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New Social Movements and Globalization

Multilateral economic organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the GATT/WTO, as well as economic forums such as the World Economic Forum (WEF), have been heavily criticized by different groups and organizations engaging in questions such as third-world relations, environmental problems, poverty, unemployment, and the like. What impact do these protests have? This is the central question of the CIS research project “New Social Movements and Globalization” at the University of Zurich. The project is being supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation. The research team is headed by Professor Hanspeter Kriesi, and consists of Michelle Beyeler, Nicholas Bornstein, and Eveline Hübscher.

The global social justice movement is an emerging transnational social movement, uniting NGOs, social movement organizations, and more traditional interest groups such as trade unions who represent issues as diverse as resistance to American leadership, fairness for the third world, environmentalism, human rights, labor conditions, anti-capitalism, etc. One strategy of the movement against economic globalization is to stage protest events at the very times and locations at which the international political and economic elites assemble for summits. Another strategy is to organize international summits and forums to discuss and develop alternatives to “neo-liberal globalization.” The CIS research project explores the impact of the different strategies of the global social justice movement. A number of aspects are of interest: first, the way in which protest events and other movement activities



The global social justice movement opposing the G8 summit in Evian, France, in summer 2003.

affect the public sphere, i.e. in terms of media attention, and also the public mobilization of supporting or opponent actors in the political elites; and second, whether the protests actually lead to a change in the structure or policies of the targeted organizations. Additionally, the effects on national decision-makers are traced, i.e. whether there has been a change in the handling and organization of protest policing.

The project’s focus is on two organizations, both of which have been heavily challenged by protesters in recent years: the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the World Economic Forum (WEF). The regular conferences staged by both these organizations are clearly delimited events that trigger the mobilization of the movement, thus allowing a controlled analysis of the extent of mobilization and the impact. The research project traces the development roughly

from the mid-1990s on. The CIS researchers selected newspapers from several European countries and the major regions of the world in order to examine the

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movement's impact on the (world) public sphere, e.g. the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Switzerland), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Germany), *Le Monde* (France), *New York Times* (USA), *El Diario* (Bolivia), *Cape Times* (South Africa), and *Times of India* (India). The principal research tool for analyzing the newspapers is a political claims analysis (PCA), as developed by Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham. This approach has the advantage of integrating not only the quantitative elements of event analysis, but also the qualitative discursive elements of political claim-making. In addition, the research team has been conducting interviews with activists, representatives from the targeted organizations, and the Swiss authorities. The project was initiated in 2002, and research will continue until March 2005. Highlights of the field study were a trip to Davos during the WEF in January 2003, and another to Geneva in the summer of that year to observe the gathering of the movement opposing the G8 summit in Evian, France. The timeliness of the events corresponds well with the research object; thus, it was possible to follow closely the WTO's ministerial conference debacle in Cancún in September 2003. Despite the laborious and tiresome work associated

with selecting articles from over 2,500 newspaper issues, the selection and coding of the articles proved to be invaluable for understanding the topic of research.

The process of data collection is still ongoing; nevertheless, some preliminary results can already be presented at this stage. The WTO ministerial conference in Seattle 1999 marked a turning point in the public voicing of the disagreement over multilateral trade policy and associated questions. The mobilization in Seattle is seen as an expression of the momentum of regained power for the movement, and came about rather surprisingly for many observers. However, Seattle did not represent the birth of the movement. Whereas images of the violence and willful destruction experienced in Seattle went around the globe, the costs of the much less publicized damage resulting from the outbursts of violence at the WTO's ministerial conference in Geneva in 1998 ran to an estimated five million Swiss francs. The events in Seattle in 1999 have thus changed worldwide press attention towards the movement's claims. The increased interest of the media in the critics of globalization and street opposition can partially be explained by the considerably larger extent and militancy of the protests in Seattle. However, the internal

problems and poor organization of the WTO ministerial conference, as well as the failure of the trade negotiations, which the activists held up as being their victory, contributed to the comparatively widespread media attention given to the protests. Thus, media attention was also triggered by factors that were unrelated to the strategies of the movement's actors.

Once attention had been gained, the movement's actors increasingly also engaged in "meaning work," i.e. the construction of a common frame and identity. They began to organize parallel meetings and conferences that serve as forums to develop alternative ideas, and to bring together the critical voices and groups. The largest of these alternative conferences is the fast-growing World Social Forum (WSF), first held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2001. The WSF is staged at the same time as the WEF, to which it is explicitly set as a counterweight. Other alternative conferences include "The Public Eye on Davos," held close to the WEF meeting localities organized by NGOs, and "The Other Davos," organized by social movement organizations in Zurich.

The often indistinct boundaries between those sectors of the movement involved in violent confrontation and those primarily involved in other forms of criticism and the development of alternative ideas have a number of implications for the movement's impact. One apparent effect is that the street protests by radical groups, which reject any legitimacy of the targeted organizations, have increased the access of the less radical civil society groups to those organizations. By the presence of very radical groups not prepared to engage in a dialogue with the WEF or the WTO, other critical groups suddenly became "addressable" and more acceptable in the eyes of the criticized organization. A sign of these direct effects on the WEF is the growing participation of NGOs at the WEF meeting, as well as the increased focus on the "dark side of globalization" in WEF panel discussions.



The research team on new social movements and globalization at the CIS: Eveline Hübscher, Michelle Beyeler, and Nicholas Bornstein (from left).

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Focus on Politics

In honor of his 60th birthday, the festschrift *Politik im Fokus* [Focus on Politics] was dedicated to Professor Ulrich Klöti and presented to him as part of the celebrations in June 2003. Prior to his appointment at the University of Zurich, Ulrich Klöti had also gained practical experience of Swiss domestic politics at the Swiss Federal Chancellery. As Head of the Institute of Political Science, he subsequently played a crucial role in developing and establishing this discipline at the University of Zurich. As the newly elected Vice President of Academic Affairs, he will continue to exert an influence in university politics. The festschrift reflects the diversity of his professional activities.

The addresses given during the festivities in June 2003 in the University of Zurich's Assembly Hall touched on several topics from the festschrift *Focus on Politics*, the development of which Ulrich Klöti greatly influenced through his activities:

Following the welcome speech by the Dean of the Philosophy Faculty, Professor Franz Zelger, the Director of the Union of Swiss Towns (SSV), Urs Geissmann, gave an address on Swiss urban and agglomeration policy. Here, Ulrich Klöti's research activities had made an important contribution to the scientific basis for the article on municipalities in the Swiss Federal Constitution, which, since the constitution's complete revision in 2000, allows the state to pursue agglomeration policies. Wolf Linder, political science professor from Bern, presented a review of ballot and electoral research in Switzerland. Political science research on elections at the federal level have become consolidated in recent years, and are now well established in the Swiss research landscape. Together with colleagues from Bern and Geneva, Ulrich Klöti initiated the studies *Selects* on the elections to the National Council, and

helped them become a permanent fixture. As a member of the Swiss National Research Council, he also oversees the Swiss Priority Program *Switzerland Towards the Future*, which has demonstrated the overall strength of the Swiss social sciences and raised their profile in Swiss academic life.

