

CIS News

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CIS News

Launch of MACIS Program

Starting October 2006, CIS will have its own, in-house Master of Arts program: The Master of Arts in Comparative and International Studies (MACIS).

The academically oriented two-year program will offer an innovative, integrated set of specialized courses in international and comparative politics.

“We are determined to create one of Europe’s best MA programs in political science and related fields,” says Frank Schimmelfennig, who directs the new program.

In an era of rapid global transformations and ever denser multi-lateral networks, studying domestic political processes in isolation from international ones – and *vice versa* – increasingly fails to give an accurate picture of the world we live in. The MACIS curriculum is unique in that it seeks to integrate the fields of comparative and international politics through a specialized set of courses, enabling students to study the complex interrelationships between domestic, international and transnational political processes in a global context.

While the program is mainly designed for social science graduates, it can also provide an attractive entry point for graduates who have majored in the natural sciences or engineering, or for top students in ETH’s military officer’s training program (BA-Studiengang Berufssoffiziere). Taught in English, the program seeks to attract applicants from all over Europe and overseas, thus helping to secure the long-term recruitment of a highly qualified and diverse pool of applicants to the doctoral program at CIS.

MACIS website: <http://www.cis.ethz.ch/education/macis>

Uetliberg Colloquium 2005



On 4 November 2005, CIS held its annual colloquium on Zurich’s Uetliberg.

After a short introduction by new CIS Director Prof. Thomas Bernauer, Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi and Prof. Frank Schimmelfennig added a few words on the new National Center of Competence in Research - the NCCR Democracy -, headquartered in Zurich, and on the planned MACIS program respectively. A lively podiums discussion on the future of the European Union after the failed constitution followed. Prof. Frank Schimmelfennig, Dr. Stefanie Bailer, Prof. Simon Hug and Dr. Victor Mauer (picture from left to right) served as main discussants.

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New Swiss National Center of Competence in Research (NCCR) on the Challenges to Democracy

The process of globalization and the gradual intrusion of the media into the political process pose new challenges to democratic institutions around the world. Though terms like “globalization” and “mediatization” have become frequent buzzwords in political discussions, the actual long-term effects of these processes on democratic institutions are poorly understood. What’s more, satisfying solutions for how democracies may best adapt to these new developments are missing. To study the challenges to democracy in the twenty-first century more systematically, the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) and the Swiss Federal Council have set up a new National Center of Competence in Research – the NCCR Democracy.

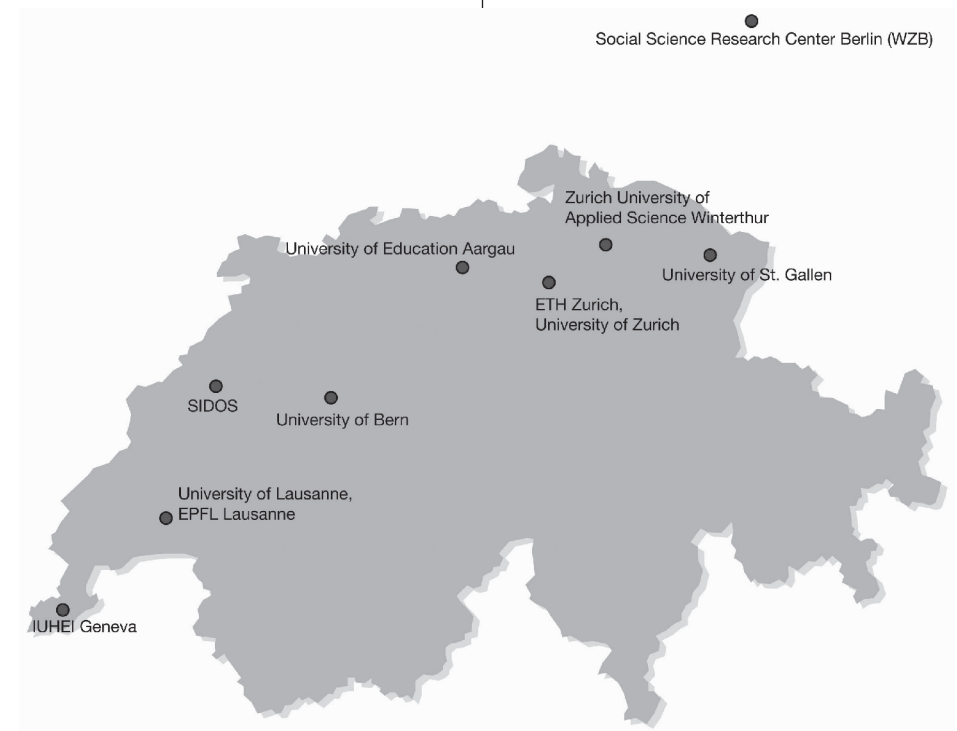
Launched in October 2005, the NCCR Democracy is an interdisciplinary research program involving political scientists and media- and communications specialists, forming an unprecedented alliance in Europe.

The research project examines two commonly identified key challenges to democracy in the twenty-first century. On the one hand, nation-states suffer a severe loss of problem-solving capacity as a result of globalization, a process which, in turn, has opened up new opportunities for the

formation of democratically organized institutions at the supra-national level. On the other hand, the increased intrusion of the media into the political process constitutes a serious threat to traditional models of representative democracy while also offering new opportunities for political legitimation.

