

Chapter 1 : Global Connections . Politics | PBS

international relations international relations is a distinct discipline which draws on diplomatic history, political theory, political economy, political science and international law to provide its own theoretical perspectives to explain conflict and.

Theories of International Regimes. The next subsections will review the contributions each theoretical approach has made to the study of regimes as well as their shortcomings. As will be more fully elaborated in the following section, the strengths and weaknesses of each prove complementary and open the potential for a broader synthesis.

Realist Insights on Regimes Realists contend that the nature of anarchy in the international system causes states to be primarily concerned about relative gains, i. As a result, states will be reluctant to enter into any agreement that leaves them in a worse position relative to others, whether due to the distributional consequences or due to the costs of maintaining the regime. Despite the potential risks of entering into cooperative arrangements, realists have to theoretically account for the fact that regimes are relatively common. Broadly speaking, realists have sought to do so in three ways. First, some have explained the creation and persistence of regimes on the basis of hegemonic stability theory. As long as hegemony is preserved and the hegemon maintains an interest in the regime, the regime should persevere. Reform or abandonment of the regime should accompany either a shift in the distribution of power or changing preferences on the part of the hegemon. Hegemonic explanations, however, do have difficulty accounting for variance across issue areas when hegemony is static. A second realist focus has been on distributional issues. Power is important in determining where on the Pareto frontier [11] the agreement occurs. In these contexts, regimes are useful for providing stability. Although they have little independence, they are important in mediating between interests and outcomes. This provides a compelling explanation in certain circumstances, but not every situation fits the model. Because states are interested in security, their sensitivity to relative losses varies over time and across issue area. Thus, cooperation will be more likely in economic areas than in military ones. Cooperation should also be more likely in situations where gains are equitable. Regimes may prove useful in facilitating cooperation by mitigating cheating and allowing for the resolution of distributional issues. However, it is difficult to know how sensitive a state is to relative gains until after the fact and, even then, politicians may have an incentive to lie about their deliberations.

Neoliberal Insights on Regimes Neoliberals start from the same assumptions as realists as to the anarchic nature of the international system. However, in contrast to realists, they posit that states are concerned primarily with absolute gains. As a result, when deciding whether to cooperate, states will evaluate what is in it for them, rather than how they will come out relative to others. Therefore, the main concern for states is whether they are getting the best deal possible. Regimes can be useful in reassuring them of this. Because different situations can be thought of as different types of collective action problems, these early insights were developed utilizing different game-theoretic tools to provide better models for different situations. For example, a distinction can be made between coordination problems, where several Pareto-optimal solutions exist and negotiation is focused on distributional issues, and collaboration problems, where the collective aim is to reach an efficient outcome. Regimes can be useful by providing information in these situations. These explanations have a functional tone to them, which often gives them a post hoc feel. What is more, this begs the question of where regimes come from if they are created to facilitate agreements in the first place. Oran Young has taken up this last issue to create an institutional bargaining model of regime formation. For this reason, states focus on the bargaining process itself rather than distributive issues, which makes cooperation more likely. Through integrative bargaining, uncertainty is reduced and a requirement of unanimity also helps reduce fears. Neoliberals have provided important insights into how regimes can facilitate cooperation amongst states. However, a number of shortcomings remain. Aside from those mentioned above, they often underestimate the fear of cheating that states feel. A contrasting criticism comes from a cognitivist perspective. Neoliberals do not address the sociological dimension of regimes. As such, they would contend that any exploration of regimes is incomplete without paying attention to intersubjectivity. Nonetheless, their focus on how ideas emerge and are used

