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Peace Support Operations: Lessons Learned and Future Perspectives

In the last ten years, the number of international peacekeeping missions has increased enormously. The outbreak of numerous intra-state conflicts since the end of the Cold War has called for intervention by the international community. What conclusions can be drawn from the last ten years of peace support operations and what are the lessons learned? This was the focus of the international conference on Peace Support Operations organized by the CIS in February 2001. The conference brought together renowned international experts to discuss overall strategies, and civilian and military aspects of peace support operations (PSO).

More than 270 participants from 28 countries took part in the conference organized by the CIS at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich.

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Prof. Kurt R. Spillmann, who organized the conference on Peace Support Operations, in discussion with Ambassador Leonidas Evangelidis at the conference dinner (from left)

14 international experts presented selected topics on PSO, drawing on their own personal experiences or on their own research. The conference addressed two main questions: How can international operations be better coordinated? How can a more coherent strategy be developed? It was generally agreed that the international community should strengthen its capacities for peace support operations and that military force alone cannot accomplish the job.

In his keynote address, Ambassador Leonidas Evangelidis, former Director General for Common Foreign and Security Policy at the Council of the European Union, explained what the European Union could contribute to a peace-building strategy. Experiences in recent years have shown that the Union should gradually shift from an attitude of reaction to a culture of prevention. The development of a European security and defense policy (ESDP) reflects the EU's willingness to strengthen its crisis management capabilities. As no single state

or institution can meet the challenges and risks of the future on their own, a network of interlocking international institutions needs to be created. Close cooperation with NATO is a main priority for the EU. As far as maintenance of peace and security is concerned, the Union recognizes the primary responsibility of the UN Security Council. The ESDP should enable the EU to respond more effectively to requests from the UN.

One of the main recurring threads of the conference was the evolution of PSO and the distinction between peacekeeping and peace enforcement. The Cold War experience was characterized by the model of traditional peacekeeping which required a mandate by the UN Security Council and the consent of the warring parties. Since the aim of the operations was to supervise cease-fires, the restriction of the use of force for self-defense only was an important principle. In the new generation of PSO, such as the NATO military engagement in the Balkans, interventions are car-

ried out by armed forces against the will of the conflicting parties with the aim to enforce peace.

According to John Mackinlay of the Centre for Defence Studies in London, the new post-Cold War model encompasses a multifunctional response to a complex emergency taking place in a failing state where the government can no longer exercise its writ over the whole of its territory. The end of the Cold War confronted the international community with a new conflict environment. Conflicts no longer take place among states, but among local war leaders. The withdrawal of superpower support at the end of the Cold War weakened state governments and left a vacuum of authority that has been filled by local war leaders. According to Mackinlay, the most important issue is the basis on which nations intervene. Is it in order to prevent the breakup of a failing state, restoring the status quo ante? Or is it to support and foster the state's disintegration promoting a new generation of unattached communities and sub-states, which again could undermine the security and economic structures?

Does traditional UN peacekeeping still have a future? Mats Berdal of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London put forward that it would be too simple to view the development of UN peacekeeping since the late 1980s as nothing more than evidence of the obsolescence of traditional peacekeeping. The practice of peacekeeping has clearly evolved, but its key fea-

tures, above all its consent-based and non-threatening character, continue to distinguish it from other uses of military force. The question that needs to be asked is whether, in a given set of circumstances, peacekeeping is the appropriate response to the challenge at hand. History should have taught us to place greater emphasis on the limitations, as distinct from the possibilities, of peacekeeping.

The role of the UN and the international division of labor of PSO triggered lively discussions at the conference. Over the last decade, the UN has repeatedly failed to meet the challenges, as it has lacked adequate management and resources to support the sharp increase in the number of peacekeeping operations. The Brahimi Report, which put forward a vision of a more effective UN, encouraged member states to provide political, personnel, material, and financial support to UN peacekeeping missions. Wolfgang Biermann, international security adviser to the Social Democratic Party of Germany, stressed in his contribution that the question of "who is in charge" was a matter of pragmatism rather than principle. The important thing is that PSO should be designed in a cooperative manner. Biermann outlined his concept of de-escalation, a form of intervention that is aimed at compromise. The prevention of violent conflict must take absolute priority, but once prevention fails, a diplomatic/civil/military unbiased "de-escalation taskforce" that actively seeks the consent and cooperation of the parties in conflict is immediately



Prof. Jürg M. Gabriel chaired the panel on the international division of labor of Peace Support Operations

required. By being prepared for the "Petersberg Tasks", the EU could become an excellent choice for mandates by the UN or the OSCE. NATO assets could be required.

Cooperation is also a necessary element of daily peacekeeping in the field. General Klaus Reinhardt, former Commander KFOR, and Bernard Kouchner, former Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), illustrated their experiences and lessons learned in Kosovo. How can military and civilian forces cooperate in an environment of conflict where the government has ceased to function and the basic needs of a civil society are not provided? Reinhardt pointed out that the UNMIK led by Kouchner, who coordinated the activities of UNHCR, OSCE and EU, was the most important partner for KFOR. A great amount of time was spent in discussions with local politicians and in meetings of the political bodies set up by the UNMIK in order to involve the Kosovar in their own affairs, and to win personal trust. In accordance with Kouchner's persuasion that there is no separation between military and civilian involvement, Reinhardt was part of the Interim Administration Council and thus actively involved in building an administration and a political body. Kouchner pointed out that the civilian tasks could not have been managed without the presence and support of KFOR. In contrast to the military, the UNMIK was not sufficiently prepared for the enormous task. Kouchner expressed his worries about the aftermath of the mission. In his view, Resolution 1244, which calls for substantial autonomy and self-administration in



General Dr. Klaus Reinhardt, former Commander KFOR, and Dr. Bernard Kouchner, former Head of UNMIK, presented their experiences and lessons learned in Kosovo (from left).

