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Kurt R. Spillmann: Understanding Human Conflict Behavior

Kurt R. Spillmann, Managing Director of the Center for International Studies (CIS) for many years, retired in September 2002. Professor Spillmann gave his farewell address on 3 July at ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology). Throughout his extensive academic career, he has focused on the human being as agent. His work and research includes issues relating to the history and foreign policy of the United States and basic research on the interconnections between the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences with regard to human conflict and cooperative behavior. Conflict and Cooperation: The Individual Between Ideal and Reality, a Festschrift written as a tribute to Professor Spillmann and in honor of his career and considerable influence as a teacher, reflects his transdisciplinary approach to research on the causes of war.

In 1986 Kurt R. Spillmann was awarded the Chair of Security Studies and Conflict Research at ETH Zurich. In the same year, he founded the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research (FSK), and in 1997 he founded the Center for International Studies (CIS) Zurich. He was also professor of modern history at the University of Zurich. Professor Spillmann's particular research interests are the psychological and societal roots of war and peace and the interdisciplinary links between ecology and political conflicts (specifically, resource conflicts over water). He has also undertaken extensive research into why Switzerland has taken so long to shift its security policy away from its traditional approach of maintaining autonomy towards an approach based



Former Swiss Federal Councilor Adolf Ogi, Prof Kurt R. Spillmann and former federal commissioner for the East German Stasi files Joachim Gauck at Prof Spillmann's farewell address in July 2002 (from left).

on cooperation. As a member of several government commissions, he has made a significant contribution to the modernization of Swiss security policy. In cooperation with the Swiss Military College (now Swiss Military Academy MILAK at ETH Zurich), he helped to reform the education and training programs of professional officers. These achievements, as well as Professor Spillmann's commitment to building up new institutions such as the FSK and CIS, have been based on his conviction that the scientific community must be actively involved in Switzerland's transition towards a policy of participation in multilateral structures.

In retirement Professor Spillmann is still called upon as an expert by the media, and his farewell address on 3 July reflected the public's recognition of his work. Among those attending were former Swiss Federal

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Councilor Adolf Ogi, Defense Minister Samuel Schmid, former Federal Commissioner for the East German Stasi files Joachim Gauck, numerous members of parliament of Switzerland, and high-ranking officers of the Swiss armed forces. Also present were colleagues, media representatives, former students, and many others, and the audience filled not only the ETH's largest lecture theater, the auditorium maximum, but also a second lecture theater in which a video transmission of the address was played.

In his farewell address, Professor Spillmann explained how his work had led him to investigate issues that, while of vital importance to each and every one of us, have remained unaffected by scientific findings, as evidenced by the relentless continuation of war and organized violent conflict. At the beginning of the 21st century, with peace being perceived as constantly under threat, we still do not know how to stop human beings from repeatedly harming one another in ever-new outbreaks of organized violence. Professor Spillmann showed how he had increasingly taken an



Prof. Andreas Wenger presents the Festschrift "Conflict and Cooperation: The Individual Between Ideal and Reality" to Prof. Kurt R. Spillmann

interdisciplinary approach to investigating what keeps driving humans to war and why humans are unable to overcome group antagonism and enemy images. As he noted in his address, analyses of the issues surrounding war and peace have suffered from the fact that the human agent has remained a black box. However, new discoveries in depth psychology, developmental psychology, evolutionary biology, neurobiology, and other disciplines have opened up previously unavailable means of investigating the basic behavior patterns of humans and the effects of those patterns on our conflict behavior. Moreover, Professor Spillmann stressed that the entire history of the evolution of human behavior needs to be examined, as basic social behavior patterns in humans are millions of years old, and the basic patterns of our conflict behavior today developed over millennia.

However, Professor Spillmann argued, a researcher investigating human behavior faces one key epistemological problem: The human being as researching subject must take the human being as research object. Further, the human brain has no recourse to a reliable set of criteria by which it might test the "reality of reality" – apperception, illusions, and imagination flow into each other. Regarding all non-measurable cognitive processes – and all central issues relating to war and peace belong to this category – there are no absolute, intersubjectively verifiable truths. Inter-human social and political reality can therefore not be measured objectively. Rather, the key criterion is confirmation by society. In other words, the majority determines what constitutes reality.

In practical terms, Professor Spillmann argued, this means that if one group agrees on its feelings of hostility towards another group, then the first group's actions, even of the most serious kind, appear legitimate. This phenomenon of "conscienceless group morals" is one of the biggest obstacles to achieving morally binding value systems for all nations and ethnic groups. The belief

of one group in an "absolute" truth can inhibit a pragmatic compromise and can lead to confrontation and war. It is therefore not surprising that a definition of reality that is binding for both parties to a conflict is practically impossible to achieve, given the political realities and notions of justice and injustice in the lead-up to and in the context of a conflict. Concluding his address, Professor Spillmann called for the use of the resources provided by evolutionary biology, anthropology, psychology, and modern brain research in an integrated approach to gaining a deeper understanding of human conflict behavior.

