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The Diverse Dilemmas of Democracy

Democracy today faces two main challenges: on the one hand, nation-states have suffered a severe loss of problem-solving capacity as a result of globalization and European integration. On the other, the intrusion of the media and its logic into the political process constitutes a fundamental threat to traditional models of representative democracy, but it also harbors opportunities for improved legitimacy under these new conditions. These challenges were the subject of a CIS symposium that featured a panel discussion focusing on the future of democracy in the media society and a keynote speech by Lord Ralf Dahrendorf on the current crisis of democracy and the challenges posed by “glocalization.”

Recent developments in several Western democracies vividly demonstrate how quickly shifts in public opinion can dissolve support for governments and their policies. Such shifts are frequently attributed to the power of the media, since issues and attitudes generally achieve social relevance through mediatization.

In this Issue

The Diverse Dilemmas of Democracy	page 1-3,11
The ECONILE Project: Cooperation through Communication ..	page 4-5
The Transformation of Political Mobilization and Communication in European Public Spheres	page 6-7
Agricultural Biotechnology in Developing Countries	page 8-9
National Counter-Terrorism Policies ...	page 10-11
Ninth Churchill's Europe Symposium .	page 12
Swiss Foreign Policy Toward South Africa Under Apartheid	page 13-14
Recent CIS Publications	page 15
Calendar	page 16



Lord Ralf Dahrendorf (right) delivered the keynote speech at the symposium on the challenges to democracy, organized by CIS director Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi.

The defeat of the Conservatives in the March 2004 elections in Spain and the German Social Democrats (SPD) remarkable comeback in the parliamentary elections of 2002 are two examples of the media's capacity to create or modify public opinion, and of the dramatic consequences that can ensue when politicians mobilize the media on their behalf or when the media make a concerted effort to influence the public on their own initiative. Whereas Gerhard Schröder personally intervened to turn around an election that appeared to be all but lost for the SPD, most notably by ensuring special coverage of the government's relief efforts on behalf of the victims of catastrophic floods in the new *Länder*, the Conservative loss in Spain followed a major strategic mistake on their part, which unleashed an intense media-led campaign to discredit the Aznar government and to rally voters against it. Given the intensity of competition for the public's limited attention, the media are

under pressure to emphasize nonstop news production and rapid shifts in topics. Thus, as the media has increasingly come to set the tempo for policymakers, politics have come to be based on rapidly changing expectations and chronic short-termism. These developments are particularly troubling from a democratic perspective.

In June 2004, a symposium organized by the CIS in cooperation with the Swiss Center for Studies on the Global Information Society (SwissGIS) at the University of Zurich addressed the challenges confronting democracy in the media society. An interdisciplinary panel composed of four experts from academia and the media discussed whether reflective and long-term policymaking is still possible under these conditions. In this context, the panel debated whether direct democratic institutions immunize Swiss politics from these developments.

► continued on page 2

► from page 1

Edgar Grande, professor of political science at the Technical University in Munich, observed that the trend towards a “Stimmungsdemokratie,” in which elections are largely determined by transitory and highly manipulable public moods, is far from new. The fact that voters can be easily swayed and the instability of their preferences once formed belong to the classic critiques of democracy. Grande also argued that this trend towards a “Stimmungsdemokratie” is now operating as part of a much larger process of transformation in contemporary parliamentary democracies and that it, therefore, carries new and far-reaching significance. This transformation is primarily manifested in the diminished importance of traditional political fora (usually parliaments) in processes of political agenda-building and decision-making, which are increasingly supplemented, and sometimes even displaced by alternative forms of political deliberation

and governance, i.e. party democracy, negotiated democracy and media democracy. As a result, the conditions of governance have been fundamentally transformed.

The first transformation of democracy is a product of the increasing importance of political parties and the constraints that party competition subsequently imposes on policymakers. The processes of political deliberation and decision-making are therefore subjected to the short-term calculations of the electoral cycle. The second transformation involves the development of institutions that favor consensus over majority rule. Such negotiated democratic arrangements are vulnerable to two main dangers. On the one hand, policy decisions can wind up being systematically suboptimal or even totally blocked. On the other hand, important policy areas can be with-

drawn from the pressures of party competition and parliamentary authority for opportunistic reasons. The third transformation ushers in a new media-oriented political standard based on media presence, popularity ratings, opinion polls, and viewer levels. This shift has forced politicians to routinely make promises that surpass their authority and capacity to act. Moreover, political problems and issues tend to get oversimplified in this context.

These three new features of democracy are mutually incompatible on multiple levels. Politics in modern democracies, the competition for political office, policymaking, and the public representation of these policies, are thus subjected to increasing and irreconcilable claims. As a result, political elites inevitably generate frustration among



Edgar Grande, Frank Marcinkowski, Matthias Saxer, Roger de Weck, and Hans Mathias Kepplinger (from left) brought both scholarly and practical perspectives to bear on the discussion on the future of democracy in the media society.

party members, negotiation partners, the media, and the electorate at large. Grande proposed four strategies for governing in media societies which (in theory, at least) offer a way out of this dilemma: neutralizing specific features that threaten the viability of democracy, minimizing the extent to which incompatible features interact by installing organizational buffers or by separating them altogether, and simply letting political actors incorporate these interdependencies into their strategies. Comparative research on democracy will be faced with the urgent task of determining whether these strategies will be sufficient to ensure democracy’s survival in the harsh environment of the media society.

Hans Mathias Kepplinger, professor at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication of the University of Mainz, made the case that the rise and predomi-

nance of television have reinforced the shift in power from parties to the media. Kepplinger presented findings from a longitudinal electoral study on the influence of television on public opinion and voters’ intentions in Germany, which reveals that the tone of television news broadcasts before an election has a larger impact on voters’ intentions than had previously been assumed. Rational voter theory predicts that individual voting decisions are based on rational considerations, and that electoral outcomes are, therefore, based on rational foundations. Kepplinger discussed these assumptions in light of empirical findings from the longitudinal study, which covered the voting population’s behavior towards information, its interest in politics, and the conditions under which elections take place today.

According to Kepplinger’s findings, the media, and television in particular, have become the most important source

of information on politically relevant events. Television is the sole media resource to which voters with low interest in politics turn. The voting population’s knowledge about current events derives overwhelmingly from television, although most viewers forget a large proportion of what they see and hear in television news broadcasts within a few minutes. In spite of this, almost everything voters know about current events derives from the media, since they generally retain what is reported over a period of days or weeks. However, voters learn more about the personalities of the candidates for federal chancellor from television news than about their qualifications for office, and the information that they receive is overwhelmingly visual, rather than verbal, in nature. Moreover, voters still believe that they form judgments about politicians, parties, and issues by relying on their knowledge of reality, whereas they

actually draw on a certain representation of reality rather than reality itself. Thus, according to Kepplinger, attempts to explain voting behavior must incorporate the irrationality of a decisive part of the electorate as a central problem.

According to Matthias Saxer, chief editor of the national news section of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the media society has not generated such problems in Switzerland due to the interaction of direct democracy and of relatively straightforward conditions in Swiss politics. Swiss citizens are able to assess the messages projected by media campaigns, and regularly conducted VOX-surveys rarely suggest that voters are overwhelmed. Thus, the media function as an information channel in Switzerland, rather than as opinion-makers, and electoral results tend to be relatively coherent. Saxer explained this immunity to the pathologies that afflict other media societies with the specific features of Swiss democracy, including an inherent slowness built into the institutions that make up the Swiss political system, including referendum, popular initiatives, and elections. Issues are debated over a prolonged period of time, and so media-led political moods and concerns about particular issues have a lesser impact than in other countries.