Kosovo, needs to be implemented or changed. Without a clear political decision on the international legal status of Kosovo and the continued presence of KFOR, new tensions will result.

The NATO experience in the Balkans was the subject of the presentation by James Appathurai of the NATO Political Affairs Division, which opened the second conference day. Appathurai made clear that NATO was, and continues to be transformed by this experience. When the Bosnian war began in 1991, NATO had never before conducted an operation outside its own territory. The lesson NATO had to learn was that it could not remain disengaged from the rest of Europe. NATO members realized that conflicts outside their territory could still damage Euro-Atlantic security, including their own. The most important lesson, however, was that robust engagement can make a difference. While Bosnia and Herzegovina showed that the price of indifference can be far higher than that of engagement, Kosovo demonstrated that timely intervention can preclude worse disasters. The latter operation has acted as a catalyst for necessary change - for improvements to NATO defense capabilities and to Europe's capacity as a security actor.

The issue of cooperation between military and civilian actors was brought up again by Jakob Kellenberger, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The ICRC's main experience of cooperation in a PSO environment was in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo. The aim of ICRC missions is to protect and assist victims of armed conflict and internal violence. In Kosovo, the added value of the ICRC became very clear. The mandate for KFOR deployment and the UNMIK applied to only a part of the country. For more than a year, this resulted in a situation where the ICRC was essentially alone in having a structured and permanent presence in both Pristina and Belgrade. Kellenberger pointed out that it was crucial for the ICRC to engage with political and military actors and to be a predictable co-actor for PSO, while

retaining its operational independence and ensuring that its own identity is preserved.



Jakob Kellenberger illustrated the ICRC's experiences with Peace Support Operations

Civil-military relations in PSO were also the focus of Michael Pugh's contribution. The director of the Plymouth International Studies Centre noted that the relationship between external military and civilian actors had shifted from detachment and suspicion towards a level of civil-military cooperation (CIMIC) that was becoming institutionalized. The Balkan crises have given military establishments incentives to invite humanitarian organizations to integrate into PSO. Pugh clearly rejects the notion that the military should be trained to take on tasks other than security since it cannot be the military's job to empower groups whose voices are ignored and suppressed. The assumption that NATO is the organization to accomplish UN-mandated conflict prevention operations is therefore highly debatable, since the authority of the NATO Council is not recognized as the global repository of humanitarian values.

The penultimate session of the conference concentrated on national experiences with PSO. Lt. Gen. Günther Greindl, the Austrian Military Representative to NATO, presented the Austrian view, acknowledging that the increasing complexity of recent crises requires integrated crisis management. The main lessons Austria has learned are that potential troop-contributing nations should be involved early on in the planning and fact-finding stage, that interoperability should be achieved, and that over-tasking of the military with humanitarian and civil

tasks should be avoided.

The Swiss experience was expounded by Bruno Lezzi, Editor for Security and Defense Policy issues at the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, and Colonel GS Bruno Rösli, Head of the Division for Peacekeeping Operations at the Swiss Ministry of Defense. Switzerland has already taken part in several missions abroad, such as in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo. Its engagement in those missions was unarmed. The fundamental question for the country remains whether and to what extent a neutral country should become involved in international peace initiatives. Bruno Lezzi outlined the controversy surrounding this subject, given the fact that in June 2001 the Swiss people will have to decide whether armed Swiss troop contingents should participate in multinational peace operations. The advocates of strict neutrality reject all such Swiss involvement and want Swiss support to concentrate exclusively on the ICRC and so-called good offices. They deny that peacekeeping missions based on the UN Charter are compatible with neutrality. Lezzi made the argument that only states that can offer a complete range of diplomatic, economic, and military services can remain serious partners in international crisis management. Even more important than the national interest is the maintenance of a global order of peace. Colonel Rösli pointed to the new training requirements for PSO. Given Switzerland's national restrictions concerning armaments, the Swiss experience in KFOR is not comparable to other nations. Overall responsibility for the training lies with the general staff directorate in charge of the actual conducting of the operation. This arrangement ensures that lessons learned find their way into the training syllabus without delay.

The proceedings of the conference will be published in the summer of 2001. ■

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The Cold War Alliances - Seen from Within and “From the Other Side”

The military aspects are the least known and least understood aspects of the Cold War, mostly because the military documents are still being withheld. To bridge this gap, the Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact (PHP) aims to declassify, evaluate, and disseminate these sources. It promotes the access to archives in both NATO and former Warsaw Pact countries. On the basis of this new evidence, the project provides novel analyses and interpretations of the Cold War alliances, with an emphasis on the mutual threat perceptions and their relationship to military plans and to the cycles of détente and militarization. In the long term, the PHP aims at writing a comprehensive history of NATO and the Warsaw Pact under a parallel perspective.

Established in 1999, the PHP is funded by three partners: the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research in Zurich, the National Security Archive in Washington, and the Institute of Military Studies in Vienna. It also cooperates with the Cold War International History Project in Washington and, since recently, with the Italian Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies, and several associates in Central and Eastern as well as Western Europe. The Czech-born American scholar Vojtech Mastny, senior fellow at the Woodrow



Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact

Wilson Center in Washington, coordinates the project.

