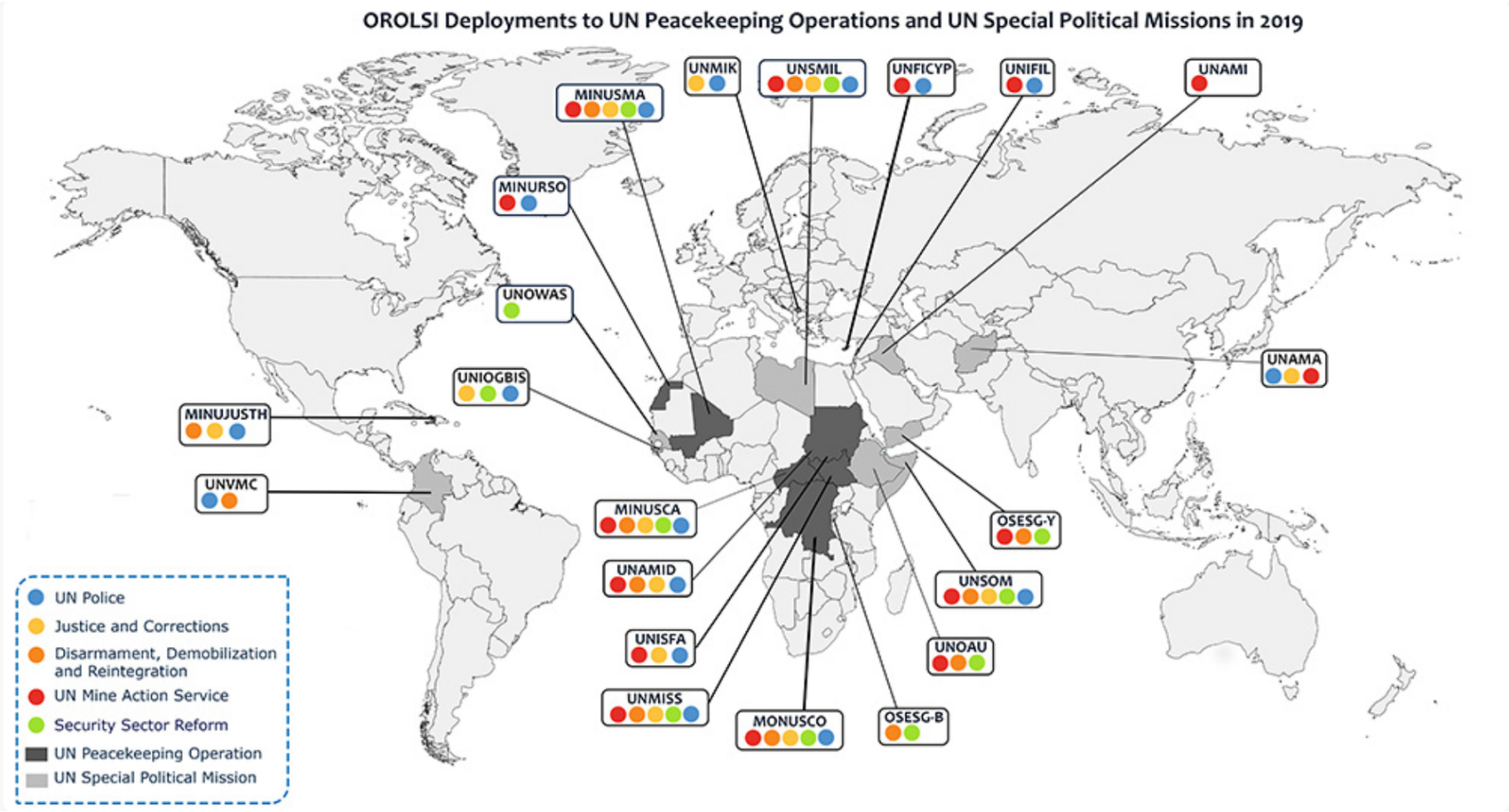
Aug 2, 1990: Iraq invades Kuwait

Key UN resolutions:

- Resolution 660 (Aug. 2) condemns invasion and calls for Iraq to withdraw
- Resolution 661 (Aug. 6) imposes economic sanctions
- Resolution 678 (Nov. 29) sets a deadline of Jan. 15, 1991, for Iraq to withdraw and authorizes "all necessary means" to reverse the invasion

Jan. 16, 1991: US-led coalition begins air strikes
Feb. 24-28: Ground offensive liberates Kuwait

Peacekeeping (2019)



Monitoring

International Atomic Energy Agency



- Monitors compliance with the Nonproliferation Treaty
- Inspects nuclear facilities to ensure that material is not diverted to weapons programs
- Report violations to UN Security Council for enforcement

The UN and war: Action record

Of 39 interstate wars since 1945…

- Authorized military force: 2 (Korea, Persian Gulf)
- Economic sanctions: 3 (Persian Gulf, Yugoslavia)
- Peacekeeping missions: 12

Of 168 civil wars from 1946-2007…

- Authorized military force: 2 (Somalia, Bosnia)
- Economic sanctions: 13
- Peacekeeping missions: 29

Why does the UN get involved in some conflicts but not others?

