



# International security regimes

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# Outline

- Definition of international (security) regime
- Functions of international regimes
- Difference between organization and regime
- Emergence of international regimes
- Examples of international security regimes
  - Nuclear non-proliferation regime
  - Open Skies Treaty

# International regimes: definition

- liberal neo-institutionalism - attempts at explaining international cooperation
- Stephen Krasner (1983, 1985): „implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors‘ expectations converge in a given area of international relations.“
  - „**Principles** are beliefs of fact, causation, and rectitude.“
  - „**Norms** are standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations“
  - „**Rules** are specific prescriptions or proscriptions for action“
  - „**Decision-making procedures** are prevailing practices for making and implementing collective choice“

# International regimes: example

- Nuclear non-proliferation regime (NPT)

## PRINCIPLES

- *„proliferation of nuclear weapons would seriously enhance the danger of nuclear war“*

## NORMS (the expectation of non-proliferation)

- *„Each nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly“*



# International regimes: example

## RULES

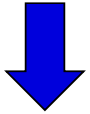
- *„Each Non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes to accept safeguards, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency in accordance with the Statute of the IAEA and the Agency's safeguards system, for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfilment of its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices“*

## PROCEDURES

- *„Any Party to the Treaty may propose amendments to this Treaty.“* (...)

# International regimes: definition

- criticised as being too vague



- Keohane → a “lean” definition:
  - „Regimes are institutions with explicit rules, agreed upon by governments, that pertain to particular sets of issues in international relations.“
- regimes are issue-specific (limited number of topics and problems)
- different types of regimes (security, economic, human rights... )

# International regimes and states

- states as principal actors in world politics - rational actors seeking to **maximize their national self-interest**
- regime theory: states' interests are not necessarily conflictual → **common interests**
- states motivated by **absolute gains** (x relative)
- both conflicting and common interests → states mutually adjust their policies = cooperation
- in regimes states might even sideline their national interests
- x realists - relative gains, regimes determined by power distribution

# International security regimes: function

- regimes as a way of solving the security dilemma and anarchical conditions of the IS
  - ✓ security enhancement
  - ✓ greater predictability and uncertainty reduction
  - ✓ confidence-building (e.g., verification mechanisms)
  - ✓ development of communication channels
  - ✓ easier access to information
  - ✓ problem-solving
  - ✓ reduction of costs



# International regimes x international organizations

## ORGANIZATIONS

- formal structure, legal status
- often multiple shared interests and goals among member-states
- can be part of a regime

## REGIMES

- express interests of states in case of absence of international organization
- does not have a capacity to act
- less institutionalized
- narrow focus (issue-specific)

# Emergence of international regimes

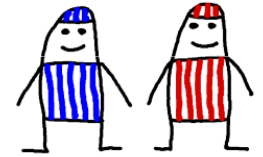
2 possible scenarios:

1. regime does not exist + neither is its existence needed = **A NON-REGIME SITUATION**
  - independent decision-making of sovereign entities under anarchical conditions
2. a situation, under which regime emerges + interest in its existence and continuance = **A REGIME SITUATION**
  - all actors are willing, based on a selfish rational calculation, to give up independent decision-making in favor of joint decision-making
  - arises in case of **common interest** or **common aversion**

# Emergence of international regimes

## Common interest

- when the independent decisions of actors lead to an equilibrium state that is suboptimal for all participating actors (Prisoner's dilemma)
- establishment of an international regime as a guarantee that the counterparty will not cheat and will cooperate in the future
- e.g., arms races



|          |           | Player A  |         |
|----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
|          |           | Cooperate | Defect  |
| Player B | Cooperate | -1 / -1   | 0 / -10 |
|          | Defect    | 0 / -10   | -5 / -5 |

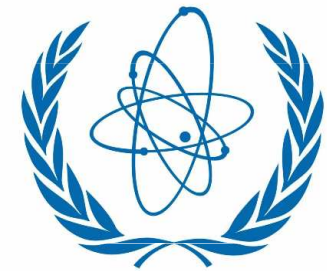
# Emergence of international regimes

## Common aversion

- if the actors' strategies are not to achieve the same outcome, but all agree that there is at least one potential outcome to be avoided
- cooperation does not achieve the best possible outcome, but prevents the worst possible outcome
  - e.g., traffic conventions

# Example 1: Nuclear non-proliferation regime

- aim - stopping nuclear proliferation + disarmament
- a set of interrelated treaties and organizations
  - ***Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)***
  - ***Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)*** [VIDEO](#)
  - ***Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)***
  - ***New START***
  - ***Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)***
  - ***treaties establishing nuclear-free zones***
- specific norms and rules (bans, control mechanisms)
- includes interational organizations (e.g., IAEA)