The festschrift was presented by its editors, Thomas Widmer and Uwe Serdült, both Ulrich Klöti's senior research associates, who with this book honor his achievements and also highlight the many facets of his diverse activities. The festschrift includes contributions from both science and practice, and examines the topic of politics from different perspectives. In keeping with

subject, and which was therefore disadvantaged in many respects. Since fall 1996, it has been possible to take political science as a proper main subject. Over the years, the subject has developed into an appealing scientific discipline that today engages more than a thousand students. The extremely high level of student interest in political science courses on the one hand, and the scant available resources on the other, have led the university's administrative offices to label political science a "bottleneck subject." Through persistent door knocking at the offices responsible, it was ultimately possible to employ additional lecturers, although the small number of faculty advisers available to the many students is still problematic. Nevertheless, the

achievements have been great; in teaching, for example, the traditional triad of political science has been established: international relations, government, and comparative politics. There has also been a considerable increase in research activity; in his own field, for example, Ulrich Klöti set up two important research areas: "Political Behavior and Public Opinion" and "Policy Analysis and Evaluation."

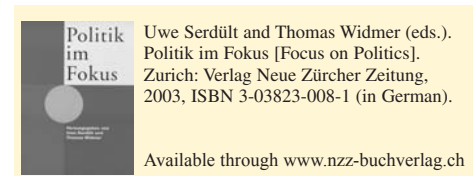


Thomas Widmer (left) and Uwe Serdült (right) presented the festschrift to Ulrich Klöti.

Ulrich Klöti's four main scientific interests, the book is divided up into four subject areas: "Government and Administration," "Federalism," "Ballots and Elections," and "Comparative Politics." In it, 30 leading authors from the fields of politics, administration, and science, from both Switzerland and abroad, present their views on aspects of the political system. The festschrift also contains contributions that give an insight into the past and present of political science in Zurich, in the development of which Ulrich Klöti played a crucial role.

From the early 1990s on, Ulrich Klöti had striven to raise the status of political science, which at that time could be taken at the University of Zurich only as a minor

With his appointment as Vice President of Academic Affairs at the University of Zurich in August 2003, Ulrich Klöti will also be playing an active role in university politics. The highest priority will be given to implementing the Bologna Declaration, with the introduction of graded study courses leading to Bachelor and Master qualifications. For Ulrich Klöti, this new activity represents a return to practice, giving him the possibility to once again take the helm and to further develop and enhance the role of teaching. ■



The European Security and Defense Policy – Taking Stock After Five Years

Five years ago, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac signed a joint “Declaration on European Defence.” The declaration signalled a turning-point in post-Cold War European security. Thereafter, at the Cologne European Summit in June 1999, the 15 member states of the European Union agreed on “strengthening the common European policy on security and defence.” The Cologne declaration is widely seen as the founding document for a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) within the framework of the European Union. At a time when the gap between declarations and deeds appears to be widening, a CIS research project will take stock of ESDP’s first five years. The project will not only assess the successes and failures, but will also result in a better understanding of the mechanisms and intricacies of ESDP and of the future ahead.

The history of European integration represents, at the same time, its tradition of a regional process of order. From 1957 until 1989/90, EEC/EC member states sought – under the US nuclear umbrella – common security through integration. Throughout the 1990s, this approach was supplemented by a process of stabilization and association in the immediate neighborhood. Essentially, however, the European Union remained a civilian power with most Europeans having developed a culture of security dependence. The decision at the Cologne European Council to establish the capacity for autonomous action, backed by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises, was widely regarded as a long-awaited reaction to both the EU’s failure to stop the killings during the Balkan wars and, more generally, to the new security challenges at the turn of the century. The old question as to whether the EU should have a defence role, with a common defence policy being the logical result of a common foreign and



Victor Mauer and Andreas Wenger (from left) examine the successes and failures of European security and defense policy and investigate the opportunities for the European Union to establish itself as a credible security actor.

security policy, or whether it should remain a great civilian power without a political-military role leaving the building of a European defense outside the EU framework, has been answered in a clear and unequivocal way. Indeed, with the successful completion of the European Monetary Union (EMU), politicians and academics alike have described ESDP as the EU’s integration project of the 21st century.

ESDP has consistently moved forward since its official inauguration in summer 1999, prompting the EU’s High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, to speak of ESDP as “proceeding at the speed of light.” ESDP is now understood as a comprehensive security approach that ranges from conflict prevention via crisis management to post-conflict stabilization. And yet, in the run-up to the Iraqi crisis, Robert Kagan asserted that Europe was “turning away from power, ... entering a post-historical paradise of peace and relative prosperity.”

The research project, which is being conducted by Victor Mauer and Andreas Wenger, will bring together scholars from North America and Europe. Since ESDP is, despite indications of a third way between intergovernmentalism and supranational-

ism, still conceived as a form of intergovernmental cooperation, the project analyzes the various aspects of ESDP from the national perspectives of member states. In doing so, the project will provide an understanding of the inadequacies, the intricacies, and, as some would argue, the intractability of a common European Security and Defense Policy, and, last though not least, of the future ahead. At the conclusion of the project, it should be clear as to whether or not ESDP is making an effective contribution to European security; in other words, whether the various national concepts of and approaches to ESDP can be incorporated into a common coherent whole, or whether they amount to little less than policies having the lowest common denominator that cause endless bickering over strategies, while eventually failing to address the security challenges of the 21st century.

Particular attention will first be paid to the role of Europe’s Big Three – France, the

Publications:

Victor Mauer. “Die Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik: Eine janusköpfige Entwicklung.” In *Bulletin 2003 zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik*, 43-68, Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2003.

Victor Mauer. Review “Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy.” In *International Affairs* 79, 5(2003).

United Kingdom, and Germany – which, thanks to a process of “constructive ambiguity” (François Heisbourg) have managed to drive ESDP forward. A number of scholars have long believed that the United Kingdom would, over time, take on a guiding role in the evolution of the EU. They concur with Germany’s perception of the EU as an instrument for binding and managing power, but also share France’s appreciation of the importance of power projection. An escapist approach would no longer suffice to legitimize the European enterprise. The Labour government, under Prime Minister Blair, concluded that the best policy for Britain was to engage constructively in order to argue effectively for the type of Europe Britain wanted, so that Britain affects developments in Europe rather than merely being affected by them. It marked the end of a policy when everything was portrayed as a zero sum game, with Britain on its own against the rest of the EU. Although the pressure for an Europeanist, rather than Atlanticist, approach to European security remained, France consistently emphasized its desire for a “nouvelle relation d’alliance d’équilibre avec les Etats-Unis.” And Germany had long been in favor of a more prominent European role on the world stage.

In a second block, the project will assess the role of smaller countries that have traditionally opted for an integrationist approach, which in the context of ESDP means, an approach where the pooling of national resources and role specialization represent only the beginning of a deepening integration that would eventually result in mutual and total dependence – strategic, political and operational. A third block is dedicated to the neutrals, some of which have remained uneasy with the military dimension of ESDP. The project will also address the impact that the EU enlargement process is likely to have on ESDP, and the possibilities and limitations for those seeking to eventually join or contribute to a common European Security and Defense policy.

Crucial to the functioning of ESDP is the evolving strategic partnership between the EU and NATO and, even more so, the relationship between the EU and the USA. While some scholars have asserted that Europe and North America have separate destinies, conflicting interests or incompatible world views, others have suggested that the shared values that underpin Euro-Atlantic relations will continue to bind Europe and the US together, as to condemn them to cooperate with each other. At best, the current debate largely reflects the earlier one of the US desire for more effective burden sharing and the European quest for increased strategic weight within the relationship.