In the first two years, the Eastern countries were the PHP's main priority:

- At the PHP's request, the Czech defense minister and Bulgarian and Hungarian counterparts ordered the declassification of almost all military documents from the Cold War period. PHP researchers are the first to have surveyed these sources. Many thousand pages of Czech, Bulgarian, and Hungarian documents have been obtained – including a 1964 Warsaw Pact war plan from the Czech military archives,

which was published on the PHP homepage in May 2000 together with related documents and analyses, supplemented with a collection of U.S. war plans from the early 1960s. The publication has received extensive media coverage throughout Europe.

- Mainly drawing from Bulgarian archives, the PHP's second document collection was dedicated to the growing centrifugal tendencies among the allies and the end of the Warsaw Pact (1985-91).
- The East German records in Freiburg and Berlin have been systematically researched. The records of meetings of the Warsaw Pact's main policy-making bodies have been published online in May 2001.
- A Swiss-German-Austrian research group within the PHP has been launched to study the records of Stasi intelligence on NATO; its aim is to learn how much was known about NATO in the Warsaw Pact.

The results of the PHP's search for Cold War military records have varied from country to country. For real or alleged security reasons, many archival sources on the history of the two Cold War alliances

PHP Research Group at the CIS

Besides direct funding, the **Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research** at the ETH contributes to the PHP in manifold ways. In terms of research, a group consisting of Andreas Wenger, Anna Locher, and Christian Nünlist is focusing on an international history of NATO's political transformation under conditions of hegemonic decline from 1956 to 1967. In 2001, PHP researchers will survey U.S., Canadian, and NATO archives on the parallel crises in NATO and the Warsaw Pact in 1964-69. In addition, the group has surveyed the GDR records in Freiburg and Berlin and is taking part in the efforts to declassify the Stasi documents on NATO.

In terms of services, the Center's **International Relations and Security Network (ISN)** runs the PHP website, which adds a historical dimension to the ISN, whose aim is to promote open access to information on security policy. The PHP's innovative web publication, based on a non-profit academic electronic platform, benefits the academic community by multiplying the results of research in readily accessible form; and it benefits the archives by drawing the interest of historians to their holdings.

<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/php>

remain inaccessible. NATO itself only began to open its archives in May 1999 and is still rather restrictive; the most open NATO countries are presently the United States, Canada, and Norway. Ten years after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the former Warsaw Pact countries except for Russia and Poland have largely declassified their Cold War records – a process that the PHP was able to accelerate or even trigger. Yet, as the communist regimes in Eastern Europe were collapsing, an unknown number of the then sensitive military files were carted away to Russia where they remain sealed, as do Soviet Warsaw Pact files along with nearly all Soviet military records from the Cold War era. Unfortunately, the accessibility of these records in Moscow has deteriorated after a brief period of openness in the first half of the 1990s. The PHP tries to cope with this difficult situation by initiating and supporting an oral history project carried out by Russian military historians. In Poland, too, interviews have been conducted with the military leadership of the Cold War period, including the generals W. Jaruzelski and F. Siwicki.

Although the project is at present still rather asymmetric regarding the origin of the sources made available through the PHP, the cooperation with Western European scholars and institutions is picking up momentum. With its most recent partner, the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies (CIMA), a group of Italian Cold War historians, the PHP has attracted significant expertise in the field. In addition, the project has filed declassification requests for the NATO ministerial minutes from the U.S. State Department. In order to live up to the project's "parallel" claim, the U.S. versions of NATO minutes will be published online together with the records of the main Warsaw Pact committees.

In the long term, the PHP aims at writing a parallel history of NATO and the Warsaw Pact as an international cooperative undertaking based on new archival evidence. A fresh look at the Cold War's military alliances promotes a new understanding of the linkage between military power and political purpose. Ideally, this will help advance an essentially new meaning of security. ■



Christian Nünlist, Prof. Vojtech Mastny, Prof. Andreas Wenger and Anna Locher at the 2nd PHP Workshop in Zurich in December 2000 (from left)

2nd PHP Workshop in Zurich, 1-2 December 2000

In December 2000, the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research hosted the PHP's Second Annual Workshop in Zurich. Participants from 15 countries, partners, and associates as well as representatives of potential partner institutions, shared their experiences and reported on the state of declassification in their respective countries. For the first time, Russian associates participated in the event. Due to rigid declassification rules in Russia, PHP and the Moscow Institute of Military History reached an agreement on cooperation that focuses primarily on specific topics and on oral history. Furthermore, the participation of scholars from Norway, Italy, and Germany signaled the interest on the side of NATO historians to become involved in a truly international undertaking, placing itself in the tradition of what is known as "New Cold War History," with its novel scholarly perspectives on the Cold War period.

Upcoming PHP Conferences

- **Romania in the Warsaw Pact:**
28-30 September 2001 in Bucharest, Romania.
- **The Cold War in the Mediterranean:**
5-6 October 2001 in Cortona, Italy.
- **Third Annual PHP Workshop:**
8 October 2001 in Florence, Italy.

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The Politics and Economics of Banking Regulation

Since the late 1980s the G-10 and some other countries have engaged in increasingly complex national and international regulatory reforms in the banking sector. The aim of regulatory activity, a large part of which concentrates on banks' capital-asset ratios (CAR), has been to mitigate bank solvency problems that may destabilize national and international financial systems. Banking regulation has thus become a key element of global governance in the financial realm. Prof. Thomas Bernauer and Dr. Vally Koubi, both from the CIS, are examining why countries have been able to establish strict national and international regulations in a field otherwise characterized by rapid deregulation, global market integration, and strong commercial competition.

