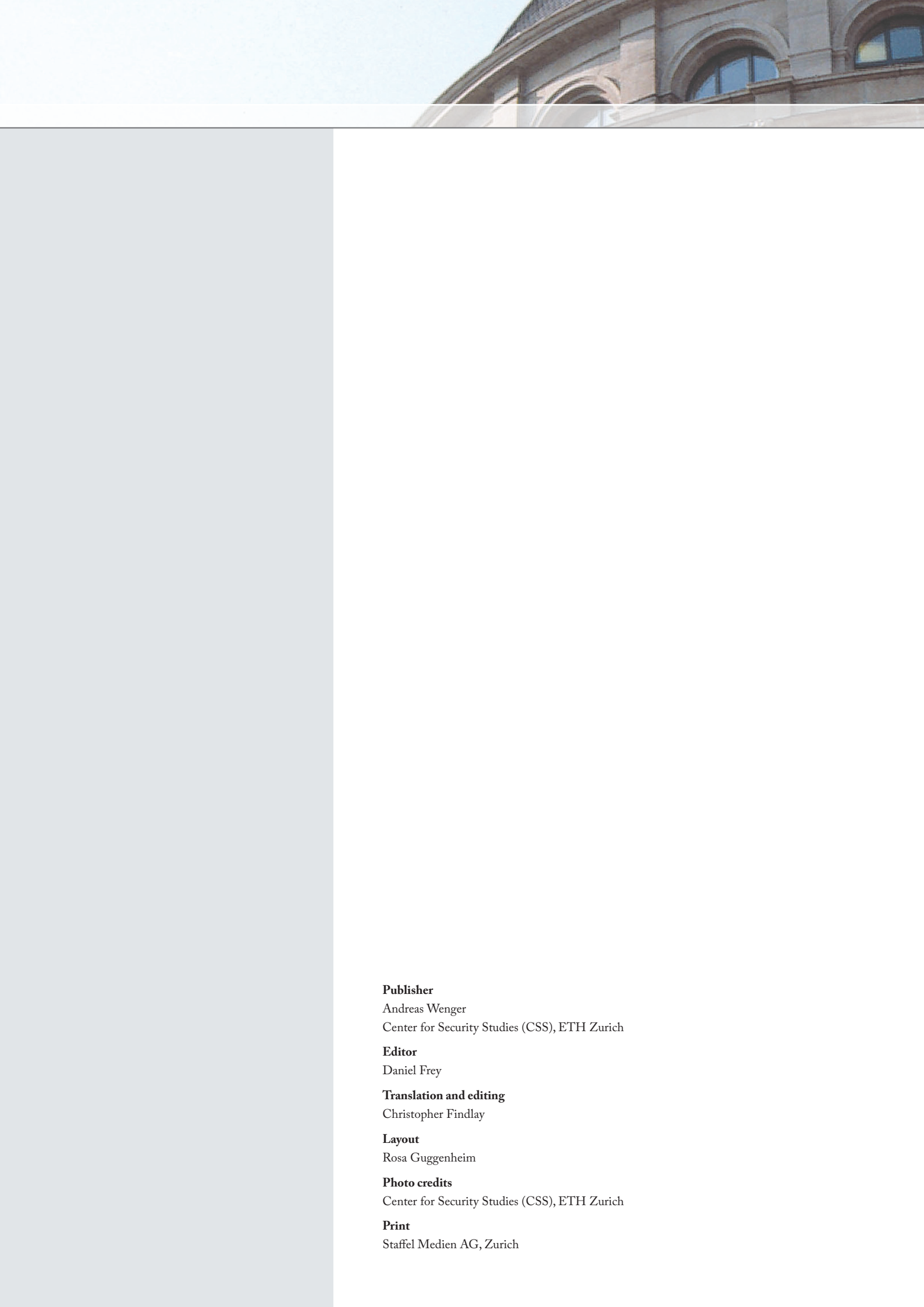


# CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES (CSS)



ANNUAL REPORT 2018

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## PREFACE

In 2018, Switzerland's strategic environment was once again marked by insecurity and instability. The rules- and values-based Euro-Atlantic security architecture came under pressure from several sides. On the one hand, the US withdrawal from the INF Treaty threatened the future of arms control, which was so highly valued during the Cold War. On the other hand, Russia's demeanor in 2018 became increasingly confrontational. These developments came against the background of the continuing rise of China: Beijing's New Silk Road project is an indicator not only of economic interests, but increasingly also of geopolitical aspirations in Eurasia and Europe.


