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Analyzing National-Level Security Risks

 Since the end of the Cold War, the spectrum of contemporary risks has become broader and more difficult to analyze. The one-dimensional focus on the military threat is shifting towards a complex range of political, social, natural and technological risks. The objective of the Integrated Risk Analysis project is to develop scientific expertise on present and potential risks for modern society. To foster international dialogue on this issue, an electronic platform, the Comprehensive Risk Analysis and Management Network (CRN), is being developed.

The events of 11 September 2001 pose a major challenge to the modern state, forcing it to reevaluate its strategy of national security. The increasing intensity and integration of military and civilian threats change the way “security” has to be addressed. In particular, there is a need for multidisciplinary studies as well as a new knowledge base – a better understanding of new risks as well as their causes, interactions, probabilities and costs. We are beginning to realize that linear and one-dimensional thinking are no longer sufficient. Interconnected thinking and interdisciplinary cooperation are required to develop strategies to cope with current and future challenges.

Historically, the Integrated Risk Analysis project is based on the “Comprehensive Risk Analysis Switzerland” project launched in 1991 following a request by the Swiss parliament. Involving various Swiss experts in politics, economics, public administration and science, the project resulted in the report “Risikoprofil Schweiz



The Integrated Risk Analysis research team: Dr. des. Ulrike Kastrup, Reto Wollenmann, Dr. Jan Metzger, Prof. Andreas Wenger, Myriam Dunn and Dr. Doron Zimmerman (from left)

1999.” This document offered a comprehensive national-level threat and risk assessment for Switzerland. The former Central Office for General Defense (ZGV) was responsible for the management and coordination of the project. In 1999, the Integrated Risk Analysis Project was transferred to the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research in order to internationalize the project and to foster scientific development.

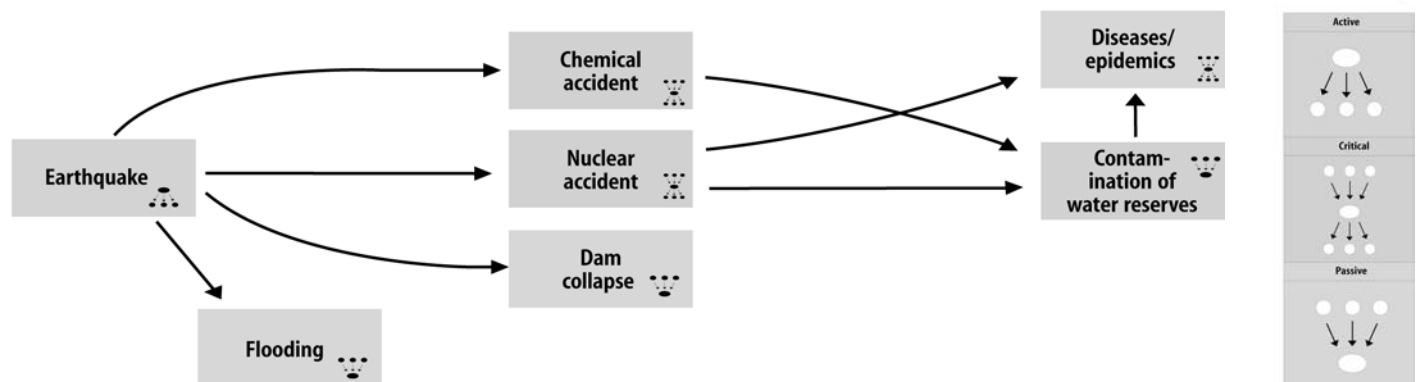
To preserve the pioneering work of the ZGV, the Comprehensive Risk Analysis and Management Network (CRN) website was developed as part of the project. Due to the fact that Sweden, Austria and Norway face similar threats and vulnerabilities, close contacts have been established with a variety of civil emergency/defense planning authorities of these countries.

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Representation of possible networking



An illustration on how the interdependencies between various risks might be modelled. As shown by Frederic Vester's sensitivity analysis, the elements can be characterized as follows: **Active elements** strongly influence all other elements but they themselves are little influenced by the other elements. **Critical elements** strongly influence the other elements and at the same time are themselves strongly influenced by other elements. **Passive elements** are influenced by the other elements, however they themselves do not influence the other elements.

In order to refine the content of the CRN, two international expert workshops were organized in 2001 in collaboration with the Swedish Agency for Civil Emergency Planning (ÖCB):

- National Approaches to Risk Profiling – Risk Analysis and Risk Assessment in Europe, 3–4 May 2001 in Stockholm/Uppsala
- Critical Infrastructure Protection (CIP) in Europe – Lessons Learned and Steps Ahead, 8–10 November 2001 in Zurich.

The main conclusion of both workshops was that a mere listing of risks and threats is not sufficient – an understanding of risks with regard to complexity and interdependency is needed. In future research, particular emphasis must be placed on the

“Potential risks to our interests and objectives must be identified at an early stage, and their possible consequences for our population and its essential resources have to be analyzed, so that the necessary measures can be taken in time using a combination of all assets at our disposal.”