In a recently published book (*Staaten im Weltmarkt*, see box), Thomas Bernauer has explained successful international cooperation (1988 Basle Accord and its revisions) primarily in terms of U.S. influence and collective-action dynamics. He shows how the United States first persuaded the United Kingdom and Japan to conclude a trilateral agreement. Other countries whose banks had an interest in the markets of these three countries then had little choice but to subscribe to the standards set in the agreement. Regulators in the three biggest financial markets of the world threatened, implicitly or explicitly, to refuse licensing foreign banks with lower capital-to-asset-ratios (CAR) than their domestic banks. According to this explanation, the main reason for the superior U.S. bargaining leverage is that the U.S. authorities strategically took advantage of its market pull.

In a follow-up project, Prof. Bernauer and Dr. Koubi examine the extent to which market forces may have facilitated the establishment and implementation of stricter regulations. In particular, they analyze whether

competition for funds among banks can serve as an alternative to government-mandated capital-adequacy requirements. In the absence of completely explicit or implicit deposit guarantees or other sources of bank funding by the government, banks may have an incentive to satisfy "implicit capital requirements" in order to improve profitability by lowering their perceived riskiness (and hence lower the borrowing costs).

Based on a formal model, Bernauer and Koubi show that whether the banking sector is under- or over-capitalized depends on the relative importance of idiosyncratic and systemic bank risk for the risk premium that banks pay for deposits or for other sources of funding. Undercapitalization – and hence a need for regulation – is more likely when systemic bank risk is the dominant factor.



Prof. Thomas Bernauer and Dr. Vally Koubi examine regulatory activity in the banking sector

The two researchers also examine the empirical relevance of this model by linking differences in borrowing costs among banks to differences in own and industry wide capital-asset ratios (see box). The results of regression analyses for more than 15,000 US banks in the 1990s (approximately 130,000 bank-years) demonstrate that better capitalized banks experienced lower borrowing costs. However, the analysis also demonstrates that competition cannot substitute for capital adequacy regulation, because systemic effects dominate. Although these findings suggest that banks are undercapitalized relative to the social optimum, they may still be overcapitalized

relative to the official regulatory requirements if these requirements are below the socially optimal levels. Given that the existing capital adequacy requirements seem rather ad hoc, this possibility cannot be ruled out.

Bernauer and Koubi draw two conclusions from these findings: first, that capital-adequacy regulation may indeed be desirable; and second, that regulation aimed at creating and sustaining competition among banks, notably through increased transparency, can play an important role in mitigating bank solvency problems. Consequently, ongoing reform efforts at the national and international levels should focus strongly on increasing transparency and strengthening competition among banks as an efficient way of promoting higher capital-asset ratios and greater bank solvency.

In an effort to evaluate the extent to which market discipline has facilitated the establishment and implementation of banking regulations, the two researchers are now assessing the impact of market forces on bank capital in other countries. If banks have a self-interest in higher capital-asset ratios, it is obviously easier to impose regulations on them.

The abovementioned research by Prof. Bernauer and Dr. Vally Koubi is available from the authors on request:

Thomas Bernauer, "Kapitalvorschriften für Banken" in: Thomas Bernauer, *Staaten im Weltmarkt*, Leske+Budrich, 2000.

Thomas Bernauer and Vally Koubi, "Regulating Bank Capital: Can Market Discipline Facilitate or Replace Capital Adequacy Rules?"; ETH, Center for International Studies, manuscript.

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Immigration: Domestic and European Responses

Immigration policy is one of the most debated and controversial topics today. Whether in Switzerland or elsewhere, the relationship between the “nation state”, its borders and its population is far from being settled. The dynamics of globalization and Europeanization, imposing ever stronger limits on the traditional notions of territorial sovereignty, have given rise to an increasing need for rules to govern the access to societal institutions such as labor markets, electoral systems, citizenship or, in the case of refugees, asylum. Meanwhile legislators at the domestic and EU level are faced with the need to define an efficient and legitimate balance between economic, humanitarian and cultural openness, on the one hand, and control on the other.

With its workshop “Immigration Policy in Europe: Between Domestic Reform and Europeanization”, the CIS aimed to contribute to the ongoing controversies in politics and among academia on the challenges and opportunities facing national and European immigration policies today. The contributions presented at the workshop are also part of a “debate” published in the *Swiss Political Science Review* in 2001. The workshop and the debate were organized by Sandra Lavenex, lecturer at the University of Zurich and senior researcher at the CIS, and Sandro Cattacin, director of the Swiss Forum for Migration Studies in Neuchâtel.

The workshop concentrated on three aspects of contemporary migration policies. Starting with a concrete example of national policy reforms, the first session dealt with the new draft Aliens Law (“Ausländergesetz”) in Switzerland. This text constitutes the first complete revision of the Aliens Law of 1931 and aims at defining a “coherent and comprehensive migration policy”. During the workshop three experts took positions on the draft law. Andreas Wimmer (University of Bonn) argued that this law is a typical “Helvetic compromise” between the various federal, consociational and direct democratic



The speakers at the workshop on Immigration Policy in Europe (from left): Hans Mahnig, Sandra Lavenex, George Sheldon, Andrew Geddes, Virginie Guiraudon, Adrian Favell, Sandro Cattacin and Martin Niederberger.

elements of Switzerland’s political system. Focusing on labor-market developments, George Sheldon (University of Basel) examined the challenges and opportunities facing the different categories of workers in Switzerland and scrutinized the efficiency of the administrative immigration procedures. The more social dimension of immigration in Switzerland was at the heart of Martin Niederberger’s contribution. Niederberger (Swiss Forum for Migration Studies, Neuchâtel) reconstructed the historical elements explaining the development of the Swiss Aliens Law in the domain of integration and underlined both the continuities and changes in the legislative process that had taken place over time.