Roger de Weck confirmed Saxer's position that Switzerland is more resistant to the pathologies characteristic of "Stimmungsdemokratie," but he also noted that four major changes have transformed the conditions under which all media and democratic systems operate: the electronic revolution and the digitalization of content, the shift from the industrial to the service society, the opposition between ecological (boundary-oriented) and globalizing (unifying) world-views, and the social changes and hypercritical journalistic tradition associated with the 1968 movement, as well as the counter-reaction of the 1980s, which witnessed a degeneration of values and a return to uncritical reporting. Meanwhile, as the media have competed for the public's limited attention, they have increasingly



Lord Ralf Dahrendorf emphasized the rule of law as a basic prerequisite of democracy.

drifted away from their original mission of informing the public, and towards buzzword reporting that focuses instead on cultivating attitudes.

In his keynote speech after the symposium, Lord Ralf Dahrendorf focused on two additional challenges that confront modern democracies, which he argued are encompassed by the concept of "glocalization." Dahrendorf began by laying out the three core elements of democracy. First, democracy implies that change can be effected peacefully and that governments and prevailing policies can be revised without bloodshed. Second, government officials are subject to checks and balances, which limits their effective power. Third, the people are the source of legitimacy. These three elements are currently experiencing considerable pressure, which manifests itself in two questions: can democracy be exported, and can it work in settings other than the nation-state?

Dahrendorf's main argument maintains that to the extent that the traditional nation-state is losing importance as an arena of political action, democracy is also in decline. Although the nation-state is not about to disappear, important decisions are increasingly being taken in alternative settings, ranging from international organizations and regimes to non-governmental arenas

such as multinational corporations, and even in so-called "diffuse spaces" in which the ultimate source of governance remains ambiguous. This situation raises the question of how democratic standards can be met under these conditions.

So far, the European Union has not managed to install a decision-making process compatible with the key elements of democracy. The EU still lacks procedures capable of bringing about real change, and its decision-making apparatus remains overly complicated and intransparent. Although a strong system of checks and balances does exist, a European citizenry that could serve as a source of democratic legitimacy has yet to emerge, and the fact that the media in Europe remain highly national in orientation makes the prospect that such a citizenry will soon emerge seem highly unlikely. Thus, even in the EU, the adoption of parliamentary democratic institutions at the supranational level has failed to result in credible democratic structures. What alternatives are capable of securing the principles of free societies in a globalized world?

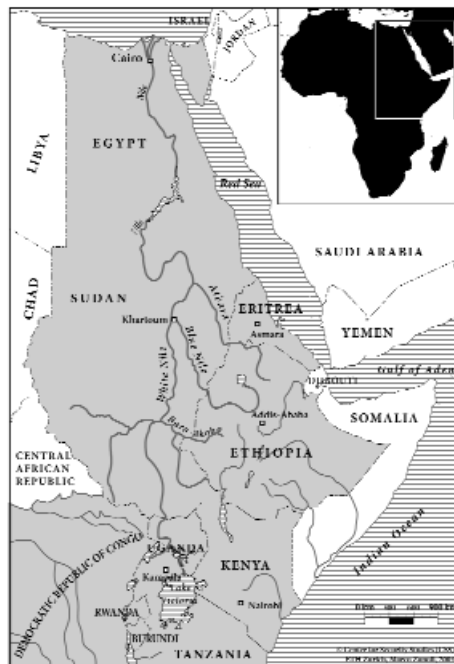
Dahrendorf listed three ways to apply democratic principles in situations where classic parliamentary methods cannot be implemented. First, the rule of law is the fundamental prerequisite for democracy. This is cause for optimism, since although democracy cannot be exported, binding legal rules can be installed far more easily in a variety of settings. The EU as a community of law is a prime example. Spreading the rule of law will be difficult to achieve on a global scale, as the U.S.'s failure to join the Kyoto Treaty demonstrates. In spite of such obstacles, Dahrendorf argued that the attempt to spread the rule of law should still be a top priority in international politics. He also made additional recommendations to ensure a minimum of political dynamism, including rotating offices in international institutions and sunset clauses to limit the validity of laws to a specific period, after which they would

► continued on page 11

The ECONILE Project: Cooperation Through Communication

In 1997, academics and government representatives from the Nile Basin region gathered for a conference in Addis Ababa. In a tense atmosphere, heated words were exchanged and accusations flew back and forth. Ethiopia blamed Egypt for using all the water and impeding its development upstream, while Egypt reproached Ethiopia for not accepting its acquired rights. In 2004, academics and government representatives (acting in their personal capacity) from the Nile Basin gathered once again, but this time the atmosphere was cordial. In fact, the Egyptian, Sudanese and Ethiopian participants were now collaborating on a project to promote development in the Nile Basin. What had happened between these two meetings?

The following article will seek to answer this question, especially by focusing on the role of the Environment and Cooperation in the Nile Basin (ECONILE) project, an “action” research project involving multiple disciplines, countries and institutions. First, however, the project’s origins require explanation. In 1997, Kurt R. Spillmann, then the director of the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research at the ETH Zurich, and Günther Baechler, then the director of the Swisspeace Foundation, and currently the director of the Conflict Prevention and Transformation Division of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), were attending the aforementioned conference in Addis Ababa. As witnesses to the fist-shaking and mutual recriminations that characterized that meeting, they were inspired to initiate a research project on river water management along the Nile based on two existing joint projects, the Environment and Conflicts Project (ENCOP) and the Conflict Management in the Horn of Africa (ECOMAN) project. In 1999, this ambition took shape in the form of two Ph.D. theses, one focusing on the downstream perspective (Simon Mason) and the other on the upstream perspective (Yacob Arsano). Both dissertations were



finished in 2004. Two new dissertations on river water management along the Nile are currently being carried out by Samuel Luzi and Moges Shiferaw.

The basic idea of this project was to generate “oriented research”, i.e. research that is neither basic nor applied, but instead oriented towards a “real world” problem. Towards this end, an “action element” was incorporated into the research design, which ensured that the research results would feed into practice, and that practice would inform the research on an ongoing basis. The supervisory team members were thus selected from both the natural and the social sciences. Together with Kurt R. Spillmann and Günther Baechler, Alexander Zehnder from the Swiss Federal Institute for Environmental Science and Technology (EAWAG) and Andreas Wenger from the Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich made up the supervisory team that met with Simon Mason (environmental scientist) and Yacob Arsano (political scientist) twice a year. Furthermore, experts from the Nile region, including Waleed Hamza, Magdy Hefny and Marwa Gouda from Egypt, Atta El Battahani and Mirghani Ali from Sudan, and Seyoum Gebre Selassie from Ethiopia, actively con-

tributed to the project. Due to the project’s design and the principal researchers’ different disciplinary backgrounds, Mason focused on Egypt and Sudan and on environmental issues and the role of communication in international cooperation, while Arsano focused on Ethiopia and on historical and cultural perspectives and the need for legal frameworks. Both studies therefore represent complete works in themselves, although they jointly provide a more complete perspective on the issue. Financing was provided by the ETH Zurich and by the Individual Project 7 *Environmental Change and Conflict Transformation* which is part of the NCCR North–South Research Partnerships for Mitigating Syndromes of Global Change.

The “action element” of the project was realized through a series of dialogue workshops at which academics and government representatives acting in their personal capacity from Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan met with the goals of identifying the issues at stake, understanding the different perspectives involved, and working towards the development of mutually acceptable water management options. These dialogue workshops were situated on the “Track 2” and “Track 1.5” levels. Track 2 has been defined by Joseph Montville, diplomat and political psychologist, as “informal interaction between (informal but influential) members of adversarial groups or nations which aims to develop strategies, influence public opinion, or organize human resources in ways that may help resolve the conflict.” Track 1, on the other hand, refers to classical diplo-

Publications:



Simon A. Mason.
From Conflict to Cooperation in the Nile Basin.
Zurich: ETH Zurich, Center for Security Studies, 2004.