Security through Cooperation / Report of the Federal Council to the Federal Assembly on the Security Policy of Switzerland of 7 June 1999.

method of interdependency modeling of risk areas such as migration, terrorism and cyber-threats.

In a future-oriented security policy analysis, the individual threats must not be considered in isolation. In terms of the methodology of risk and interdependency analysis, the following randomly identified research areas deserve closer investigation: morphological analysis, systems thinking, scenario-based methods, causal mapping techniques, multi-criteria analysis (MCA) and hierarchical holographic modeling. The same risk modeling techniques mentioned above can also be used to get a better understanding of interdependencies between critical infrastructures in general and between critical information infrastructures in particular.

To increase the level of basic knowledge in this research field, the “International Critical Information Infrastructure Handbook” will be published in 2002 within the framework of the Integrated Risk Analysis project. The handbook’s purpose is to find best practices in national CIIP policies of selected countries.

In order to support the Integrated Risk Analysis project, two research sub-projects will be launched in 2002:

- Interdependencies and Vulnerabilities in Critical Information Infrastructure (CII)

- Political Violence Movements / International Terrorism

The study on Interdependencies and Vulnerabilities in Critical Information Infrastructure assesses the exposure of CII to physical, psychological and cyber-threats. The Political Violence Movements / International Terrorism project consists of an in-depth exploration of the external actor dimension, i.e. the capabilities and motives of terrorists in an international context.

Parallel to the international activities of the CRN initiative, the Integrated Risk Analysis project plans to apply the methodological expertise to update the existing “Risikoprofil Schweiz.” This task can only be performed in partnership with a wide range of Swiss federal bodies. Contributions by the Integrated Risk Analysis project to an updated “Risikoprofil Schweiz” study would include providing methodology expertise and international contacts as well as the expansion of the CRN Internet and workshop platform. ■

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Foreign Direct Investment: Entry Restrictions in Transformation Economies

Over the past ten years, the transformation process in Eastern Europe has become one of the focal points for political scientists. In an international political economy perspective, the regulation of international capital flows, namely foreign direct investment (FDI), is of particular importance. Although there has been much research on FDI, FDI regulation by Eastern European governments is an aspect that has been virtually neglected. A study of those processes should provide insight into the behavior of transformation countries in a globalized world.

FDI plays a crucial role for the Central Eastern European (CEE) countries in the move to catch up with Western market economies. Direct investments reflect a company's interest in obtaining a lasting share in an economy other than its home market. Thus, FDI flows can be considered to be a reliable indicator of a country's economic and political prospects. In order to transform planned economies into competitive market economies, CEE countries primarily have to attract capital and know-how. These can be provided only by FDI from Western companies seeking to spread their business into emerging markets.

From a public choice perspective, the size of FDI determines the success with which an economy can be transformed efficiently. However, FDI flows vary among different countries. They can be restricted by West-

ern firms' decisions on what countries they will invest in, which take into account variables like political and economic stability or the market structure of the respective CEE country. This regulation by Western firms – the supply side of FDI – has been the subject of considerable research efforts, mainly from a comparative perspective of CEE countries that investigates different economic and political developments. In contrast, virtually no analysis of FDI flows has focused on the restrictions imposed by CEE governments – the demand side of FDI. Varying intensities of FDI restrictions can be observed in CEE countries. Examples include regulations that allow foreign companies to hold only minority shares of domestic firms or the implementation of a licensing procedure that, at best, allows only a small number of foreign companies to enter the transforming markets.

Most of the research of the past ten years has analyzed domestic transformation processes with a focus on political systems, civil society or macroeconomic processes. However, less attention has been directed to the impact of international factors, such as FDI flows or external pressure by international organizations. At the CIS, Vit Styrsky is comparing the regulation of FDI by CEE governments. Comparative case studies on the telecom, banking and fuel sectors in Poland and the Czech Republic should provide an explanation of the behavior of transformation countries in a globalized world.

The prevalent theories in international political economy cannot explain demand-side FDI restrictions entirely. As they were developed mainly to compare countries with different economic and political systems, they do not readily apply to the question at hand. Interest group theory and neo-institutionalism, however, provide a powerful explanatory model that accounts for unanswered questions in transformation research. In a country with interest groups that have a high collective action potential, we can expect to find successfully imposed pressure on the government, realizing the interest groups' policy preferences. Also, new governments in countries with institutions that will not change completely, are more restricted in their decision-making.

