

Index

Page numbers in *italics* indicate tables or figures.

- absolute costs
 - in regime stability, 38
 - versus uncertainty, 15
- acceptance/ratification negotiations, 65
- accountability, in CSCE, 159
- actors
 - in anti-torture regimes, 233–234
 - education of, 106–107
 - nonstate, in postagreement phase, 282
 - in regime lifecycle negotiations, 77, 78
 - rules as link between guidance and performance, 94
 - situational responses of, 41
- “additionality” principle, 203–204
- adjustment, in regime evolution, 14, 27–28, 76, 121, 135–136, 274–275
- African Charter on Human and People’s Rights (1981), 230
- Albania, CSCE and democratization in, 177–178
- Algeria, in MAP, 129–131
- American Convention on Human Rights (1969), 230
- American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man (1948), 230
- Amnesty International, 235, 259
- Antarctic, ozone loss in, 194
- Anti-Corruption Network for Transition Economies, 287
- Armenia, in CSCE, 162
- Association for the Prevention of Torture (APT), 252
- Australia, involvement of in regimes against torture, 239
- Austria
 - in CSCE, 151
 - involvement in regime against torture, 252, 255–256
- Austrian Committee against Torture, 252
- awareness effect, 106
- Barcelona Convention. *See* Mediterranean Action Plan
- Basel Convention, 133
- Basic Principles Agreement (1972), 157
- “baskets” concept (CSCE), 147–148
- Battle of the Sexes, 38
- Beijing Declaration (Montreal Protocol), 218
- Berlin Wall, fall of, 163

- biodiversity, 133
 Blue Plan, 127
 Bosnia, CSCE in, 175
 brakkers, 31
 Bucharest Appeal (1966), 145–146
 See also Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)
 Budapest Summit (CSCE), 169, 176
 Bulgaria, in CSCE, 163

 Canada
 in CSCE, 150
 participation in Helsinki Final Act, 146
 carbon tetrachloride reduction, 200, 202, 209
 Carter administration, on human rights, 157
 CFCs. *See* chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs)
 Charter for European Security, 179
 Charter of Fundamental Rights (EU), 230, 254
 Charter of Paris (CSCE), 152, 165–166, 166–167
 See also Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)
 chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), 190–193, 194, 196, 199, 200–201, 202, 204, 209, 210, 215, 218, 274
 civil society, as party to regime building, 122
 Climate Change Convention, 273

 coalition, 34–35
 issue coalitions, 35
 coalition-forming strategies, in CSCE, 150–151
 Cold War, effect of on CSCE, 164–165, 273
 Commission on Human Rights (UN), 236, 251
 Committee against Torture, 239–240, 243, 259
 effectiveness of, 245
 functions, 243–244
 implementation, 245–246
 lack of enforceable mandate, 245
 NGOs' involvement in, 245, 246
 overlap with Special Rapporteur, 246–247, 248–249
 reports to, 244
 compliance, 7, 18
 adjustment and, 14, 27–28, 121, 135–136
 in CSCE, 159
 emphasis on, 91
 in Montreal Protocol, 206
 as situational response, 41
 concessions, substantive, 35
 conductors, 31–32
 Conference on Disarmament in Europe (1984–86), 154
 Conference on Environment and Development (UN), 286
 Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE), 144
 in Balkans, 175
 Belgrade meeting (1994), 152, 154, 156–159
 Budapest Summit, 169, 176

- Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE) (*cont.*)
Charter of Paris, 152, 165–166, 166–167
decision-making process, 150–152
 accountability, 159
 coalitions formed, 150–152
 compliance, 159
 increased NGO participation, 159
 right to examine record of implementation, 158
 use of expert meetings, 159
East-West conflict, 145–147, 148–149, 155–156, 157, 158, 159–160, 279
evolution of, 273
exogenous factors and regime change, 164–171
 actions on gross violations, 167–168
Charter for European Security, 170–171
Code of Conduct, 169
Cold War, 164–165, 273
Conflict Prevention Center, 166
“consensus-minus-two,” 168
decision-making structure, 167
Economic Forum, 169
Office of the Commissioner on National Minorities, 169–170, 172
Office on Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 168
Office on Free Elections, 168
Platform for Cooperative Security, 171, 179
power differentials, 165–166
REACT, 170
Security Forum, 168–169
Helsinki Final Act as framework for, 147–150
 “baskets” concept, 147–148
 security balanced against human rights, 147
Helsinki meeting (1992), 152, 167
human rights negotiations, 148–149, 154–155, 157, 160–161, 163, 179
institutionalization, 156–160
interinstitutional competition, 175–178
 collaboration on democratization, 177–178
 cooperation mechanisms, 176–177
Istanbul Charter (1999), 152, 170–171, 174
lack of monitoring or compliance, 153
learning in, 160–164
Lisbon meeting (1996), 152, 176
Madrid conference, 152, 154, 159–160
N+N nations in, 151, 158, 160, 276
Permanent Council, 167, 171
postagreement regime evolution, 152–156
 adjustment negotiations, 279
 confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) in, 154

- Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE) (*cont.*)
 postagreement regime evolution
 Moscow Mechanism, 154–155
 on-site military inspection provisions, 154, 162–163
 rapporteurs, 154–155
 support groups, 274
 preventive diplomacy to consolidating democracy, 171–175
 Charter for European Security, 179
 conflict early warning and prevention, 172
 “consensus-minus-one,” 173
 democratization, 173, 174–175, 177–178, 179
 engagement of states threatening peace and security, 173–174
 Kosovo Verification Mission, 172–173
 missions of long duration, 172–173, 173–174
 Sofia meeting, 163
 Vienna conference, 152, 154–155, 162–163
See also Helsinki Final Act (1975)
 confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs), in CSCE, 149–150, 154, 157, 166
 conflict, management of by CSCE, 172–175
 Conflict Prevention Center (CSCE), 166
 consensual knowledge, in regime building, 98, 104–105, 124–125, 128, 137
 consensuation, 34, 36–37
 consensus, normative, 257
 consensus-building strategies, in CSCE, 150
 “consensus-minus-one,” 173
 “consensus-minus-two,” 168
 continuity, in regime formation, 92–93
 Convention against Torture, and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), 237–241
 Article 19, 240
 Article 20, 239–240
 confrontation and consensus, 241
 drafting, 237–238
 formation of Committee against Torture, 239–240
 implementation provisions, 239
 process and content interventions, 241–242
 as standard-setting instrument, 237
 system of universal jurisdiction, 238–239
 Convention for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea against Pollution (1976), 118
 cooperation
 CSCE mechanisms for, 176–177
 in regimes against torture, 249
 Copenhagen Amendment (Montreal Protocol), 209, 211–212, 213, 216
 corporate directorate, as endpoint, 289

- corruption, international battle
 against, 286–287
- Costa Rica Protocol, 251
- Council of Europe
 CSCE and, 163, 175, 176–177
 human rights and, 256
 regime against torture, 252,
 253–256, 257–261
 Convention on Human
 Rights (ECHR), 253–254
 encasement of regimes in,
 281
 European Committee for the
 Prevention of Torture and
 Inhumane or Degrading
 Treatment or Punishment
 (CPT), 254, 255–256
 European Convention for
 the Prevention of Torture
 (ECPT), 233, 253, 254–
 256
 “preventive visits,” 254, 255,
 260
 Western reactions to
 enforcement, 260
- Cousteau, Jacques, 117
- Covenant on Civil and Political
 Rights (UN), 243
- crisis management missions
 (CSCE), 172
- cybernetic learning loops
 in anti-torture regimes, 234–
 235, 257
 in CSCE, 161–162
 in regime operation, 28–29,
 126, 136, 274
- Czechoslovakia, invasion of by
 Soviet Union, 146
- Danish Medical Association, 259
- Decalogue of Principles (Helsinki
 Final Act), 148
 Principle VI (nonintervention
 in internal affairs), 148, 149
 Principle VII (human rights and
 international cooperation),
 148, 149, 155, 160–161, 163
 Principle X (good-faith fulfill-
 ment of obligations), 148
 Principle IX (cooperation
 among states), 155
- Declaration on the Protection of
 All Persons from Being Sub-
 jected to Torture . . . , 236
- defenders, 31
- democracy, as endpoint, 291
- democratization, CSCE and, 173,
 174–175, 177–178, 179
- derailers, 31
- détente, 157
- developing countries, involved in
 Montreal Protocol, 198, 202–
 205, 213–214, 215, 219, 221
- Dipoli Consultations, 146, 151,
 178
See also Conference on Security
 and Cooperation in Europe
 (CSCE); Helsinki Final Act
 (1975)
- “disappearances,” 261
- doctrine internalization, 107
- domestic governance
 in CSCE, 161–162
 domestic acceptance of regime
 principles, 126, 136
 in Montreal Protocol, 194–195,
 209–210, 220, 280
 negotiation processes, 65,
 129–131
 norms in, 28–29