These developments also pose new challenges for Switzerland. As seen in the case of the Treaty on the Prevention of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) or the espionage affair relating to the Spiez Laboratories, it is increasingly forced to adopt difficult positions. In addition to new threats in cyberspace, to which Switzerland is devoting increasing attention, defense and armament policy debates that come with it made a comeback following Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014.

In 2018, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich once again monitored these developments both in Switzerland's vicinity and on its more distant periphery, and analyzed them in terms of their impact on Switzerland. The annual study Security once more depicts the effects of international developments on the perceived security of the Swiss public. Russia's increasingly confrontational course, the rise of China, and the current crisis in arms control were comprehensively analyzed and contextualized in several CSS Analyses, CSS Policy Perspectives, and Strategic Trends 2018. The CSS also supported Swiss security policy with a comparative study of procurement processes, with CSS Analyses, and with an ETH Workshop.

The topic of cybersecurity continued to dominate security policy debates both at home and abroad. The CSS expanded its expertise in this area. For instance, one chapter in the Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy examined lessons in cybersecurity that Switzerland can learn from Israel. Other reports and studies looked at various national cyberdefense strategies, active participation in the shaping of global norms for cyberspace, and US-Chinese relations in the field of cybersecurity.

Another highlight in the past year was the visit of Federal Councilor and Foreign Minister Ignazio Cassis at ETH Zurich on 23 October 2018. In his speech, Federal Councilor Cassis praised ETH Zurich's newly created Master program for Mediation in Peace Processes, in which the CSS has an active role.





This annual report is designed to give an overview of our activities and hopefully inspire you to read some of the publications mentioned here, all of which are available online at our website [www.css.ethz.ch](http://www.css.ethz.ch).

If you wish to receive regular updates on current CSS publications, please sign up at [www.css.ethz.ch/ueber-uns/css-newsletter.html](http://www.css.ethz.ch/ueber-uns/css-newsletter.html) or follow us on Twitter (@CSS\_Zurich), Facebook (@css.zurich) or LinkedIn.

**Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger**

Director, Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich





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## Research Activities 2018

In 2018, CSS research activities comprised 36 research projects.

# 1. RESEARCH

Research at the CSS focuses on changing threats to states and their societies as well as the ways in which important actors organize in order to face up to these threats. The research follows a broad interdisciplinary approach and focuses on six main research areas.

## Nuclear (Weapons) Policy

We study the theoretical and historical aspects of nuclear arms proliferation and non-proliferation, in particular the role of institutions and regimes within the global nuclear order. Our aim is to reveal the incentives and obstacles to nuclear proliferation as a basis for developing complex analyses of states' (non-)proliferation choices.

## Post-Conflict Studies

We examine the conditions required for sustainable peace following armed conflicts. Adopting a holistic approach, we not only focus on the resurgence of political violence, but also discuss systemic violence in society.

## Security Institutions

We investigate the causes and patterns of changes in security institutions over time. We look at the resulting policies and the way they affect national security. We analyze various concepts of global order and seek out patterns of cooperation between various security actors, including individual states, the UN, the EU, and NATO as well as regional and global security communities.

## Security Technologies

We study the development and deployment of civilian and military technologies in the security sector. We try to determine the decisions driving their development and the political and social effects of their use. We also look at arms control efforts.

## Cybersecurity

We examine how cyber-incidents influence or even transform political discourse by facilitating certain (political) measures. Specifically, we are interested in the way knowledge about such incidents is generated, how it changes, who has what role in the process, and how this knowledge is used or deployed in the political sphere.



### **Urban Security**

We study issues of personal security and interpersonal violence in urban spaces. Rapid urbanization, especially in the Global South, has accentuated problems of economic inequality and social discrimination and contributed to high rates of violence. As part of our work within the Institute for Science, Technology and Policy (ISTP), we work with researchers from various disciplines on finding solutions for urban security problems.

## 1.1 CSS STUDIES IN SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The CSS Studies in Security and International Relations focus on historical and current security policy issues. Adopting a broad concept of security, the series aims to be a forum for innovative research. The authors of the studies include scientific staff from the CSS as well as scientists from associated partner institutes.