Funded by the SNSF and the University of Zurich, the main goal of the NCCR Democracy is to propose new designs for political decision-making processes and to

the level of the nation-state. The horizontal dimension deals with the democratization of states and regions beyond today’s stable Western democracies, while the vertical dimension is concerned with the difficulties associated with democratic governance in international organizations. The module compares mechanisms of democratization along both dimensions, investigates alternatives to conventional representative democracy within nation-states, and identifies problems and trade-offs associated



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Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS)

Director: Prof. Thomas Bernauer
ETH Zentrum SEI
8092 Zurich, Switzerland

E-mail: cispostmaster@gess.ethz.ch
Website: www.cis.ethz.ch

Editor

Sara M. Küpfer

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devise strategies for improving the quality of the news media. Under the directorship of Hanspeter Kriesi of the University of Zurich, the NCCR Democracy is organized as a network of cooperation between 58 researchers and 25 doctoral students from eight disciplines working at 20 partner institutions.

The NCCR Democracy is made up of four basic research modules. A fifth, applied research module has the task of finding practical applications for the implementation of their results and of making them accessible to the public.

Module 1, directed by Lars-Erik Cederman from ETH Zurich, explores the challenges confronting democracy beyond and above

with various democratization strategies.

Module 2, headed by Yannis Papadopoulos from the University of Lausanne, addresses changes in decision-making systems in established liberal democracies, focusing on the links between input, throughput and output dimensions of governance. The module assesses the impact of external pressures, including the process of globalization and European integration, as well as pressures from “below” caused by social differentiations along functional, cultural, and territorial lines. Furthermore, the ability of governments to bring their message across in a context of high mediatization is evaluated. The researchers intend to provide sound comparative evidence for the

Henry Kissinger in Zurich

evaluation of the policy outputs of democratic systems.

Directed by Frank Marcinkowski of the University of Zurich, Module 3 focuses on the origins of the “mediatization of politics.” This Module studies how the media, motivated by the need to attract the attention of consumers and to provide profits for their owners, influence the political process and its consequences. It attempts to describe current transformations in the public sphere and analyzes how these transformations jeopardize or reinforce democracy in the 21st century. The focus is on the impact of mediatization at the macro- and meso-levels of political institutions and organizations in different European democracies.

The consequences of the “mediatization of politics” for political participation and representation are investigated in Module 4, which is headed by Gabriele Siegert from the University of Zurich. The Module investigates the roles of different political actors, the media, and the citizen public in the course of political campaigns. It analyzes flows of information between the different actors and assesses the impact of different campaign tactics.

Finally, the module for knowledge transfer intends to develop tools designed to disseminate and implement the results of the four research modules, ultimately aiming at improving the quality of democracy. Headed by Andreas Ladner of the University of Berne, the module comprises four projects:

The “democracy barometer” evaluates and assesses the quality of democracy in OECD member states. The project “civic education” aims at developing a teaching tool for civic education at the secondary level in Switzerland. The “smart-vote” project seeks to make decision-aids available for voters, as well as to assess risks and opportunities in the domain of e-democracy. A fourth project attempts to improve the quality of journalism by organizing annual courses for journalists and providing a platform for the dissemination and discussion of the NCCR research results.

Finally, the NCCR Democracy intends to set up an interdisciplinary doctoral program in political science and media- and communication science. In order to promote and ensure scientific excellence in research and education, the NCCR Democracy will be evaluated on a yearly basis by an independent panel of renowned experts reporting to the SNSF. The NCCR will run for an initial period of four years, with the possibility for renewal for two more terms up to a maximum of 12 years.

Contact:

Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi
hanspeter.kriesi@pwi.unizh.ch

Yvonne Rosteck
rosteck@nccr-democracy.unizh.ch

<http://www.nccr-democracy.unizh.ch>

About NCCR

National Centers of Competence in Research (NCCR) promote long-term research projects in areas of vital strategic importance for the evolution of science in Switzerland, for the country’s economy, and for Swiss society. Each Center of Competence is based at and managed by a university or other recognized research institution. A network links the research groups from a project’s home institution with other teams throughout Switzerland. The following aspects are decisive for the approval of a Center of Competence: it must conduct research of outstanding, internationally recognised quality; and it has to actively foster knowledge and technology transfer, training, and the promotion of women researchers. A further aim of NCCR is to globally restructure and improve the organisation of Swiss research. NCCR projects are funded by the Swiss Federal Government, upon approval by the National Parliament, and supplemented with funds from participating research institutions themselves, as well as third parties. Launched in 2001, the program presently includes 26 NCCR.

Henry Kissinger had an “unbelievable career,” said Kurt Spillmann, ETH Emeritus Professor for Security and Conflict Studies, at a press conference preceding Zurich’s tenth Churchill’s Europe Symposium, at which America’s famous “Elder Statesman” delivered the keynote address.

Speaking about “Europe from the USA’s point of view,” Kissinger emphasized Europe’s need for a common foreign policy, which would make Europe a more decisive and powerful actor on the international stage.