(Beardsley and Schmidt 2011)

1. **Organizational/charter interests → Collective action problem**

2. **Parochial interests → Deadlock**

Collective action problem

B = value of good

C = cost of contributing

p = Probability that the actor's contribution is pivotal

Contribute if

$p * B > C$

Solutions to the collective action problem

1. One member is large enough and motivated enough that p * B > C.
   - UN authorization can lower costs (Thompson 2006)

2. Members "tax" themselves and pay countries to contribute to the collective good.
   - Reduces costs of contributing
   - Creates private benefit in addition to the public good

Who pays for peacekeeping?

Top Contributors to PK Budget (2016)

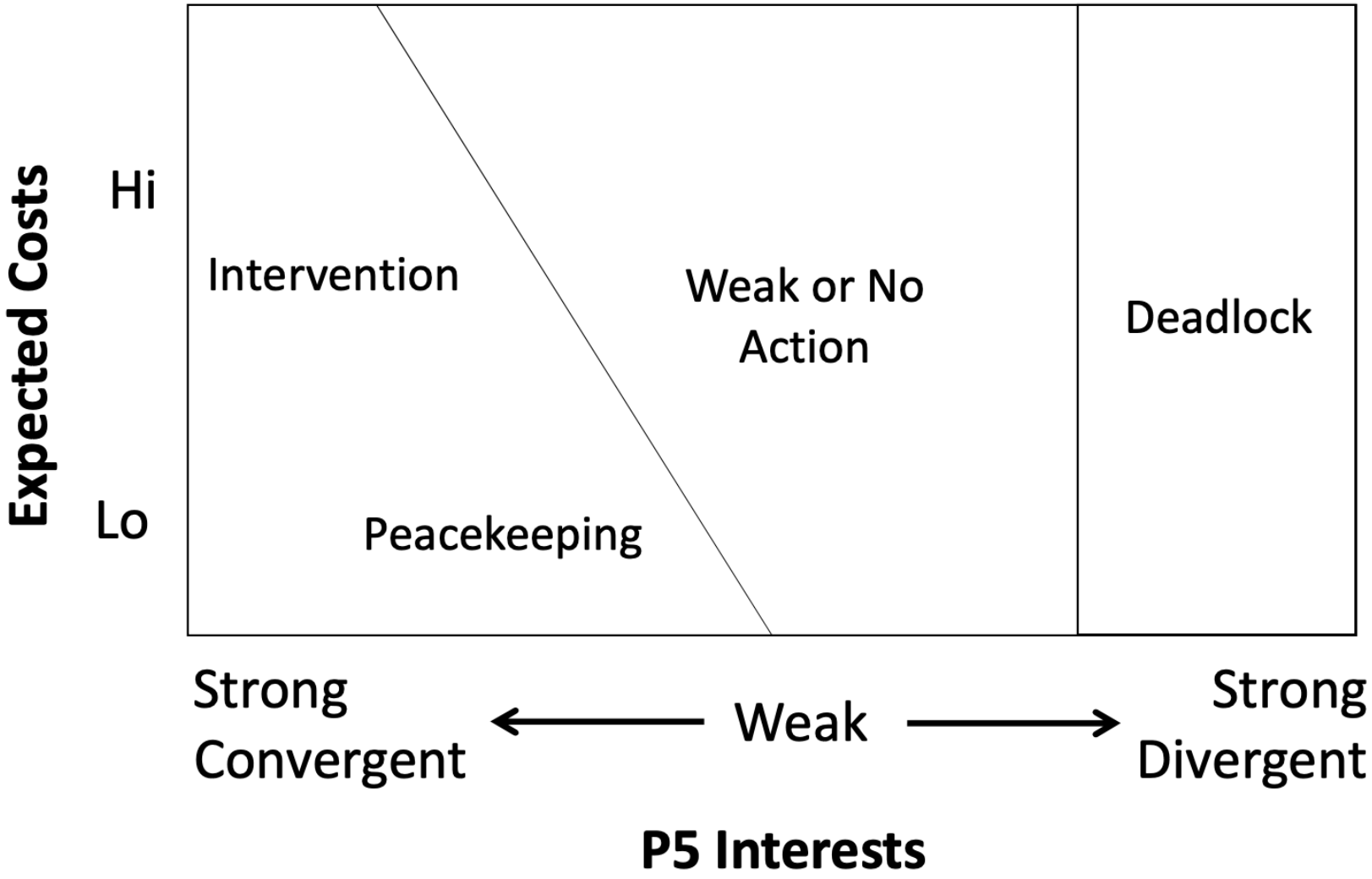
1. USA (28.57%)
2. China (10.29%)
3. Japan (9.68%)
4. Germany (6.39%)
5. France (6.31%)
6. UK (5.80%)
7. Russia (4.01%)
8. Italy (3.75%)

Top Contributors of PK Troops (Jan. 2017)

1. Ethiopia (8,301)
2. India (7,762)
3. Pakistan (7,136)
4. Bangladesh (6,895)
5. Rwanda (6,126)
6. Nepal (5,185)
7. Senegal (3,580)
8. Burkina Faso (3,022)

76. USA (65)

Scope for UN action



Evidence: UN Involement

(Beardsley and Schmidt, 2012)

Following the Flag or Following the Charter?