The second session concentrated on the practical and theoretical challenges of immigrant “integration” in host societies. The starting point was the conceptual confusion about the meaning of immigrant “integration” today, ranging from a more socioeconomical concept of “insertion” in the domestic labor market and societal institutions, to more socio-cultural notions of “assimilation” to national values and identities. Building on these different understandings, Adrian Favell from the Sussex Center for Migration Research deconstructed the public philosophies and research paradigms concerning the notion of “integration” in Western Europe from a comparative perspective. Hans Mahnig (Swiss Forum for Migration Studies Neuchâtel) highlighted the politics behind the policies of integration. With a focus on Switzerland, he

underlined the interplay of the different political forces in modern liberal democracies’ approaches towards the presence of foreigners in a society.

The workshop concluded with the emergence of new structures of governance, relating to the chances and challenges facing the development of a common policy in the EU. Emphasizing the dual character of the EU as a multilevel system, Andrew Geddes (Liverpool University) identified the difficulties involved in the formulation and implementation of common European policies. Interpreting the progress achieved in this area to date, Virginie Guiraudon (University of Lille) argued that the Europeanization of policies related to immigration has so far mainly been a tool of national policy-makers to escape domestic constraints. Finally, Sandra Lavenex turned the focus on refugee policy, and identified the institutional and normative challenges facing the development of a common European asylum system.

The workshop was attended by experts from public policy, NGOs and academia; this allowed for a very vivid and fruitful discussion. ■

The contributions presented at the workshop are part of a debate published in the *Swiss Political Science Review*, Volume 7, Issues 1-3, 2001.

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Coping with the New Security Challenges of Europe

Since its initiation in 1994, the International Security Forum (ISF) has become a tradition in the international security community. The ISF takes place alternately in Zurich and Geneva every two years. The aim is to promote the exchange of information relating to security issues and to strengthen international cooperation. The 4th ISF "Coping with the New Security Challenges of Europe" was held in Geneva in November 2000.

The 4th ISF was organized by the Geneva Center for Security Policy in cooperation with the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research in Zurich and the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. The conference attracted over 400 scholars, civil servants, diplomats, military officials and representatives of non-governmental organizations from the Euro-Atlantic area. While the 4th ISF focused on new challenges to security and on European security, humanitarian aspects of security and civil-military cooperation were an integral part of the conference. As Switzerland has a strong commitment to promoting information technology as part of its role within NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program, the 4th ISF also included workshops on information technology and advanced distributed learning.

The plenary sessions at the 4th ISF dealt primarily with the challenges of European security from the perspective of humanitarian organizations. The 25 workshops were designed to discuss specific solutions for improving international cooperation. The Information Technology workshop track was held under the auspices of the International Relations and Security Network (ISN). The workshop dealt with the management of flows of information, in terms of both technology and content, and investigated the current use of modern information technology in training and education. The information revolution has had a huge impact on the way information is managed in all areas of investigation, and the field of

security is no exception. In order to avoid information overload and to ensure that the quality of information is maintained, data and information need to be effectively processed and managed. ISN coordinator Michel Hess chaired a workshop on the dissemination and management of electronic sources of international security institutions. The workshop identified needs-driven tools and methods to facilitate the sharing of, and access to, information through extensible mark-up language (xml) and knowledge generation by means of hypertext, dissection and comparisons. It also provided the international relations and security community with operational definitions of knowledge management from the perspective of meta-data schemes and hypertexts.

The information revolution has also had a profound effect on the way the media deals with various types of conflicts. This was the subject of the workshop led by ISN coordinator Michelle Norgate. The aim was to arrive at substantive conclusions and recommendations on the constructive role the media can play in conflicts. The workshop highlighted the importance of independent information systems and specialized quality information services as tools for raising awareness of political developments in those involved in decision-making. Quality news coverage is one of the preconditions for bridging the gap between early warning and early action. While specialized news services are gaining in quality and becoming more varied, mainstream international reporting is increasingly lacking in the depth of its coverage. High-quality information services like the ISN Security Watch, which meets its users' needs for background information on conflicts, are thus filling a gap in the market that conventional news sources have neglected.

ISN coordinator Stephan Libiszewski chaired the workshop in which the ISN's local area search tool, the ISN LASE, and the Facts on International Relations and Security Trends (FIRST) were presented. The participants were introduced to the

unique features of the ISN LASE, including the new push service, which allows an individualized service through which users can subscribe to receive up-to-date information on the basis of their individual set of preferences and search parameters. FIRST is a distributed facts database whose content relates to international relations and security. The service consists of a combination of several high-quality databases, making these available through a single platform on the Internet. The databases provide users with statistical information of the highest possible quality. Both the ISN LASE and the FIRST service were initiated as a result of the ISF conference cycle and have since become mature, high-quality services.