The respective national inputs derive their characteristic strengths and weaknesses from very different, if not diverging, foreign policy traditions. In addition to these national inputs, the project poses the question as to how far the joint decision to address European security within the wider framework of the EU creates a special kind of dynamic that would ultimately result in member states agreeing to common strategies and concepts that modify their original positions, without damaging their vital national interests.

The project aims to highlight the considerable progress made over the past five years and to investigate the major challenges that lie ahead; in short, the opportunities for the European Union to establish itself as a credible security actor on the world stage, which, together with its existing assets of crisis management – diplomatic mediation, peacekeeping forces, police forces, humanitarian assistance, and development aid –, is capable of projecting power beyond its shores. ■

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New Social Movements and Globalization

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The new kind of mobilization mix has also had unintended and problematic effects from the movement’s point of view. Increasingly, the negative images related to the use of violence are reinforced by the unexpected mobilization of local free-riders who do not share the movement’s goals, but who nevertheless benefit from the temporary breakdown of the local order to join the militants and loot the damaged local stores. Negative media coverage is further reinforced by the mistakes that the local police are bound to make, given their own inexperience with this novel kind of protest.

In the media reporting, we find that the movement’s strategy of combining different forms of action has been successful in attracting worldwide media attention towards not only its claims, but also the very content of the protest itself. However, the way in which newspapers weight their coverage with respect to disruptive protest on the one hand, and the movement’s forums and conferences on the other, is dependent on contextual factors related to the country in which the newspaper is published, and also on the ideological orientation of the newspaper itself. Newspapers from developing countries and left-wing newspapers in industrialized countries tend to give more attention to discussion forums of the global social justice movement: they place more emphasis on the issue-specific message, and tend to present the movement more positively. In the country in which the targeted event is held, newspapers generally give more attention to the movement; they tend, however, to emphasize the procedural aspects, i.e. the security measures, legal issues, and (possible) use of violence. ■

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The Politics of Agricultural Biotechnology

Professor Thomas Bernauer's research group at the CIS is expanding its public policy research activity on agricultural biotechnology. A book by Thomas Bernauer, entitled *Genes, Trade, and Regulation*, has just been published by Princeton University Press. It deals with transatlantic regulatory polarization and trade conflict in this area. Philipp Aerni, a senior researcher in Bernauer's group, has carried out empirical research on stakeholder attitudes towards agricultural biotechnology in developing countries. Parts of this work have recently been published in the journal *Risk Analysis*. The two researchers have joined forces in an effort to explain why developing countries have been drawn into the transatlantic controversy over genetic engineering in agriculture, and to assess the implications for developing countries, the biotech industry and its critics in advanced industrialized countries, and the technology as such.

In view of their common research interest in the politics of agri-biotechnology and their complementary know-how, Thomas Bernauer and Philipp Aerni decided to join forces. They have embarked on a joint book project that investigates the consequences of the transatlantic biotech controversy for developing countries, and for agri-biotechnology as such. The starting point for this project is the observation that the global

Recent Publications by CIS Researchers on the Subject:

Thomas Bernauer. *Genes, Trade, and Regulation: The Seeds of Conflict in Food Biotechnology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Philipp Aerni. "Stakeholder Attitudes towards the Risks and Benefits of Agricultural Biotechnology in Developing Countries: A Comparison between Mexico and the Philippines." In *Risk Analysis* 22, 6(2002), 1123-1137.

Erika Meins. *Politics and Public Outrage: Explaining Transatlantic and Intra-European Diversity of Regulations on Food Irradiation and Genetically Modified Food*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 2003.

debate over the risks and benefits of agricultural biotechnology has turned increasingly sour ever since the first genetically engineered (GE) crops appeared on world markets in 1996. The United States and the European Union have become embroiled in an acrimonious and intractable trade dispute over differing regulations on GE crops and the associated technology. More generally, polarization within and between the United States and the European Union became stronger between 1996 and 2003, with moral and ideological arguments for and against gene technology in agriculture gaining ground at the expense of science-based arguments on the risks and benefits involved.

The controversy within and among advanced industrialized countries over gene technology in agriculture has had substantial repercussions for the poorer parts of the world: governments, companies, and NGOs from rich countries have invested heavily in efforts to push the biotech policies of developing countries in directions they claim to be in the poorer nations' interests. At the extremes, one side views agricultural biotechnology almost as a panacea for reducing starvation and malnutrition in developing countries, whereas the other side seeks to protect the poor from a purportedly risky new technology imposed by greedy multinational corporations.

Aerni and Bernauer focus on why developing countries have been drawn into the transatlantic controversy over genetic engineering in agriculture. They also assess the implications for developing countries, the biotech industry and its critics in advanced industrialized countries, and the technology as such.

Aerni and Bernauer's explanation centers on power politics and the appropriation and management of public trust as a "political currency," that is, a means for generating and exercising political influence. They argue that developing countries have been seen by key decision-makers in the United

States and the European Union as potential supporters of their respective position in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and other international bodies where disputes are being dealt with, and where regulation to facilitate international trade is being designed. Moreover, companies, NGOs, and governments from rich countries have been involved in an increasingly intense competition for public trust. In this competition, both advocates and critics of agri-biotechnology have been using developing countries to generate and appropriate public trust. Political campaigns to promote agri-biotechnology in order to help feed the poor or, at the opposite end, to protect poor countries from risks imposed by "greedy" Western companies, have become important means to that end. Interest groups from rich countries that are more successful in appropriating public trust, by convincing the median voter and consumer in rich countries that they are acting in the public interest and the interest of poor countries, expect to have a greater political influence on domestic biotech policy.

Aerni and Bernauer substantiate these explanations with empirical evidence on: the WTO dispute over agri-biotechnology; bilateral free-trade negotiations between the United States or the EU on the one hand, and developing countries on the other; stakeholder perceptions in three developing countries (South Africa, Mexico, and the Philippines); stakeholder perceptions in the United States and Europe; and biotech research and development activity in Africa and Latin America. Based on these sources, they also assess the implications for developing countries, the biotech industry and its critics in advanced industrialized countries, and gene technology in agriculture as such.

The two CIS researchers conclude that, by instrumentalizing developing countries for their own purposes, agri-biotech proponents and critics from rich countries have made it difficult for many developing countries to identify, define, and implement biotech policies that are geared to what



Philipp Aerni and Thomas Bernauer (from left) investigate the consequences of the transatlantic biotech controversy for developing countries and for agricultural biotechnology as such.

important stakeholders in these countries regard as their needs and concerns. They also conclude, however, that some developing countries have become increasingly assertive in pursuing self-defined research and development activities in agri-biotechnology. If these activities continue to grow as fast as they currently do, and Aerni and Bernauer argue that they will, this will deflate the “political bubble” that has been generated by the competition for public trust over the past decade. Proponents and opponents of agricultural biotechnology from developed countries will encounter growing difficulties in trying to shape the respective interests and concerns in developing countries. As a consequence, Aerni and Bernauer expect to see a shrinking gap between the political rhetoric of pro and anti-agri-biotech interest groups from rich countries on what developing countries want and need, and what our empirical research actually shows to be the wants and needs of key actors in these nations. This deflation of the political agri-biotech bubble is likely to cause significant strategic adjustments among biotech firms and anti-biotech advocacy groups in rich countries. It is also likely to result in more pragmatic and action-oriented policies, and more

accountability with respect to agri-biotechnology in advanced industrialized countries.