*Roland Popp, Liviu Horowitz, Andreas Wenger (eds.)*  
**Negotiating the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty  
Origins of the Nuclear Order**  
2016

*Wilhelm Mirow*  
**Strategic Culture, Securitisation and the Use of Force  
Post-9/11 Security Practices of Liberal Democracies**  
2016

*Aglaya Snetkov*  
**Russia's Security Policy under Putin:  
A Critical Perspective**  
2015

*Thierry Tardy, Marco Wyss*  
**Peacekeeping in Africa:  
The Evolving Security Architecture**  
2014

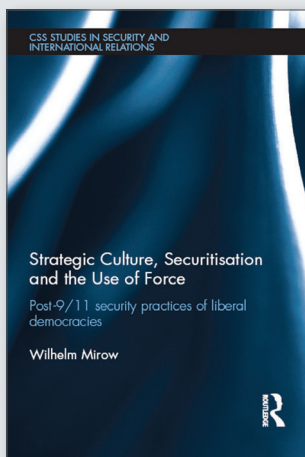
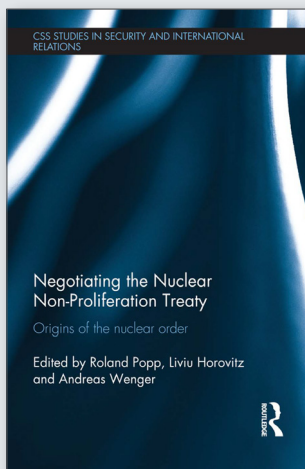
*Ursula Jasper*  
**The Politics of Nuclear Non-Proliferation:  
A Pragmatist Framework for Analysis**  
2013

*Stephen Aris, Andreas Wenger*  
**Regional Organizations and Security:  
Conceptions and Practices**  
2013

*Patrick Müller*  
**EU Foreign Policymaking and the Middle East Conflict:  
The Europeanization of National Foreign Policy**  
2011

*Victor Mauer, Daniel Möckli*  
**European-American Relations and the Middle East:  
From Suez to Iraq**  
2010

*Robert W. Orttung, Jeronim Perovic, Andreas Wenger*  
**Russian Energy Power and Foreign Relations:  
Implications for Conflict and Cooperation**  
2009





*Vojtech Mastny, Christian Nünlist, Andreas Wenger*  
**Origins of the European Security System:  
The Helsinki Process Revisited, 1965–75**  
2008

*Myriam Dunn Cavelty*  
**Cyber-Security and Threat Politics:  
US Efforts to Secure the Information Age**  
2007

*Myriam Dunn, Kristian Soby Kristensen*  
**Securing «the Homeland»:  
Critical Infrastructure, Risk and (In)Security**  
2007

*Cornelius Friesendorf*  
**US Foreign Policy and the War on Drugs:  
Displacing the Cocaine and Heroin Industry**  
2007

*Anna Locher, Christian Nünlist, Andreas Wenger*  
**Transforming NATO in the Cold War:  
Challenges beyond Deterrence in the 1960s**  
2006

*Sven S. Holtsmark, Vojtech Mastny, Andreas Wenger*  
**War Plans and Alliances in the Cold War:  
Threat Perceptions in the East and West**  
2006

## 1.2 SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

The following is a selection of academic publications authored by CSS staff in 2018.

*Florian Roth*  
**Einbindung der Bevölkerung in den resilienzorientierten  
Bevölkerungsschutz: Implikationen für die Risikokommunikation**  
In: Politisches Krisenmanagement: Vol. 2  
Springer, Berlin, 2018

The word “resilience” is omnipresent in current discussions on how to protect the population from current and future risks. Not only buildings, but also infrastructure and organizations have to be resilient. Moreover, citizens are increasingly expected to contribute to the resilience of society as a whole. This chapter sheds light on the impact of risk communication on the creation of social resilience by looking at the changing expectations towards citizens since the emergence of the resilience concept.