**IAEA**

International Atomic Energy Agency

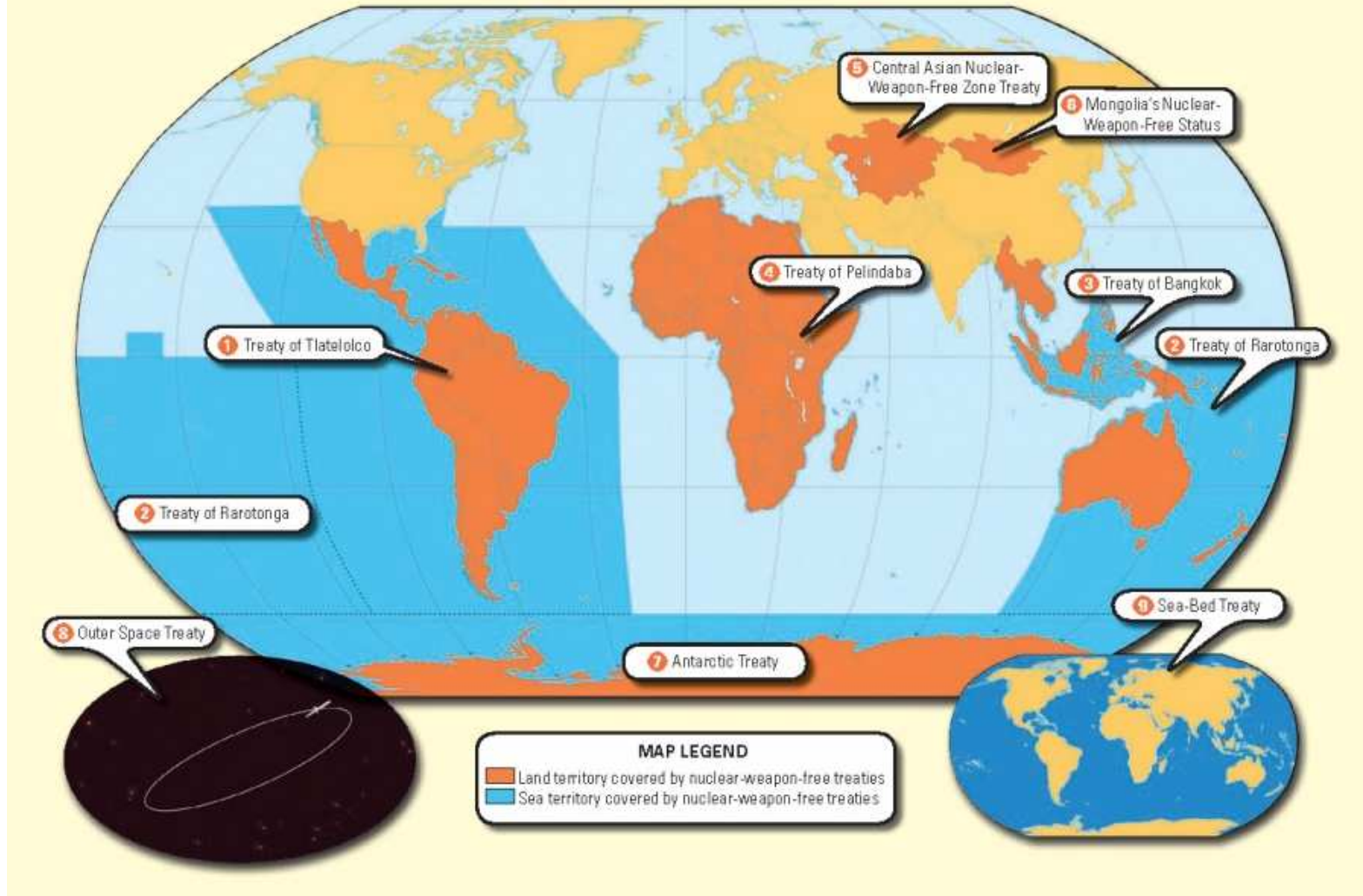


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# NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE AREAS

Demarcation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, nuclear-weapon-free status and nuclear-weapon-free geographical regions



## Example 2: Open Skies Treaty

- 2002 - entered into force
- permits each state-party to conduct short-notice, unarmed, reconnaissance flights over the others' entire territories to collect data on military forces and activities (based on quota)
- obtained information available to all parties
- 32 members in total, US (2020) and Russia (2021) withdrew
- The Open Skies Consultative Commission (OSCC) - responsible for implementation





# Group discussion

1. Have we entered an era of international regimes' erosion? Can this process be stopped in the near future?
2. Can you identify examples of regime situations? (What new regimes are needed in the area of international security?)