Yacob Arsano.
Ethiopia and the Nile: Dilemmas of National and Regional Hydropolitics.
Zurich: ETH Zurich, Center for Security Studies (forthcoming).

macy, i.e. to interaction among officials from various countries. “Track 1.5” is thus used to describe informal meetings among individuals who hold official government positions, but who attend such workshops in their personal capacity. The first ECONILE workshop in 2002 was attended by two participants from each country (Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan), three at the second workshop in 2003, and four from each country at the most recent workshop in 2004. Although the workshops were initially designed as Track 2 exercises, government officials attending in their personal capacity were included in the later workshops, with the result that the intermediate Track 1.5 interaction level became the norm. Hansueli Mueller-Yersin and Ursula Koenig, both mediators with a natural science and engineering background respectively, moderated the workshops but left their direction and content up to the participants. The workshop series was primarily financed by the SDC and the NCCR North-South.

How does the ECONILE research project and its dialogue workshop series fit with other activities that support cooperation in the Nile Basin? In 1999, the World Bank, the UNDP and the Canadian Development Agency (CIDA) supported the Nile countries in launching the Track 1-level Nile Basin Initiative (NBI), which later also included projects on other tracks, e.g. the Nile 2002 Conference series and the Nile Discourse project. The NBI has successfully stimulated cooperation in the region. The breakthrough came about primarily because Egypt agreed to discuss legal issues (a request of the Ethiopians) and because Ethiopia agreed to begin cooperating on specific projects even though a legal framework had not yet been established (a request of the Egyptians). The historic dimension of this breakthrough is apparent from the fact that the NBI is the first international water management forum in the Nile Basin in which Ethiopia is an active participant. The ECONILE research project represents an academic complement to the much larger NBI, in particular by collecting and analyz-



Members of the ECONILE project (from left): Kurt R. Spillmann, Günther Bächler, Simon Mason, Yacob Arsano, Andreas Wenger, Marwa Gouda, and Alexander Zehnder.

ing the “lessons learned” from this historically unique process.

To resolve our original question – i.e. what brought about this dramatic change in the Nile Basin? – we must first distinguish between structural and policy-driven variables. Some political, economic and environmental factors are structural/contextual, while other proximate factors are more susceptible to intervention (e.g. distrust can be eased through measures to promote communication). Contextual factors beyond the grasp of policy intervention include the end of the Cold War, regime change in the countries of the region, and the balance of power amongst the countries involved. The ECONILE project outlined these contextual factors, focusing in particular on the opportunities for international cooperation that have increased in importance as pressure on natural resources has grown.

Changes in contextual factors and in policy both led to cooperation in the Nile Basin. The end of the Cold War, for example, made it possible for the countries of the Nile Basin to work together, since they were no longer separated into opposing ideological camps. At the policy level, what really brought about change in the Nile Basin was the strategy of promoting communication along all tracks over a sustained

period of time. Although no single workshop or conference was decisive in and of itself, a process of “dialogue accumulation” encouraged trust among key actors and fostered their willingness to cooperate. In a nutshell, this new approach, which is still fragile and very much in need of continued support, was aptly described by Atta el Battahani and Asha el Karib, two Sudanese participants at the 2004 ECONILE workshop, as follows: “When we empathetically engage with (rather than resist or push against) a person or situation we experience as an obstacle, we can release and redirect the energy held in that situation toward a positive end.” It is in this spirit that the Nile discussions were able to move forward. The ECONILE research project and its Dialogue Workshops are thus a small but critical building block in this new bridge of trust. This trust has enabled the countries involved to move from shifting blame to jointly addressing their common problem: how to make use of the common waters of the Nile in an equitable and sustainable manner. ■

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The Transformation of Political Mobilization and Communication in European Public Spheres

Although the European Union (EU) is widely recognized as a successful example of peaceful integration, it continues to face criticism that it suffers from a “democratic deficit” and that it remains distant from the European citizenry. While several reforms were proposed in the context of the recent enlargement to redesign the EU’s institutional structure and decision-making procedures, continued advancement in the integration process will depend to a large extent on the emergence of a public sphere that enables citizens to get involved in the public debate about European policies and institutions, and through which European actors may be held accountable. Demands for effective and relevant public communication and mobilization as prerequisites for the democratization of Europe have triggered a lively debate among scholars on the nature of such a European public sphere and the conditions of its emergence, but this normative discussion has thus far remained highly speculative. An international research project aims to fill the empirical void in the current academic debate and to analyze the forms and extent of “Europeanized” public communication and mobilization in seven European countries.

The European Framework 5 project *The Transformation of Political Mobilization and Communication in European Public Spheres (Europub.com)* was initiated in September 2001 and will run until December 2004. The project is coordinated by Ruud Koopmans at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) and brings together more than 30 researchers from universities in the countries under study – Germany, France, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Switzerland. The Swiss project is supported by the Federal Office for Education and Science and involves CIS researchers Hanspeter Kriesi, Margit Jochum, and Anke Tresch. On the one hand, including the Swiss case in this project will make it possible to control for the

impact of EU membership and thus to situate the levels of Europeanization of the member states. On the other, this case selection will make it possible to demonstrate that the concept of the Europeanization of the public sphere can and should be applied to non-member states.

Research and data collection activities were organized into six parallel and complementary “work-packages” which featured a combination of various quantitative and qualitative research methods. The most important and time-consuming of these “work-packages” consisted of a coding of political statements made by collective actors as reported in the political and business sections of four selected newspapers (i.e. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *Blick*, *Le Temps*, and *Le Matin* for the Swiss case), which made it possible to describe the degrees and forms of Europeanized public communication and mobilization in the mass-mediated public spheres of the seven countries under examination. The research team found that Europeanization of public communication and mobilization can take three possible forms. Supranational Europeanization results from public debates between European-level institutions and actors on European issues. Vertical Europeanization refers to debates between the national and the European levels, such as in the case of bilateral negotiations between Switzerland and the EU. There are two

basic variants of this pattern: a bottom-up one, in which national actors address European actors and/or European issues, and a top-down one, in which European actors intervene in national policies and public debates in the name of European regulations and interests. Finally, horizontal Europeanization consists of debates between different EU states without explicit references to EU actors or topics. In the weak variant of horizontal Europeanization, the media in one country cover debates and contestation in another member state (or in Switzerland), but without representing communicative interaction between actors from different countries (e.g. when the Swiss media reported on a parliamentary debate in Italy about retirement ages). In the stronger variant, actors from one country explicitly address or refer to actors and policies in another member state (or Switzerland) (e.g. when the Swiss media reported that the German Chancellor had criticized the French government’s handling of the BSE epidemic).