When asked by media representatives about the on-going stalemate following the elections in Germany, Kissinger emphasized that an internationally important player like Germany needed a clear political direc-



tion. Anything else was detrimental for the country, for Europe and, ultimately, for its allies, including the United States.

The discussion then moved on to the war on terrorism and, in particular, the US intervention in Iraq. Kissinger cautioned that the ongoing insurgency in Iraq might turn into an open clash between different ethnic and religious factions. America’s failure to stabilize the country, coupled with an increase in religious radicalism in Iraq, would have unforeseeable consequences for the entire Islamic world.

Kissinger would like to see Europe play a bigger role in Iraq. Said Kissinger, the foremost issue for the United States and its allies

The Information Revolution and the Changing Face of International Relations and Security

should not be the question of how to “get out” of Iraq. Rather, the United States and its European counterparts should accept a shared responsibility in Iraq “regardless of what one thought of the initial decision to carry out this intervention.”

The beginning of the 21st century, Kissinger posits, has been marked by fundamental geopolitical changes. The end of the Cold War, the rise of international terrorism, and the ascent of China and the Pacific region as major economic powers have led to new challenges that have yet to be met. According to Kissinger, there currently exists a sense of uncertainty in the world that can be compared to the post-World War II years between 1945 and 1950. The cards are being reshuffled, and political answers are still lacking.

Adapted from Norbert Staub, “Common Responsibility,” *ETH Life*, October 2005

Churchill's Europe Symposium

The Churchill's Europe Symposium is held in commemoration of a path-breaking speech by Britain's former Prime Minister Winston Churchill at the University of Zurich in 1946, in which he outlined his vision of a politically unified Europe. In his address, Churchill had called for the founding of “a kind of United States of Europe,” which was to be based on “a partnership between France and Germany.”

Despite its importance, the “information revolution” and its impact on business, society, the state, and international relations is still a fairly exotic field of study. While it is increasingly apparent that the dynamic integration of technologies into a multimedia system of communication is having a profound influence on the international system, there is far less consensus about the theoretical and practical implications of these often-contradictory developments. In order to enhance the understanding of the issue, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) organized an international conference on the topic.

The two-day conference, which took place in May 2005 in Lucerne and was jointly organized by CSS and the Comparative Interdisciplinary Studies Section (CISS) of the International Studies Association (ISA), brought together a select group of experts, including scholars, policy-makers, and other military, government, and private-sector professionals from Europe, America, and Asia. It sought to highlight the role of the “information revolution” as a factor contributing to the fundamental changes in the international system as well as to national and global security. The key question enquired about the defining characteristics and specialties of the current revolution and its implications for various stakeholders.

One of the core arguments in the literature on the information revolution is that the technological development enhances two trends leading away from the state: increasing internationalization and increasing privatization. However, most participants agreed that the fear of an erosion of sovereignty is often too readily accepted: Empirical analyses point out that circumstances are more complex, and that internet growth does not immediately translate to eroding states' authority. In the case of internet regulation, as pointed out by Ralf Bendrath and Dr. Jeannette Hoffmann, University of Bremen, evidence suggests that the state, which in the globalization literature has often been discarded on functional grounds, is forcefully

coming back on legitimacy grounds.

Furthermore, the common notion that activities constrained by traditional sovereignty are fixed in space while the activities of cyberspace flow freely and unaffected across borders, was challenged. Prof. Geoffrey Herrera, Temple University, argued that we are currently trapped in conceptual ideal types when it comes to technology and politics. Examples ranging from domain names to the physical infrastructure of global information networks to software controls show the extent of common misconceptions about the nature of cyberspace. As several participants noted, cyberspace is a matter of collective and policy choice, not some natural feature of an idealized cyber realm. This finding is both disappointing, as a central tenet of the information revolution is found to be a myth, and liberating, as it reveals opportunities for shaping a global digital information infrastructure.

Finally, the discussion focused on the question of what it is that sets security in the information age apart from security in other ages. It was argued that the forces of the information revolution have not necessarily changed the conditions of security, but rather some of the conditions for securing. In particular, participants found that a qualitatively significant change is brought about by an increase in stakeholders involved in securing processes. Indeed, states can no longer guarantee security because critical assets are in the hand of the private sector. Additionally, the elusive and unsubstantiated nature of cyber-threats ultimately means that it can only be analyzed from an approach rooted in the constructivist mindset with a subjective ontology, pointing in the direction of further research. Instead of conceiving threats as given and objectively measurable factors, these approaches focus on the process by which a shared understanding of what is to be considered and collectively responded to as a threat to security is inter-subjectively constructed among key actors in the political process.

Contact: Myriam Dunn (Dunn@sipo.gess.ethz.ch)

International Expert Conference on Bioterrorist Threats and Biodefense

The anthrax attacks of autumn 2001 alerted the world's media to the threat of bioterrorism and placed the issue on the agenda of a number of Western governments. Soon after, researchers from different academic disciplines, including the political and the life sciences, turned their attention to biological crisis management. Differing threat perceptions and divergent approaches on how to deal with the problem quickly evolved and difficult questions arose: How urgent is the biological threat? What steps on the policy level are required? In order to address these critical questions and discuss the challenge posed by biological terrorism in the international, transatlantic community, Andreas Wenger and Reto Wollenmann of the Center for Security Studies (CSS) research project on biological terrorism and biodefense organized an international expert conference in Fürigen, Switzerland, on 22 and 23 April 2005.