merits their inclusion here. Strong cognitivists take intersubjectivity much more seriously, recognizing that regimes are embedded in the broader international social structure. I will discuss each in turn. Weak cognitivists are interested in exploring the influence of ideas on actors. They serve as road maps, institutions, and focal points. In such an environment, consensual knowledge and epistemic communities facilitate policy innovation, diffusion, selection, and persistence. In this view, regimes may result from an idea gaining prominence. At the same time, we need to know more about the processes by which ideational selection takes place. In addition, the connection between knowledge and material needs and between power and ideas is under explored. They can have both regulative effects as neoliberals and realists assert, but also constitutive effects. Regimes construct identities by delineating what are socially acceptable norms and interests. At the same time, regimes are in the process of continual self-interpretation and self-definition in response to change. Some strong cognitivists are skeptical whether positivism can allow for a real analysis of how regimes have constitutive effects. Concluding Thoughts A number of other issues, some rather long-standing, remain for further study. The definitional issues remain a sore point, but it has not substantially hindered the study of regimes as general agreement exists on empirically recognizing one. We need to know more about how regimes evolve once they are created. Furthermore, with the prevalence of regimes today, it is important to explore how regimes interact with one another, particularly if they have overlapping jurisdictions. Also, the relationship of regimes and national-level processes remains under explored. A final shortcoming of regime research is its state-centrism. As international governance proliferates, transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations , and other civil society groups are playing an independent role in international affairs. Regimes are being established that are either purely private or public-private combinations such as the Bank of International Settlements. Theories of international regimes, Cambridge studies in international relations ; Integrating theories of international regimes. Review of International Studies 26 1: International Responses to Technology - Concepts and Trends. International Organization 29 3: Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables. In International Regimes, edited by S. International Organization 41 3: International Organization 40 4: Toward a New Theory of Institutions. World Politics 39 1: Regimes and the Limits of Realism: Regimes as Autonomous Variables. War and change in world politics. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, Kindleberger, C. International Studies Quarterly 25 2: The world in depression, , History of the world economy in the twentieth century, v. University of California Press, Snidal, D. American Political Science Review 79 4: World Politics 43 3: Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: In Neorealism and neoliberalism: Understanding the Problem of International Cooperation: Europe, America, and non-tariff barriers to trade, Cornell studies in political economy. Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: The evolution of cooperation. Basic Books, Keohane, Robert O. Theories and empirical studies of international institutions. International Organization 52 4: Ideas and foreign policy: Cornell University Press, Haas, P. International Organization 46 1: Any More Bright Ideas? Review of International Studies Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory. In Neorealism and Its Critics, edited by R.

Chapter 2 : International Regimes | Political Science

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Theoretical foundations[edit] While realism predicts that conflict should be the norm in international relations, regime theorists say that there is cooperation despite anarchy. Often they cite cooperation in trade, human rights , and collective security , among other issues. These instances of cooperation are regimes. The most commonly cited definition comes from Stephen Krasner , who defines regimes as "institutions possessing norms, decision rules, and procedures which facilitate a convergence of expectations". In international political economy[edit] As stated above, a regime is defined by Stephen D. Krasner as a set of explicit or implicit "principles, norms, rules, and decision making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given area of international relations". This definition is intentionally broad, and covers human interaction ranging from formal organizations i. Note that a regime need not be composed of states. Within regime theory, because regime theory is by definition a theory that explains international cooperation i. Liberal approaches[edit] Liberal interest-based approaches to regime theory argue that cooperation in anarchy is possible without a hegemon because there exists a "convergence of expectations". Regimes facilitate cooperation by establishing standards of behavior that signal to other members that they are in fact cooperating. When all states expect cooperation from the others, the probability of sustaining cooperation increases. The difference between this model and reality is that states are not like prisoners, states must continually cooperate whereas prisoners will never see one another again. Mutual cooperation is thus rational: States are rational, unitary , gain-maximizing actors, living in anarchy and ridden by the security dilemma. Thus; It is in the interest of states to cooperate in the present because, in the future, other states will defect on them tit-for-tat strategy. Thus; The theory presupposes that states are concerned with absolute gains, that is, states do not consider the gains or losses of other states in their utility analysis. In contrast neorealists argue that states are concerned with relative gains. That is, states are concerned with the advantages they gain versus the advantages of other states in the anarchic system. Neoliberal IR theorist Robert Keohane argues that international regimes can increase the likelihood of cooperation by: Providing information about the behavior of others by monitoring the behavior of members and reporting on compliance. Regimes clearly define what constitutes a defection and often clearly prescribe punishments for defection. This reduces the fear that the state is being exploited by other members of the regime and minimizes the chance for misunderstanding. Prescribing sanctions reduces the incentive to covertly defect. By institutionalizing cooperation, regimes can reduce the cost of future agreements. By reducing the cost of reaching an agreement, regimes increase the likelihood of future cooperation. For example, each round of GATT resolved many procedural problems that did not have to be revisited in subsequent rounds, making cooperation easier and more likely. Generating the expectation of cooperation among members. By creating iteration and the belief that interaction will continue for the foreseeable future, regimes increase the importance of reputation and allow for the employment of complex strategies. Other authors such as Kenneth A. Oye claim that regimes can provide incentives to cooperate and deterrents to defect by altering the payoff structure of the regime. Regime theory may appear to counter hegemonic stability theory sometimes, but realists also apply it within regime theory in order to explain change. When used in this way, realists conclude that a strong hegemon is what makes for a successfulâ€”i. In brief, within regime theory, liberals and realists disagree on two thingsâ€”the nature of international cooperation and the role of international institutions. Liberals believe that international institutions at most bring about an environment conducive to the convergence of state interests, which facilitates regime cooperation; and at least, facilitate cooperation that might otherwise not have been able to occur in an anarchic world. On the other hand, realists believe that regimes merely reflect the distribution of power in the international system, and that any cooperation that occurs under a regime would have occurred anyway. Powerful states create regimes to serve their security and economic interests; regimes have no