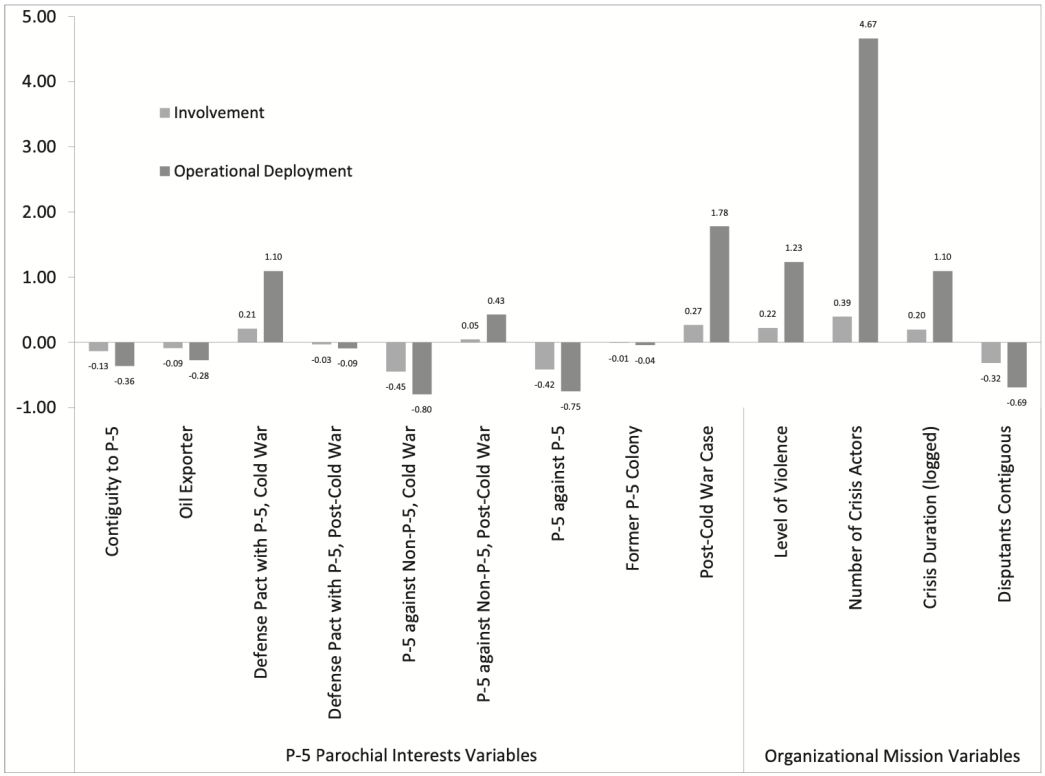


FIG 2. Relative Risks of UN Involvement

Evidence: The Effect of Peacekeeping

(Fortna 2004)

TABLE 3
EFFECTS ON THE DURABILITY OF PEACE[a]

	Hazard Ratios (Robust Standard Errors)	
Peacekeeping	0.13**	
	(0.11)	
Number of peacekeepers		0.9995
		(0.0006)
Tie	355.04**	327.88
	(918.42)	(1198.03)
Elimination / imposed regime	0.00005***	0.00003***
	(0.0001)	(0.00009)
Cost of war	0.90	0.82
	(0.30)	(0.21)
History of conflict	4.47***	2.71*
	(2.03)	(1.39)
Contiguity	0.50	0.92
	(0.23)	(0.25)
Multilateral war	0.12***	0.14**
	(0.07)	(0.11)
Preponderance of power	10.13**	3.14
	(11.40)	(3.67)
Permanent Security Council member	0.29	1.23
	(0.23)	(1.34)
Arab-Israeli war	157.93	610.21
	(549.09)	(2957.77)
Existence at stake	5.20***	1.19
	(1.49)	(0.76)
Change in relative capabilities	1.60	2.96**
	(0.48)	(1.38)
Shape parameter p	1.11	1.13
	(0.54)	(0.64)
Subjects	48	48
N	770	770
log likelihood	−38.03	−37.82

*$p \leq 0.10$; **$p \leq 0.05$; ***$p \leq 0.01$; two-tailed tests

[a]Hazard ratios are interpreted relative to 1. Ratios greater than 1 indicate an increased hazard (that is, peace falls apart more quickly). Ratios less than 1 indicate a decreased hazard (that is, peace lasts longer).

Key Takeaways

1) Intl system has no state to provide order
2) UN's mission is to prevent armed conflict
3) UN is purposefully structured to give certain countries more power
4) UN actions depend on the interests of those powerful states
5) BUT the organizational mission does matter
6) AND peacekeeping can work