- domestic governance (*cont.*)
 in postagreement negotiation,
 57, 62, 63, 65, 103, 121, 280
 in regime evolution, 28–29, 41
 stakeholders' involvement in,
 284–285
 unilateral action in, 281
 domestic ratification negotiation, 72
 Dowdeswell, Elizabeth, 212, 220
 Draft Optional Protocol to CAT
 (UN), 257, 260–261
 drivers, 31–32
 Dumping Protocol, 120, 131, 132,
 134
 dynamic stability
 evaluation and, 40–42
See also stability
- Earth Council, 286
 East-West conflict, reflected in
 CSCE, 145–147, 148–149,
 155–156, 157, 158, 159–
 160, 279
 Economic and Social Council
 (ECOSOC), 235–236
 education, in regime building,
 106–107
 Egypt, in MAP, 129–131
 Emergency Protocol, 120, 131,
 132, 134
 encasement, in regime processes,
 280–283
 enforcement, lack of procedures
 for, 121–122
 enforcement, monitoring, and re-
 porting negotiations, 62–63,
 63, 65
 environmental regimes
 anatomy of, 93–98
 instability and, 33
- epistemic communities, 125, 257–
 258
 as endpoint, 289–290
 equilibrium, multiple, 38
 Europe, evolution of as regime, 273
 European Committee for the
 Prevention of Torture and
 Inhumane or Degrading
 Treatment or Punishment
 (CPT), 254, 255
 NGO contacts, 255–256
 “preventive visits,” 254, 255
 reports, 255
 use of experts, 255
 European Community (EC), 134,
 273
 in CSCE, 150–151, 171
 human rights attitude, 150–151
 as part of ozone depletion re-
 gime (Montreal Protocol),
 191–192, 200–201
 U.S. relations, 158
See also European Union
 European Convention for the
 Prevention of Torture, 233,
 253, 254–256
 European Convention on Human
 Rights (1950), 230, 253–254
 European Parliament, 177
 European Security Conference
 (ESC), 145–146
See also Conference on/Orga-
 nization for Security and
 Cooperation in Europe
 (C/OSCE)
 European Union, 273
 Charter of Fundamental Rights,
 230, 254
 CSCE and, 175–176
See also European Community

- exchanges, substantive, 35
 exit (withdrawal), as situational response, 41
 exogenous factors, in regime operations, 29–30, 132–133, 273
 in CSCE, 164–171
 in Mediterranean Action Plan, 132–133
 in Montreal Protocol, 193
 in regimes against torture, 258
 expansion negotiation, 60–61
 expert involvement
 in CSCE, 159
 in Montreal Protocol, 208
 regime evolution and, 277–278, 281
 in regimes against torture, 241, 242, 255, 257–258

 face-saving interventions, 160
 FAO. *See* Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
 Finland
 involvement in creation of CSCE, 146
 as N+N nation in CSCE, 151
 Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 117, 126, 138
 France
 in CSCE, 166
 in EC, 158
 involvement in ozone depletion regime (Montreal Protocol), 191
 involvement in MAP, 127–128, 133–134
 free trade, 95–96

 GATT/WTO regime, 95–96
 Gautier, Jean-Jacques, 251

 Geneva Conventions (1950), 230
 Georgia, in CSCE, 162
 Germany, in CSCE, 166
 Giscard d'Estaing, Valery, 158
 glasnost, 155–156
 Global Environment Facility (GEF), 213–214
 global public policy network (GPPN), 285–287
 global regime formation negotiation, 75
 global regime ratification negotiation, 74
 global warming, 217
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, use of CSCE by, 155–156, 162–163, 164
 governance, 17
 effect of postagreement negotiation on, 81–82
 exchange of resources as absolute, 278
 expert groups and, 277–278
 in Montreal Protocol, 212–220, 222–223
 nonstate involvement in, 280
 regime governance negotiation, 63, 63, 66, 72–73, 77, 122–123, 161–162, 205–208, 223–224, 243, 277, 280, 283, 288
 See also domestic governance; international governance
 Great Britain, in CSCE, 166
 Greece, involvement in MAP, 134

 Hague Peace Conference (1899), 230
 halons, 194, 196, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 209, 213, 214, 218

- Hazardous Waste Protocol, 120, 133
- hegemon, role of in regime formation, 7
- Helsinki Declaration on the Protection of the Ozone Layer, 196–197, 221
- Helsinki Final Act (1975), 144, 146–147, 157, 161–162, 178
- Basket I (Decalogue of Principles), 148, 149, 155, 160–161
- Basket II (cooperation on economic, scientific, environmental issues), 148
- Basket III (human rights and humanitarian issues), 148, 149, 164
- Basket IV (follow-up to CSCE), 148
- distribution of in Eastern bloc, 162
- as foundation for repeated set of regime-building exercises, 152–154
- as framework agreement, 147–150
- multilateral approaches to CSBMs, 149–150
- Public Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreement in the USSR, 162
- ratification bargaining on, 162
- stakeholders in, 162
- See also* Conference on/Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)
- High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN), 257, 262
- High Commissioner on National Minorities (CSCE), 169–170, 172, 173
- Holbrooke, Richard, 172
- Homan's maxim, 34
- human rights
- Carter administration on, 157
 - Council of Europe and, 256
 - in CSCE regime, 148–149, 154–155, 157, 160–161, 163, 179
 - EC attitude toward, 150–151
 - normative consensus in regimes concerning, 257
 - protection from torture, 231
 - See also* Council of Europe; torture; United Nations regime negotiations for, 249–250
 - in UN, 235–236, 243, 251, 254, 257
- Human Rights Committee (UN), 243
- Hungary, in CSCE, 149, 163
- hydrochlorofluorocarbons (HCFCs), 199, 200, 201, 202, 209, 210, 215, 218
- idealists, on regime formation and operation, 257
- ignorance, veil of, 37
- implementation negotiation, 60, 245–246
- individual citizens, involvement of in regime processes, 126
- instability
- in environmental regimes, 33
 - See also* stability
- institutionalized treatment of problems, strategies for, 276
- integrated planning, 127–128

- Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 97–98
- Interdisciplinary Research Program on Root Causes of Human Rights Violations, 232–233
- interests
 definition of, 31
 power and, 30–31
- Interim Multilateral Ozone Fund (Montreal Protocol), 206–207
- interinstitutional competition, 175–178
- International Commission of Jurists, 251, 252
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976), 230
- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), 230, 233
- International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), 230, 233
- International Environmental Negotiation Network, 286
- international governance, 28–29
 in CSCE, 161–162
 stakeholders' involvement in, 284–285
- International Helsinki Association (later Federation), 164
- international issue-area institution, as endpoint, 290–291
- international regimes, 90
 analysis assumptions, 20–25
 disorderly outcomes, 22–25
 form and evolution, 24–25, 272
 formal cooperation initiated when interests need coordination, 21
 momentary processes of regime building have own interactional dynamics, 22
 party interests in opposition, 21–22, 257
 regime building intended to establish regulations, norms, expectations, 21, 197
 regimes as problem-solving efforts, 20–21
 as behaviors, 18
 benefits of regime building, 283
 compliance and, 7, 14, 18, 27–28, 41, 91, 121, 135–136, 159, 206
 continuity in, 92–93
 definition of, 4, 14, 19, 90
 1983 version, 17
 Proposition 1 (as recursive two-dimensional negotiations), 14, 18, 29
 Proposition 2 (governing behavior of parties), 14, 19–20, 27
 Proposition 3 (adjustment rather than compliance of parties), 14, 27–28, 121, 135–136
 Proposition 4 (motor role of disparities among parties), 15, 31, 121
 Proposition 5 (absolute costs under uncertainty), 15, 37–39
 Proposition 6 (stability formula), 15, 40
 dynamics of in postagreement negotiation framework, 62, 63, 65, 66

- international regimes (*cont.*)
- endpoints
 - corporate directorate, 289
 - epistemic communities, 289–290
 - international issue-area institution, 290–291
 - market-directed, 289
 - regime network, 290
 - “soap box” moral authority, 290
 - state coordination, 288–289
 - subnational coordination, 289
 - transnational regulatory authority, 291
 - UN agency, 290
 - world democracy, 291
 - evaluation of, 40–42
 - evolution of, 4–5, 9, 14, 25–33, 81–82, 277–278
 - adjustment of basic formula and implementing details, 27–28, 274–275
 - cybernetic learning loops, 28–29, 126, 136, 161–162, 234–235, 257, 274
 - dynamic stability, 31–32, 272–273
 - encasement and, 280–283
 - exogenous factors, 29–30, 132–133, 164–171, 193, 258, 273
 - formula for, 33
 - parties’ roles, 31–32
 - return to multilateral negotiations, 30–31
 - system maintenance, 26–27
 - formation of as pluri-sequential, 92
 - global, 79–80, 261
 - global public policy network (GPPN) in, 285–287
 - goal achievement, 5–6
 - governance and, 17, 81–82
 - as instruments of international cooperation, 19
 - in international relations, 16–20
 - interrelationship between rules, norms, principles, and procedures, 94
 - judging success of, 15–16
 - life cycles, 54–62
 - as living things, 16, 17
 - negotiation theory and, 4–5
 - norms that underwrite negotiation of rules, 28–29
 - operation of, 98–99, 99
 - track 1 (importance of rules), 99–100
 - track 2 (support of norms, principles, and procedures), 99–100
 - tracks 3 and 4 (bypassing the rules), 99–100
 - power in, 30–31
 - procedures in operation of, 94
 - regional, 79, 80, 261
 - regionalization in, 281–282
 - resiliency of, 42
 - revision of, 90–91
 - role of dominant state in formation of, 7
 - stability of, 6–7
 - absolute costs, 38
 - coalition, 34–35
 - consensuation, 34, 36–37
 - from encasement, 280–283