The US anthrax attacks of October 2001 led to five tragic deaths. To this day, the perpetrators are still not known. In the light of 9/11, however, these attacks heightened concerns about the ability and willingness of non-state actors to deliberately use biological agents as mass casualty weapons. While there was no attack in Switzerland, more than one thousand false anthrax alerts led to the closure of post offices and the temporary standstill of Zurich airport. Worldwide, both the assaults and the hoaxes resulted in massive economic damage and paved the way for preventive measures and preparedness plans on the political level. The incidents revealed the massive psychological impact of bioterrorism on society and on individuals; demonstrated the critical influence of the media; illustrated the danger of "bioterrorism-hype"; and demonstrated the complexity of the bioterrorist threat.

The CSS conference, held in the framework of the Comprehensive Risk Analysis and Management Network (CRN), convened

more than 50 experts in political science, counterterrorism, civil defense, the life sciences, and public health. A distinguished group of speakers and experts presented papers and engaged in a lively discussion across academic and geographical borders. Richard Danzig (Former Secretary of the Navy during the Clinton administration), Ken Alibek (National Center for Biodefense, George Mason University), Anthony Cordesman (Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington), Malcolm Dando (Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford), Rohan Gunaratna (Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore), Milton Leitenberg (University of Maryland School of Public Affairs), and Eric Noji (Centers for Disease Control & Prevention, Atlanta) headed the list of speakers.

The different backgrounds of the speakers resulted in lively discussions: Richard Danzig stated that neither the "problem space" nor "the solution space" of bioterrorism had been well mapped. He called for a common, systemic, operational understanding of the threat. Indeed, it was not always easy to

achieve a common perception of "what the actual problem was". For Malcolm Dando, the real problem was not so much a short-term menace but rather a long-term threat caused by the dangerous militarization of biology and the life sciences. Milton Leitenberg expressed his concerns regarding the exaggeration of the bioterrorism threat, as well as repeated errors and misinformation.

Jeanne Guillemin from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's (MIT) Security Studies Program identified the main problem in the issue of secrecy and transparency in biodefense programs. She pointed out that a US nationalistic impulse favored secrecy in an area where the public health mandate required absolute transparency. For those working in the life sciences, the problem was, above all, a dual-use dilemma as many of the techniques, instruments, and even substances used can be put to both beneficent and malevolent ends.

Presenting a wide variety of data on the historical occurrences of bioterrorism, potential actors, their capabilities, and their motives, the experts contributed to a better



Former Secretary of the US Navy Richard Danzig speaking at his kick-off statement for a round table discussion on differing threat perceptions

Mapping the Complexity of Civil Wars

understanding of the nature of the threat. At the same time, the presentation and discussion of the papers revealed dissimilar threat assessments. While most of the participants agreed that biological warfare and bioterrorist attacks posed a serious threat in the 21st century, there was no agreement on how best to assess this problem or how it should be weighted against other man-made threats or natural risks.

Most participants shared the opinion that there is not enough historical data to make a useful prediction of the future. Some speakers criticized vulnerability-based threat assessments in which researchers used their imagination, made presumptions about the theoretical capabilities or intentions of non-state actors, and then analyzed the catastrophic consequences of their imaginary scenarios. Others argued that one had to expect the worst in order to be prepared.

Regarding actor-centered analysis and capability-based threat assessment, the main discussion focused on the importance of better intelligence and discussants bemoaned earlier intelligence failures. Peter Lavoy, Director of the Center for Contemporary Conflict at the US Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, warned against a knowledge gap and an underestimation of the threat because there was little information on which actors have offensive biological weapons capabilities, how sophisticated these capabilities are, how biological agents have been employed, and to what effect.

In the panels on biodefense, participants analyzed strategies to cope with the threat and evaluated instruments to prevent, prepare, and recover from a possible bioterror incident. In particular, new technical approaches for the detection and identification of dangerous biological agents, as well as preparations for mass casualty care and medical countermeasures were discussed. One speaker criticized the tendency of the US government to throw money at the problem and diagnosed a typical reflex to reorganize government, re-label existing agencies, and look for a “magic bullet” in the shape of technical solutions.

Civil wars and ethnic conflicts are - despite the still growing academic and policy-driven literature - a poorly understood contemporary phenomenon. Although civil wars should be seen as complex processes embedded in an historic and geographic context, conventional research approaches continue to treat them as relatively simple and independent events. Looking at civil wars as country-specific phenomena, scholars typically focus on country-level attributes including explanatory variables like average national income, the nature of political institutions, measures of ethno-linguistic fractionalization or share of mountainous terrain. In doing so, other important factors contributing to these conflicts are left out of the analysis.

To explore new and more comprehensive methods for studying the causes and effects of civil wars, the International Conflict Research group, headed by Prof. Lars-Erik Cederman, organized an international conference on “Mapping the Complexity of Civil Wars.” This event within the broader framework of the “Trans-Atlantic Initiative on Complex Organizations and Networks” (TAICON) took place at Zurich’s Hotel Uto Kulm on September 15 – 17, 2005.