The Information Technology workshop track also looked at training and education, in particular, web-based course platforms and the Advanced Distributed Learning (ADL) initiative of the PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes. Web-based course platforms allow for collaborative distance learning, while freeing students from set geographical locations and set time frames for learning. The purpose of the ADL initiative is to ensure that students have access to high-quality education and training materials that can be tailored to their individual needs and that are available whenever and wherever they require them. The workshops, chaired by ISN coordinator Ulrich Gysel, introduced participants to the PfP Consortium's Learning Management System (LMS) and also looked at the integration of ADL into military education systems. The ADL workshops showed that many institutes in a wide range of countries are complementing their teaching with e-learning.

The next International Security Forum will be held on 14-16 October 2002 at the Kongresshaus in Zurich. ■

More information on the ISF conference cycle is available at <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/confseminar>

Information on the ISN is available at <http://www.isn.ethz.ch>

The Regulation of Health and Safety Risks

Why do states regulate health risks in very different ways? Which political, economic, or social variables shape the variation in stringency of such regulations across countries and time? The diversity in domestic environmental and health regulations, and its causes and consequences for international trade is the subject of the research project “Regulatory Diversity and International Trade” at the CIS. During Professor David Vogel’s and Dr. Erik Millstone’s visit to the CIS, Thomas Bernauer and Ladina Caduff organized a workshop on the regulation of health and safety risks, emphasizing the divergences between the EU and the US.

The workshop that took place at the CIS in November 2000 started with a talk by David Vogel from the University of California, Berkeley, on the pattern of divergences between the US and the EU concerning the regulations on genetically modified organisms (GMOs). He argued that recent changes in politics of risk regulation in Europe account for these divergences in regulation. From the 1960s through the mid 1980s, the regulation of health, safety and environmental risks was generally stricter in the US than in Europe. Since the mid 1980s, the opposite has been the case. This development can be explained by three interrelated factors: First, the emergence of a European civic culture that is more risk averse than in the past. Second, the growing regulatory role of the EU has contributed to the strengthening of regulatory standards. Third, a series of regulatory failures in Europe such as the mad-cow disease has been undermining public confidence in regulatory institutions and policies. Thus, while many regulatory policies in Europe have become more stringent over the last decade, American regulatory policies have been relatively stable. According to Vogel, the American regulatory structure underwent its baptism of fire, while Europe is only beginning to address the challenge of balancing scientific risk assessment with public confidence.

Ladina Caduff from the CIS analyzed the question of divergent regulations using the example of European and US regulations on growth hormones in beef production. Since 1985 the EU bans the use of growth hormones in meat production, while the US allows their controlled use. In 1989, when the EU’s hormone ban was extended to imports from third countries, one of the longest and most acrimonious trade disputes with the US emerged. In her analysis of the EU’s regulatory activity, Caduff illuminated how organized consumer interests can achieve decisive political influence based on public pressure and privileged institutional access. European consumer interest groups have been successful in pushing EU bodies toward more stringent regulations, while the industry opposing restrictive regulations

has been unable to shape the regulatory outcome because of problems in influencing public risk perception and in gaining institutional access. In the end, a broad and stable coalition supporting a ban on growth hormones has emerged. The analysis of the regulatory process in the US showed that a broad and well-organized coalition of export-oriented industrial and farming interests prevailed against import-competing farmers. Moreover, because the majority of US consumers perceived little risk in consuming meat produced with growth hormones, consumer groups did not lobby for a hormone ban. Caduff’s analysis showed that a legal settlement of the transatlantic trade dispute has been possible. Stable political coalitions in the EU and the US with fundamentally different preferences, however, account for why a political solution has remained elusive so far.

Erik Millstone from the University of Sussex put forward the argument that interna-

tional convergence regarding regulatory standards is unlikely. He presented three models of risk management. In the “archaic model”, science determines policy: only facts are needed to trigger a policy outcome. In the second, official US model, risk assessment is based on scientific evidence, and the subsequent risk evaluation is influenced by technical, economic and social information on what constitutes a relevant risk. According to Millstone, however, a



Erik Millstone, Eva Zbinden, David Vogel, Alois Tschopp, Urs Pauli, Ladina Caduff, Andreas Ziegler and Thomas Bernauer participated at the workshop on the regulation of health and safety risks.

strictly scientific risk assessment does not exist. Risk assessment is not exclusively based on scientific considerations but also on social framing assumptions. Millstone, therefore, promotes an alternative model of risk management. This model takes into account socioeconomic, political and ethical considerations that shape social framing assumptions which, again influence risk assessment. According to Millstone, this European model is far more appropriate to explain the divergences in domestic environmental and health regulations.

A follow-up of the workshop with David Victor from the Council on Foreign Relations and Jim Foster from MIT takes place in May 2001. ■

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Swiss Program for Doctoral Students in International Relations

The faculty of the Graduate Institute of International Studies (IUHEI) in Geneva and the Center for International Studies (CIS) are about to complete a three-year program for doctoral students in international relations. In this program the students and faculty have focused on research design issues, quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection and analysis, joint research papers, and individual dissertation projects. These activities have complemented existing PhD programs in international relations at Swiss Universities and constitute a first step towards closer coordination of these programs.

Swiss political science departments, and the International Relations (IR) sections of these departments in particular, are very small in comparison to other countries, and notably to the United States. Small sized departments have some advantages for doctoral students, in particular because they enable more intense interaction with the professors. The low number of doctoral students being taught by this small number of professors, however, also means that the interaction with peers is limited.