Vit Styrsky's research shows that Poland has implemented a more restrictive FDI entry policy than the Czech Republic. A country's particular FDI entry policy is only partly dependent upon the ideology of its ruling party. An analysis of the last ten years of transformation reveals examples of both rather restrictive right wing governments and leftist governments that have pursued a liberal entry policy. How can we account for this counterintuitive empirical evidence? Poland has only partly restructured institutions like trade unions, employee ownership or the right to strike, whereas in the Czech Republic those institutions have been completely rebuilt. Moreover, interest groups in Poland, such as providers in the telecom sector, have significantly greater institutional access than their respective counterparts in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to expect a convergence towards less FDI entry restrictions in both countries due to external pressures from the WTO and OECD forcing transformation countries to opt for free trade. ■

Vit Styrsky compares the regulation of foreign direct investment in Central Eastern European countries



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B.A./M.A. Program for Swiss Professional Officers at ETH

The end of the Cold War and the fundamental changes it entailed in Euro-Atlantic security affairs has also affected Switzerland. Neutrality is no longer what it once was, and the militia system, until now the backbone of Swiss defense thinking, is giving way to increased professionalism. The Swiss army is in dire need of more and better-trained professional officers. The Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) directly supports this development. From 2002 on, it will offer a B.A. program in public affairs for professional officers.

In the past the professional officers in the Swiss army were a small group of "instructors" mostly involved in training the militia. Only a small fraction was in possession of a university degree. Due largely to the isolation imposed by neutrality even fewer officers had any international experience. This situation is about to change. The government's new Security Report 2000 carries the subtitle "Security through Cooperation," thereby signaling a clear departure from traditional ways. The new plans call for a sharp reduction in the size of the militia and, among other things, for an increase in the quantity and the quality of the professional component. ETH is directly involved in this effort, for beginning in the fall of 2002 it will upgrade its traditional course offerings for professional officers to a full-fledged B.A. program in public affairs.

The existing program contains only two years of academic work; the third year is spent in practical training. Furthermore, military students spend only three to four days a week at ETH and the program does not lead to an academic degree. This will change. From now on, the participants will be regular ETH students, completing five semesters of full academic work and spending only one semester in the field. In addition, the B.A. degree will be recognized nationally and internationally, permitting officers to do graduate work if they so desire. The new program contains courses of a



Military students at ETH can complete, from fall 2002 on, an internationally recognized B.A. program in public affairs

general academic character as well as courses in military science. The former category embraces subjects such as public and international law, economics, business administration, political science or security policy. These are taught by professors of the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Science (GESS) at ETH. Military science deals with more specialized subjects such as military history, military sociology, military psychology and the like. These subjects are taught at ETH by lecturers from the Swiss Military College at Au/Wädenswil. The College is also responsible for organizing the one semester of practical activity spent in the field.

Switzerland needs more professional officers capable of assuming demanding tasks within the United Nations, NATO's Partnership for Peace or other multilateral security organizations.

ETH, in cooperation with the Swiss Department of Defense, also has plans for an M.A. program in security studies. It will be an advanced course with a strong emphasis on international affairs, designed primarily for

officers slated to do service abroad. Switzerland needs more professional officers capable of assuming demanding tasks within the United Nations, NATO's Partnership for Peace or other multilateral security organizations. The M.A. program in security policy will be taught by an international staff and in English only. The decision to abandon German is in line with ETH's intention to thoroughly internationalize its graduate school. The B.A./M.A. program is a welcome challenge for professional officers of the Swiss armed forces. ■

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Visit the website of the program at
<http://www.cis.ethz.ch/gabriel>

or the website of the Swiss Military College at
<http://www.mfs.ethz.ch/>

Federal Councillor Samuel Schmid on Swiss Security Policy

At the invitation of the rector of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) Prof. Konrad Osterwalder and the CIS, Federal Councillor Samuel Schmid held a public lecture on Swiss security policy at the ETH in May 2001. Schmid's talk focused on the 1999 "Security through Cooperation" report of the Federal Council to the Federal Assembly on the Security Policy of Switzerland. Federal Councillor Schmid made it clear that cooperation with friendly states and interoperability are the central elements of a contemporary Swiss security policy.

The foundation for the new security policy of Switzerland is the "Security through Cooperation" report, which outlines Switzerland's security policy goals. The international situation has changed fundamentally over the last decade. Whereas the conventional military threat to Switzerland has decreased, the range of other risks and dangers has expanded considerably. Federal Councillor Schmid focused on Switzerland's new strategy of security through cooperation that bases upon security policy objectives.

In view of the fact that modern forms of threat cut across borders and that the small state has limited resources, Schmid emphasized that greater security cooperation with friendly states is imperative. Commitment to cooperation will accord with Swiss



ETH Vice-President for Academic Affairs Prof. Konrad Osterwalder (Rector of ETH) in conversation with Federal Councillor Samuel Schmid and Prof. Kurt R. Spillmann (from left)

national interests and will take into account the will of the people well as the obligations imposed by the law of neutrality.

Switzerland shares with friendly states common challenges and an interest in stabilizing certain conflict regions in Europe. The necessary condition for joint effort, however, is smooth interaction and mutual support of implemented resources. This interoperability, according to Schmid, is indispensable particularly for international peace support operations. Since the end of the Cold War, the nature of peacekeeping missions has undergone a fundamental change. UN mandates are broader and tasks are more often delegated to regional organizations, such as NATO in the case of

Kosovo. For Switzerland the changing times, in contrast to the Cold War years, call not for neutral non-involvement, but impartial engagement and active participation.