It brought together leading scholars in the field of conflict research with a shared interest in formal and statistical modeling. The aim was to contribute new analytical tools to the study of civil wars that have not yet received much attention by the academic community. Methods included dynamic computational simulation in the form of agent-based modeling; spatial statistics as a promising statistical method to handle geo-referenced data; and geographic information systems (GIS) as already employed by political geographers.

In his keynote address, Nicholas Sambanis, Professor of Political Science at Yale Uni-

versity and Director for the World Bank’s project on “The Political Economy of Civil Wars,” emphasized the need for a disaggregated research perspective on civil wars that is able to simultaneously take a regional view of the so-called “bad neighborhoods” into account. The conventional quantitative literature still tends to ignore border-transgressing and border-transforming processes, such as massive refugee flows from one country to another. These processes might be considered as key triggering factors for further conflicts in neighboring countries and in a whole region.

In taking these dynamic processes seriously, scholars may be able to better explain and understand why the majority of today’s civil wars cluster in very specific regions of the world. It might also be necessary to separate causal mechanisms operating in

particular parts of a given territory under local conditions.

The keynote speech was followed by a series of discus-

sion panels on how to deal with this disaggregated perspective on civil wars in an adequate analytical framework, including questions of formal modeling, statistical analysis and the data needed for such future research tasks.



mapping the complexity
of civil wars
2005

Further Information:

<http://www.icr.ethz.ch/mccw>

Do Right-Wing Populist Parties Undermine Liberal Democracy?

There remains a constant tension between the principles of absolute popular sovereignty and liberal constitutionalism. This was one of the conclusions reached at a public forum organized jointly by CIS and the Tages-Anzeiger on 31 August 2005, which was attended by over 300 people.

Moderated by Tages-Anzeiger foreign editor-in-chief Luciano Ferrari, the event brought together four prominent social scientists – Hanspeter Kriesi (University of Zurich), Anton Pelinka (University of Innsbruck), Cas Mudde (University of Antwerpen), Kurt Imhof (University of Zurich) – and Christoph Mörgeli, a prominent exponent of the Swiss People's Party (SVP).

In the course of the discussion, Mörgeli represented a viewpoint characteristic of right-wing populists by upholding the principle of absolute popular sovereignty as the highest ideal for any democratic society. In contrast, the remaining speakers insisted on the important role of the liberal state in protecting individuals and minorities from the possible excesses of the popular will through constitutional safeguards.

While there can be different forms of populism in democratic societies, a common characteristic of right-wing populist parties in Western Europe is that they all propagate a utopian vision of a natural community. Yet, right-wing parties differ in origin and programmatic outlook, leading some discussants to question whether they can be grouped together into one single ideological camp.

The forum participants observed that the media, with their increasing influence on setting political agendas, have given a boost to right-wing parties in recent years. On the one hand, right-wing populist parties have become more successful at attracting media attention with charismatic leaders and aggressive forms of campaigning, denouncing the established parties of ignoring the will of the majority. On the other hand, by boosting these parties' anti-immigration messages, the media have helped right-wing movements like the Dutch Liste

Pim Foruyn to electoral success – even if the media partly distorted and simplified the movement's much more nuanced political message. As another example, the Swiss SVP has been able to successfully exploit the antagonism between EU advocates and opponents through their public campaigns. Right-wing populist parties are attracting political supporters by bringing questions of identity to the centre of political disputes and by appealing to those people who see themselves as the losers of modernization and globalization.

Certainly, national specificities account for differing opportunity structures and diverging programmatic stances of right-wing populist parties. However, their simultaneous rise in a number of Western European countries may point to a more profound, structural phenomenon that needs to be watched in the future.

Contact:

Simon Bornschier
siborn@pwi.unizh.ch

A transcript of the discussion can be found at <http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/populismus>

Changing of the Guards at CIS

This summer, **Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi** stepped down as CIS Director to head the new NCCR Democracy (p. 2). Former CIS Coordinator **Yvonne Rosteck** also took up a new role as Administrative Director of the new NCCR project.



Thomas Bernauer, Professor of International Relations at ETH Zurich, took over from Prof. Kriesi as the new CIS Director. Prof. Bernauer, who focuses his research and teaching activities on international economic and environmental issues, simultaneously serves as Dean of ETH Zurich's Department of Social Sciences and Humanities (D-GESS).



Daniel Kübler, Assistant Professor at the Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, is the new Deputy Director of CIS. Prof. Kübler is a specialist in urban politics and governance, public policy and Swiss politics.



Sara Küpfer joined CIS this October as the new Coordinator. Previously, she was a Research Associate at the Swiss Foundation for World Affairs at Johns Hopkins University-SAIS in Washington, D.C. Ms. Küpfer holds an MA from Ohio University's Contemporary History Institute.

Preparing the Common Mediterranean Free Trade Area

For CIS researcher Dr. Dirk Lehmkuhl, the Euro-Mediterranean Transport Project offers a unique opportunity to combine academic analysis with active participation in policy preparation. His first-hand experience serving as an international expert in the project is giving him new analytical insights into the complex integration process between the European Union and non-EU member countries along the Mediterranean.