At the conclusion of his farewell address, Professor Spillmann was presented with a Festschrift in honor of his work in conflict research by the Festschrift's editors, Professor Andreas Wenger and Dr Günther Baechler. The Festschrift, entitled *Conflict and Cooperation: The Individual Between Ideal and Reality*, explores the complexity of human conflict and cooperation. The overarching topic of the book is the interconnection between internal and external conflict. The contributions from a select group of renowned scholars illustrate the ways in which their various disciplines address the most crucial topic of conflict research: the "us against them" notion that is involved in all conflict. The Festschrift reflects the transdisciplinary scientific interest and approach to history and conflict that Kurt R. Spillmann has promoted throughout his career. ■



Günther Bächler and Andreas Wenger (eds.), *Conflict and Cooperation – The Individual between Ideal and Reality*. Festschrift in honor of Kurt R. Spillmann

Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung Publishing, 2002, ISBN 3-85823-959-3



Kurt R. Spillmann, *Von Krieg und Frieden – Of War and Peace. Abschiedsvorlesung – Farewell Address, ETH Zurich, 3. Juli 2002*

Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2002, ISBN 3-905641-83-6 (in German and English)

Environmental Regulation and Business Risk

In mid-2002 a group of researchers from CIS, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), the Stockholm School of Economics, and Chalmers University of Technology launched a project that examines the relationship between environmental regulation and business risk. The project will yield insights into how environmental regulation shifts economic risks and affects the competitive position of firms in national and global markets. It will also produce insights into how corporate strategies and regulatory policies could be improved for the benefit of firms and the environment. The ETH Zurich-based Alliance for Global Sustainability (AGS) and the Swedish foundation MISTRA are serving as catalysts in this venture.

The group is working with business, regulators, and NGOs to identify:

- *business strategies* that directly or indirectly use environmental and health regulations to contain private business risks and shift terms of competition across firms and across sectors;
- *national environmental policies* that use knowledge of the effects of regulation on the competitive position of firms to sharpen performance incentives, improve environmental and health outcomes, and broaden domestic environmental coalitions;
- *regional and international standards* that use knowledge of the effects of regulation on the competitive position of multinational and national firms to sharpen corporate environmental performance incentives, improve environmental and health outcomes, and broaden transnational environmental coalitions.

This approach to evaluating corporate strategies and regulatory policies departs from two classic schools of thought on the



Prof Kenneth Oye (MIT), Mikael Roman (MIT), Prof Thomas Bernauer (CIS), Dr James Foster (MIT), Ladina Caduff (CIS), and Prof Niclas Adler (Chalmers University) at a meeting in Zurich in August 2002 (from left).

relationship between private interests and public regulation. One traditional perspective assumes that business and government are locked in conflict, as public environmental policy imposes substantial costs on private business. Within this school, those on the right seek to limit regulatory power to diminish costs imposed on business, while those on the left seek to limit business power and strengthen environmental regulation. Both of these views are premised on the assumption that public and private interests in regulation are inherently opposed – an assumption that the research project described here challenges.

A second school of thought sees private and public interests in regulation as fundamentally win-win, as improved environmental performance and business success go hand in hand. This school sees government and businesses as sharing fundamentally complementary interests. In contrast, the project examines the redistributive effects of regulation, identifying private sector losers as well as winners.

In the present project stage, the group, which is led by professors Thomas Bernauer, Kenneth Oye, and Niclas Adler, is focusing on the relationship between different elements of imperfect competition. It emphasizes how regulatory effects may reinforce or weaken other forces affecting market structures. It examines ways that regulation may shift or contain business risk, with attention to ways that the regulation of health, safety and environmental risks affects price, competition, and conditions of entry. It also examines how innovative firms may devise strategies to develop and exploit regulatory advantage. Empirically, the project involves a cross-national and cross-industry analysis of firms in six sectors: motor vehicles, petroleum refining, chemicals, food processing and distribution, paper products, and biotechnology. In preliminary work, the group has identified three pathways through which environmental, health, and safety regulations have conferred competitive benefits on businesses.

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Conflict Prevention: The Untapped Potential of the Business Sector

Despite intensive international efforts in conflict prevention, there is still little agreement on how civil wars and other conflicts might best be averted. As the news media regularly remind us, the many past attempts at preventive action have not been very successful. A new project at the Center for Security Studies seeks to develop an alternative perspective, arguing that conflict prevention initiatives would be much more effective, if they were supported by the business sector.