Federal Councillor Schmid stressed that interoperability is not a step towards NATO membership. The only imminent "integration project" pursued by the Federal Council is joining the UNO, on which Swiss voters will decide in 2002. What interoperability is really about is the achievement of parity, of measuring up to the international standard. NATO is not necessarily the model here, for in the area of peace support operations in particular it has traditionally been non-NATO members that have developed a high profile. ■

SSN Swiss Foreign and Security Network Creates Website on UN Vote

The Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research has launched a new website section after receiving numerous requests for information on the vote on 3 March 2002 on Switzerland's membership to the United Nations. The website contains a wide selection of information from the Swiss ministries and parliament and from various interest groups. It also contains full-text articles from members of the academic community on aspects of Swiss-UN relations, a continuously updated chronology of events and links to news articles.

The site is part of the Swiss Foreign and Security Policy Network (SSN), an electronic platform that offers the security community a range of information services on Swiss foreign and security policy. The SSN runs a links library, a news chronology, an archive with selected articles provided by the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, a multilingual full-text search engine, a publishing house and a conference database. All services are updated on a regular basis, and the SSN has several interactive features.

Swiss Foreign and Security Network –
Information on Switzerland's membership to the United Nations:
<http://www.ssn.ethz.ch/uno/>

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IMSMA: Mine clearance in Kosovo is coming to an end



There are millions of landmines in more than 70 countries worldwide – approximately every 20 minutes a person is killed or maimed by a landmine. Given the scope of the problem and the number of actors involved in mine clearance activities, there is a vital need for effective information management. The Information Management System for Mine Action (IMSMA) Field Module has become the international standard in support of humanitarian demining activities undertaken by the United Nations and the entire international humanitarian demining community. The successful clearance of mines from Kosovo shows dramatically that modern information technology can support the demining process efficiently.

Information technology can reduce mine victims by providing better information on the location of mines and by allowing for more efficient use of demining capacities on the ground. The IMSMA Field Module is a computer based information system that supports the entire mine action process (humanitarian demining). It improves capabilities for decision-making, coordination and prioritization and aids in making up-to-date information on the location of hazardous areas available to the local population. The IMSMA system, developed by the Center for Security

Studies and Conflict Research on behalf of the Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining (GICHD), is provided free of charge to the international mine action community as a Swiss contribution to humanitarian demining.

“Information is a vital component of mine action. During the successful clearance operation in Kosovo, IMSMA enabled us to rapidly collate and analyze an enormous amount of data. This in turn helped us to plan and prioritize clearance efforts, and assisted with the integration of other activities such as mine awareness education. Throughout the entire mine action program in Kosovo, IMSMA was constantly used to manage the ongoing operational activities, and without it, our task would have been much more difficult.”

John Flanagan, Program Manager United Nations Mission in Kosovo Mine Action Coordination Center.

In Kosovo the IMSMA Field Module was used successfully by the United Nations Mine Action Coordination Center (UN MACC) to coordinate all humanitarian demining activities and other mine action efforts by numerous organizations. Using the IMSMA system, the MACC was able to

plan and execute mine action activities more efficiently. By possessing up-to-date information on the location of hazardous areas, the MACC was able to task the clearance of mined areas more rapidly and to reduce casualties associated with mined areas by providing information to the public. The demining activities were completed by mid-December 2001, and Kosovo is now clear of all known minefields. Upon achieving the demining of Kosovo, the MACC was shut down. The IMSMA Field Module, including all demining data, has been handed over to the UNMIK (United Nations Mission in Kosovo) department of civil security and the Kosovo cadastral agency. As a result of this handover, information on the location of former minefields and cluster bomb strikes remains in Kosovo, and the department for civil security has the capability to react to possible remaining threats from mines and unexploded ordnance if such are reported. Once such new threats are removed, the cadastral agency will update the IMSMA system with that information.

Although the Kosovo program has ended successfully, the worldwide landmine threat is far from eliminated, and the Field Module user community is growing rapidly. As of December 2001 the system has been established in a total of 20 countries, and the UN has identified numerous additional countries as future recipients of the Field Module. The dissemination of the IMSMA system in mine-affected countries will be facilitated as a result of recent software donations made by Microsoft and ESRI. Afghanistan, one of the most heavily mined countries in the world, was recently equipped with the IMSMA system. Afghanistan has millions of mines in place, many of which are scattered randomly in inhabited areas. Recently, the IMSMA deployment team transferred information on known minefields and other hazardous areas from the existing Afghan MAC (Mine Action Center) database to the IMSMA system. This allows the MAC and the UN Humanitarian Information Coordination

Landmine Situation in Kosovo • 1999–2001

August 1999

August 2000

December 2001



Threat from mines to the population

© 2001 FSK/IMSMA



The IMSMA development team: Olivier Muff, Martin Hochstrasser, Nicole Allet, Thomas Schürpf, Reto Schöning, Prof. Andreas Wenger, Prof. Kurt R. Spillmann, Reto Haeni (back, from left). Nicolas Jene, Christian Schlupe, Maria Schabel, Beat Schoch and Ralf Hug (front, from left). Missing on the photo: Armin Fessler and Mark Yarmoshuk.