These forms of Europeanized public communication and mobilization can be distinguished from purely national-level politics involving domestic actors and national issues on the one hand, and international politics on the other. The Europeanization of public spheres thus refers to a substantial and increasing part of public communication and mobilization as reported by the national mass media, in which political



Hanspeter Kriesi, Margit Jochum, and Anke Tresch (from left) analyzed the forms and extent of Europeanized public communication and mobilization in Switzerland.

actors increasingly make references that transcend national borders but which remain at least partly grounded in Europe. In other words, the structure of communicative linkages that transcend national borders determines the degree and type of Europeanization of a given public sphere. Following a political opportunity structure perspective, the shape and extent of Europeanized public communication were expected to vary according to the distribution of power between the EU and the national levels in a given policy domain. Thus, the *Europub.com* project investigated patterns of public communication and mobilization in policy fields where the EU's competence is firmly established (monetary politics and agriculture), policy domains where the EU aims at harmonization and at most can influence outcomes through intergovernmental procedures (immigration and troop deployment), as well as policy domains that remain fully under the control of the member states (pension reforms and education). Finally, the overarching issue of European integration (which refers to institutional and governance issues, enlargement, etc.) was also investigated. The political claims analysis (PCA) approach developed by Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham was used for the content analysis of four newspapers from 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2002. A political claim is an expression of a political opinion or demand in the public sphere through physical or verbal action which can take any form (press conference, demonstration, decision, etc.) and originate from any type of actor (government, political party, NGO, etc). Using the PCA approach had the advantage of making it possible to identify the communicative interactions between actors in public debates, since its coding system accounts not only for the author and issue of a given political expression, but also for the actors who are addressed, criticized and/or supported.

Analysis of 1661 claims showed a surprisingly high level of Europeanization of public debates in Swiss newspapers, even com-

pared with levels in member states. A rough measure based on all Swiss claims irrespective of policy field and year reveals that about two-thirds of all claims are Europeanized in one form or another, whereas only one-third of all debates remain confined to Swiss actors and issues, or extend beyond Europe without referring to European countries or actors. This high level of Europeanization may be due to Switzerland's traditional openness towards and interests in global markets and to its geographic position in the heart of the European continent. Moreover, the ongoing bilateral negotiations between Switzerland and the EU undoubtedly contribute to the high visibility of European actors and issues in the Swiss print media. However, the most important finding confirmed the initial hypothesis that the level of Europeanization varies significantly according to the formal competences of the EU in a given policy field. Whereas European actors and institutions are virtually absent in public debates about pension reforms and education policy, they enjoy relatively high visibility with regard to monetary policy and agriculture. Furthermore, the level of Europeanized public communication and mobilization on the issue of monetary policy increased steadily from 1990 to 2002, at a pace which reflects the progressive creation of the European Monetary Union during this period and supports the hypothesized relation between the formal transfer of power to the supranational level and the Europeanization of public communication. In other policy fields, however, a trend towards a re-nationalization of public debates in reporting by Swiss newspapers can be found. In fact, the share of purely domestic debates was twice as high in 2002 than in 1990 (23% and 12% respectively). This trend can partly be attributed to important federal votes in 2002 (e.g. the "gold initiative" and the "asylum initiative") that managed to attract the media's sustained attention, but it probably also reflects the more general political climate in Switzerland, which has become more inward-looking and skeptical about European integration in recent years.

A content analysis of 562 editorials published in the four Swiss newspapers during the years 2000-2002 further illustrates the high relevance of Europeanized claims-making in Switzerland. Interviews with journalists confirmed that Swiss newspapers try to promote Europeanization in the sense that they overtly support further integration of Switzerland in the EU – be it through membership or through bilateral agreements – and that they try to communicate this attitude to their readers. In spite of this pro-European attitude among journalists, the fact that Switzerland stands outside of the EU has clear implications for the way Swiss newspapers cover European issues. In addition to their strong tendency to report European news from a domestic angle, with a clear emphasis on consequences for Swiss national interests, Swiss journalists also rely heavily on Swiss sources of information, perhaps because those who are not based in Brussels tend to perceive access to EU officials as relatively difficult. Weak access is also typical for Swiss political actors. Interviews with 48 experts from 16 key organizations on EU integration, agriculture, and immigration / asylum policy clearly confirmed that, at least as far as non-state actors are concerned, Swiss actors fail to build networks at the European level. Thus, although European actors and topics have become increasingly visible in the Swiss media, actors in Brussels do not yet seem to be perceived as important interlocutors towards whom mobilization and communication strategies should be directed. ■

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<http://europub.wz-berlin.de>

Agricultural Biotechnology in Developing Countries from Various Perspectives

The global debate over the risks and benefits of agricultural biotechnology continues to polarize and provides little guidance for policy makers dealing with political initiatives and regulation related to this new technology. A broader, more interdisciplinary and international discussion that targets widely held misperceptions, such as the assumption that agricultural biotechnology refers exclusively to genetically modified organisms, would contribute to a more differentiated debate and thus promote more informed political decisions. With this goal in mind, the CIS organized an international workshop entitled *Agricultural Biotechnology in Developing Countries: Perceptions, Politics and Policies*.

The workshop took place in March 2004 and was sponsored by the CIS, the Institute of Agricultural Economics, the Swiss Center for International Agriculture (ZIL) and the Walter Hochstrasser Foundation, which are all based at the ETH Zurich. The morning session was opened by Thomas Bernauer, who explained how regulatory polarization, escalating trade tensions, and the unresolved controversy over agricultural biotechnology in Europe and the United States continue to inhibit public and NGO support for agri-biotech R&D in developing countries where it has the greatest potential to contribute to improved living conditions. Bernauer argued that transatlantic polarization threatens to reduce the discussion about the impact of the biological revolution in agriculture to anecdotes about a few transgenic crops (soybean, corn, rapeseed) that are mainly used by large-scale commercial farmers in temper-

Agricultural biotechnology draws on the modern tools of biotechnology, including marker-assisted breeding, tissue culture, biochemical pathway analysis, genomics, gene-silencing and genetic engineering in order to improve the quality and quantity of agricultural products. Many of these new technologies have the potential to reduce hunger and environmental degradation in developing countries, provided that effective public policies are in place to ensure that they are applied in sustainable and equitable ways.



Klaus Ammann, Peder Anker, Anil Gupta, and William Masters (from left) at the concluding plenary discussion.

ate zones. In this context, he drew on findings from his recently published book *Genes, Trade and Regulation: The Seeds of Conflict in Food Biotechnology*.

Prof. Klaus Ammann, Director of the Botanical Garden at the University of Bern, followed with a presentation focusing on the contradictory arguments advanced by many opponents of genetic engineering in Europe. He argued that these opponents are often highly strategic in their selection and interpretation of research results on genetic engineering, while ignoring genuine risks in the field of food and agriculture (e.g. their failure to denounce the widespread presence of Mycotoxine in organic and conventional food products). At the end of the first morning session, Dr. Peder Anker, a Harvard philosopher and historian and currently a visiting fellow at Columbia University in New York, presented a brief introduction to the Anglo-Saxon history of ecology. The Norwegian scholar demonstrated that in spite of ecology's reputation as an "innocent" discipline, its origins can actually be traced to struggles for colonial dominance in South Africa. He emphasized that his intention was not to tarnish ecology's reputation, but rather to offer a less idealized and more differentiated picture of the discipline.

The second morning session's speakers addressed the gap between how the Western public and farmers in developing countries perceive or experience the distribution of costs and benefits of agricultural biotechnology. Anil Gupta, Professor at the Indian Institute of Management and founder of two Indian NGOs that focus on the promotion of rural innovation, challenged the popular assumption that multinationals reap profits while farmers bear the negative consequences of new technology in Indian agriculture. He pointed out that Monsanto's patent on pest-resistant Bt cotton is not enforced in India because Indian law does not recognize patents on living organisms. Indian technology companies took advantage of this situation and created their own versions of Bt cotton, which they sell to farmers in the state of Gujarat at a relatively low price. Farmers are thus able to make good profits because they save input costs on pesticides and labor. The problem with Bt cotton in India is therefore not a lack of tangible benefits for farmers but rather its uncontrolled use.