Over the past decade, the role of the business sector as an international actor has increased considerably. To a large extent, this is the result of the two twin processes of liberalization and privatization. The opening of national markets to foreign investment has led to a dramatic expansion in transborder flows of capital, services, goods, ideas, and people. The transfer of assets and services from public agents to private hands has enlarged the business sector's share and direct control of national economies. As a result, the regulatory capacity of nonstate actors has dwindled, whereas the governance capacity of nonstate actors has improved. New forms of governance patterns have become established. The collective activities of international economic actors, in particular, have become heavily dependent on public-private partnerships, industrial self-regulation, and private international regimes.

In the area of war and peace, however, governance is still essentially state-centric. While some NGOs have begun to take up conflict-related issues lately, the business sector has not played any significant role in preventing or managing violent conflict so far. For one thing, transnational corporations are often viewed as causing or exacerbating conflict in their host countries rather than as a potential force of positive change. It is often said that they damage the environment, exploit local work forces, disrupt social and political relationship pat-



Andreas Wenger and Daniel Möckli (from left) argue that international efforts in conflict prevention could be much more effective if they incorporated the business sector.

terns, and back repressive regimes. Such negative perceptions are reinforced by the fact that many companies now employ their own security staff – mercenaries hired to protect the companies' interests abroad. At the same time, transnational companies tend to see their overseas interests as unrelated to political risk management and peacebuilding. They often regard business and politics as two discrete worlds and see conflict as the exclusive domain of governments, international organizations, and NGOs.

Both these views are simplistic and do not take into account the changing dynamics involved in conflict causation and conflict prevention. However, the persistent disparity between the two views is indicative of the lack of attention given to the possibility of involving business in conflict prevention. Andreas Wenger and Daniel Möckli, in their project on corporate conflict prevention, examine why and how business should become engaged in international

preventive endeavors. The first goal of their research is to make the business community and current preventive actors aware that the corporate sector has both good reasons and the means to get involved in joint preventive efforts.

Wenger and Möckli present three reasons for engaging business in conflict prevention. First, they argue, the corporate sector has a direct economic interest in the advancement of peace. In the past decade companies have become much more vulnerable to political instability in developing and transition countries, and to the associated asymmetrical threats against business centers around the world. Also, given the relentless pressure on companies to find new markets, civil strife and political violence in many parts of the world have caused an enormous loss of market opportunities. Further, in view of the growing criticism of “globalization” and of the neoliberal market model, pressure is mounting on corporations to consider their

drive to create wealth in terms of corporate social responsibility. As company performance is increasingly assessed on the basis of a triple bottom line, taking into account economic, environmental, and social concerns, it is in the interest of the corporate sector to become involved in corporate conflict prevention – an essential component of corporate governance.

Second, despite the many conflict prevention efforts of public sector actors and NGOs, the current balance sheet is unsatisfactory. NGOs do much important work today, but they often lack resources. Governments and international organizations tend to engage late and then focus on building strong states. They are reluctant or unable to engage in the economic side of peacebuilding. For example, more than half a decade after the Dayton Peace Agreement, there is still no economic growth in Bosnia and Herzegovina – and it looks no better in Kosovo or Afghanistan. With little or no economic opportunity, people in conflict-affected countries lack the prospect of a better future so important for convincing them that peace is worthwhile.

Third, the business community has the qualities and know-how that are essential to effective conflict prevention. For example, the corporate community alone has the competence and flexibility to work with other businesses, local governments, and the international community in order to develop local private sectors and create sustainable jobs in conflict-prone countries. Economic peacebuilding without the involvement of business actors simply does not work.

Clearly, in the field of peace and security too the corporate community is now capable of both defining the content of public goods and, more importantly, of influencing the social, economic, and political processes by which these goods are provided. The business sector today has the necessary power to make itself heard and to contribute effectively to multi-actor global

governance in the prevention of violent conflict. There is no doubt that of all the global challenges that require joint governance efforts today, conflict prevention is a particularly sensitive public issue. The greatest responsibility for the preservation of peace and stability will undoubtedly remain with the public sector. Yet the business sector, its heterogeneous and fragmented character notwithstanding, can and should support and complement the preventive efforts of the actors already involved.

With their project, Wenger and Möckli seek to outline ways in which the corporate sector might become engaged in conflict prevention. While they recognize that corporate conflict prevention must include “doing no harm,” they hope to go beyond this and thus are mainly concerned with investigating ways in which the corporate sector might take a proactive role in economic peacebuilding. Wenger and Möckli also address the legitimacy and credibility of corporate conflict prevention, and the challenges likely to emerge if making the business sector a strategic partner in conflict prevention is accepted as a long-term goal. ■

A first monograph of the project is published in December 2002



Andreas Wenger and Daniel Möckli, Conflict Prevention: The Untapped Potential of the Business Sector
Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003,
ISBN: 1-58826-136-0 HC

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Environmental Regulation and Business Risk

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- Regulations can create demand for products and/or increase the value of proprietary technologies (example: the Montreal Protocol on protection of stratospheric ozone);
- Regulations can create or exploit production cost differentials (example: Hazardous Analysis and Critical Control Points (HACCP) approaches to food safety);
- Regulations can control sources of inputs (example: the United Nations “Conflict Diamonds” initiative).