The two CIS researchers have been researching this topic in the context of other projects. In his PhD thesis in agricultural economics at ETH Zurich, Philipp Aerni investigated public acceptance of transgenic rice in the Philippines by conducting a survey with the political stakeholders involved in the public debate on agricultural biotechnology in that country. These stakeholders were asked to complete a semi-standardized questionnaire focusing on their perceptions of the risks and benefits of genetic engineering in agriculture, trust and communication in the public debate, and the political influence of the stakeholders involved. The data was evaluated by means of principal component analysis, cluster analysis, and policy network analysis. Funded by a scholarship from the Swiss National Science Foundation, Aerni then extended his research on stakeholder attitudes to other developing countries. As a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, he conducted two additional stakeholder surveys in Mexico and South Africa. Since his

return to Switzerland in 2002, Philipp Aerni has been working for the Center for Comparative and International Studies, ETH’s Department of Agricultural Economics, and the Swiss Center for International Agriculture. In addition to publishing his empirical research, he has also been developing a theory on the private management of public trust in contemporary politics and its impact on agricultural biotechnology in developing countries. Philipp Aerni has also been invited to act as guest editor of a special issue of the *International Journal of Biotechnology* on agricultural biotechnology in developing countries. Eighteen papers selected for this issue are to be published by the end of 2004.

Since the mid-1990s, Thomas Bernauer has conducted research on the politics of agricultural biotechnology. He has been interested mainly in understanding regulatory differences among advanced industrialized countries and the potential for trade conflict arising from such differences. In this research activity, he has collaborated primarily with Erika Meins, who completed her PhD at the CIS in 2002, Ladina Caduff, who will complete her PhD at the CIS in 2004, and colleagues from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

A CIS workshop on the politics of agricultural biotechnology, organized by the two CIS researchers, is scheduled for March 12, 2004. The invited speakers will discuss the practical uses of agricultural biotechnology (of which genetic engineering represents only a fraction of the ongoing activities) in developing countries, as well as differences in perceptions and interests that affect environmental, technology, and development policy decisions in these countries. ■

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Eighth Churchill Symposium: European Perspectives and Responsibilities

In commemoration of Winston Churchill's famous programmatic speech of 1946, "Let Europe Arise," held at the University of Zurich, the 8th Zurich Churchill Symposium took place in Zurich in September 2003. In their speeches, Swiss Federal Councilor Micheline Calmy-Rey, together with the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Mikulas Dzurinda, and Franz Fischler, European Commissioner for Agriculture, gave their views on the future of Europe and European politics, and discussed some key issues that the EU is currently dealing with.

Since 1996, the Churchill Symposium has taken place annually, with the aim of contributing to the continuing debate on the future shape of European institutions. The symposium was organized by the Swiss Institute of International Studies, a CIS member, the Europa Institut at the University of Zurich, and the British Embassy in Bern, and sponsored by Coutts Bank (Switzerland) Ltd. The opening address was given by the Hon. Jeremy Soames, grandson of Winston Churchill, who spoke very emotively and poignantly about his grandfather's final years at his home, Chartwell, in the Kentish hills south of Westerham, England.

Swiss Federal Councilor Micheline Calmy-Rey, Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs, explained the Swiss Federal Council's policy towards the European Union. Although accession to the EU is not an immediate issue, Switzerland's relations with the EU are the fundamental challenge facing Swiss foreign policy today. Therefore, there is a political obligation to discuss Switzerland's role in Europe. Winston Churchill's vision of Europe was one of a community of values and security; in a few months, ten new member states will be joining the EU, and in a sense this historic event represents the fulfillment of his vision. Although, in 1946, the Swiss did not feel that Churchill's message was also addressed to them, Switzerland has always been



European Commissioner Franz Fischler in discussion with Swiss Federal Councilor Micheline Calmy-Rey and Slovak Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda (from left).

affected by the developments in Europe in the years that followed. Moreover, Switzerland has always made a contribution, both in bilateral approaches and in cooperation with the EU, towards achieving a stable and prosperous Europe, e.g. by supporting the transformation processes in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe.

As Federal Councilor Calmy-Rey pointed out, Switzerland is in many respects as "European" as many EU member states, and the history of European integration resembles that of the formation of the Swiss Confederation. The majority of Swiss citizens have been content with the current status quo of Switzerland's foreign policy, because they have been convinced that it best preserves Switzerland's identity, neutrality, and sovereignty. However, it is questionable whether today's foreign policy will also be the best in the medium and longer term. Switzerland has quite often underestimated the EU's ability to rise to a challenge and to adapt itself accordingly. Based on the assumption that the enlarged EU will succeed in jointly shaping its social, economic, and monetary policies, Calmy-Rey outlined three scenarios regarding Swiss-EU relations. Of these, the current bilateral approach has to date been successful. How-

ever, it would be illusory to believe that, with the conclusion of the bilateral agreements, further development of the relations could be frozen at the present level. The EU has evolved dynamically, and there is therefore a need for further agreements. A second option of membership "à la carte," with Switzerland joining the Schengen Agreement and participating in the internal market, while rejecting the single currency and a common foreign policy, would also be illusory. Great Britain and Sweden have been able to negotiate their special statuses not in accession negotiations, but as EU member states. The third option would be for Switzerland to join the EU in order to be better able to defend its interests. Calmy-Rey announced that the Swiss Federal Council would be evaluating the consequences of Swiss EU membership in the current legislative period with regard to central issues such as direct democracy, federalism, and finance legislation. She was optimistic that Switzerland will ultimately come to acknowledge the benefits of shared sovereignty.

The main subject of Commissioner Franz Fischler's speech was the Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Cancún, Mexico, in September

2003. As he explained, it was a peculiar twist of fate that the name of the city chosen for the meeting meant “snake pit” in the Mayan language. As it happened, all those who went to Cancún hoping for a “new deal” came away disappointed. A prime opportunity to right the wrongs in the world trading system, and, in particular, the opportunity to make it more open and inclusive for all, had been missed. In particular, however, it was the countries that had gone to Cancún with the most to gain that had really come away the greatest losers of all; for developing countries especially, a deal in Cancún would have unquestionably carried the most weight. It would have articulated a further meaningful reform of the agricultural trading system, as well as of certain policies in developed countries where no changes have yet been made. Moreover, it would have led to major cuts in subsidization, domestic support, and other trade-distorting instruments. Additionally, it would have resulted in special and differential treatment for developing countries to enable them to participate more effectively and fully in the world trading system.