Center to print maps and to distribute up-to-date electronic mapping products identifying hazardous areas, thereby enabling humanitarian aid activities to operate inside Afghanistan with a reduced risk to the life and safety of humanitarian aid workers.

The further development of the IMSMA system continues, and currently the use of new technologies is being tested. The IMSMA team at the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research is developing cutting edge technology that allows data originating from the IMSMA Field Module to be published over the Internet. This technology will allow the Mine Action Centers to incorporate maps and statistics

on their websites. By providing users with dynamic mapping and statistical tools for exploratory research on country specific data, MACs can better demonstrate the size of the humanitarian problem in a country and display the progress of mine action activities. Once the MAC has released the data to make it available on the Internet, the information is processed and aggregated. Maps and statistics are then provided by servers at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, making minimal demands on the local systems of the MACs. The use of this technology was tested successfully at the occasion of the Third Meeting of State Parties to the Ottawa Convention that took place in Nicaragua in September 2001. It is planned to make these tools available to a wider audience in 2002. ■

Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining (GICHD)

The Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining supports humanitarian mine action through research, operational assistance and contributions to the implementation of the Mine Ban Treaty. It is an independent foundation supported by 18 governments.

<http://www.gichd.ch>

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Calendar

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- **Die Bekämpfung der internationalen Kriminalität – international, flexibel, vernetzt**
 Bundesrätin Ruth Metzler.
 Public lecture, 24 January 2002,
 University of Zurich.
- **Ethik in der Unternehmensführung**
 Dr. jur. Henning Schulte-Noelle.
 Public lecture,
 30 January 2002,
 University of Zurich.
- **Re-Thinking Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism After 11 September**
 Dr. Bruce Hoffman.
 Public lecture, 7 February 2002,
 ETH Zurich.
- **Djihad-Terrorismus: eine Gefahr für den Weltfrieden?**
 Prof. Bassam Tibi.
 Public lecture,
 3 April 2002,
 ETH Zurich.
- **Pakistan: Land zwischen Indien und Afghanistan**
 Urs W. Schöttli.
 Public lecture,
 10 April 2002,
 ETH Zurich.
- **New Faces Conference: European Security and Defense Policy – Concepts, Prospects and Pitfalls**
 International Conference,
 14–17 March 2002,
 Hamburg, Germany.
- **Vom Konflikt zur Kooperation – weltweite Perspektiven**
 Prof. Hans Küng
 Public lecture, 26 June 2002,
 ETH Zurich.
- **Von Krieg und Frieden**
 Prof. Kurt R. Spillmann
 Public lecture,
 3 July 2002,
 ETH Zurich.
- **5th International Security Forum**
 International Conference,
 14–16 October 2002,
 Kongresshaus Zurich.

Russia's Regions in the New International Security Environment

Twenty-five scholars from across Russia, Europe and the US gathered together for a two-day conference held in Zurich in July 2001 to discuss Russian regionalization and the meaning for Russian international relations and security policy. The conference was organized by the Russian Study Group at the CIS and is a part of the international research project "Regionalization of Russian Foreign and Security Policy."

The question of how regionalization, that is, the shift of power and authority from the center to the subnational units, affects Russian security was looked at from three broader perspectives.

First, the conference participants recognized regionalization as a major security issue. Regionalization clearly runs against the Tsarist and Soviet traditions of centralism and authoritarian rule. For the political leaders of the new Russian state, regionalization is equated with disintegration and weakness. Contrary to many gloomy predictions in the early 1990s, however, Russia has not fallen apart. Today it is clear that the case of Chechnya is an exception rather than the rule. The biggest threat to the unity of Russia is not a breakup of the country,

but rather the growing socio-economic rifts within Russia. Russia's inconsistent socio-economic development has generated security challenges that vary from region to region. As the bigger cities and the regions close to Europe, such as Russia's north-western territories, struggle for integration into the international post-industrial economy, Russia's central regions and the Russian Far East are primarily concerned with at least maintaining the standards achieved by Soviet modernization, hoping thus to avoid increased isolation from global developments. As exemplified in Southern Russia, a strained socioeconomic situation can easily turn into confrontation, violence and civil war, especially when other problems, such as ethnic tension or terrorism and crime, persist.

The biggest threat to the unity of Russia is not a breakup of the country, but rather the growing socio-economic rifts within Russia.