More complex business strategies may link regulatory, research and development, and acquisitions strategies. British Petroleum (BP), for example, developed a complex multiphase strategy spanning technology development, acquisitions, and regulation. It conducted research and development on the production and distribution of clean fuels, and publicly announced its intention to produce and market clean fuels in advance of regulatory requirements. It also bought up smaller dirtier European oil companies, the main objective being not to acquire refining capacity but to limit one source of possible opposition to regulations mandating clean fuels. BP then created a capacity for advanced refining and a separate distribution system for clean fuels, securing a reputation for environmental stewardship and demonstrating the feasibility of meeting stringent fuel standards. Now BP is pushing for standards that require even cleaner fuels, changes in standards that would increase the value of its investments in R&D, in advanced refining, and in the clean-fuel distribution system. ■

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Let Europe Arise

In September 1946 in Zurich, Winston Churchill set out his vision of how Europe could rebuild itself as a peaceful, safe, and prosperous continent after World War II. Churchill concluded his famous speech by urging the European youth to “Let Europe arise!” The 7th Zurich Churchill Symposium in commemoration of Churchill’s 1946 speech, which has taken place annually since 1996, was held in October 2002. The Churchill Symposium focuses on current developments in the European Union and international relations in general.

The Churchill Symposium series has two central objectives. First, it commemorates what is rightly seen as one of the most important speeches on Europe’s future. Second, at a time when Europe is developing faster than ever before, it aims to contribute to the continuing debate about the future shape of the continent’s institutions. The annual symposium in Zurich is organized jointly by the Swiss Institute of International Studies – an associate member of the Center for International Studies (CIS) Zurich – the British Embassy in Bern, and the Europa Institut Zurich. It is sponsored by Coutts Bank (Schweiz) AG.

In the opening address, Swiss Federal Coun-

cilor Joseph Deiss, Head of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, emphasized Switzerland’s commitment to promoting a more just and peaceful world at the global and European levels. Visions required courage, strength, and the willingness to realize them, he said. The Geneva Convention and the International Committee of the Red Cross demonstrated particularly well that there need be no division among desirable actions and practicle actions. A more just world was both desirable and necessary, and Switzerland, by joining the UN, had strengthened its global engagement for the wellbeing of all peoples. At the European level, Switzerland would like to take part in discussions on the future of Europe, and it acknowledged that developments in the EU would affect it, too. The EU faced great challenges, and Switzerland must also prepare for the future: By signing bilateral agreements with the EU, Switzerland had demonstrated its willingness to cooperate with its neighbors, Deiss said. At the same time, however, Switzerland based its actions on the assumption that its European neighbors would continue to treat it as a democratic and sovereign state, particularly with regard to its taxation laws.

Luxembourg Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker said he understood Switzerland’s displeasure regarding the EU’s threat of

sanctions, which had resulted from the disagreement over the EU savings tax initiative. Juncker insisted that sanctions were not a constructive or appropriate means of reaching an agreement. Yet he also stressed that EU membership would allow Switzerland to have an active influence on EU policy. It would be more constructive for Switzerland to sit at the table and participate in the decision-making, Juncker said, than to be part of the audience that had to comply with decisions made by others. Switzerland and the EU had common tasks to perform in Europe, and for this reason Switzerland’s membership in the EU was necessary. The small European states played an important role in the EU, and the large states could not do without them. Peace in Europe had only been achieved when the small and large states had begun to tackle issues together. For the first time in the history of Europe the states were serious about the phrase “never again war.”

And so, as Churchill had foreseen in 1946, Juncker said, the EU was completing the process in Central and Eastern Europe that had begun in Western Europe, and the European continent was becoming united. Critics of EU enlargement, Juncker said, should focus on the historical significance, not the cost, of enlargement. In fact, the EU had used only 1.27 percent of its gross national product to finance its policies. Never before had there been so much peace at such little cost. The 10 EU candidate countries’ achievements towards transformation were impressive, and it was now up to the EU to show itself worthy of those countries. The EU urgently required internal reforms in order to eliminate the unsatisfactory aspects of European cooperation, such as the inadequate common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and insufficient coordination of economic policy within the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). In the long term, accession of the Balkan states to the EU should be a goal, for there was, after all, no limit to the number of EU members.

Prime Minister of Serbia Zoran Djindjic pointed out in his speech that the idea of



Luxembourg Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker, Swiss Federal Councilor Joseph Deiss, and Prime Minister of Serbia Zoran Djindjic at the 7th Zurich Churchill Symposium in October 2002.