- international regimes (*cont.*)
- stability of
 - formula for agreement on resolution of problem, 33–34, 39–40
 - norms, 39
 - obstacles, 33–40
 - from process, 273–275
 - from stages of negotiation, 275–279
 - from stakeholders, 283–287
 - uncertainty and, 34, 37–38
 - from vision of outcomes, 287–292
 - state behavior and, 7, 19–20, 257
 - strategies for institutionalized treatment, 276
 - sustainability of, 4
 - transnational stakeholders network (TSN) in, 285–287
 - “watercourse” form of, 18, 25, 38–40
 - See also* compliance; negotiation
- International Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims, 259
- international relations, regimes in, 16–20
- Interparliamentary Union, 146, 163–164
- IPCC. *See* Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)
- issue coalitions, 35
- Istanbul Protocol (UN), 250
- Istanbul Charter for European Security (CSCE), 152, 170–171, 174
- Italy
 - in CSCE, 152
 - in MAP, 133–134
 - in ozone depletion regime (Montreal Protocol), 191
- Japan, in ozone depletion regime, 191, 195, 201
- Jeftic, Ljubomir, 139
- Kosovo, CSCE in, 175
- Kosovo Verification Mission, 172–173
- Kyoto Protocol, 273, 275
- Land-Based Sources Protocol (1980), 118, 120, 121, 127, 128, 132, 133–134
- leadership, entrepreneurial and intellectual, 258–259
- learning loops. *See* cybernetic learning loops
- leavers, 31
- Lisbon Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model . . . , 176
- Lithuania, in CSCE, 162
- London Amendments (Montreal Protocol), 201–202, 212, 213, 216
- loyalty (compliance), as situational response, 41
- Malta, in CSCE, 151, 152
- Manos, Aldo, 139
- MAP. *See* Mediterranean Action Plan (MAP)
- market mechanism, as endpoint, 289
- Mediterranean Action Plan (MAP), 116, 136–140, 274
- Blue Plan, 127

- Mediterranean Action Plan
(MAP) (*cont.*)
- driving factors
 - consensual knowledge,
norms, principles, 124–
128, 137
 - domestic and international
negotiations, 123–
124
 - domestic negotiations and
change, 129–131
 - international postagreement
negotiations, 131–
136
 - Dumping Protocol, 120, 131,
132
 - Emergency Protocol, 120, 131,
132
 - evolution of through negotia-
tion, 272–273
 - exogenous factors, 132–133
 - Hazardous Waste Protocol,
120, 133
 - integrated planning in, 127–128
 - lack of enforcement procedures,
121–122
 - Land-Based Sources Protocol,
118, 120, 121, 127, 128,
132, 133
 - legal components, 120
 - legal framework, 119
 - MEDPOL, 122
 - multilevel interaction in, 280–
281
 - Ordinary Meetings, 122
 - problem definition and solving
as early focus, 117–118, 125,
134, 137–138
 - Protected Areas and Biodiver-
sity Protocol, 134
 - protocol development, 134–135
 - regime building and adjustment
negotiations, 116–117
 - evolving approach, 117–122,
138
 - structure and participants,
122–123
 - regime overlap effects, 133
 - regional activity centers
(RACs), 122, 123
 - UNEP-MAP Coordinating
Unit, 122
- Mediterranean Commission on
Sustainable Development,
122, 133
- Mediterranean Pollution Monitor-
ing and Research Programme
(MEDPOL), 122
- methyl bromide freeze and phase-
out, 215, 216–217, 218
- methyl chloroform, 202, 209,
210–211
- Milosevic, Slobodan, 172
- Molina, Mario, 190
- monitoring, reporting, and en-
forcement negotiation, 56,
62–63, 63, 234
- Montreal Protocol on Substances
That Deplete the Ozone
Layer (1987), 188–189
- “additionality” principle,
203–204
- Beijing Declaration, 218
- Copenhagen Amendment, 209,
211–212
- countries with economies in
transition, 223
- developing countries in, 198,
202–205, 213–214, 215,
219, 221

- Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer (1987) (*cont.*)
 domestic involvement, 209–210
 dynamic stability in, 275–276
 expert groups, 208, 279
 Financial Mechanism, 208
 funding, 203–204
 Helsinki Declaration on the Protection of the Ozone Layer, 196–197
 history of initial agreement, 189–193
 Implementation Committee, 206
 London Amendments, 201–202
 Meeting of Parties (MOP)
 Bangkok meeting (fifth MOP), 212–215
 Burkina Faso meeting (twelfth MOP), 218
 Cairo meeting (tenth MOP), 217–218
 Costa Rica meeting (eighth MOP), 216
 Nairobi conference (third MOP), 205–206
 Nairobi meeting (sixth MOP), 214–215
 Rome meeting (fourteenth MOP), 218–219
 Sri Lanka meeting (thirteenth MOP), 218
 Vienna meeting (seventh MOP), 215
 Montreal Amendment and Adjustments, 216–217
 Multilateral Fund, 206–207, 213, 214, 216, 218–219, 223
 noncompliance, 206, 222
 North-South focus, 219, 276
 Open-Ended Working Group, 199–200, 209
 reporting, 206, 222
 scientific, technological, and economic assessment, 220
 Scientific Assessment Panel, 209
 strengthening controls, 198–202
 Synthesis Report, 198–199
 Technical and Economic Advisory Panel, 215
 technology transfer, 203, 204–205
 UNEP director, 195–196
 Working Group of Legal Experts, 206, 207
 moral authority, as endpoint, 290
 Moscow Mechanism, 154–155
 motor role, in moving regime negotiations, 15, 31, 121
 mutual balanced force reduction talks (MBFR), 146
 National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), 193–194
 national minorities, CSCE work with, 169–170
 National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 193–194
 national sovereignty, in post-agreement negotiation, 59, 282–283
 NATO
 CSCE and, 166, 171, 175
 EC and, 158
 mutual balanced force reduction talks (MBFR), 146

- negotiation, 53–54, 188
 analysis of, 61–62
 as choice between acceptance, rejection, or improvement, 41
 coalition and, 34–35
 consensuation and, 34, 36–37
 cooperative versus conflictual, 256
 deconstruction of process, 62–66
 monitoring, reporting, and enforcement negotiation, 62–63, 63, 65, 261
 ratification negotiation, 62, 63, 65
 regime adjustment negotiation, 63, 64, 66, 197–198, 208–212, 274–275, 278
 regime formation negotiation, 63, 63, 66, 189–193, 242, 275
 regime governance negotiation, 63, 63, 66, 72–73, 77, 122–123, 161–162, 205–208, 223–224, 243, 277, 280, 283, 288
 rule-making negotiation, 62, 63, 65
 effectiveness of, 61–62
 expansion, 60–61
 “getting it done” activities as, 6, 18, 25–26, 30–31
 implementation, 60
 multilateral, 258
 postagreement, 91, 188, 258, 272
 analysis, 67
 differences across processes, 68–69, 72–74
 differences across processes with regime types, 70–71, 74–76
 compared to preagreement, 54–60
 continuities as basis, 56–57
 in CSCE, 152–156
 domestic processes, 65, 129–131, 136, 188–189, 284–285
 in environmental regime (MAP), 123–136
 evolution and transition as characteristics, 58–60, 258
 “getting it done” as focus, 55–56, 278
 international processes, 66, 131–136, 189, 284–285
 in Montreal Protocol, 220
 multilevel or multitheater complexity of, 57–58
 in regimes against torture, 242, 248
 sovereignty and, 260, 282–283
 support of norms, principles and procedures to rule implementation, 100–105
 propositions for, 76–80
 recursive, 14, 18, 29, 41, 156, 258, 287
 regime evaluation and, 40–41
 regime lifecycles and, 54–62
 in regime re-creation process, 16
 regime stability and, 6–7, 14, 15, 33–40
 in regimes against torture, 234

- negotiation (*cont.*)
- postagreement
 - stable expansion path, 82, 83
 - stable implementation path, 82, 82
 - stakeholders' importance in, 284–285
 - theory of, 4–5
 - third-party mediators, 276–277
 - unstable expansion path, 82, 83
 - unstable implementation path, 82, 82
 - “watercourse” regime form and, 18, 26, 38–40
 - neoclassic free trade theory, 96
 - neoliberalism, regime analysis and, 19
 - neorealism, regime analysis and, 19, 100
 - neutral and nonaligned (N+N) states, in CSCE, 151, 158, 160, 276
 - Nixon administration, CSCE viewed by, 150–151, 157
 - nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
 - in CSCE, 159
 - in ozone depletion regime, 276, 279
 - as party to regime building, 122, 126, 138
 - in regimes against torture, 235, 241, 242, 245, 246, 251–252, 255–256, 257–258, 281
 - as stakeholders, 285
 - norms, 28–39
 - changes in, 96
 - compared to rules, 95
 - norm-building activities, 96
 - protocols as examples of enforcement, 250–251
 - in regime building, 39, 124
 - in regime operation, 94, 246
 - rule bypass and, 105–107
 - stability of in regimes against torture, 256–257
 - in support of rule implementation, 100–105
 - North Atlantic Assembly, 163
 - nuclear arms race, 146
 - Office of the Commissioner on National Minorities (CSCE), 169–170
 - Office on Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (CSCE), 168
 - Office on Free Elections (CSCE), 168
 - on-site military inspection provisions, in CSCE, 154, 162–163
 - Open-Ended Working Group (Montreal Protocol), 199–200, 221, 222
 - Ordinary Meetings of the Contracting Parties to the Barcelona Convention, 122
 - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 275–276, 287
 - Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). *See* Conference on/ Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (C/OSCE)
 - Orlov, Yuri, 162