The discussion then focused on the question of how the different actors at the local, regional and federal levels have responded to the challenges of the transformation

period, and why regionalism, in the form it developed under Yeltsin, seemed to fail to offer adequate solutions. With the central authority being virtually absent during the Yeltsin period, the regions – the 89 so-called "federation subjects" – quickly became the main focus of Russia's political, economic and social life. Regional leaders followed strategies according to what they thought would best serve their personal ambitions and the interest of their regions. The regional elite's "strategies of survival" often lead to the consolidation of authoritarian political regimes at the expense of democratic principles within their territories. Externally, many regional leaders were building horizontal networks with other subnational political and/or economic units within Russia or beyond state borders.

The hopes that the regions would turn into "locomotives of reforms" have faded away with the increasing incompetence and inefficiency on the part of the regional elites, and their failure to secure regional economic growth and provide decent living standards. Re-centralization of power now figures highest on the political agenda of the Putin administration. Although the federal center has gained some ground, Putin's re-centralization measures by no means suggest the end of regionalism as such. It is unclear how far power can actually be re-centralized with the federal center still lacking not only the resources, but also a clear vision of how the relation with the periphery should be shaped.

The governors, while clearly having lost power at the national level, are still highly influential actors within their regions. The conference participants agreed that the future might see shifting regional identities, as the federation subjects are also challenged by new regional power brokers, such as the newly created seven federal districts or the big Russian cities. In this context, the role of the seven federal districts was discussed. These administrative units,



Jeronim Perovic and Andrei Makarychev (from left) organized the conference on "Regionalization of Russian Foreign and Security Policy" in Zurich, July 2001.

introduced by a presidential decree in May 2000, have started positioning themselves in a wider political ambit. They have slowly moved from being passive objects of the Kremlin's regional policy to being active subjects articulating their interests and policies. The districts, however, are going through a period of differentiation, each of them confronted with specific challenges. Whether the federal districts manage to meet the challenge of economic transformation better than the federation subjects is still uncertain. Russian regionalism is an open-ended phenomenon, and the federal districts could well disappear, only to be reconstructed again in different forms and with different functions.

This then led to a third major round of discussion, which concentrated on the question of how regionalism relates to the economic and security challenges brought forward by globalization. The conference

Selected Publications

- Andreas Wenger, *Engaging Russia and Its Regions: Challenges and Opportunities for the West*, Working Paper No. 11, Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research (forthcoming).
- Jeronim Perovic, *Internationalization of Russian Regions and the Consequences for Russian Foreign and Security Policy*, Working Paper No. 1, Zurich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, April 2000.
- Jeronim Perovic, *Die Regionen Russlands als neue politische Kraft [Russian Regions as a new political force]*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2001, ISBN 3-906767-29-9 (in German).
- *Working Papers*
Some contributions presented at the conference are published in the Russian Working Papers Series by the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research. The full text versions are available at www.isn.ethz.ch/russia



The conference participants: Leonid Vardomskii, Grigory Olekh, Ingmar Oldberg, Andreas Wenger, Andrei Makarychev, Pertti Joenniemi, Nikolai Petrov, Yuri Shabaev, Jeronim Perovic, Arbakhan Magomedov, Steven Main, Derek Averre (back, from left). Sergei Golunov, Alexander Sergounin, Alla Chirikova, Alexander Shalikhov-Fanfani, Graeme Herd, Mikhail Rykhtik, Martin Nicholson, Stanislav Tkachenko, Mikhail Alexseev, Oleg Alexandrov, Stefan Wiederkehr, Sergei Pushkarev, Simon Ingold (front, from left).

participants agreed that regionalism, despite its shortcomings, is mainly pragmatically oriented. There seems to be a common understanding among regional elites that the specific, (economic) interests of subnational actors should have priority over geopolitical "great power" considerations that are advocated by actors at the federal level. The federal government prefers to tackle issues of security through high politics – still with a major focus on maintaining a military balance with perceived opponents and on securing regional stability. Subnational actors, however, lend more weight to problems arising from local economic and social instability. There are many success stories of regional enterprises benefitting from globalization opportunities. Regions are trying to pragmatically solve specific problems through internationalization. Hence, there is not much room for an orthodox, anti-globalization ideology.

There are, however, still serious obstacles which prevent the Russian regions from going global. One impediment lies in the mismanagement of Western technical assistance programs by regional authorities. Many regional economic actors treat globalization merely as a means of extracting additional funds from foreign partners,

without adapting the regional institutional settings to Western standards. Another obstacle is the fact that many Russian enterprises are unable to gain access to foreign markets because their products are of low quality and not adequately certified, or because they fail to provide adequate information about their operations and finances.