This problem has improved due to the reduced costs of communication and travel. Ad hoc email contact and occasional participation in international conferences, however, cannot substitute for a more regular exposure to the competitive international academic environment. While some doctoral students become involved in international research projects and receive funding for attending international conferences such as those of the International Studies Association, the European Consortium for Political Research, or the American Political Science Association, other students do not. Too much depends on chance and on the agendas of the individual professors advising their doctoral students.

In 1998 professors Thomas Bernauer (CIS), Cedric Dupont (IUHEI), David Sylvan

(IUHEI), and Dieter Ruloff (CIS) initiated a program designed to strengthen doctoral students' research design, data collection and analysis skills, and to facilitate the interaction among students. This program does not replace, but complements existing PhD programs in international relations at Swiss Universities. It is directed by the aforementioned faculties in Geneva and Zurich and is funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. The program is open to students from all Swiss universities. Most students in the program are from the Graduate Institute of International Studies (IUHEI) in Geneva and the Center for International Studies (CIS) in Zurich, where most of the IR research and teaching activity in Switzerland takes place.

In the first year (fall 1998 - fall 1999) of the program, a series of six one-day workshops focused on research design issues. In September 1999 the group met for three days to learn more about the work of external guests (Prof. Kenneth Oye, MIT; Dr. Detlef Sprinz, Potsdam Institute for Climate Research; and Prof. Arild Underdal, University of Oslo), and to receive feedback on their joint paper projects, which the students had initiated shortly before. In the second year of the program (fall 1999 - fall 2000), the students and faculty discussed questions of data access, sampling, content analysis, development of formal theories, interviewing, and statistical data analysis and significance. They also continued to work on the joint paper projects. Six students presented the results of their work at the annual conference of the International Studies Association in March 2000. The topics of their papers ranged from international efforts to curb money laundering and tax evasion to the role of arms control in peace support operations and the regulation of environmental and health risks. Several one-day workshops in the third year concentrated on the students' individual dissertation projects and the results of their joint paper projects. In January 2001 the students and faculty also met with external guests for a three-day workshop. These guests included Joseph Grieco (Duke University),

Paul T'Hart (University of Leiden), Stephen Majeski (University of Washington), and Daniel Verdier (European University Institute). Again, the purpose of the meeting was to gain firsthand insight into the work of these researchers, and to receive feedback on the students' joint papers and on their individual dissertation projects.

The program, which will end in the summer of 2001, can be regarded as a pilot project on the way towards closer coordination of Swiss PhD programs in International Relations. The results are encouraging. Students have acquired additional methodological skills, they have engaged in joint work with colleagues outside their respective home institution, and they have received additional feedback on their individual dissertations. The faculty involved in the program is currently discussing the possibilities of continuing this activity. ■

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Recent CIS Publications



Jon A. Fanzun and Patrick Lehmann, *Die Schweiz und die Welt: Aussen- und sicherheitspolitische Beiträge der Schweiz zu Frieden, Sicherheit und Stabilität, 1945-2000* [Switzerland and the world: Swiss foreign and security policy contributions to peace, security and stability, 1945-2000]

Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2000, ISBN 3-905641-70-4 (in German). <http://www.fsk.ethz.ch>

The aim of this study is to describe and analyze Switzerland's contributions to peace and security since World War Two. Based on a broad definition of security and peace that incorporates military, political, economic, and social dimensions, the study examines a broad span of Swiss contributions ranging from conflict prevention and conflict management measures to post-conflict initiatives. In conclusion, the authors offer an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of Swiss engagement in the various fields.



Jeromir Perovic, *Die Regionen Russlands als neue politische Kraft* [Russian Regions as a new political force]

Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2001, ISBN 3-906767-29-9 (in German). <http://www.peterlang.ch>

The Russian regions have become such a powerful force that it is hard to imagine the political, economic, and social life of Russia without them. Regionalism has fostered positive development in a number of areas, providing constructive impulses for democratic transformation and the national unity of the country. In other parts of Russia, however, this phenomenon has tended to block processes of reform and has contributed to the establishment of authoritarian power structures or even to the acceleration of disintegrative processes. This book attempts to present Russian regionalism in all its complexity and contradictions and, in view of the dangers and opportunities it engenders, to assess its impact on the stabilization of Russia.



Kurt R. Spillmann and Andreas Wenger (eds.), *Bulletin 2001 on Swiss Security Policy*

Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2001, ISBN 3-905641-72-0 (in German). <http://www.fsk.ethz.ch>

This year's annual Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy takes a close look at the ongoing process of reform in the Swiss army (Army XXI). It makes the case for armament of Swiss forces in international Peace Support Operations. The book also compares Swiss developments to international trends in transforming armed forces since the Cold War. A second focal point is the growing challenge that the security dimension of the EU poses for Swiss security policy. Further contributions to the volume include an assessment of Austria's security policy, an introduction to comprehensive risk analysis, and a presentation of a multimedia teaching and learning program on security policy.



Thomas Bernauer, Jürg Martin Gabriel, Dieter Ruloff (eds.), *Swiss Political Science Review*

Zurich: Center for International Studies, 2001, ISSN 1424-7755 (in English, French, and German). <http://www.ib.ethz.ch/spsr>

Issue 1, Vol. 7 (2001) of the *Swiss Political Science Review* contains articles on Swiss federalism and decentralization; on the influence of policy networks on political change, examining the case of the ecologization of tourism in Switzerland and, specifically, in Valais; and on boundary delineation in border crossing policy networks. This issue contains the first of a three-part debate on "Immigration Policy". Part one in this issue focuses on immigration policy reforms in Switzerland. The articles analyze the political process behind the drafting of the new Aliens Law, examine labor-market developments, and explain the historical development of the Swiss Aliens Law to date.