At the 1995 Euro-Mediterranean Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Barcelona, Spain, the member states of the European Union and the Partners of the Southern Mediterranean agreed on a common framework for managing their political, economic and social relations known as the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.

In a joint statement, the Barcelona Declaration, the conference participants identified the establishment of a regionally integrated transportation system as a key priority and a precondition for promoting regional economic integration, culminating in the eventual formation of a Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area envisaged for 2010. Together with the European Free Trade Area,

this zone would include some 40 States and 600 to 800 million consumers, which would constitute one of the world's most important trade entities.

In the framework of the MEDA program (the financial instrument of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership), the European Commission approved the Euro-Mediterranean Transport Project, with the *EuroMed Transport Project – Main Contract* as the centre piece (www.euromedtransport.org). Equipped with a budget of 10 million euros, the Euro-Mediterranean Transport Project started at the beginning of 2003 and will remain in operation until 2007. The benefi-

ciaries of the contract services are the 12 MEDA partner countries Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Palestinian Territories, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey.

The objective of the Euro-Mediterranean Transport Project is threefold: to contribute to overall economic and social development through increased and more sustainable transport flows and more competitive trade; to improve the quality, safety and efficiency of the goods and passenger transport systems in the region; and to support the development of integrated multi-modal transport networks and infrastructure.

In a first step, national and international experts undertook a substantive review of

Compiled in a modular structure, whereby the different modes of transport were studied as part of an integrated whole, the Diagnostic Report identified problems and priorities regarding trade transactions among MEDA countries. On the part of the EU, the report led to the drafting of a strategy paper outlining the EU's transport policy in the Mediterranean. The Blue Paper "Towards an Integrated Multimodal Euro-Mediterranean Transport System" will officially be presented at the Euro-Mediterranean Conference of Transport Ministers in Marrakech, Morocco, on 15 December 2005.

The *EuroMed Transport Project – Main Contract* is executed by a consortium of five organisations: the German Gesellschaft

für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), the French SYSTRA, the Greek SCITRADEMCO and the Belgian OGNETS—all companies specialized in international engineering markets, transport planning and infrastructure design—and the Florentine European University Institute (EUI) as one of the leading centers of research and academic training in the field of European integration. Lehmkuhl thereby serves as EUI representative in the

Steering Committee of the Euro-Mediterranean Transport Project.

Simultaneously, Lehmkuhl acts as an international short-term expert involved in policy preparation. In this capacity, he regularly participates in policy dialogue conferences, where national representatives and policy-making experts discuss the results of on-site studies conducted in different MEDA countries. As an academic, on the one hand, and a policy expert, on the other, Lehmkuhl wears two hats. In his dual role, he is well placed to put the practical lessons learned in the policy-making process into a broader academic context. In particular, he is interested in analyzing the dynamics of cooperation and integra-



Black: EU countries (incl. Malta and Cyprus); dark grey: MEDA Countries; hatched: Libya.

the current policy, economic, institutional and regulatory situation in the MEDA countries, resulting in the publication of the Diagnostic Report. Some important results are:

- North-South trade comprises almost 50% (by value) of the total MEDA trade
- South-South comprises less than 7% (by value) of the total MEDA trade
- Maritime shipping is the predominant mode of transport in the region: EU-MEDA sea-borne trade is almost 77% by weight and 54% by value

Power Sharing in Plurilingual Swiss Cantons

tion within Europe and between the EU and its Mediterranean neighbors.

Several observations have piqued Lehmkuhl's interest for further research. For instance, he has observed a shift from a more country-based, bottom-up process of identifying policy priorities among the MEDA countries to a more top-down approach, whereby expert commissions set out policy guidelines as stipulated, for example, in the EU's Blue Paper on the Euro-Mediterranean Transport System.

Additionally, he has noted a change in the EU's approach towards non-EU Mediterranean countries. While the EU has previously dealt with the Mediterranean as one single entity, it is now taking a more bilateral approach by negotiating with MEDA countries on an individual basis.

By analyzing the reasons for these policy shifts, and by asking how the new European strategy relates to the concept of a 'strong partnership based on joint ownership,' as proclaimed at the 10th anniversary celebrations of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, Lehmkuhl is contributing to a larger EU research project on "New Modes of Governance in Relations with Non-Member States." The project looks at how the EU deals with arising policy issues, such as transportation, both internally and in relation with third countries. Having gathered these case studies, project researchers then seek to analyze the conditions under which new modes of governance emerge. The "New Modes of Governance" project is funded by the 6th Research Framework of the European Union.

For more information on the common project of Dr. Dirk Lehmkuhl, University of Zurich, and Prof. Sandra Lavenex, University of Berne, please visit http://www.eu-newgov.org/datalists/project_detail.asp?Project_ID=16

Despite Switzerland's reputation as a successful multilingual country par excellence, most Swiss citizens live in a monolingual political context. Only three cantons are officially bilingual (Berne, Fribourg and Valais), while a fourth one is trilingual (Grisons). Although the four cantons are more the exceptions than the norm in Switzerland, they serve as interesting case studies: How do linguistically heterogeneous political communities deal with linguistic diversity? What kind of institutional mechanisms do they employ to ensure that all linguistic groups are sufficiently represented in political decision-making bodies?