The conference participants concluded that Putin's federal reform will only be successful, if it provides secure business conditions across Russia. The Russian state should, therefore, create a situation where local entities and other groups in society are free to exercise individual autonomy. Incentives to cooperate should not be imposed by the state through a disproportionate vertical management, but through the strengthening of the democratic institutions already in place. This would create healthy conditions for Russia's participation in globalization processes. ■

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International Trade Implications of Regulatory Diversity

Never before in history have countries around the world on average been as open to international trade and finance as they are today. The reduction of formal border measures such as tariffs, quotas and capital controls has increased international sensitivity to domestic regulations that affect or are thought to affect international flows of goods. Regulatory diversity in domestic environmental and health regulations was the subject of a CIS workshop series. The second workshop that took place this year focused on the WTO and international trade effects of regulatory diversity.

The research project “Regulatory Diversity and International Trade,” carried out by researchers at the CIS, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the University of Tokyo, investigates cross-national diversity in domestic health and environmental regulations and its consequences for international trade. In the framework of this project, two workshops were held at the CIS: The first workshop in November 2000 focused primarily on explaining regulatory divergences between the US and the EU. The second concentrated on the implications of regulatory diversity for international trade. It was organized by the CIS and took place in May 2001 with support from the Alliance for Global Sustainability.

The workshop began with a presentation by Dr. Jim Foster (MIT) on structural changes in the oil, automobile and food sectors. Against the background of a more general theory of regulatory competition in commodity markets he examined whether and how firms or industry groups attempt to influence regulation or exploit regulation as part of an overall corporate or industry strategy for gaining competitive advantage. As corporate interest is the important variable in his theory, Foster made clear that a better understanding of competing business interests and of the determinants of industry interests is needed.

Dr. David Victor (then at Council on Foreign Relations, now at Stanford University) emphasized the role of the WTO. The WTO is struggling with how to craft a compromise that secures the benefits of free trade while respecting countries’ rights to pursue other aims, such as consumer protection. More specifically, the organization must strike a balance between the two central elements of the WTO’s Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) Agreement: scientific risk assessment and adequate safety levels. The transatlantic beef hormone case is a safeguard issue for two reasons: it establishes a precedent and rule-setting principles that may adversely affect more economically significant markets in the future; and it is an example of a fundamental failure of the WTO/SPS system that suggests basic weaknesses to be exploited by competing interests in the future.

Ladina Caduff (CIS) examined divergent European and US regulations on growth hormones in beef production. She outlined that regulatory diversity can be explained on the basis of several variables: the collective action capacity of consumer and producer groups, stakeholders’ institutional access to the political system and the preferences of regulators. Robust political equilibria against (in the EU) and in favor (in the US) of using growth hormones in beef production account for why the transatlantic growth hormones dispute has resulted in a legal, but not a political and economic solution.

Dr. Jürgen Neyer (Centre of European Law and Politics, University of Bremen) analyzed the conditions under which effective governance beyond the state can be realized. Using the example of EU- and WTO-politics in the BSE and in the growth hormones case, he concluded that participation and legalization are the most important variables.

The research project on regulatory diversity and international trade will be completed in

spring 2002. The results will be published in a book, tentatively entitled “Comparative Regulatory Policies and Trade.” Follow-up work will, within a similar analytical framework, focus on additional cases of regulatory diversity in the environmental, health and safety realm, for example recycling and toxic waste regulations. In addition, a book that Prof. Thomas Bernauer (CIS) is currently writing explores how the international community could cope with international disputes over diverging agricultural biotechnology regulations and their effects on international trade flows and industrial innovation. ■

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Recent CLIS Publications



Kurt R. Spillmann, Andreas Wenger, Christoph Breitenmoser, Marcel Gerber, Schweizer Sicherheitspolitik seit 1945 [Swiss security policy since 1945]

Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2001
ISBN 3-85823-909-7.
Available through www.nzz-buchverlag.ch

Traditionally, Swiss national security policy has been based on Switzerland's political neutrality and marked by a firm belief in the effectiveness of an autonomous system of national defense. However, Swiss security policy is undergoing fundamental changes, as policy makers recognize that this narrow perception of national security has become strategically untenable. This study is a comprehensive analysis of Swiss security policy since World War II that includes detailed accounts of how Swiss security policy was originally defined, the driving forces behind the current changes, and the changing status of Swiss military defense.



Dieter Ruloff (ed.), Religion und Politik [Religion and politics]

Chur/Zürich: Rüegger, 2001
ISBN 3-725307-00-8 (in German)

Available through www.rueggerverlag.ch

History has not borne out the expectation of the Enlightenment that religion would disappear from the public sphere and politics in the course of modernity. Religious issues still stand high on the international agenda. With the ethnical conflicts in the Balkans and the Caucasus, Europe, too, has experienced the return of religion into politics. Is this phenomenon an anachronism that will disappear again once these societies also undergo modernization? Or does it mark the beginning of a new social and political relevance of religions? The contributions of the authors in this volume examine these and other issues with respect to religion and politics.



Joachim Krause and Andreas Wenger (eds.), Nuclear Weapons into the 21st Century: Current Trends and Future Prospects.