*Matthias Bieri, Christian Nünlist*

## **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe**

In: *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces*

Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018

A quarter of a century after the end of the Cold War, the Ukraine crisis serves as a tragic reminder of how fragile European security remains. As the only inclusive European security organization, the OSCE once more demonstrates the usefulness of cooperative security instruments for de-escalating international tensions. This chapter focuses on the OSCE's contribution to cooperative security in Europe after 1990, particularly in the field of conventional arms control and in the building of confidence and security between European armed forces. It also reviews the arms-control regime in Europe and explains why military transparency – as achieved with the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), the Vienna Document, and the Treaty on Open Skies – is needed again in today's security environment. The chapter also highlights that, while the Ukraine crisis underscored the need for reform, adapting the arms-control regime in Europe has become more difficult.

*Oliver Thränert*

## **Präsident Trumps Nuclear Posture Review**

In: *Sirius* 2018, No. 2, Vol. 2

De Gruyter, Berlin, 2018

The US currently has about 4,480 nuclear weapons, about 1,740 of which are ready for use. Nuclear deterrence may remain the top priority set out by the Trump administration's "Nuclear Posture Review". However, this article highlights that the administration's nuclear policy has turned away from the Obama-era policy of reducing the salience of nuclear arms and renouncing new nuclear capability development. Furthermore, as President Trump is dismissive of the concept of arms control, the author also warns of the increasing danger that the return of great-power rivalry with Russia and China could result in a nuclear arms race.

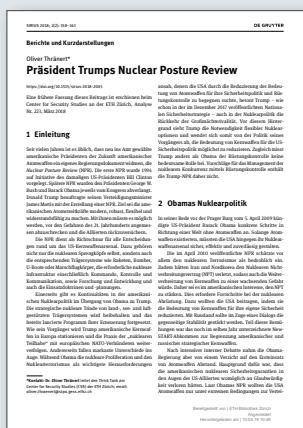
*Candice Tran Dai, Miguel Alberto Gomez*

## **Challenges and Opportunities for Cybernorms in ASEAN**

In: *Journal of Cyber Policy*, No. 2, Vol. 3

Taylor & Francis Online, London, 2018

This paper argues that the unique characteristics of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) pose significant obstacles to the potential emergence and eventual internalization of cybernorms among its member states. This is a concern for ASEAN, given its continued investment in the cyberdomain and the existing impasse on global cybernorms. In response, the text's authors argue that ASEAN should mitigate the current constraints through initiatives that focus on confidence- and capacity-building measures. Though it is not certain that this approach will lead to common cyberspace norms across ASEAN, it could at least allow for the emergence of congruent norms within the bloc.



*Jonas Hagmann, Stephan Davidshofer, Amal Tarwafik,  
Andreas Wenger, Lisa Wildi*

### **The Programmatic and Institutional (Re-) Configuration of the Swiss National Security Field**

In: Swiss Political Science Review, No. 3, Vol. 24  
Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken/NJ, 2018

Since the end of the Cold War, the Swiss national security policy domain has expanded significantly beyond a narrow focus on the military and civil defense. This reorientation has been accompanied by new institutional arrangements concerning functions as well as interaction between different levels of government and foreign partners. However, this publication contends that these profound changes have not been subjected to refined analysis, despite their importance to security scholars and policymakers alike. To address this gap, the authors draw on a nationwide data collection effort to provide a practice-orientated analysis of Switzerland's contemporary national security field.

*Myriam Dunn Cavelty*

### **Cybersecurity Research Meets Science and Technology Studies**

In: Politics and Governance, No. 2, Vol. 6 (pp. 22–30)  
Cogitatio Press, Lisbon, 2018

This article sets out to show how different understandings of technology as suggested by Science and Technology Studies (STS) help reveal different political facets of cybersecurity. Using cybersecurity research as empirical site, it is shown that two separate ways of understanding cybertechnologies are prevalent in society. The primary one sees cybertechnologies as apolitical, flawed, material objects that need to be fixed in order to create more security; the other understands them as mere political tools in the hands of social actors without considering technological (im)possibilities. This article suggests a focus on a third understanding to bridge the uneasy gap between the two others: technology defined as an embodiment of societal knowledge.

*Matteo Bonfanti*

### **Cyberintelligence – In Pursuit of a Better Understanding for an Emerging Practice**

In: Cyber, Intelligence, and Security, No. 1, Vol. 2  
INSS, Tel Aviv, 2018

As with many other notions related to cyberspace, there is no clear definition of “cyberintelligence”, nor are there enough studies focusing on how it is crafted. In response, this paper provides a clearer picture of this emerging practice by taking stock of existing analytical work on the topic. More specifically, the text does so by examining the notion of cyberintelligence; outlining a narrow and broader interpretation of the term; reviewing the traditional and alternative “intelligence cycle” models for interpreting the process of crafting cyberintelligence, and more. It concludes by underlining why a clear understanding of cyberintelligence is so important.

