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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: definition

- criticised as being too vague

- Keohane \rightarrow 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...)

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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 \rightarrow common interests
- states motivated by absolute gains (x relative)
- both conflicting and common interests → states mutually adjust their policies = cooperation
- 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
 - problem-solving
 - reduction of costs
 - easier access to information

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:

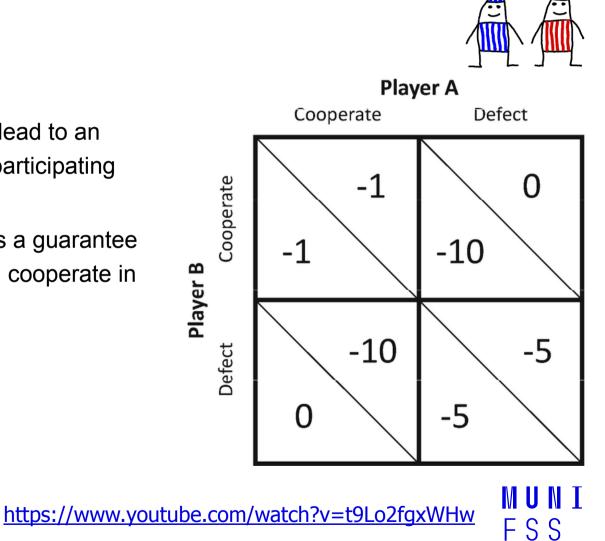
- 1. regime does not exist + neither is its existence needed = **a non-regime situation**
- independent decision-making of sovereign entities under anarchical conditions
- a situation, under which regime emerges + interest in its existence and continuance = a regime situation
 - all actors are willing, 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**
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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



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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)
 - <u>New START</u>
 - 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)





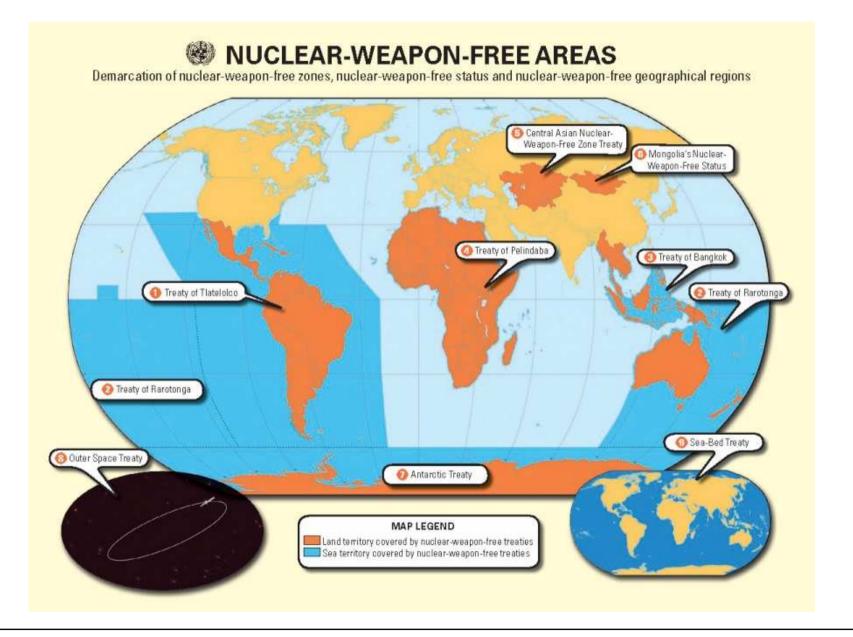
IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency

CTBTO

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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
- 2020 US withdrew, followed by Russia in 2021



Group discussion

- 1. Have we entered an era of international regimes' erosion?
- 2. Do you think it is possible to stop or slow down the arms race through international regimes? (Under what conditions?)