Bern: Peter Lang, 2001. ISBN-Nr.3-906767-93-0

Available through www.peterlang.ch

With the end of the Cold War, many observers had expressed the hope that the role of nuclear weapons in shaping the international system might become less relevant. Yet, nuclear weapons still have major relevance in world politics. There is no longer a consensus on how best to ensure global stability, and the global arms control and non-proliferation regimes are widely perceived to be in a state of crisis. This book examines the characterization and transcendence of the impasse in arms control, the role of nuclear weapons in strategic thinking and military doctrines, the impact of nuclear weapons on regional balances, and present challenges and future prospects of nuclear non-proliferation.



Claude Nicolet, United States Policy Towards Cyprus, 1954-1974: Removing the Greek-Turkish Bone of Contention

Mannheim: Bibliopolis, 2001,
ISBN 3-933925-20-7

Claude Nicolet traces US foreign policy towards Cyprus through five administrations. Relying heavily on newly released archival material, he sheds some light on heretofore mysterious aspects of America's role in Cyprus and manages to plausibly refute some of the popular myths about events in the area. He concludes that while the United States was partially successful in crisis diplomacy, its efforts to promote a solution to the Cyprus problem failed, because it did not recognize the incompatibility of three patterns in the conflict. These patterns were US reluctance to alienate Greece or Turkey, the fact that both of these countries made concessions only after massive outside pressure, and US disregard of the Cypriots themselves.



Kurt R. Spillmann, Thomas Bernauer, Jürg M. Gabriel, Andreas Wenger (eds.), Peace Support Operations: Lessons Learned and Future Perspectives

Bern: Peter Lang, 2001, ISBN 3-906768-21-X

Available through www.peterlang.ch

In the post-Cold War era, peace support operations have become an essential instrument for the international community when reacting to crises and stabilizing conflict areas. This book examines the experience with international peace support operations in the 1990s and the lessons to be drawn. Renowned international experts analyze, from an academic or practitioner's view, the key changes that occurred. They discuss international cooperation and civilian and military aspects, focusing on the following questions: How has the new conflict environment changed the character of peace support operations? What lessons can be drawn for international cooperation? How should the various actors cooperate in order to improve future contingencies?



Frank Marty, Managing International Rivers

Bern: Peter Lang, 2001,
ISBN 3-906765-77-6

Available through www.peterlang.ch

Freshwater is the most valuable and fragile of the earth's life-supporting substances. Most major rivers cross national boundaries. Their sustainable management is both vital and challenging. Why do efforts to manage international rivers succeed in some cases and fail in others? Based on a coherent analytical framework that draws on theories of political economy and international relations, this study systematically compares five cases of international river management. This comparison produces generalizable insights into the determinants of success and failure. It also generates important lessons on how to manage transboundary rivers more effectively.



Kurt R. Spillmann and Andreas Wenger (eds.), Zeitgeschichtliche Hintergründe aktueller Konflikte VIII [Historical background of contemporary conflicts]

Zürich: Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research, 2001, ISBN 3-905641-76-3 (mainly in German).
Available through www.fsk.ethz.ch

This volume contains contributions presented at the public lecture series "Historical background of contemporary conflicts" at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology. Twelve authors analyze conflicts taking place today in Africa, Central Asia, the Middle East, and the Balkans from an academic or journalistic point of view. Moreover, the book contains articles on current security topics such as the enlargement of NATO and the EU and its effects on relations with Russia, and on US plans to deploy a national missile defense system.

Articles

Thomas **Bernauer**. "Explaining Success and Failure in International River Management." *Aquatic Sciences*, Spring (2002) (forthcoming).

Stefan **Brem** / Ken **Rutherford**. "Walking Together or Divided Agenda? Comparing Landmines and Small-Arms Campaigns." *Security Dialogue* 32, no. 2(2001):169-186.

Jürg M. **Gabriel**. "War and Peace in Europe: A Liberal Perspective." In *Iustitia et Pax, Peace in Europe - Peace in the World*. Vienna: Südwind-Verlag, 2001, 53-67.

Thomas **Fischer**. "The ICRC and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis." *International Review of the Red Cross* 83, no. 842 (2001):287-309.

Dirk **Lehmkuhl** / Christoph **Knill**. "Private Actors and the State: Internationalization and Changing Patterns of Governance." *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration* 15, no. 1 (2002):41-63 (forthcoming).

Dirk **Lehmkuhl**. "From Regulation to Stimulation. Dutch Transport Policy in Europe." In *Differential Europe, EU Impact on Domestic Policies*, Adrienne Héritier et al., 217-255. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001.

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Kurt R. **Spillmann**. "Es ist sinnvoll, den Bevölkerungsschutz voll einsatzfähig zu erhalten." *action* 6 (2001):11f.

Peace Support Operations: Lessons Learned and Future Perspectives

Kurt R. Spillmann, Thomas Bernauer, Jürg M. Gabriel and Andreas Wenger (eds.)

Studies in Contemporary History and Security Policy, Vol. VIII

Bern et al.: Peter Lang, 2001, ISBN 3-906768-21-X

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