- ozone, 189
- ozone layer, 189–190
See also Montreal Protocol on
 Substances That Deplete the
 Ozone Layer
- Ozone Trends Panel report, 194
- parties. *See* actors
- perestroika, 155–156
- Permanent Council (CSCE), 167,
 171
- Platform for Cooperative Security
 (CSCE), 171
- Poland, in CSCE, 162
- political decision makers, involve-
 ment of in regime operation,
 125–126, 127–128
- polluter-pays principle, 133
- postagreement negotiation. *See*
 negotiation
- postconflict missions (CSCE), 172
- power
- asymmetries in regimes against
 torture, 242, 257
 - disparities in CSCE, 149, 165–
 166
 - interests and, 30–31
 - in regimes, 30–31
- preagreement negotiation. *See*
 negotiation
- precautionary approach to pollu-
 tion, 133
- precedent, impact of on negotia-
 tion, 80–81
- principles
- changes in, 96
 - compared to rules, 95
 - formation of, 98
 - in regime building, 124
 - in regime operation, 94
 - rule bypass and, 105–107
 - in support of rule implementa-
 tion, 100–105
- Prisoner's Dilemma, 38
- prisoners of war, humane treat-
 ment of, 230
- procedures
- changes in, 96
 - compared to rules, 95
 - in regime operation, 94
 - in regimes against torture,
 256–257
 - in support of rule implementa-
 tion, 100–105
- Protected Areas and Biodiversity
 Protocol, 134
- protocols, as norm enforcement,
 250–251
- Racial Discrimination Convention,
 261
- rapid expert assistance and cooper-
 ation teams (REACT), 170,
 171, 176
- rappoteurs, 154–155, 173
- ratification negotiation, 62, 63, 65,
 76, 78–79
- realism, 100
- Red Cross, International Commit-
 tee, 251
- regime adjustment negotiation, 63,
 64, 66, 73, 76
- in MAP, 116–117, 122–123,
 131–133
 - in Montreal Protocol, 197–198,
 223–224
- regime-building negotiations, in
 MAP, 116–117
- regime formation negotiation, 63,
 63, 66, 72, 76, 79

- regime governance negotiation, 63,
63, 66, 72–73, 77, 243, 277,
280, 283, 288
in CSCE, 161–162
in MAP, 122–123
in Montreal Protocol, 24, 205–
208, 213, 216, 218–219,
223–224
- regime network, as endpoint, 290
- regime overlaps, effect of, 133–134,
137
- regional activity centers (RACs),
122, 123
- regional regime formation negoti-
ation, 75
- regional regime ratification nego-
tiation, 74–75
- regional regimes, within global
efforts, 280–283
- regionalization, in international
regimes, 281–282
- resiliency, of regimes, 42
- riders (as parties to regimes), 31
- Romania, in CSCE, 149
- Rowland, Sherwood, 190
- rule-making negotiation, 62, 63, 65
- rules
changes in, 96
as core element of a regime, 93–
94, 94–95
emphasis on compliance, 91
impact of in signatory states,
99–100
norms underwriting negotiation
of, 28–29
in regimes against torture,
256–257
- Russia
in CSCE, 170–171, 174
See also Soviet Union
- Schuman Plan (ECSC), 273
- scientific community, as party to
regime process, 122–123,
125–126, 127–128, 193–
194, 220, 242, 273–274, 279
- security-building measures, in
CSCE, 149–150
- Security Forum (CSCE), 168–169
- Shevardnadze, Eduard, 163
- simplification, stability and, 34
- situational factors, in regime nego-
tiations, 77–78
- “soap box” moral authority, as end-
point, 290
- soft security, 144
- South Africa, Truth and Reconcil-
iation Commission, 230
- sovereignty
fear of relinquishing, 282–283
importance of in regimes against
torture, 257, 260
- Soviet Union
atrocities committed under
Stalin, 256–257
attitude toward détente, 157
in CSCE, 145–146, 148, 151,
155–156, 162–163, 166
invasion of Czechoslovakia, 146
involvement in regimes against
torture, 239
in ozone depletion regime
(Montreal Protocol), 191
See also Russia
- Spain, in CSCE, 152
- Special Rapporteur against Torture,
246, 247–250, 258, 259,
276–277
- stability, regime, 6–7, 14, 15, 33–40
dynamic stability and evaluation,
40–42