independent power over states, especially great powers ; as such, regimes are simply intervening variables between power, the real independent variable, and cooperation, the dependent variable. Cognitivist knowledge-based approaches[edit] In contrast to the rationalist approaches above, cognitivists critique the rationalist theories on the grounds that liberals and realists both use flawed assumptions such as that nation-states are always and forever rational actors; that interests remain static, that different interpretations of interests and power are not possible. The cognitivists also argue that even when the rationalist theories employ iterated game theories where future consequences affect present decisions, they ignore a major implication of such iterationâ€”learning. Consequences from an iterated game look backwards to the past as well as forward to the future. Finally cognitivists use a post-positivist methodology which does not believe that social institutions or actors can be separated out of their surrounding socio-political context for analytical purposes. The cognitivist approach then, is sociological or post-positivist instead of rationalist. An example of a useful application of this approach to the study of international regime theory, is exemplified in a doctoral dissertation by Edythe Weeks , wherein she demonstrates that we can apply this type of analysis to explain and highlight key actors, unfolding political dynamics and historical-ideological shifts, related to commercial activities concerning outer space and its resources. They emphasize instead the complex intersection of social forces, including changing values, that gave rise to ongoing political and economic regimes of power in the first place. For example, they emphasize the rise of modern bureaucratic regimes of negotiation or the normalizing of the global system of nation-states and multinational corporations as key players on the global stage: Understanding the process, historical context, and contemporary relations of institutionalization is fundamental for making sense of the more empirical task of documenting the activities of this or that institution.

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Amr Mussa front , secretary general of the Arab League, attends the opening of a meeting of Middle Eastern foreign ministers in Beirut, March 25, Political regimes in the Middle East have different forms of government. Terror and Tehran Video Excerpt 6: How that compromise is negotiated, and by whom, varies a great deal. Some institutions that reflect greater personal liberty are freedom of the press; free, fair and inclusive elections; multiple political parties; and the fair treatment of minority groups, whether ethnic or religious. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, for example, the government is run by religious leaders, with a subordinate elected parliament candidates to which must be approved by the religious leadership. In Jordan and Morocco, the king bases his legitimacy on direct descent from the Prophet, but the king is not a religious leader per se. In Lebanon, parliamentary representation is divided up according to religious affiliation, with proportions reflecting an outdated census of the population of Lebanon in Maintaining a tenuous balance of power among the 18 officially recognized religions is an important governmental concern, but the Lebanese government itself is not composed of religious leaders. Even in strong democracies, like Turkey and Israel, the support of influential religious parties is often needed by major parties to form a coalition government. When religious parties are key members or leaders of a coalition, their political clout can push the government to mold policies in a religious direction. Pressures for and against democracy in the Middle East There are both internal and external pressures on Middle Eastern countries for democratic reform, which would allow free and open political systems to develop. The existing governments, however, have resisted this pressure for a number of reasons. Some governments and leaders simply want to hold on to power themselves; others fear political instability if they loosen political control too quickly. A crowd of Kurdish refugees in northern Iraq. The Kurds are an ethnic minority in the Middle East. Others face an internal religious critique, particularly from Islamists. Many fear that if an Islamist political party were legitimately elected, that party would refuse to relinquish power in future elections. These pressures against democratization often lead to a cycle of political repression, revolts sometimes violent , and then further oppression. In Egypt, as in many other countries in the Middle East, pressures for real democratization have come from internal opposition groups both leftist and Islamist , international observers like the United States, and non-governmental organizations. To date, though, the governing party allows only a small, controlled group to function as the official political opposition. This policy has created a backlash, as Egyptians judge growing globalization to be damaging to local cultures, witness a growing gap between rich and poor, and decide that Western-style democracy undermines local control. Since responses to these political and economic pressures cannot be expressed freely within the political system, there are frequently popular demonstrations and the formation of radical underground opposition groups. Both Israel and Turkey are Western-style democracies with regularly scheduled elections. But Israeli Arabs and Turkish Kurds experience political restrictions, as these groups are seen as threatening to both the security and the identity of the state. Peer pressure from that group requires that Turkey uphold a standard of human rights that is comparable to the nations of Western Europe. Israel is debating a looming political and demographic crisis. Can Israel remain a Jewish state and a democracy if Arabs eventually outnumber Jews in the society? More fundamentally, how can Israel reconcile its democratic ideals with unequal treatment of Israeli Arabs? These leaders tend to reach their position based on a charismatic personality rather than on specific policies, and once in power, they can overwhelm any potential rivals. All of these leaders came to power in military coups, and many used their national military to monitor and attack opposition groups. Identifying enemies as domestic policy Saddam "Music Video" excerpt: If, however, the U. This strategy can be particularly effective when the state controls all media sources and can give its own interpretation of events without competing explanations. The government of post-revolutionary Iran similarly used the long war with Iraq and anger at the United States to maintain a focus on external rather