“perpetual peace,” the idea of a Europe of freedom, stability, and prosperity, and a Europe without borders had long been a goal, though it had never been achieved. Today, however, this vision of a European family was close to becoming reality. But did that vision really encompass all of Europe? Was it possible for the European house to be stable, as long as its surroundings were not? The Balkan states today were in a situation similar to that of Europe in 1946–47. How could the idea of “perpetual peace” be realized in Southeastern Europe? Djindjic said that the EU could not proceed with the Balkan states as it did with



Zoran Djindjic presented his thoughts on a European vision.

The EU’s vision must not be reduced to merely material matters; it must also contain conceptual and emotional elements.

the 10 EU candidate countries, defining the economic and financial criteria for EU accession with a view to admitting the Balkan states 10 or 20 years later, if they met those criteria. This would not work, due to the nature of the states that had emerged since the Balkan War, or might yet emerge, and due to a lack of structural stability in the

region. The future of Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia, and Kosovo was uncertain: What would happen, for example, if Kosovo became independent through a referendum? What effects would this have on the entire region? And how could Bosnia continue to exist?

In the Balkans, Djindjic said, there was a lack of cohesion and integration that could be overcome only with a strong vision – a positive, mobilizing idea. European integration could provide identity and meaning only if it developed as a true vision and not merely

as a bureaucratic concept. The EU’s vision must encompass the entire continent, not only certain regions. And the realization of that vision must begin soon, or else other ideas, for example a misguided nationalism, might come to the fore. If Europe was not united, Djindjic warned, it would not be stable, and it would not be able to play the role in world history that it should. What was required was not only forces in the Balkan countries that promoted the European idea, but also positive energy on the part of Europe. However, the EU’s vision must not be reduced to merely material matters; it must also contain conceptual and emotional elements. Unfortunately, there was a deficit in Europe’s “European identity.” Europe itself must become clear about why the European model of solidarity, freedom, and market economy was better than all other models. A European soul was needed, if non-member states were to believe in the idea of Europe and in their own membership in the EU. ■



Luxembourg Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker stressed the important role that small European states play in the EU.

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New B.A. Degree at ETH Zurich in Public Affairs

In a short inauguration ceremony on 21 October 2002, the first day of the fall semester, ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology) launched its new degree program for professional officers of the Swiss Armed Forces. The B.A. degree is part of a wider effort to implement the "Bologna process" in continental Europe. At the same time the degree is meant to improve the quality of Swiss professional officers and to permit them to go on to graduate work at either Swiss or foreign universities.

ETH is among the first Swiss universities to implement the Anglo-Saxon system of academic degrees ("Bologna process"), which will be introduced in stages: Of the 20 different ETH degree programs, five began with the new model this fall, and the rest will follow within the next few years. The step is of major importance not only because the Armed Forces officers involved belong to a select group of "pioneers," but also because it is new for ETH to offer a degree focusing mainly on the social sciences.

The B.A. program in Public Affairs contains general academic courses as well as courses in military science. The former embrace subjects such as public and international law, economics, business administration, political science, security studies, and information technology. Military science deals with more specialized subjects



Prof Jürg M. Gabriel, director of the B.A. Program in Public Affairs, at the inauguration ceremony in October 2002.

such as military history, military sociology, military psychology, and the like. These subjects are taught at ETH by lecturers from the Swiss Military Academy (MILAK) at Au/Wädenswil. The Academy is also responsible for organizing the required one semester of practical activity in the field.

In addition, ETH has plans for a specialized M.A. degree in security studies. This will be a graduate program with a strong emphasis on international affairs, designed primarily for persons slated for service abroad. In contrast to the B.A. program, these courses are open to civilians and will be taught mostly in English. Switzerland needs more specialists capable of assuming demanding tasks within the United Nations, NATO's Partnership for Peace, and other multilateral security organizations.

ETH has been involved in training Swiss professional officers since the 19th century, but the courses offered were mostly of a technological nature and did not lead to a university degree. This changed in 1993, when the Swiss Department of Defense asked ETH to set up a three-year program ending with a federal diploma. It is this non-academic program that has now been converted into a university degree with full national and international recognition.

Recent developments in matters of global security and, more specifically, in European integration, have forced the Swiss to rethink their traditional foreign and security policy. Neutrality is no longer as dominant as it once was, and the militia system, until now the backbone of Swiss defense thinking, is giving way to increased professionalism. The Swiss army is in need of more and better-trained professionals. In the past they were a small group of "instructors" mostly involved in training the militia. This is changing rapidly. Not only has Switzerland (finally) joined the United Nations, but the country is also undertaking major efforts to make a valuable contribution to international security at both the global and regional levels. ■

Prof Thomas Bernauer, Prof P. Bachmann, Prof Hans Werner Tobler, Prof Hans-Dieter Daniel, Prof Albert Stahel, Divisionär Hansruedi Ostertag, Prof Karl Haltiner, Divisionär Paul Zollinger, Prof Rudolf Steiger, Prof Andreas Wenger, Dr Ralph Hansmann, Prof J. Gut, Rolf Oehri, and the first year B.A. students.