- stability, regime (*cont.*)
 from encasement, 280–283
 from endpoint view, 287–288, 291–292
 obstacles to, 33–40
 from the regime-building process, 273–275
 simplification and, 34
 from stages of negotiation, 275–279
 from stakeholders, 283–287
See also instability
- stable expansion path, 82, 83
 stable implementation path, 82, 82
- stakeholders, regime stability supported by, 283–287
- state behavior, impact of on international regimes, 7, 19–20
- state coordination, as endpoint, 288–289
- Stockholm Conference, 154
- structuring, stability and, 34
- subnational coordination, as endpoint, 289
- substantive exchanges, 35
- sustainable development, 122, 133, 286
- Sweden, in CSCE, 151
- Swiss Committee against Torture (SWAT), 251–252
- Switzerland, in CSCE, 151
- system maintenance, 26–27
- technology transfer, in Montreal Protocol, 203, 204–205
- third-party mediators, importance of, 276–277
- Tokyo Declaration, 259
- Tolba, Mostafa, 130, 138, 140, 192, 195, 196, 200, 201, 203, 219–220, 222, 276
- Töpfer, Klaus, 220
- torture
 concept of, 231
 containment and prevention of, 231–232, 234, 252–253
 “disappearances” and, 261
 modes of, 232–233
 objective of, 232
 proscription of, 230
 regimes against, 234–235, 256–262, 272, 274, 281
See also Council of Europe; United Nations
 use of as systematic means of oppression, 230
- Torture Victim Protection Act, 262
- trade-offs, 35–36
- transnational regulatory authority, as endpoint, 291
- transnational stakeholders network (TSN), 285–287
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa), 230
- Tunisia, in MAP, 127
- Ukraine, in CSCE, 162
- UN agency, as endpoint, 290
- UNCED. *See* United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED)
- uncertainty
 stability and, 34, 37–38
 versus absolute costs, 15
- UNEP. *See* United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP)

- UNEP-MAP Coordinating Unit, 122
- United Nations
- Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), 97–98, 106, 119
 - Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 243
 - Development Programme (UNDP), funding of Montreal Protocol, 203
 - Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), 235–236
 - Environmental Programme (UNEP), 116, 117, 126, 137, 138, 279
 - Framework Convention on Climate Change, 217
 - High Commissioner for Human Rights, 257, 262
 - Human Rights Committee, 243
 - regime against torture, 235, 238, 256–261
 - adjustment and expansion of, 250–253
 - budget issues, 260–261
 - Committee against Torture, 239–240, 243–246, 248–249, 257, 260–261
 - Convention against Torture, and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), 231, 237–241, 243, 250–253, 257
 - Costa Rica Protocol, 251
 - Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture . . . , 236
 - enforcing the regimes, 243–247
 - international regulation of CFCs, 190, 195–196, 203, 219, 220
 - intellectual and entrepreneurial leadership in, 258–259
 - Istanbul Protocol, 250
 - links between issue areas, 259–260
 - negotiating the regimes, 236–243
 - NGOs and, 235, 241, 242
 - Special Rapporteur against Torture, 246, 247–250, 258, 259, 276–277
 - Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture (1981), 235, 236
 - Universal Declaration on Human Rights, 235–236, 254
 - World Conference on Human Rights (1993), 257
- United States
- attitude toward détente, 157
 - CSCE and, 150, 166
 - NASA, 193–194
 - as part of ozone depletion regime (Montreal Protocol), 191–192, 195, 201, 203–204, 210–211
 - in post–World War II Europe, 145–146
 - Torture Victim Protection Act, 262
- U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 164
- Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UN), 235–236, 254

- unstable expansion path, 82, 83
unstable implementation path,
82, 82
USSR. *See* Soviet Union
- van der Stoel, Max, 169
veil of ignorance, 37
Vienna Concluding Document,
155
Vienna Convention for the Pro-
tection of the Ozone Layer
(1985), 188, 191, 214, 215,
216
See also Montreal Protocol
(1987)
Vienna Mechanism, 154–155
voice, as situational response, 41
- Warsaw Pact states, as coalition in
CSCE, 151, 166
watercourse metaphor, for regime
operation, 18, 138–140
Watson, Robert, 194
- WCSD. *See* World Conference on
Sustainable Development
(WCSD)
World Bank, funding of Montreal
Protocol, 203
World Conference on Human
Rights (1993), 257, 262
World Conference on Sustainable
Development (WCSD), 106
world democracy, as endpoint, 291
World Medical Association, 259
World Plan of Action on the
Ozone Layer, 190
World Wide Fund for Nature
(WWF), 122
- “Yellow Book,” 158
Yugoslavia
in CSCE, 151, 152
intervention in, 166, 167–168,
172–173
- Zhivkov, Todor, 163