#### **Cyber Intelligence: In Pursuit of a Better Understanding for an Emerging Practice**

Matteo E. Bonfanti

Similar to other cyber-related notions, there is not any crystallized definition of “cyber intelligence”, nor are there enough studies focusing on how it is crafted. In light of the above, the present paper draws a clearer picture of this emerging practice by taking stock of the existing analytical work on the topic. The paper reviews the available scientific literature addressing cyber intelligence, discusses the notion of cyber INT, and examines how this intelligence is crafted through the lens of the cyber “intelligence cycle”. The paper concludes by stressing the importance of developing a clear and shared understanding of cyber intelligence among relevant security and, especially, cybersecurity stakeholders.

**Keywords:** Cybersecurity, intelligence, cyber intelligence, cyber intelligence process, notion, models

#### **Introduction**

Over the last decade, there has been a growing push toward adopting intelligence-led approaches solutions to deal with cyber threats. The push has come from several members of the (non-formalized) international cybersecurity community that consists of representatives from supranational institutions and agencies, domestic public bodies, private organizations, and academia. They have, for instance, sponsored the adoption of ad hoc concepts and solutions for the delivery of “cyber threat information/intelligence” (CTI), a product that provides its consumers with the (technical) understanding

Dr. Matteo E. Bonfanti is senior researcher at the ETH Center for Security Studies, Zurich.

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*Myriam Dunn Cavelty*

**Europe's Cyberpower**

In: *European Politics and Society*, No. 1, Vol. 19

Taylor & Francis Online, London, 2018

Power struggles define many if not all aspects of cyberpolitics. But how do they play out in the case of the EU, which claims influence in European and global cyberspace? This article dissects existing notions of cyberpower in order to understand where they come from, what they mean, and what they do, and uses these conceptualizations to inspect the EU's cybersecurity policy for different manifestations of cyberpower, and thus to determine what type of power-evaluations seem the most fruitful.

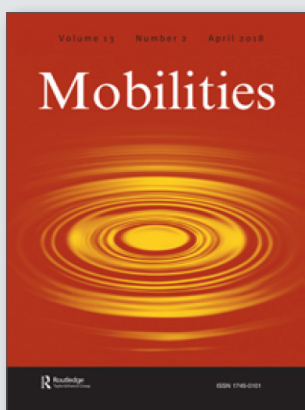
*Oliver Kaplan, Enzo Nussio*

**Explaining Recidivism of Ex-combatants in Colombia**

In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution*

Sage Publications, London, 2018

What determines the recidivism of ex-combatants from armed conflicts? In post-conflict settings around the world, there has been growing interest in reintegration programs that aim to prevent ex-combatants from returning to illegal activities or to armed groups. Nevertheless, little is known as yet about those who decide to "go bad" This article evaluates explanations for recidivism related to combatant experiences and common criminal motives. More specifically, it does so by combining data from a survey of ex-combatants from various armed groups in Colombia with police records that indicate which among the respondents returned to belligerent or illegal activities.



*Matthias Leese, Stef Wittendorf*

**The New Mobilities Paradigm and Critical Security Studies:**

**Exploring Common Ground**

In: *Mobilities*, No. 2, Vol. 13

Taylor & Francis Online, London, 2018

This introductory article to a Special Issue of *Mobilities* provides an overview of five thematic intersections that it argues exist between critical security studies and mobilities studies. By doing so, the text highlights the potential benefits of engagement between these two research areas. It also discusses the distinctiveness of a critical agenda within security studies and outlines how mobility has become a prevalent theme in related security politics and academic analyses.



*Daniel Keohane*

**EU Military Cooperation and National Defense**

GMF Policy Brief, No. 4

The German Marshall Fund, Washington, D.C., 2018

Since mid-2016, a plethora of new initiatives to bolster EU military cooperation have emerged. This article contends that while this is partly in response to the UK's impending departure from the EU, it is also because of strategic necessity as Europeans increasingly understand that they should take more responsibility for their own security. It also argues that EU military cooperation should be understood more in the context of its utility for national defense policies across Europe, and less through its relationship with NATO or its role in European integration.