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Setting the 21st-Century Security Agenda

The 5th International Security Forum (ISF), entitled *Setting the 21st-Century Security Agenda*, was held on 14–16 October at the Kongresshaus Zurich. The objective of the ISF was to create a platform for discussion and the exchange of information and knowledge on current and anticipated security issues. Given the knowledge and resources available at the ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich), the conference also addressed the challenges presented by new information and communication technologies and the protection of critical infrastructures.

The 5th ISF was hosted by the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research at the ETH Zurich on behalf of the Swiss Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sports and in cooperation with the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, and the Graduate Institute of International Studies Geneva. The ISF brought together about 500 high-level civil servants, diplomats, military staff, academics, and representatives of non-governmental organizations from the Euro-Atlantic area.

The conference consisted of three plenary sessions featuring keynote speakers from both academia and the policy world. Six parallel tracks, each consisting of five workshops, made up the core of the ISF. The first and second tracks dealt with knowledge management and e-learning in security policy and included topics such as the benefits of information technology to education and the risks posed by our reliance on information technology. The third track examined various aspects of human security, such as the rehabilitation of war-torn societies, Islam and the West, women and peace, small arms, and new security threats and challenges in the OSCE region. The fourth and fifth tracks focused on security sector reforms, including institutional and societal aspects. The sixth track dealt with contemporary regional



Swiss Federal Councilor Samuel Schmid, Prof Catherine McArdle Kelleher, and Prof Kurt R. Spillmann at the opening of the 5th ISF (from left).

security policy issues, such as Russia's international security environment, Europe as a regional actor, European security and defense policy and NATO, and peace operations in light of 11 September 2001.

Swiss Federal Councilor Samuel Schmid, head of the Swiss Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sports, said in his welcome address that the task set out in the title of the conference, *Setting the 21st-Century Security Agenda*, was an ambitious but essential one. If free societies did not set the agenda, somebody else would – and we would be spectators, merely reacting to others' actions. Terrorism had set the agenda on 11 September. The task of free societies now was to ensure that this agenda was only temporary: We must seize the initiative and put terrorism on the defensive and in the long term try to eliminate it. Switzerland was part of the fight against terrorism, making its contribution where it could make the greatest difference: by closing down the financial networks that international terrorism relied on. Neutrality was not an issue in light of this threat, Schmid said.

In her keynote speech, Prof Catherine McArdle Kelleher from the Naval War College in Newport discussed international security in the wake of 11 September. What was new after 11 September? she asked. The most obvious change was that the US

was now aware of its own vulnerability; it had had a rude awakening from its perception of itself as existing in splendid isolation and with a special status. There had been other profound changes: The visitor to the US would notice that the atmosphere had changed, that a new patriotic nationalism and resolve had emerged, and that the US' approach to the international community had profoundly altered. New threats had emerged, and we must reassess the sources of threats and future action against these – action that would go far beyond past actions, which had been based on the idea of the national state system. The US' strong military power against traditional military threats was inadequate against the sort of attacks experienced on 11 September. Waves of uncertainty and insecurity that had followed the terrorist attacks had had direct economic and political consequences and had given rise to a curtailment of individual rights in the interest of security. Indeed, Kelleher concluded, traditional military force was only part of the answer to the new threats, and other ways of dealing with modern threats must be found.

The second plenary address was given by Dr Jamie Shea, Director of Information and Press at NATO, on managing media relations in international security. Explaining how NATO and the media dealt with

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each other in an armed conflict, Shea said the relationship between the two was marked by contradictions. According to the government (or NATO), the media focused too heavily on details, mistakes, and short-term costs, while forgetting the long-term objectives. NATO, in fact, had to rely on the long term, since a war could only be justified by the peace it created, and establishing peace took time. Shea also said that asymmetric warfare gave the enemy, who had direct access to the media, an advantage. For example, in NATO's Kosovo air campaign, Slobodan Milosevic had controlled the ground, and this gave him control of the pictures that journalists took and distributed. Milosevic, unlike NATO, had free access to the media, while the media had free access to NATO but no insight into what NATO's adversary was doing. Shea then addressed the way NATO deals with the media in a crisis. The crucial factor, he said, was credibility. NATO had to tell the truth about its failures in order to have people believe in its successes. Shea concluded that the media should be subjected to a code of conduct. Journalists should not lose sight of the context but should provide more in-depth information, and they should not maintain an artificial balance when presenting the different views. The media owed it to the international community to be even handed in its reporting of crises.



Jamie Shea talked of the lessons he had learned from his role as NATO spokesman.