Vojtech Mastny, *Learning from the Enemy: NATO as a Model for the Warsaw Pact*

Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2001, ISBN 3-905641-75-5 <http://www.fsk.ethz.ch>

In 1955 the USSR created the Warsaw Pact as a mirror image of NATO, aiming towards the simultaneous dissolution of both alliances. When this plan failed, the Warsaw Pact gradually evolved into an alliance in its own right, but it remained haunted by the image of its Western counterpart. The author examines the various East European and Soviet attempts to remodel the Warsaw Pact along NATO lines. Regardless of the differences between the two alliances, the Warsaw Pact's inability to strike the right balance between its military and political functions provides a cautionary tale for NATO as well.



Ulrich Lehner and Fred Tanner (eds.), *Coping with the New Security Challenges of Europe*

Bern: Peter Lang, 2001, ISBN 3-906767-35-3 <http://www.peterlang.ch>

The book summarizes the workshops and presentations held during the 4th International Security Forum ISF in Geneva in November 2000. It presents an overview of the themes and projects discussed during the conference. The 4th ISF intended to create a platform for discussion and an exchange of ideas on academic, humanitarian, military and other aspects of security issues. A wide range of topics were discussed within four tracks: I. European Security Policy; II. Humanitarian Dimension; III. Security, Arms Control and Civil Society; and IV. Information Technology.

Articles

Jörg **Barandat**/Simon A. **Mason**/Ulrich **Ratsch**: Potenziale für Konflikt und Kooperation: Das Wasser von Jordan, Euphrat, Nil, in: Reinhard Mutz/Bruno Schoch/Ulrich Ratsch (Hrsg.), *Friedensgutachten 2001*, Münster: Lit, 2001, 85-94.

Sandra **Lavenex**: Migration and the EU's New Eastern Border: Between Realism and Liberalism, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 8 (1), 2001, 24-42.

Simon A. **Mason**: Afrikas längster Fluss, von Positionen zu Interessen: die Nile Basin Initiative, in: Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung (DSE) (Hrsg.), *Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit*, 42 (2001):6, 185-187.

Jeromir **Perovic**: Probleme der Anpassung an die neuen Realitäten. Russische Außenpolitik gegenüber der Ukraine und Weißrußland, in: *Osteuropa*, Sonderheft "Russlands Außenpolitik: Von El'cin zu Putin", Nr. 4/5, Mai/Juni 2001, 466-480.

Kurt R. **Spillmann**: Wasser als Thema der Weltpolitik, in: Karl Kaiser / Hans-Peter Schwarz (Hrsg.) *Weltpolitik im neuen Jahrhundert*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2000, ISBN 3-7890-6714-8

Kurt R. **Spillmann**: Mögliche Kriegsursache Wasser, in: *Internationale Politik*, No. 12, December 2000, 47-56.

Kurt R. **Spillmann**: Wieviel Macht braucht die UNO zur Durchsetzung des Weltfriedens, *Politibus*, No.26-1, 2001, 30-38.

Kurt R. **Spillmann** and Andreas **Wenger**: Schweizerische Sicherheitspolitik 2001: Zwischen sicherheitspolitisch Notwendigem und innenpolitisch Möglichem, in: Erich Reiter (Hrsg.), *Jahrbuch für internationale Sicherheitspolitik 2001*, Wien, 2001.

Andreas **Wenger** and Jeremi **Suri**, At the Crossroad of Diplomatic and Social History: The Nuclear Revolution, Dissent, and Détente, in: *Cold War History*, Vol.1, No. 3 (April 2001).

Calendar

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- **Is there a new Power-Sharing in International Affairs? The Relationships among Government, Business and NGOs**
 Maria Livanos Cattau.
 Public lecture, 13 June 2001,
 University of Zurich, Switzerland.
- **NATO- und EU-Erweiterung nach Osten: Auswirkungen auf die Beziehungen mit Russland**
 Prof. Karl Kaiser.
 Public lecture, 13 June 2001,
 ETH Zurich, Switzerland.
- **ISN Caucasus Conference**
 Information Technology Prospects in the Caucasus.
 13-15 June 2001,
 Tbilisi, Georgia.
- **Nationale Wettbewerbsaufsicht in einem globalisierten Umfeld**
 Dr. Ulf Böge.
 Public lecture,
 19 June 2001,
 University of Zurich, Switzerland.
- **Baskenland: Bürgerkrieg oder Terrorismus?**
 Prof. Walther L. Bernecker.
 Public lecture,
 20 June 2001,
 ETH Zurich, Switzerland.
- **4th Annual PfP Consortium Conference**
 PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes
 25-27 June 2001,
 Moscow, Russia.
- **Das Ende des Oslo-Friedens: Von Netanyahu zu Netanyahu?**
 Prof. Bassam Tibi.
 Public lecture,
 27 June 2001,
 ETH Zurich, Switzerland.
- **Iran im Wandel zwischen Tradition und Moderne**
 Dr. Bahman Nirumand.
 Public lecture,
 4 July 2001,
 ETH Zurich, Switzerland.
- **Geschichte der Schweizer Sicherheitspolitik**
 Center for International Studies.
 Symposium,
 Autumn 2001,
 ETH Zurich, Switzerland.