Commissioner Fischler pointed out that he could not say for sure whether the talks would proceed further, but he was nevertheless convinced that the EU would remain fully committed to international trade talks. He believed that there had been the potential for constructive dialogue on agricultural issues, and, with more persis-

tence, a consensus on this subject could have had been reached. For the present, however, the only way to achieve progress will be to pursue a multilateral approach. With respect to its offers and positions, the EU remains firm. As far as the “green box,” i.e. the permitted subsidies, was concerned, the EU, like Switzerland, believes that support falling into this category should not be about obstacles to trade, but rather about addressing citizens’ concerns and ensuring a sustainable agriculture system. Trade reforms need to take place in a way that is compatible with both the environment and public demands. Similarly, the EU is resolute in its position regarding what is known as the “blue box,” i.e. agricultural subsidies that are tied to programs that limit production. This is something that should not be negotiated, further reduced, or phased out in the future. It is what has enabled the EU to reform its agricultural policy up to now, and what enables the EU to keep this policy moving in the right direction. The EU cannot accept that reforms that are clearly fully compatible with the WTO objective to reduce all forms of trade-distorting support should be penalized by compromising on this category of support. This is all the more important at a time when the positive impact of previous EU agricultural policy reforms on world markets has been so clearly demonstrated by a constant decrease over the last ten years in the EU net export position for various commodities. Finally, Commissioner Fischler called for a modernization of the structures and processes within the WTO in order to improve and facilitate the decision-making process. The EU is not the only body that could be accused of operating with a “Byzantine” policy framework. The difference, however, is that the EU is doing something about its framework by way of updating and improving it.

The Slovak Prime Minister, Mikulas Dzurinda, explained to the audience his view of a united and free Europe, as a part of the Euro-Atlantic region. Since the establishment of the Slovak Republic in

1993, accession to the European Union has been among the top priorities of Slovak foreign policy, since this step would allow Slovakia to join a better, freer, and more prosperous world. (A world to which it had once rightly belonged, but from which it had been artificially expelled by the Communist regime.) Today, Slovakia once again believes in fundamental values such as democracy, the rule of law, and the protection of human rights. Moreover, it believes in consistent freedom. Prime Minister Dzurinda pointed out that consistent freedom means subsidiarity, since institutions must exist to serve the people, and not vice versa. It also means individual rights: the tragedy of Europe has been caused by nationalism, but whenever individual rights have been exercised there, they have always been the key to triumph and prosperity. Consistent freedom also stands for responsibility and clear equality. Therefore, full EU membership must entail full responsibilities, but also full and equal rights, including a seat on the EU Commission. Prime Minister Dzurinda implicitly rejected the EU Draft Constitution that would have the number of commissioners reduced to 15, just as the EU expands its membership to 25. Finally, he made clear that it was in the EU’s interest to help others that seek the same European perspective, and to ensure that they enjoy the same conditions under which to enjoy freedom and responsibility. It has been almost 60 years since Churchill’s speech in Zurich, and yet Churchill’s message has lost none of its relevance, except that today the opportunities for making his vision a reality are much better than they were shortly after World War II. Prime Minister Dzurinda stressed that it was our moral obligation to fulfill Churchill’s vision. ■

Full transcriptions or audio files of the speeches may be downloaded at the following websites:

- Speech by Federal Councilor Micheline Calmy-Rey:
http://www.europa.admin.ch/pub/vortrag/d/ref_030925.pdf
- Speech by Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda:
<http://www.government.gov.sk/english/audio-gallery.php>
- Speech by European Commissioner Franz Fischler:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/press_room/presspacks/cap/pp_cap_en.html

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The Potential and Limits of Self-Regulation – Private Actors in Theory and Practice

Are self-regulation and the involvement of stakeholders a means not only to achieve sustainable growth, but also to tackle democratic deficits beyond the state? Or are self-regulation and public-private initiatives merely green-wash or blue-wash exercises intended to protect transnational corporations from both public regulation and societal pressure? These were two guiding questions for a workshop on the potential and limits of self-regulation, organized by Dirk Lehmkuhl, Dieter Ruloff, and Markus Stierli of the CIS, held on October 10, 2003.

Since the 1990s, the pressure on transnational corporations to improve their environmental and social performance has increased significantly. Seen as both the spearheads and main beneficiaries of an ever-increasing liberalization of international trade, transnational corporations have been forced to realize that there is no such thing as a “free lunch,” but that more freedom in trade and economic exchange also calls for additional responsibilities. Given the pressure from various angles, that is the economic, societal and public sphere, voluntary codes, standards, multi-stakeholder initiatives and guidelines, and public-private co-operations have mushroomed and contributed to a Babylonian pluralism of approaches that in part differ significantly in terms of their origin, degree of institutionalization, scope, purpose, underlying incentives, and monitoring mechanisms. However, assessments of the real achievements of self-regulatory approaches are highly ambivalent.

Especially when it involves a variety of stakeholders, the proponents of self-regulation see self-regulation as a means not only to achieve objectives such as sustainable growth in a wider sense, including a contribution to workers’ welfare, workers’ rights in general, and environmental protection, but also to tackle democratic deficits beyond the state. According to this argument, multi-stakeholder initiatives might

contribute to the mobilization of people and provide for a dialog from which internationally shared values might emerge. This, then, would not only be a contribution to the acceptance and legitimacy of self-regulation, but would also enhance the acceptance of internationalization and might open up multilateralism for societal actors at an international level. For those who hold a more skeptical view, self-regulation or public-private initiatives are merely green-wash or blue-wash exercises that are intended to protect transnational corporations from both public regulation and societal pressure. Both the relatively small number of firms engaged in voluntary activities and the rather poor record of actual implementation give rise to the claim that current voluntary initiatives are insufficient, and should instead be complemented or even replaced by binding public regulations.

Given this ambivalent assessment, the aim of the workshop was to identify and discuss the potential and limits of self-regulation. To this end, the CIS invited representatives from transnational corporations, international and non-governmental organiza-

tions, and academia to discuss the issue of self-regulation from their respective points of view.

In introducing the workshop, Dirk Lehmkuhl and Dieter Ruloff (CIS) began by identifying regulatory failures as the background for the emergence of self-regulation. While markets and investments are extending across borders to an ever-greater extent, global provisions and standards are largely lacking, and environmental and social regulation of industries remains on a national level. At the same time, many countries that host foreign investment lack the technological and institutional capacities or political will to provide effective supervision of the environmental and social performance of transnational corporations. In this situation, either transnational corporations may simply follow local standards, regardless of how inadequate these may be, or they may become rule-makers that export not just new technologies, but also new practices and a growing awareness of social and environmental issues. For Lehmkuhl and Ruloff, one of the most important research questions is to analyze systematically which



Speakers at the workshop on the potential and limits of self-regulation: Franck Amalric, Dieter Ruloff, Eva Senghaas-Knobloch, Markus Stierli, Miriam Behrens, Peter Bauer, Virginia Haufler, Dirk Lehmkuhl, Klaus Dieter Wolf and Reiner Hengstmann (from left).

factors may help to influence company strategy towards the latter direction.

In the case of one particular international body, the International Labour Organization (ILO), Eva Senghaas-Knobloch (University of Bremen) identified one factor that is capable of enhancing the potential of self-regulation. In her introduction to the panel on social and labor standards, Senghaas-Knobloch elaborated on how the history of the ILO, and its unique pattern of representation involving governmental officials, trade unions, and employers' organizations from each member state, makes the ILO a legitimate center for efforts to increase global labor standards. That there is still some work to be done was the message of Janelle Diller, Policy Adviser in the employment sector of the International Labour Office. According to her, in 2003 only about 20% of all voluntary codes of conduct relate to ILO or UN conventions on labor standards. This was interpreted as a problematic indicator that signals the need for a consolidation of the panoply of concepts into a single approach, in order to enhance transparency and comparability, amongst other things.