The 5th ISF ended with two keynote speeches, the first by Carl Bildt, special envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General for the Balkans from May 1999 to July 2001, and the second by Vladimir Petrovsky, former Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations Office in Geneva. The final address was given by Ambassador Philippe Welti of the Swiss Ministry of Defense. Bildt and Petrovsky said that the international system was being reshaped after 11 September. For nearly five centuries the international order had been based on sovereign states that had emerged from the Treaties of Westphalia, signed in 1648. It took the resources of a state to destroy another state: Only states could wage war, and only they could secure peace. But when the towers of the financial centre of the world had come crashing down in September 2001, the foundations of the Westphalian order had also been destroyed. Today, Bildt said, we see a forceful marriage between modern technology and ancient hatreds, we are suddenly more threatened by weak states than by strong states, and we are particularly threatened by terrorism networks and global drug networks. This, according to Bildt, was the new security agenda, which also brought old adversaries together. The security agenda of the 21st century went beyond military issues to include culture, demography, political institutions, environmental degradation, religious controversies, emerging new health threats, and economic growth possibilities. Especially the current situation in the Greater Middle East highlighted the new security agenda: The possible presence there of weapons of mass destruction was a source of acute concern, as was the absence of human rights and of structures conducive to economic and social development. Bildt said that the Westphalian order in Europe had been established after 30 years of conflict, at the end of which the very nature of the international order had been transformed. He argued that we might now be in a similar situation: Again, we see intense struggles



Carl Bildt delivered a keynote speech on the new security agenda.

between forces of reaction and forces of reform within a major world religion, this time within Islam and not Christianity. Again, we are likely to need military action and new political structures and frameworks of international order. Thus, we must continue to build our federation of nation states to secure peace in Europe and promote European prosperity. We must also make our contribution to the evolution of an order that is better than the old one and that can bring security, stability, and economic, social, and political development. ■

The results of the 5th International Security Forum will be published in spring 2003.

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Recent CIS Publications



Andreas Wenger and Daniel Möckli, *Conflict Prevention: The Untapped Potential of the Business Sector*

Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003, ISBN: 1-58826-136-0 HC (forthcoming).

Available through www.rienner.com

Despite intensive international efforts in conflict prevention, there is still little agreement about how civil wars might best be averted. And, the many attempts at preventive action have not been strikingly successful. The authors argue that such efforts could be much more effective if they incorporated the business sector. They examine the qualities that the business sector could bring to bear in the prevention of conflict and show why it is in the interests of corporations to participate. Calling for an approach that involves states, international organizations, NGOs, and corporations, they demonstrate that the business sector has both the means and the motivation to ensure the long-term success of prevention efforts.



Kurt R. Spillmann and Andreas Wenger (eds.), *Bulletin 2002 on Swiss Security Policy*

Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2001, ISBN 3-905641-80-1 (in German).

Available online at www.fsk.ethz.ch

This year's *Bulletin 2002 on Swiss Security Policy* covers a wide range of topics. It examines the effects of the 11 September terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. on international security, it looks at Swiss measures against transnational organized crime, and it discusses the national efforts in the field of civilian conflict prevention and peace-building. *Bulletin 2002* also contains an analysis of the Swiss arms control policy since the end of the Cold War, a discussion of the most recent developments in the area of critical information infrastructure protection (CIIP), and a presentation of the Information Management System for Mine Action (IMSMA), Zurich.

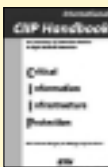


Günther Bächler and Andreas Wenger (eds.), *Conflict and Cooperation – The Individual between Ideal and Reality*. Festschrift in honor of Kurt R. Spillmann

Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung Publishing, 2002, ISBN 3-85823-959-3

Available through www.nzz-buchverlag.ch/

This Festschrift in honor of Kurt R. Spillmann explores the complexity of human conflict and cooperation. Approaching the science of conflict from a wide range of disciplines and academic perspectives, the authors are renowned experts in their fields. Their contributions reflect the dynamics involved in any conflict, from the interpersonal to the international, and include evolutionary, psychological, cultural, ecological, and political factors. The resulting publication is dedicated to the academic work of Kurt R. Spillmann, who, throughout his career, has promoted a holistic and transdisciplinary approach to the study of the most crucial topic of conflict research: the issue of "us" against "them."



Andreas Wenger, Jan Metzger, Myriam Dunn (eds.), *The International CIIP Handbook: An Inventory of Protection Policies in Eight Countries*

Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2002, ISBN 3-905641-85-2

Available online at www.isn.ethz.ch/crn/

The International Critical Information Infrastructure Protection (CIIP) Handbook is a joint effort within the Comprehensive Risk Analysis and Management Network (CRN). It focuses on aspects of CIIP related to security policy and methodology. The security policy perspective evaluates policy efforts for the protection of critical information infrastructure in eight countries. The methodological perspective discusses selected methods and models to analyze and evaluate various aspects of critical information infrastructure. The handbook was compiled mainly for security policy analysts and researchers. It can be used either as a reference work for an overview of CIIP policy formulation and CIIP methods and models, or for further in-depth research.