than internal affairs. Since the end of the Iran-Iraq War and a break with relations with the U. Opposition groups in many Middle Eastern countries say that U. They therefore find the U. More hypocrisy is seen in American statements about defending Kuwait on the basis of international law and the right of self-determination, while denying the same rights to the Palestinians. Many observers in the Middle East think the U. They point to the American military presence during the Gulf War, the continued presence of troops in Saudi Arabia the birthplace of Islam , and the use by Israel of American-made weapons against the Palestinians. But growing popular opposition to the U.

Chapter 4 : International regime - Wikipedia

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Regimes "are more specialized arrangements that pertain to well-defined activities, resources, or geographical areas and often involve only some subset of the members of international society ", according to Oran R. Young, in his book *International Cooperation: Building Regimes for Natural Resources and the Environment*. International Regimes might also include international organizations in a broader sense. Formation[edit] International regimes often form in response to a need to coordinate behavior among countries around an issue. In the absence of an overarching regime, for instance, telecommunications between countries would have to be governed by numerous bilateral agreements, which would become impossibly complex to administer worldwide. A regime such as ITU serves simultaneously as a forum, a multilateral treaty, and a governing body to standardize telecommunications across countries efficiently. The number of international regimes has increased dramatically since the Second World War, and today regimes cover almost all aspects of international relations that might require coordination among countries, from security issues such as weapons non-proliferation or collective defense , to trade, finance, and investment, information and communication, human rights, the environment, and management of outer space"to name a few. Some scholars emphasize the importance of a hegemon in creating a regime and giving it momentum. This is called the hegemonic stability theory. The United States , for example, has been instrumental in creating the Bretton Woods system , with organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The rationale is that a hegemon, being the dominant actor in international politics and economics, often stands to gain the most from the creation of global standards. For instance, while other countries might benefit from it, U. As the hegemons use their power to create regimes, their withdrawal similarly can also threaten the effectiveness of regimes. Proponents and critics[edit] Regimes serve crucial functional needs in international relations. Powerful regimes are considered by some scholars as independent actors in international politics. Although ultimately states create and sustain regimes, once institutionalized, regimes can exert influence in world politics that is practically independent of state sovereignty. The International Atomic Energy Agency , for instance, has certain rights, given to it by states themselves, to monitor nuclear energy activity in countries. Insofar as they are organized by means of treaties among countries, regimes provide an important source of formal international law. Regimes themselves can also be subjects of international law. Insofar as they shape the behavior of states, the most influential regimes can also be a source of customary international law. Critics of regimes deplore their influence as a source of additional conflict or inefficiency in world politics. The security regime organized around the United Nations Security Council is sometimes cited as a case in point. Some other scholars are also alarmed that regimes represent a dilution of democratic control. Although they govern and influence important aspects of life, they operate steps removed from domestic democratic politics, organized around a legislature. In effect, some critics argue, most regimes come to represent the technocratic views of international civil servants, with agreements made behind closed doors, rather than being subject to openness and democratic popular representation. Some regimes, such as the World Trade Organization WTO have tried to address this " democratic deficit " by establishing civilian affairs departments, which are supposed to act as a liaison to the popular will. Most regimes are still insulated from the direct democratic politics that happen within states. Some, however, consider such insulation necessary, since much of international coordination require specialized expertise provided best by technocrats.

Chapter 5 : International Regimes in East-West Politics : Volker Rittberger :

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Chapter 8 : Regime theory - Wikipedia

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Chapter 9 : International Regimes | Beyond Intractability

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