Taking a different perspective, Reiner Hengstmann, Global Head of Environmental and Social Affairs at Puma, and Christian Kornevall, ABB Head of Sustainability Affairs, introduced the way in which well-known brands deal with the complex demands of their respective economic, social, and political environments. In this respect, it did not seem to matter that Puma is an example of a supply-chain manager, whereas ABB is a more traditional, integrated company. Both companies have an explicit and very elaborate company code of conduct; both seek to develop a life-cycle approach, involving a concern for the environmental and social standards of their products throughout the entire cycle, from resourcing to production and delivery; both seek to engage in dialog with stakeholders; and, moreover, neither company sees a necessity for stronger public regulation.

This position raised significant concern with the Pro Natura / Friends of the Earth representative, Miriam Behrens. Referring to a recent OECD study on the poor record of actual implementation of voluntary codes, Pro Natura calls for binding regulations at an international level. Additionally, it calls for an enhancement of the state capacity in developing countries to make the national court systems possible agents contributing to a better implementation of social and environmental standards.

Franck Amalric (Center for Corporate Responsibility and Sustainability at the University of Zurich) placed his emphasis on enhancing the social and environmental performance of companies by means of an economic rather than a judicial mechanism. Addressing the question under which circumstances investors might facilitate and promote sustainable self-regulation, Amalric identified two types of investors. While "supervisors" have no particular interest in sustainability affairs, but might "only" help companies to identify risks to reputation at an early stage, "activists," by contrast, have a strong interest in sustainability affairs. In particular, institutional investors that have their liabilities in the future, such as pension funds, may develop a long-term interest and influence companies to develop strategies that go beyond the short-term shareholder interest.

Peter Bauer, Global Head Regulatory Policy of UBS, presented a strong case for private self-regulation in a very sensitive area – the Wolfsberg Principles. These Principles are global anti-money-laundering guidelines for international private banks, and were established by a group of leading international banks in October 2000. The case is of interest not only because the banks collaborated with a team from Transparency International and with international experts, but also because the principles have been codified in many national regulations since then.

Explicitly addressing the limits of self-regulation,

Virginia Haufler (University of Maryland) identified factors in the political environment that make self-regulation a less likely or less viable option. Examples of a less favorable political environment are the area of conflict prevention in domestic conflicts, or a shift from neo-liberal to more interventionist public policies that provide less scope for self-regulatory activities.

Klaus Dieter Wolf (Technical University of Darmstadt) also painted a gloomy picture. Focusing on the legitimacy of self-regulation by transnational corporations beyond the level of the state, Wolf identified significant deficiencies in the input, throughput, and output phase of private norm-setting and implementation. Pointing to the imbalanced voices of private actors in world society, Wolf emphasized the importance of public actors to counterbalance economic power, in order to avoid negative externalities of economic activities by linking sectoral arenas with one another, by guaranteeing the rule of law, and by providing a framework for normative debate.

The presentations and discussion made the workshop itself an interesting exercise in a multi-stakeholder dialog. By approaching self-regulation from different perspectives, it was possible to shed light on its complexity, and also multi-stakeholder approaches and public-private partnerships developed to accommodate economic imperatives with social and environmental business performance. It is precisely this complexity that requires more differentiated assessments of self-regulation and reveals that the potential and limits of self-regulation are not opposing poles, but inter-related sides of the same coin. This will be the aim of a publication to be issued by the organizers of the workshop in 2004. ■

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Information Security: Addressing Asymmetric Threats in the Euro-Atlantic Region

Increasing computerization of government infrastructures has given rise to new vulnerabilities and challenges. Information Technologies (IT) have improved workflow efficiency, while exposing governments to new threats, which challenge not only national security, but also socio-economic development. Certain technologies deliver powerful weapons that can be used for new forms of warfare and cyber-crime, undermining the availability and integrity of reliable and confidential information vital for the continuity of government services. The International Relations and Security Network (ISN) has launched a new training program to strengthen the information security skills of government professionals throughout the Euro-Atlantic region, empowering them to cope with these threats and to develop information protection mechanisms.

In a highly networked environment, the protection of information resources has become a key priority and should form an integral part of national defense and international security policy-making. For the past three years, the ISN Partnership for Peace (PfP) training has focused on the advantages and practical applications of IT for the defense and security policy community. The new training program, however, focuses on the range of vulnerabilities and threats that information systems are exposed to in an Internet-dependent era. The ISN's new training program is designed to raise EAPC/PfP defense policy makers' awareness of the existing and emerging information security risks, and to develop information security specialists' skills to guarantee the maximum possible security of national information systems.

The ISN PfP Seminar on Information Security Fundamentals, the first in this new series, took place from 24-27 August 2003 at the ETH in Zurich, in cooperation with Danielyan Consulting LLP, an information security consultancy and ISN Cooperating Partner, and the ETH Information Security



Participants at the ISN PfP-Seminar on Information Security Fundamentals in August 2003.

Group. Participants from the South Caucasus, Central Asia, Eastern and Central Europe, and the Baltics region brought together a wealth of experience and contributed significantly to the success of the seminar. The 20 information security professionals represented Ministries of Defense and National Military Academies from over 17 EAPC/PfP countries. The seminar provided a unique opportunity for a diverse group to share its interests and concerns in a common professional realm, and to establish a human network, as valuable as the information security training itself.

The seminar discussions and presentations helped the participants to:

- identify the existing and potential challenges, threats and vulnerabilities of information systems;
- design successful information security policies based on the need for secure information systems in their ministries and government agencies;
- deepen their knowledge of existing and emerging security technologies, as well as continuing their information security education;
- develop competencies in adopting sustained approaches to security policy and identifying proactive measures to guarantee and enhance the security of their institutions;
- improve readiness to counter and respond to possible threats to their national information systems.

The intensive workshop curriculum was co-developed by Danielyan Consulting LLP and the ISN, with valuable contributions from guest speakers from the ETH Information Security Group, the Comprehensive Risk Management Network (CRN), and the Service for

Strategic Analysis and Prevention at the Swiss Federal Department of Justice and Police. By early spring 2004 the *Information Security Fundamentals* course will be available on-line, converted into an e-learning module based on ISN's PfP Learning Management System. Also, the ISN Information Security Qualifications Handbook will be published in February 2004, providing detailed information about information security qualifications for newcomers to the information security profession and human resources managers alike. More advanced and regional information security seminars are being planned as part of the ISN's new training strategy to enhance the capacity of governments to address asymmetric threats.

The Swiss government has committed itself to the implementation of the Partnership Action Plan Against Terrorism (PAPT) within the PfP framework. The PAPT forms one of the three pillars of NATO's new approach after the Prague summit with regards to the EAPC/PfP countries. Its main object is to intensify cooperation in areas that are relevant to the fight against terrorism. The ISN's PfP Seminar on Information Security Fundamentals was one of the first important and timely contributions towards implementing the Action Plan. ■

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How the Swiss Federal Drug Policy Spreads to Cantons and Cities: An Evaluation

Since the early 1990s, the Swiss Confederation has been promoting the “Four-Pillars” model to address drug-related issues. This model seeks to reduce drug-related problems by intervention using the four fields of prevention, treatment, harm reduction, and repression. Since the Confederation has no constitutional competence in drug policy, it cannot enforce this model in a top-down manner. Instead, it must rely on other means in order to convince the main players of Swiss drug policy – the cantons and the cities – to adopt its ideas.