Dr. Victor Konde, an UNCTAD official in Geneva and lecturer at the University of Zambia, presented new biotechnology applications in agriculture that do not involve genetic engineering but have

tremendous potential to boost the productivity of African agriculture (e.g. improved processing of animal and plant products). Such innovations could help to diversify rural economies, create jobs, and promote development in economically marginalized regions in Africa. However, he also maintained that Western donors' reluctance to invest in technologies geared towards the needs of rural areas in developing countries will make it difficult to ensure that they benefit the regions that need them most.

Jayashree Watal, special counselor on Intellectual Property Rights to the World Trade Organization (WTO), discussed the many misconceptions surrounding the WTO/TRIPS (Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) agreements. Ms. Watal specifically contested the popular notion that the TRIPS agreement is simply a tool of Western interests designed to prevent developing countries from copying life-saving Western technologies. As a participant at the negotiations on the TRIPS agreement in the 1990s when she was still a diplomat for the Indian government, she is convinced that the TRIPS agreement (and TRIPS plus in particular) allow their signatories considerable flexibility in designing their respective regulatory regimes on intellectual property rights, by allowing countries to tailor

regulations to their particular circumstances (e.g. need to secure access to life-saving drugs, protection of indigenous knowledge and natural resources, etc.) and stage of technological development. However, she also emphasized that more legal training for lawyers and legislators in developing countries is necessary in order for these countries to be able to take full advantage of the flexibility written into the TRIPS agreements.

During the afternoon session, the focus moved to economic, political and world-

view aspects of agricultural biotechnology. Professor Carl Pray of Rutgers University in New Jersey returned to the topic of pest-resistant Bt cotton and its economic impact in China. His empirical studies demonstrate that there is enormous demand for pest-resistant Bt cotton in China because it has been shown to increase income and reduce the use of pesticides. As in the case of India, the problem is not a lack of demand for genetically engineered cotton, but rather the rapid and uncontrolled manner in which it is being introduced.

Professor William Masters, interim director of the Center for Globalization and Sustainable Development of the Earth Institute at Columbia University in New York, drew attention to the obstacle of securing financing for international agricultural research. A wide range of problems related to low

Peter Schmidt, the last speaker in the afternoon session, outlined the position of Helvetas (the Swiss Association for International Cooperation) on agricultural biotechnology. Although Helvetas acknowledges the value of certain tools of agricultural technology (e.g. tissue culture practices) for development efforts, it denounces the use of genetic engineering in agriculture as unnecessary and risky and instead advocates organic farming as an alternative for poor farmers in developing countries. Peter Schmidt's presentation triggered a lively discussion, reminding participants that the workshop was being held in a country where hostile attitudes toward biotechnology in agriculture continue to predominate.

In his closing remarks, Philipp Aerni, CIS researcher and organizer of the workshop, emphasized the importance of sustaining an interdisciplinary and international dialogue on the risks and benefits of agricultural biotechnology. He maintained that such workshops facilitate a necessary exchange among social scientists, natural scientists, policy makers, and representatives of international organizations and NGOs in developing countries. Many of the presentations will be published in a special edition of the *International Journal of Biotechnology* in order to ensure wider access to the contributions

made in the workshop. Philipp Aerni concluded by reiterating his and Thomas Bernauer's position that such efforts will contribute to a less polarized and more informed public debate. ■



Susana Velez-Castrillon, Peder Anker, Philipp Aerni, and Jayashree Watal (from left) continued discussion during the coffee break.

crop yields in Africa could be remedied if more were invested in research devoted to solutions for agricultural problems specific to the region. Prof. Masters proposed financial incentives to promote such efforts, including an international award in the range of US\$20–30 million. Candidates would have to provide evidence from field tests, pilot projects, adoption measures, farmer surveys, and environmental impact studies demonstrating the product's commercial success for users as well as superior environmental sustainability compared with conventional alternatives.

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International Expert Conference on National Counter-Terrorism Policies

Even before the tragic events of 9/11, the demand for improved international cooperation in the fight against global terrorism had been regularly invoked by politicians and practitioners around the world. Although many efforts to improve collaboration at the working level have been achieved, the level of commitment reflected in several more formal multilateral initiatives leaves much to be desired. In order to address this shortcoming, Andreas Wenger and Doron Zimmermann of the Center for Security Studies' research project on internal and international terrorism – the *Political Violence Movements Project* – have created a forum on counter-terrorism policy at the ETH Zurich.

In keeping with the Swiss defense minister Samuel Schmid's assertion that "Switzerland knows no neutrality where terrorism is concerned," the International Expert Conference on National Counter-Terrorism Policy was designed as a community-building effort with the aims of facilitating the informal exchange of ideas, identifying best practices, and providing support for functional collaboration at the working level. The point of departure for this agenda is an ongoing comparative analysis of national counter-terrorism policies within the framework of the *Political Violence Movements Project*.

Experts from 10 countries convened in Zurich for a two-day conference in March 2004 in order to examine the state of their governments' counter-terrorism policies. This invitation-only event constituted the first informal forum for counter-terrorism specialists drawn from operations, diplomacy, intelligence, and national security policy-making bodies, in addition to delegates from the Swiss private sector and academia. The limited number of participants and application of a procedure known as the Chatham House rule, designed to promote free exchange by ensuring strict confidentiality, facilitated an open and critical debate on this sensitive subject.

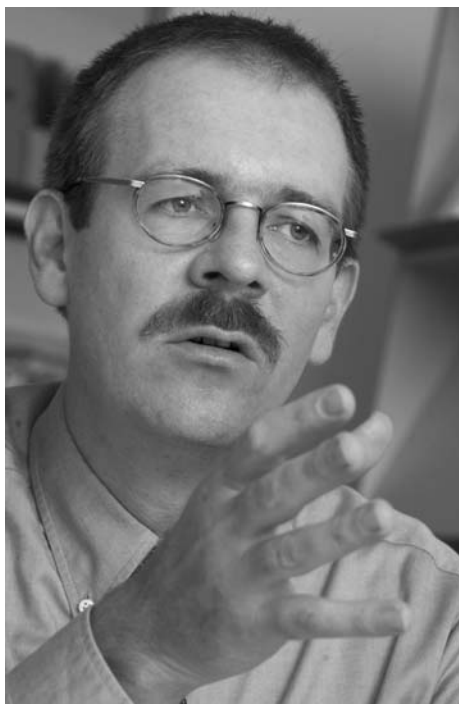
The conference's success was largely due to the active engagement of its distinguished cadre of practitioners and experts, including the contributions made by an exceptional panel of speakers. Martin van Creveld (Hebrew University, Jerusalem), Rohan Gunaratna (Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore), William Rosenau (RAND Corporation, Washington office) and Michael Chandler (former chairman of the UN Monitoring Group on Al Qaeda) headed the list of speakers, whose contributions were complemented by practitioners from a wide range of agencies including the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the Swiss General Staff, the Swiss Service for Analysis and Prevention, the Swiss Federal Criminal Police, foreign diplomatic and defense officials, think tank analysts from the RAND corporation and IDSS, and members of foreign security agencies.

The speakers addressed issues ranging from India's efforts to curb terrorism in the Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir regions to the UK's measures to regulate state responses to terrorist attacks. States with minimal experience with terrorist violence fre-

quently have little more to offer than poorly coordinated national security strategies that incorporate terrorist threats as merely one of many security challenges. States that face chronic problems of internal and/or international terrorist violence, on the other hand, have usually developed sophisticated, multi-pronged, interlocking policies that allow for scarce security resources to be efficiently deployed.