Nenad Stojanovic, a PhD candidate in Prof. Hanspeter Kriesi's group, is working on a project that investigates these questions, using Switzerland's four plurilingual cantons as case studies. As a starting point, Stojanovic takes two opposing theses put forward by the two key academic protagonists in the debate over the appropriate electoral system to use in plural societies: Arend Lijphart and Donald Horowitz. While both theses acknowledge the importance of having every major communal group represented in a democratic government, they differ in their prescriptions for how successful power sharing in plural societies might best be achieved.

On the one hand, Lijphart favours proportional representation, which allocates parliamentary and/or governmental seats in proportion to votes. Thus, Lijphart posits, every communal group can expect to have a fair share in representative bodies.

On the other hand, Horowitz stresses the importance of designing institutions that promote cooperation between different communities, thus discouraging ethnocentric behaviour in favour of interethnic coalitions. Horowitz favours majoritarian electoral systems because he believes them to provide better vehicles to promote accommodation in plural societies.

To test the two theses, Stojanovic looks at a number of institutional variables in the

four Swiss cantons, including the type of electoral system, the number of parliamentary and governmental seats, the size of the cantonal parliament and government, and the number and size of electoral districts. He then analyzes how these factors affect the political representation of different linguistic groups in the four cantons, as well as the degree of coalition-forming across linguistic lines.

The comparison is facilitated by the fact that all four plurilingual cantons use similar electoral systems in cantonal and federal elections respectively. All four cantonal governments are chosen by way of a majoritarian electoral system. By contrast, cantonal representatives to the lower chamber of the federal parliament are elected by way of proportional representation, as required by Swiss federal law. These uniformities across the four case studies allow Stojanovic to study the outcomes of both types of electoral systems in each of the four plurilingual cantons.

Stojanovic's preliminary findings suggest that a majoritarian electoral system, as practiced in the four Swiss plurilingual cantons, is better suited than proportional representation. For one, the system seems better to ensure the fair representation of all linguistic groups. For another, it promotes the formation of voting coalitions across linguistic lines. Stojanovic hopes that his study may provide further insights into finding appropriate institutional designs for plural societies – a fundamental challenge to many ethnically and religiously diverse countries around the world.

Contact:

Nenad Stojanovic
nenad@pwi.unizh.ch

New Faculty Member at CIS

In September 2005, Professor Frank Schimmelfennig has joined CIS as a new faculty member at ETH Zurich's Department of Social Sciences and Humanities (D-GESS). Prof. Schimmelfennig is heading a new research group in European politics.



Before coming to Zurich, Prof. Schimmelfennig was a Senior Research Fellow at the Mannheim Center for European Social Research. He holds a doctoral degree in the Social Sciences from the University of Tübingen and *habilitation* degrees in Political Science from the Darmstadt Institute of Technology and the University of Mannheim. His main research interests include theories of international institutions and European integration, as well as EU external relations. At CIS, he will teach seminars on research design, qualitative methods, democracy and European integration and governance. Prof. Schimmelfennig will also direct the new MACIS program, to be launched in October 2006. Prof. Schimmelfennig is author of *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric* (Cambridge University, 2003). Together with Ulrich Sedelmeier, he co-edited *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Cornell University, 2005) and *The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches*

(Routledge, 2005).

Currently, Prof. Schimmelfennig is working on two different research projects. His first project deals with the constitutionalization of the European Union. He thereby examines two central processes in EU constitutional politics: the gradual expansion of the competencies of the European Parliament and the increasing institutionalization of human rights at the European level. In fact, both these developments cannot be easily explained with existing theories on European integration and thus pose interesting challenges to the current literature.

The second project is concerned with the EU's attempt to promote democracy among its eastern and southern neighbors in the context of the European Neighborhood Policy. In particular, Prof. Schimmelfennig examines the conditions and mechanisms by which the EU seeks to further democracy in Eastern Europe and Northern Africa, as well as the political effects of these policies in the target countries.

Although the EU principle of accession conditionality proved to be a powerful incentive for EU candidate countries to comply with EU democracy standards, Prof. Schimmelfennig expects the same approach to be of limited success among today's eastern and southern EU neighbors. As most Neighborhood countries have no prospects for EU membership and are ruled by authoritarian or autocratic regimes, Prof. Schimmelfennig hypothesizes that the political costs for these regimes to comply with EU democracy and human rights standards are too high, whereas the external incentives to conform are too weak. Having tested this hypothesis, Prof. Schimmelfennig would like to establish the conditions and mechanisms by which the EU may successfully promote democracy and human rights standards beyond its borders.

Similarly, Prof. Schimmelfennig's upcoming book *International Socialization in Europe: European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality and Democratic Change*, which he co-authors with Stefan Engert and Heiko Knobel, analyzes the successes and failures of the Western interna-

tional community in promoting democratic change and consolidation in former Communist countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union after the Cold War: Why have some countries become consolidated democracies and members of the EU and NATO, while other former Communist states are still unstable or are ruled by autocratic regimes? Why has international socialization in Europe been so uneven in the past fifteen years?