In 1991, the Swiss Federal Council approved the first program of measures to reduce drug-related problems (MaPaDro), and authorized the Swiss Federal Office of Public Health (SFOPH) to promote projects in the fields of prevention, treatment, and harm reduction. In 1997, it extended this mandate to cover a second program of measures (MaPaDro 2), valid up to the end of 2001. The two MaPaDro programs comprise the principal activities of the Confederation in the first three “pillars,” whereby repression is excluded. These activities consist mainly of financial support given to pilot projects, promotion of research, and evaluation, as well as the improvement of coordination between drug policy actors.

In January 2000, the Institute of Political Science at the University of Zurich was

mandated to evaluate how MaPaDro-related activities of the SFOPH have influenced cantonal and communal decision-making in the field of drug policy, and to what extent they have contributed to a spread of the Four Pillars model among cantons and cities. Four separate studies were carried out for this purpose, based on both quantitative and qualitative methods. In the following, the focus is on one of these studies that maps the extent of political support for the federal program in cantons and cities:

The factors that are conditional for success in the implementation of a policy are a classic subject of policy research and evaluation. Studies dealing with this issue have shown that political support from interest groups and decision-makers in executive and legislative bodies is a key factor for success. Hence, mapping the extent of political support for the federal program in cantons and cities was an important objective of this evaluation. More precisely, political support was assessed on the basis of two indicators: (a) the acceptance of MaPaDro 2 measures (i.e. whether a given measure was accepted or rejected by decision-making bodies); and (b) the degree of conflict in relation to MaPaDro 2 measures (i.e. the ratio of positive to negative votes in decisions taken on a given measure). Empirically, these two indicators were assessed by a thorough screening of drug-related policy decisions at the federal level,

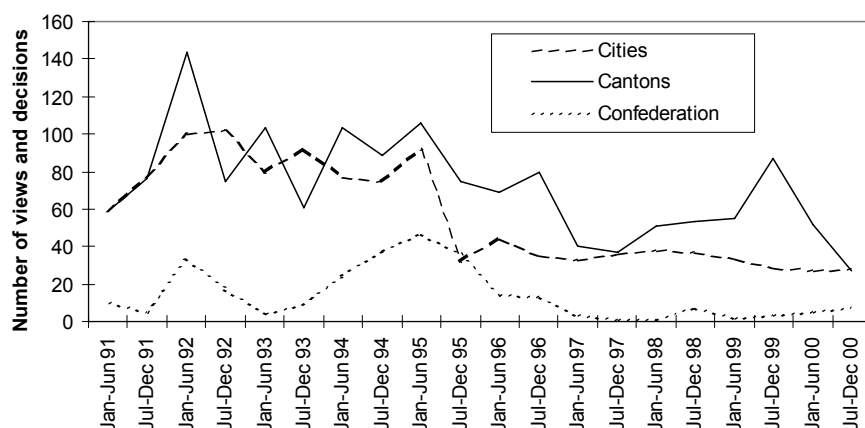
in all 26 cantons, as well as in 28 selected cities. During the period 1991–2000, a total of 2,850 decisions on drug policy were identified: 281 on the federal level, 1,442 on the cantonal level, and 1,127 on the communal level.

Viewed in chronological terms (Figure 1), it was obvious that, between 1991 and 1995, the political authorities took a great interest in drug-policy issues. Since the first half of 1995 (clearing and closure of various open drug scenes), however, this interest has shown a marked decline.

Overall, acceptance of MaPaDro 2 measures was relatively high. There was a clear predominance of positive decisions with respect to drug policy measures contained within the federal program. Acceptance of prevention was excellent throughout the period under review. Positive decisions also predominated in the fields of treatment and harm reduction, although acceptance in these areas was considerably lower than in the prevention field. Low acceptance in the field of treatment was primarily due to negative decisions taken on heroin-assisted treatment. Acceptance in the field of harm reduction fluctuated greatly in municipalities and cantons alike over the same period. However, overall acceptance of harm reduction measures tended to grow at all state levels and can now be assessed as very high, though presumably of limited stability.

With respect to the degree of conflict, it was not possible to discern a clear trend, either in cities, or at the cantonal or federal levels. The data therefore refute the widely held view that a consensus on drug-policy issues has emerged over the last ten years. The opposite seems to be true in the cities and at the federal level: since the second half of 1998, the degree of conflict has been growing again. Harm reduction exhibited the highest degree of conflict, and prevention the lowest. While political controversy in the field of harm reduction related to a number of different measures,

Figure 1: Views and decisions relating to drug policy 1991–2000 (N=2850)



► continued on page 14

► from page 13

conflict in the treatment field was focused on heroin-assisted therapy.

A classification of the cantons and cities under scrutiny (Table 1) shows that political support of MaPaDro 2 measures was strong in most cantons and cities. Nevertheless, there were some cantons and cities in which support was only weak.

What factors explain these differences in the political support of MaPaDro measures? Multivariate analysis showed that political support is associated primarily with socio-economic structures and urbanization. Cantons with structural deficits paid little attention to the drug-policy measures promoted by the Confederation. There was a significant correlation between a high degree of urbanization of a canton, high cantonal per capita expenditure, and low financial transfer payments on the one hand, and a positive attitude towards MaPaDro measures on the other. In contrast, political variables did not appear to be of much relevance. In other words, this analysis suggests that, for the implementation of the federal drug policy by cantons and cities, “politics does not matter” – a somewhat surprising result, given the intense political and ideological struggle over Swiss drug policy during the 1990s.

During the 1990s, the SFOPH’s strategy was predominantly a program aimed at stimulating action. The objective was to launch and disseminate a new model for

Table 1: Political support of MaPaDro 2 in cantons and cities

	<i>Acceptance below average</i>	<i>Acceptance above average</i>
<i>Degree of conflict below average</i>	Negative consensus <i>Cantons:</i> Neuchâtel, Nidwalden, Vaud, Zurich* <i>Cities:</i> Biel, Lugano, Zurich*	Positive consensus <i>Cantons:</i> Appenzell Outer-Rhodes, Basle-Country, Geneva, Zug, Grisons, Obwalden, Schwyz <i>Cities:</i> Lausanne, Köniz, Lucerne, Olten, Renens, Thun, Wettingen
<i>Degree of conflict above average</i>	Disputed rejection <i>Cantons:</i> Thurgovia <i>Cities:</i> Aarau, Chur, Locarno, Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Winterthur	Disputed approval <i>Cantons:</i> Lucerne, Basle-Town, Argovia, Valais, Berne, Fribourg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen <i>Cities:</i> Berne, Fribourg

* Acceptance presumably underestimated on account of executive decisions not being taken into account.

drug policy. This evaluation suggests that, although there are some cantons and cities in which political support for the federal measures is still weak, the SFOPH has been quite successful. Research, coordination, and project-targeted financial support have proved quite effective in increasing the political support necessary for program implementation by cantons and cities. In addition, by using project promotion to force ideologically “sensitive” issues (such as heroin-assisted treatments) onto the political agenda at all levels, the SFOPH very much stepped up the political debate and facilitated change in matters of drug policy.