Joachim Krause, Andreas Wenger and Lisa Watanabe (eds.), *Unraveling the European Security and Defense Policy Conundrum*

Bern: Peter Lang, 2003, ISBN 3-906770-86-9 (forthcoming).

Available through www.peterlang.ch

Since the Franco-British declaration on European security and defense was made at St. Malo four years ago, the EU has made rapid progress towards the development of a common European security and defense policy (ESDP). The St. Malo Declaration is a milestone in the history of European integration, for the first time bringing defense within the scope of European policy coordination. Despite the tremendous speed at which advancements have taken place, there remain a number of open questions related to the ESDP's political structure, force capabilities, and mission that together threaten the EU's capacity to create a credible military force. This volume attempts to chart the progress, the problems, and the future prospects of this highly contentious venture.



Kurt R. Spillmann, *Von Krieg und Frieden – Of War and Peace*. Abschiedsvorlesung – Farewell Address, ETH Zurich, 3. Juli 2002

Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2002, ISBN 3-905641-83-6 (in German and English)

Available online at www.fsk.ethz.ch

In his farewell address at the ETH Zurich (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology) in July 2002, Professor Kurt R. Spillmann discusses some of the difficulties that conflict researchers face and ways in which they approach the problems. The author's commitment to an interdisciplinary approach to conflict research is evident in his lecture, as he draws on ancient Greek texts, art, psychology, evolutionary biology, and ethology to demonstrate how deep-seated conflict is in human society and in the individual.



Karl W. Haltiner, Andreas Wenger, Jonathan Bennett, Tibor Szvirsev, *Sicherheit 2002* [Security 2002].

Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research of the ETH Zurich and Military Academy at the ETH Zurich, 2002, ISBN 3-905641-81-X.

Available online at www.fsk.ethz.ch

The annual "Security" highlights public opinion trends on security and foreign policy issues in Switzerland. This year's survey indicates that the general feeling of security among the Swiss was as high as ever. However, the public perception of the global political situation differs markedly from the perception of domestic affairs. While people are optimistic concerning the near future of Switzerland, a more pessimistic attitude is predominant when it comes to the global political situation. People's willingness to open Switzerland is further diminishing. The enduring skepticism towards European policies is joined by a growing reservation on questions of security cooperation. As a principle, Swiss neutrality is uncontested.

Articles

Thomas **Bernauer** and Erika **Meins**. „Technological Revolution Meets Policy and the Market: Explaining Cross-National Differences in Agricultural Biotechnology Regulation.“ In *European Journal of Political Research* (forthcoming 2003).

Dirk **Lehmkuhl**. „The Resolution of Domain Names vs. Trademark Conflicts: A Case Study on Regulation Beyond the Nation State and Related Problems.“ In *Zeitschrift für Rechtssoziologie* 23, 1(2002), 61–78.

Dirk **Lehmkuhl**. „Governance and Governments: Theoretical Reflections on the Impact of Globalization on the Governance Capacity of Public and Private Actors.“ In Héritier, Adrienne (ed.), *Common Goods: Reinventing European and Global Governance*, Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002, 81–100, (with Christoph Knill).

Dirk **Lehmkuhl**. „Einleitung: Transnationales Recht.“ In *Zeitschrift für Rechtssoziologie* 23, 2(2002), 196–201, (with Mathias Albert).

Simon A. **Mason**. „Environment and Security Brief 14: Cooperative Efforts in the Nile Basin.“ In Matthew, Richard, Mark Halle and Jason Switzer (eds.), *Conserving the Peace: Resources, Livelihoods and Security*, The International Institute for Sustainable Development and IUCN – The World Conservation Union, 2002, 405–406.

Dieter **Ruloff**. „Wie „grün“ ist die WTO? Umweltschutz als Anliegen des Welthandels.“ In *Internationale Politik*, 6(2002), 37–42.

Andreas **Wenger**. „Kontinuität und Wandel in der internationalen Sicherheitspolitik: Der 11. September als Epochenwende.“ In *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*, 1(2003), 23–30.

Andreas **Wenger**, Myriam **Dunn**, Jan **Metzger**. „Schutz kritischer Informationsinfrastrukturen: Eine sicherheitspolitische Herausforderung.“ In *Europäische Sicherheit*, 10(2002), 9–11.

Calendar

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• **Hard Law, Soft Law, and Private Legalities:
The Legalization of International Relations**

CIS Workshop,
6–7 December 2002,
ETH Zurich.

• **Comments on US Foreign Policy**

Prof. Joseph S. Nye, Jr.
Public lecture,
28 January 2003,
University of Zurich.

• **Von der Verantwortung, die Sicherheit zu
organisieren**

Bundesrat Moritz Leuenberger.
Public lecture,
22 January 2003,
University of Zurich.

• **Conference on NATO, the Warsaw Pact
and the European Nonaligned,
1949–1975: Threat Assessments,
Doctrines and War Plans**

13–14 June 2003,
Oslo, Norway.

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