The book seeks to answer these questions by examining the strategies employed by the EU, NATO and other European organizations to generate compliance with international norms of democracy, human rights, minority protection and state-building. Detailed comparative case studies of Belarus, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Slovakia, Romania, Estonia, Latvia, Cyprus and Montenegro discuss the incentives and disincentives for governing elites in these countries to comply with EU norms. Moreover, the studies seek to demonstrate the relevance of credible EU (and NATO) membership conditionality.

Down the road, Prof. Schimmelfennig is interested in observing how the new, Eastern European EU member states continue to adapt to EU norms after their accession. Furthermore, he is keen to find out how rapid EU enlargement will affect the EU's ability to make decisive and efficient policy decisions. At CIS, we look forward to learning more about Prof. Schimmelfennig's research results as he continues to tackle some of the core challenges to European integration and democracy today.

Prof. Frank Schimmelfennig's Website:

<http://www.eup.ethz.ch>

Prof. Simon Hug, who joined CIS and the Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich, as a new faculty member in March 2005, will be introduced in the next newsletter.

Recent Publications

Books (Selection)

Dieter Ruloff (ed.). *Welche Weltordnung?* Zurich: Schweizerisches Institut für Auslandsforschung, 2005.

There have been numerous attempts to create order in the international system: the Peace of Westphalia of 1648; the Congress of Vienna of 1815; U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points and the founding of the League of Nations at the end of World War I; and, most recently, the creation of the United Nations system following the end of World War II. The UN system of 1946, however, soon turned into a rigid, bipolar structure with the onset of the Cold War – which left the world at a fragile peace. Bipolarity ended with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but what has replaced the four-decade-old Cold War order? Do the new power structures that have emerged at the end of the Cold War amount to any kind of “new order?” Where is the international system heading at the beginning of the twenty-first century? What can we expect, what should we ask for? These questions were posed in a lecture series organized by the “Schweizerisches Institut für Auslandsforschung” (SIAF) between 2003 and 2004. *Welche Weltordnung?*, edited by Dieter Ruloff, contains a compilation of these lectures. Among the contributors are Bruno S. Frey, Professor of Economics at the University of Zurich; Jakob Kellenberger, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); and former U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

Sven S. Holtmark, Vojtech Mastny and Andreas Wenger (eds.). *War Plans and Alliances in the Cold War: Threat Perceptions in the East and West.* London: Routledge, 2006 (forthcoming).

This volume reviews the threat perceptions, military doctrines and war plans of both the NATO alliance and the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War, as well as the position of the neutrals, from the post-Cold War perspective. Based on previously unknown archival evidence from both East and West, the 12 essays in this collection focus on the potential European

battlefield rather than the strategic competition between the superpowers. They present conclusions about the nature of the Soviet threat that previously could only be speculated about and analyze the interaction between military matters and politics in the alliance management on both sides, with implications for the present crisis of the Western alliance. The conclusions about the strengths and weaknesses of the two alliances highlight the importance of political, rather than merely military, determinants of the cohesion of NATO in the post-Cold War security environment.

Hubert Heinelt and Daniel Kübler (eds.). *Metropolitan Governance: Capacity, Democracy and the Dynamics of Place.* London: Routledge (ECPR Studies in European Political Science), 2005.

Metropolitan Governance offers a cross-national analysis of contemporary issues and challenges for the governing of urban regions throughout Europe and North America. The authors develop an analytical framework built on the premise that issues of metropolitan governance are best understood by focusing not only on the characteristics of local government systems and of state-society relations, but also on the dynamics of place. They argue that area-wide governance in urban regions can draw on flexible networks and involve public-private partnerships as well as institutional reform. The book includes chapters focusing on France, Spain, Greece, England, Canada and the USA, Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, as well as Switzerland. It lays particular emphasis on democratic legitimacy and the tensions that arise when strengthening the capacity of metropolitan governance. An original contribution to the debates on the nature of metropolitan governance, *Metropolitan Governance* will be of interest to all students and researchers of public administration, governance and urban research.

Ulrich Klöti, Christian Hirschi, Uwe Serdült and Thomas Widmer. *Verkannte Aussenpolitik: Entscheidungsprozesse in der Schweiz.* Politikanalyse (4). Chur/Zürich: Verlag Rüegger, 2005.

Switzerland today faces many new foreign policy challenges. At the same time, domestic consensus about the correct path is diminishing. Thus, it is interesting to take a step back and look at how different policy-making processes in Switzerland have shaped Swiss foreign policy, not only in the case of major crossroads decisions but also with regard to many smaller, often considered less important, ones. This study looks at three dimensions of Swiss politics. Firstly, a comparison of decision-making processes in the 1980s and 1990s shows how political practices have changed over time. Secondly, an analysis of political actors demonstrates who is influencing foreign policy decisions. Thirdly, a comparison between strictly domestic cases and cases with foreign policy content displays systematic differences. The study is based on a quantitative analysis of a census comprising 802 treaties from the 1980s and 1990s, as well as four detailed qualitative case studies.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. *Direct Democratic Choice: The Swiss Experience.* Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2005.

Kübler, Daniel. *La Métropole et le Citoyen : Les agglomérations urbaines en Suisse vues par leurs habitants.* Lausanne: Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes, 2005.

Wenger, Andreas (ed). *Bulletin 2005 zur Schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik.* Center for Security Studies of the ETH Zurich, 2005. Available online: <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/bulletin>

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