Many difficulties specific to the process of national counter-terrorism policy-making were identified in the course of the conference. Varying perceptions of threats, competing domestic priorities and foreign policy agendas, limited defense and policing resources, and even a lack of political will have acquired the status of an insurmountable set of political, institutional and financial challenges to the formulation of comprehensive counter-terrorism policy. Moreover, the fragmentation of key capacities across different governmental, departmental and agency levels further complicates the task of effectively coordinating, assembling, and deploying counter-terrorism resources.

The fact that policymakers' understanding of effective threats based on operational intelligence is often tenuous can be traced to the frequently dysfunctional character of most risk-communication systems. In other words, information transfer amongst agencies concerned with strategic intelligence analysis – not to mention actionable operational intelligence – typically suffers from a lack of specialized expertise among political actors and underdeveloped political communication skills on the part of early warning agencies. In many countries, the problem is political rather than institutional at the domestic level. The problem of credibly presenting the "politically unspeakable" has frustrated most civilian and military intelligence agencies around the globe. Red-teaming exercises, i.e. role-playing to test the effectiveness, sophistication, integration and resilience of existing defensive measures under conditions of imperfect



Andreas Wenger was instrumental in initiating and realizing the *Political Violence Movements Project*.

information and relative uncertainty have, in some cases, yielded positive results. However, much remains to be done.

A major challenge related to dwindling national security allocations in some countries is the concomitant shift of internal security mandates to military units, whose deployment in the domestic arena is questionable at best. At the political level, this development harbors conflicts with constitutional principles in many countries – not least in Switzerland. At the operational level, the deployment of armed forces always involves the risk that a sudden unleashing of the state’s potential for violence will ultimately wind up undermining its own legitimacy. Some countries have resolved this problem through services and capabilities integration. One example is the trend towards third force options (i.e. counter-terrorism operations units that belong neither to the military nor to the police) in the aftermath of the wave of political terrorism in Western Europe in the 1970s. Regarding intelligence agencies, the conference participants noted a broad trend toward the reorganization of traditionally territorial agencies along functional lines (e.g. the Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre (JTAC) in the UK and the Terrorist Threat Integration Center (TTIC) in the U.S.) Although the centralization of counter-terrorism capacities represents a key element of reform in some countries, bureaucratic resistance to change continues to hamper the implementation of much-needed measures that could improve the efficiency of counter-terrorism strategies.

After an intense first conference day devoted to reviewing various national counter-terrorism policy profiles, participatory break-out sessions dominated the agenda of the second day. The break-out session teams focused on five “queries clusters” encompassing the evolution of national counter-terrorism policies, current debates on the consequences of counter-terrorism strategies for civil liberties, the range of national conceptions of counter-



Doron Zimmermann heads the research project on internal and international terrorism, the Political Violence Movements Project.

terrorism policy, the challenges of policy implementation, and finally strategies to foster multilateral cooperation in the fight against terrorism.

The conference concluded with a gala dinner at which the head of the Swiss Directorate for Security Policy, Ambassador Philippe Welti, addressed the guests. Initial feedback from the Swiss Departments of Defense, Justice and Foreign Affairs suggest that the conference was well received and that the need for this type of forum was voiced by all relevant Swiss and international government organizations. A second International Expert Conference on National Counter-Terrorism Policy is currently in preparation. Andreas Wenger and Doron Zimmermann expect to enter into negotiations on a joint organization of this conference with representatives of the RAND Corporation later this year. ■

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► from page 3

have to be deliberately renewed. These recommendations are particularly pertinent in settings in which ongoing parliamentary control is absent, and thus should be seriously considered in all decision-making arenas beyond the nation-state. Third, the transparency of decision-making procedures is of key importance, and here Dahrendorf pointed to the potential of the internet to improve democratic legitimacy by providing a highly accessible venue for publishing decisions, as well as the role that NGOs can play by monitoring policymakers’ actions. Lord Dahrendorf summed up with the observation that although international institutions cannot be comprehensively democratized, they still have the potential to offer more than mere arbitrariness.

In addition to the “emigration” of decisions beyond the nation-state, a significant trend towards an “internal emigration” to the local level is also occurring, which means that citizens are increasingly turning away from national politics as a response to disillusionment with national political leaderships. Such negative reactions to traditional democratic institutions create a climate of apathy and generate fertile conditions for authoritarianism. According to Dahrendorf, authoritarianism, as the rule of the few, depends on passive acceptance of the masses, who perceive decision-making procedures as too distant to become engaged. The term “glocalization” expresses this double challenge facing contemporary democracies. ■

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The New Challenges - 9th Churchill's Europe Symposium

At the conclusion of his two-day state visit in Switzerland, the Polish president Aleksander Kwasniewski was received as a guest speaker at the 9th Churchill's Europe Symposium, which was held in Zurich in September 2004. Together with Federal Councilor Christoph Blocher, who was also invited to speak, Kwasniewski discussed Churchill's vision and its contemporary relevance for the European Union. Whereas Kwasniewski pinpointed enlargement as the greatest challenge facing the EU, Blocher was careful to avoid taking a direct stand on the issue of Europe, which continues to generate controversy in Switzerland.

Acknowledging Winston Churchill's bold vision of Europe as a community of values and security, Aleksander Kwasniewski prefaced his talk with the observation that the aspiration to build a "United States of Europe" has never been realized. Although Churchill sought to draw on the U.S. as a model for Europe, it has since become clear that the European Union represents a novel experiment and that as such, it cannot be meaningfully compared with existing entities. New categories, concepts, and visions are therefore necessary in order to meet future challenges.

Aleksander Kwasniewski emphasized that the EU is proof that ambitious cooperative structures can be built without sacrificing the nation-state or cultural identities. He thus argued that the enlargement process must go forward with the accession of additional countries from the former East Bloc as well as Turkey, and made the claim that sustaining the enlargement process represents the greatest challenge facing Europe. Kwasniewski pointed out that Poland pursued an "open door" policy even before gaining admittance to the EU and declared that it will continue to fight for this approach. Moreover, he stressed the importance of offering clear commitments to candidate countries, arguing that



Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski meeting with Swiss Federal Councilor Christoph Blocher, Hans-Peter Brunner, CEO of Couotts, and Dieter von Schulthess, legal counsel and vice-president of the board of directors of Couotts Bank Switzerland (from left).

criteria for membership should not be prescribed without simultaneously offering credible assurances that their fulfillment will be rewarded.

Federal Councilor Christoph Blocher, head of the Swiss Federal Department of Justice and Police, focused in his talk on Churchill's personal legacy, with particular attention to his famous reputation for bluntness, his historically informed sense of political reality, and his extraordinarily farsighted appreciation of political developments. Blocher illustrated this point with Churchill's prescient warning in 1933 that Hitler was determined to expand Nazi rule throughout Europe, at a point when the Nazi threat had scarcely been recognized. In the landmark speech he gave in Zurich in 1946, he insisted on the necessity of freedom, democracy, and security for Europe, and thus, according to Blocher, on popular rule at home and self-determination on the international stage. However, he also warned that politicians might be tempted to exploit ambitious visions for Europe in order to manipulate and curtail basic freedoms.

Christoph Blocher pointed out that Churchill sought to achieve an equilibrium between the two major continental powers, and that part of his strategy consisted of asserting British power as a counterweight. He viewed his country, as well as the U.S., as a friend and supporter of the new Europe. Although Churchill certainly believed that Britain should feel loyalty and commitment to Europe, he had also warned that it should guard against being swallowed up. Blocher concluded that – as a Swiss national – he likes to refer to these words of Churchill. ■

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Swiss Foreign Policy Toward South Africa Under Apartheid – A Longitudinal Analysis

Mainly as a follow-up to public debate about Switzerland's role in World War II, interest in Swiss relations with South Africa's apartheid regime (1948–1994) was revived during the late 1990s. In response to this public attention, in May 2000 the Federal Council commissioned the Swiss National Science Foundation to carry out a National Research Program (NRP 42+) on Swiss-South African relations during the apartheid era. A recently concluded research project at the CIS was part of the NRP 42+ and investigated the Swiss Government's foreign policy toward apartheid South Africa in a longitudinal analysis. The study showed that the steadfastness of this policy can mainly be explained by the fact that various bureaucratic, political, economic, and social circles exhibited high convergence in their opposition to economic sanctions against the apartheid regime – albeit for different reasons.