The high visibility of the drug problem in the 1990s (e.g., scenes of open drug abuse in German-speaking cities) encouraged political support for innovative action in the field of illegal drugs. Today, however, the situation is different. The basic principles have been discussed and the main thrust of drug policy has been decided. Those responsible for drug policy are no longer under pressure to take action, but instead to justify the action taken. The disparities observed in the implementation of the Confederation’s drug policy therefore have quite different causes from those observed in the early 1990s, and are most probably due to an absence of needs, or to structural problems in individual cantons and cities. Such disparities are familiar

from many other areas of federal policy. Now that the debate has lost much of its fervor, drug policy is looking more and more like a “normal” federal policy. Today, the SFOPH is faced with the challenge of moving forward from a drug-policy program aimed at stimulating debate and action to a nationwide program that is able to respond to, and, if necessary, compensate for inequalities inherent in federalism. ■

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Available online at
<http://www.ipz.unizh.ch/publikationen/evalstud/>

Recent CIS Publications



Thomas Bernauer. *Genes, Trade, and Regulation: The Seeds of Conflict in Food Biotechnology.*

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003, ISBN 0-691-11348-3.
Available through <http://pup.princeton.edu/titles/7665.html>

Agricultural biotechnology is a source of growing tensions in the global trading system. Genetically modified food faces an uncertain future: the technology behind it may revolutionize food production, or it may follow the example of nuclear energy, which became one of the most unpopular and uneconomical innovations in history. This book provides novel and thought-provoking insights into the fundamental policy issues involved in agricultural biotechnology. The author explains global regulatory polarization and trade conflict in this area, and evaluates policy tools for coping with trade tensions. He concludes with suggestions for policy reforms in order that food biotechnology be given a fair chance to prove its environmental, health, humanitarian, and economic benefits.



Katharina Holzinger, Christoph Knill, Dirk Lehmkühl (eds.). *Politische Steuerung im Wandel: Der Einfluss von Ideen und Problemstrukturen [Governance in Transition: The Influence of Ideas and Problem Structures].*
Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003, ISBN 3-8100-3837-7 (in German).

The overall purpose of this book is to analyze the causes and mechanisms of change in governance over time. With a particular interest in the importance of ideas of, and conditions for governance, the empirical case studies analyze the specific relevance of historical, geographical, institutional, and sectoral factors for the transformation of patterns of governance. Patterns of governance do not merely refer to changes in the instruments applied. In the institutional context, changes in patterns of governance can also be observed in the interactions between the subjects and objects of governance, and the intensity of political regulation.



Uwe Serdült and Thomas Widmer (eds.). *Politik im Fokus [Focus on Politics].*

Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2003, ISBN 3-03823-008-1 (in German).

Available through www.nzz-buchverlag.ch

The festschrift *Politik im Fokus [Focus on Politics]*, published on the occasion of Professor Ulrich Klöti's 60th birthday, gives an insight into the various facets of politics, and into current political science research. Here, more than 30 leading authors from the fields of politics, administration, and science present their views on aspects of the political system such as government and administration, federalism, ballots and elections, and comparative politics. The wide-ranging content of the individual contributions reflects the diversity of Professor Klöti's professional activities.



Dieter Ruloff (ed.). *Preis der Freiheit – Grenzen der Sicherheit [The Price of Freedom – The Limits of Security].*

Chur/Zürich: Verlag Rüegger, 2003, ISBN 3-7253-0740-7 (in German).

Available through <http://www.rueggerverlag.ch/>

The year of horror 2001, with its many catastrophes, has clearly shown that nowhere in the world can security be implemented with 100% effectiveness. Security can be improved – but at what cost? The measures taken against terrorism show that the inevitable consequence of greater security is a loss of our freedom. What risks are we willing to accept in return for our freedom? What are we willing to tolerate, and where does tolerance end? This book features contributions from six prominent experts from different fields who have aired their views on this topic in a series of lectures organized by the Swiss Institute of International Studies (SIAS).



Christoph Münger. *Kennedy, die Berliner Mauer und die Kubakrise [Kennedy, the Berlin Wall, and the Cuba Crisis].*

Paderborn et al.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003, ISBN 3-506-77531-6 (in German).

Available through <http://www.schoeningh.de/>

A deep rift between the USA and Great Britain on the one hand, and France and Germany on the other, had already arisen 40 years ago when Ulbricht ordered the construction of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union stationed rockets at the USA's very front door. While, in the Berlin crisis, Adenauer and de Gaulle took an uncompromising stand against the East, US President Kennedy and British Prime Minister Macmillan showed themselves willing to make concessions. Following the successful resolution of the Cuba Crisis, the USA finally imposed its will, and the superpowers agreed on the ultimate division of Germany and Berlin. Drawing on new sources, this book studies a difficult internal Western crisis that has until now, in the shadow of the great East-West conflicts, received little attention.



Jürg M. Gabriel and Thomas Fischer (eds.). *Swiss Foreign Policy, 1945–2002.*

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, ISBN 1-4039-1275-0.

Available through <http://www.palgrave.com/>

This volume presents a comprehensive collection of essays examining the dualistic nature of Swiss foreign policy that is at once both strongly internationalist and strongly unilateralist. The essays deal with a diverse range of issues: the evolution of Swiss foreign policy and of neutrality; Swiss relations with the UN and the recent decision to join the world organization; the Swiss policy of good offices; the Swiss government's relations with the ICRC; the development of Swiss policy in the area of human rights; policy changes in arms control and non-proliferation; and Swiss foreign trade policy.



Erika Meins. *Politics and Public Outrage: Explaining Transatlantic and Intra-European Diversity of Regulations on Food Irradiation and Genetically Modified Food.*

Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 2003, ISBN 3-8258-6767-6.

Available through <http://www.lit-verlag.de>

This study provides a general framework for explaining cross-national regulatory variation. Its most important theoretical contribution is to incorporate the notion of public perceptions into a political economy theory of regulation. The study involves four case studies from the realm of environmental, health, and safety risks. The case studies on food irradiation fill an important gap in the literature on environmental, health, and safety regulation. The case studies on GMO regulation are more systematic and informative than most other comparable work that has been published to date.

Articles

Stefanie **Bailer**. "Bargaining Success in the European Union: The Impact of Exogenous and Endogenous Power Resources." In *European Union Politics* 5, 1(2004).

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Calendar

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- **1st International Plugfest Conference**
 ISN conference in cooperation with the US Advanced Distributed Learning (ADL) Initiative, 16–19 February 2004, ETH Zurich.
- **Peace Support Operations: ein aktives Element der Schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik**
 Workshop organized by the Center for Security Studies with the support of the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 11 March 2004, ETH Zurich.
- **Agricultural Biotechnology in Developing Countries: Perception, Politics, and Policies**
 CIS workshop in cooperation with the Department of Agricultural Economics (IAW) and the Swiss Center for International Agriculture at ETH Zurich, 12 March 2004, University of Zurich.
- **China and the Warsaw Pact**
 Seminar co-organized by the Center for Security Studies, 13–14 June 2004, Beijing/China.
- **6th International Security Forum (ISF)**
 International conference co-organized by the Center for Security Studies, 4–6 October 2004, Convention Centre, Montreux.
- **Intelligence in Waging the Cold War: NATO, Warsaw Pact, and the Neutrals, 1949–90**
 International conference organized by the Parallel History Project (PHP) and the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, Spring 2005, Oslo, Norway.

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