The research project was carried out by the Research Unit on Policy Analysis & Evaluation of the Department of Political Science at the University of Zurich. The project investigated Swiss foreign policy toward South Africa, starting with Switzerland's participation at the United Nations' 1968 Human Rights Conference and ending with the abolition of apartheid and the first free democratic elections in South Africa in 1994. The main research questions addressed how Swiss policy toward South Africa was designed and how observed patterns of consistency and change in the policy design can be explained. Policy design, as it is understood here, refers not only to policy content but also to the processes in the political system that generate a given policy. The study focused on political ideas and convictions and thus sought to explain the impact of attitudes, values and problem perception patterns of political actors on policy design. This orientation motivated the decision to apply the "Advocacy Coalition Framework" developed by Paul A. Sabatier and Hank C.

Smith as an analytic framework. Using this framework, two basic principles ("policy core beliefs" according to the Advocacy Coalition Framework) that decisively influenced Swiss foreign policy toward South Africa throughout the entire period studied were identified: condemnation of the apartheid system in moral terms and rejection of economic sanctions as a matter of principle.

Until the mid-1980s, the policy of moral condemnation was based on a Swiss declaration at the UN Human Rights Conference of 1968 that denounced apartheid as contradictory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the context of Switzerland's normally very reserved stance on the international stage at the time, the declaration of 1968 was formulated in an astonishingly sharp manner. But the UN Human Rights conference in general and the Swiss declaration in particular attracted little attention at home in Switzerland. Still, the "moral condemnation" of apartheid that constituted the centerpiece of this declaration would provide the basis for the Federal Council's policy on this issue throughout the 1970s and 1980s, both at international conferences and in its responses to parliamentary initiatives and public protest against Switzerland's official policy on South Africa.

The rejection of economic sanctions, the second pillar of Swiss policy toward the apartheid regime, was consistent from the outset of international discussions on the issue in the 1970s. Justification for the Swiss position was based on three main arguments:

- 1) Switzerland's established practice of not participating in sanctions imposed by individual states or groups of states,
- 2) the conviction that sanctions are not an appropriate means to bring about political change, and
- 3) the observation that, even if sanctions

actually work, they often punish the wrong party.

The Federal Council made these points in September 1986 in response to several parliamentary interventions on the topic, many of which highlighted the fact that most Western countries had adopted sanctions against South Africa by this point. The declaration of 1986 made the contrast between Switzerland's policy and the emphasis of other Western states on tangible measures even more distinct, even though the states resorting to sanctions applied them above all to sectors where they expected only minor or no negative consequences for their own economies.

Both of these core beliefs were supported by a broad coalition spanning the Federal Council, the federal administration, the parliamentary majority, center-right parties, and business circles. They even remained consistent at the beginning of the 1990s, when the Swiss Federal Council approved the export of sixty Pilatus PC-7 aircrafts to South Africa, despite the fact that the UN sanctions committee spoke of a breach of the UN weapons embargo of 1977. In response, the Federal Council and the parliamentary majority contended that the PC-7 did not amount to war material and was therefore not covered by Switzerland's 1963 weapons embargo against South Africa.

Once again, this discussion was characterized by the typical array of opponents and supporters of sanctions: on the one hand, a broad coalition from the Federal Council, the parliamentary majority, center-right parties, and business circles were committed to safeguarding free trade and individual responsibility to the greatest extent possible. On the other, a political minority drawn from left-wing parties and the peace movement demanded stronger regulation of international trade and greater solidarity from Swiss foreign policy. Indeed, an increasingly politicized and culturally

► continued on page 14

► from page 13

important anti-apartheid movement had meanwhile taken root in Switzerland. However, it never achieved the political strength in parliament or vis-à-vis the federal administration that it needed to bring about change on this issue.

Economic sanctions were soundly rejected within the very heterogeneous majority coalition, though in part for very different reasons. Although the majority coalition at times concentrated on traditional concerns of free trade and commerce and the need to refrain from interfering with the “invisible hand” of the market, pragmatic arguments emphasizing the ineffectiveness of sanctions tended to outweigh ideological reasoning. A further argument to reject sanctions was based on a deductive derivation from the principles of neutrality and universality that traditionally characterize Swiss foreign policy. Finally, on the extreme political right, racist sympathy for the apartheid system was certainly also a factor. These various convictions partly complemented each other and were also present in combination among certain individuals and organizations.

The Federal Council first introduced a significant change in the Swiss position toward economic sanctions in 1990 when it imposed its first comprehensive economic embargo against Iraq and Kuwait – i.e., when Switzerland still rejected economic sanctions against South Africa as a matter of principle. It is indeed difficult to compare these very different cases. Binding UN sanctions were never imposed against South Africa – in contrast to Iraq in August 1990 – with the exception of the weapons embargo of 1977. In the South African case, modification of the tried-and-true policy remained out of the question at the beginning of the 1990s. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that very different forces were at work in the case of the Swiss decision to impose sanctions against Iraq: The breach of international

law in the Iraq case was undisputed. The legal verdict in the South African case, on the other hand, was less clear-cut, and the human-rights violations of the apartheid regime had long been regarded as a South African “domestic matter.”

Moreover, Swiss economic interests in Iraq and Kuwait were marginal at the time of Iraq’s annexation of Kuwait, whereas established business relationships between Switzerland and South Africa were strong enough to mobilize businesses and sectors that viewed the prospect of sanctions as a direct threat.

Furthermore, the sudden international crisis in Iraq during 1990 simplified a reformulation of policy on the sanctions issue in Switzerland. Switzerland perceived no such crisis situation involving South Africa that would have facilitated a similarly dramatic policy reversal.

Finally, generational factors, particularly within the diplomatic corps, played an important role due to the timing and relative urgency of both decisions. Whereas Swiss officials were under pressure to respond quickly to Iraq’s annexation of Kuwait, which happened to coincide with a Swiss holiday period when most senior civil servants were absent, established actors with firmly set attitudes steered the design of Switzerland’s policy toward South Africa.

The project was based on an analysis of documents from various Swiss federal departments from 1967 to 1994, supplemented by 22 guideline-based interviews with former and current Swiss diplomats, representatives of the federal administration, Parliament, and scholars. During the end phase of the project, research efforts were complicated by the Swiss Federal Council’s decision of 16 April 2003 to restrict access to archive files (due to the threat of class-action lawsuits against nine

Swiss companies – including Novartis, Nestlé, the UBS and Credit Suisse – in the United States by victims of the former South African regime). Minutes of meetings of the parliamentary committees on foreign policy were available for the research team as was the archive of the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement. The full research report (in German) will be published shortly. A journal article is also in preparation. ■

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Recent CIS Publications



Dieter Ruloff. *Wie Kriege beginnen: Ursachen und Formen.* [How Wars Start: Causes and Forms.]

München: Beck, 2004.
ISBN 3-406-51084-1 (in German).
Available through
<http://rsw.beck.de/rsw/default.asp>

Once again, it has become acceptable to refer to war as the last instrument of politics. Understanding this worst-case scenario of international politics requires a sound understanding of the fragile boundary between war and peace. This is the central concern of this new volume. It approaches the phenomenon of the outbreak of war using 165 selected wars from 1792 to the present day, and analyzes them according to the form of their beginnings, a typology which includes limited war, escalation, catalyzed war, "duel" war, high-risk policy, invasion, spread to world war, and "accidental" war. *Wie Kriege beginnen* has been completely revised to take account of the political, economic, and cultural developments that have transformed world politics since its first publication in 1985.



Vit Styrsky. *Foreign Direct Investment in Transitional States: An Analysis of Demand-Side Restrictions on FDI Based on Four Case Studies from Poland and the Czech Republic.*

Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 2003, ISBN: 3-8258-7204-1 (in German). Available through <http://www.lit-verlag.de/isbn/3-8258-7204-1>

This book fills a gap in the research on states in transition as well as in the analysis of foreign direct investment (FDI), since transitional states' policies on FDI has previously been rather neglected in the literature. Styrsky uses a theoretical model to demonstrate how institutional change and veto-points influence the extent of restrictions on FDI. He then tests the model with four case studies drawn from the telecommunications and banking sectors in Poland and the Czech Republic, from the end of the Cold War through the recent past.



Simon A. Mason und Adrian F. Müller. *Umwelt- und Ressourcentrends 2000–2030: Konsequenzen für die Schweizer Sicherheitspolitik* [Environmental and Resource Trends 2000–2030: Consequences for Swiss Security Policy]. Zürich: ETH Zürich, 2004.
ISBN 3-905696-00-2 (in German).

This study examines the implications of environmental and resource trends in the next 30 years for Swiss security policy. Switzerland's increasing dependency on resources from unstable regions beyond Europe is an immediate problem in this context. Yet the indirect effects from regions "destabilized" by their dependency on resource exports are equally disturbing. Such negative effects range from the spread of disease to drug crime, human trafficking/smuggling, organized crime, and terrorism. This work examines these risks and outlines proposed responses, including Peace Support Operations, collaboration with the "Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative," and measures to promote the sustainable consumption of natural resources.



Andreas Wenger (ed). *Bulletin 2004 zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik* [Bulletin 2004 on Swiss Security Policy].

Center for Security Studies of the ETH Zurich, 2004, ISBN 3-905641-94-1 (in German). Available online at <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/bulletin>

This year's *Bulletin 2004 on Swiss Security Policy* covers a wide range of topics. It examines the development of Peace Support Operations (PSO) and their implications for Switzerland, analyzes the evolution and future of Swiss "Good Offices," discusses biological terrorism from a legal perspective and examines the concept of Critical Infrastructure Protection (CIP). The *Bulletin 2004* also includes a presentation of the Swiss Foreign and Security Policy Network (SSN) and an overview of research projects focusing on water conflicts in the Nile basin.



David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements.*

Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
ISBN 0-631-22669-9.
Available through
www.blackwellpublishing.com

The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements is a compilation of original, state-of-the-art essays by internationally recognized scholars. Its diverse range of topics from the field of social movement studies makes this volume an illuminating guide to the dynamics and operation of social movements in the modern, globalized world. As such, it responds to the demand that the abundance of social movement activity, both violent and non-violent, has generated for a resource for students and scholars seeking to engage with and understand this important dimension of their own social world.



Markus Mäder. *In Pursuit of Conceptual Excellence – The Evolution of British Military-Strategic Doctrine in the Post-Cold War Era, 1989–2002.* Studies in Contemporary History and Security Policy.

Bern: Peter Lang, 2004. ISBN 3-03910-413-6.

This book examines the evolution of Britain's armed forces and British military doctrine during the 1990s. The author analyzes the reasons behind this change in doctrine and considers how technological innovation and changes in post-modern society have forced the British military to adapt its organizational norms and conceptions of warfare.

Articles

Thomas Bernauer and Ladina Caduff. "In whose interest? Pressure group politics, economic competition and environmental regulation." *Journal of Public Policy* 24, 2004.

Thomas Bernauer and Ronald Mitchell. "Beyond story-telling: Designing case study research in international environmental policy." In *Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*, Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmias (eds.), Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Thomas Bernauer and Vit Styrsky. "Adjustment or voice?: Corporate responses to international tax competition." *European Journal of International Relations* 10(1), 2004.

Sibylle Hardmeier. "Switzerland. Political Data Yearbook 2002 (1 January 2002 – 1 January 2002)". *European Journal of Political Research* 42 (7–8), 2004, 1102–1107.

Hanspeter Kriesi. "Regime shifts in Japan and Switzerland?" *Swiss Political Science Review* 10(3), 2004.

Hanspeter Kriesi and Marc Helbling. "Staatsbürgerverständnis und politische Mobilisierung: Einbürgerungen in Schweizer Gemeinden." *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 10(4), 2004 (forthcoming).

Daniel Kübler. "How democratic is governance? Findings in urban drug policy." *Governance* 17(1), 2004, 83–113 (together with S. Wälti und Y. Papadopoulos).

Dirk Lehmkuhl. "Der lange Schatten staatlichen Rechts: Verrechtlichung im transnationalen Sport." In *Verrechtlichung – Baustein für Global Governance?*, Bernhard Zangl/Michael Zürn (eds.), Bonn: Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden, 2004.

Anna Locher and Christian Nuenlist. "What role for NATO? Conflicting Western perceptions of détente, 1963–65." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 2(2), 2004, 185–208.

Uwe Serdült and Christian Hirschi. "From process to structure: Developing a reliable and valid tool for policy network comparison." *Swiss Political Science Review* 10(2), 137–155.

Andreas Wenger. "Crisis and opportunity: NATO and the miscalculation of détente, 1966–1968." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 6(1), 2004, 22–74.

Thomas Widmer. "Qualität der Evaluation – Wenn Wissenschaft zur praktischen Kunst wird." In *Evaluationsforschung. Grundlagen und ausgewählte Forschungsfelder*. Reinhard Stockmann (ed.), Opladen: Leske+Budrich, 2004, 83–109.

Thomas Widmer and Peter Neuenschwander. "Embedding evaluation in the Swiss federal administration: Purpose, institutional design, and utilization." *Evaluation – The International Journal of Theory, Research and Practice* (10)4, 2004 (forthcoming).

Calendar

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- **Das Diktat der kurzen Frist**
Roger de Weck, Publizist
 Public lecture, 1 December 2004,
 University of Zurich, F 101.
- **Gerichte und Richter im künftigen europäischen Verfassungsraum**
Luzius Wildhaber, Präsident, Europäischer Gerichtshof für Menschenrechte, Strassburg
 10 December 2004, University of Zurich, F 180.
- **Biological Terrorism and Crisis Management in Switzerland**
 Workshop, Center for Security Studies,
 14 December 2004, ETH Zurich.
- **Nachhaltige Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik**
Prof. Felix Gutzwiller, Universität Zürich
 Public lecture, 11 January 2004,
 University of Zurich, Aula.
- **Welfare state reforms as a social trap and the importance of trust**
Prof. Bo Rothstein, Göteborg University, Sweden
 Public lecture, 24 January 2005, University of Zurich.
- **Der Wandel der Reformpolitik in Deutschland: Vom Bündnis für Arbeit zur Agenda 2010**
Dr. Wolfgang Schröder, IG Metall
 Public lecture, 1 February 2005
 University of Zurich.
- **Swiss-Japanese Roundtable on Medical Ethics**
 CIS workshop,
 21 March 2005,
 University of Zurich.
- **At the Roots of the European Security System: Thirty Years Since the Helsinki Final Act**
 International conference, 8-10 September 2005,
 ETH Zurich.

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