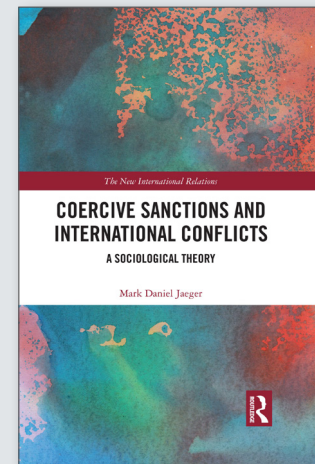
*Mark Daniel Jaeger*

**Coercive Sanctions and International Conflicts –  
A Sociological Theory**

In: New International Relations

Routledge, London, 2018

How do coercive international sanctions work, and more substantially, what are the social conditions within sanctions conflicts that are conducive to either cooperation or non-cooperation? Arguing that coercive sanctions and international conflicts are relational, socially-constructed facts, Mark Daniel Jaeger explores the (de-)escalation of sanctions conflicts from a sociological perspective. Whether sanctions are conducive to either cooperation or non-cooperation depends, on the one hand, on the meaning they acquire for opponents as inducing decisions to engage in conflict with one another. On the other hand, negative sanctions, positive sanctions, or a combination of both can contribute differently to the way in which opponents perceive conflict, and to its potential transformation. Thus, it is premature to “predict” the political effectiveness of sanctions simply based on economic impact. The book presents analyses of the sanctions conflicts between China and Taiwan and over Iran's nuclear program, illustrating how negative sanctions, positive sanctions, and combinations of these options made a distinct contribution to conflict development and prospects for cooperation.



### Scientific Presentations 2018

In 2018, CSS researchers gave a total of 78 presentations to scientific audiences.

## 1.3 SELECTED CONFERENCES

Every year, the CSS presents numerous academic contributions to national and international conferences and organizes its own scholarly events.

### **Which region? The spatial and scalar politics of regions and the regional in international politics and security**

Zurich, 2–3 February 2018

From 2–3 February, the CSS hosted an international and interdisciplinary workshop entitled “Which region? The spatial and scalar politics of regions and the regional in international politics and security”. The workshop brought together international relations scholars with geographers to analyze the role of regions and the relationship between national, regional, and global actors in international politics and security. This event is part of a wider research project jointly funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation and the German Research Foundation.

### **Cybersecurity and Cyberconflict: State of the Art Research Conference**

Zurich, 27–29 September 2018

Cybersecurity has become a topic of great importance in the international security community. The 2018 State of the Art Research Conference in Cybersecurity and Cyberconflict by the CSS brought together dedicated cybersecurity researchers with backgrounds from political science and related fields to exchange research findings. Over two days, Andreas Wenger and Myriam Dunn Cavelty led the mapping of the state of the art in this field of research and the identification of future research avenues. The select group of specialized researchers engaged in 11 insightful panels covering the topics “Power”, “Offensive Cyberoperations”, “Deterrence”, “Attribution”, “Norms”, “Strategy & Policy”, “Practices”, “Cyberviolence”, “Expertise”, “Small States”, and the “Future of Cyber”.



## 2. EDUCATION

The CSS lectures are a core part of the study programs taught at the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) at ETH Zurich, and the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) at ETH Zurich and the University of Zurich. They cover all security policy-related topics taught at ETH Zurich.

### 2.1 BA ETH PUBLIC POLICY

The six-semester Bachelor's degree BA Public Policy is aimed at prospective career officers of the Swiss armed forces. It comprises a curriculum of subjects of the humanities, social sciences, and political sciences, which is supplemented by didactics and lectures in military studies. The course is offered in collaboration with the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) of ETH Zurich and the Military Academy (MILAK) at ETH Zurich. The students are graduates of the MILAK's BLG Bachelor degree course.

The CSS offered the following courses in 2018:

#### **Lectures:**

- Schweizer Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik seit 1945 (spring semester 2018)
- Weltpolitik seit 1945: Geschichte der Internationalen Beziehungen (fall semester 2018)
- Die Rolle von Technologie in nationaler und internationaler Sicherheitspolitik (fall semester 2018)
- Einführung in die Cybersicherheitspolitik (fall semester 2018)

#### **Seminars:**

- Seminar I: Europäische Sicherheit und Verteidigung zwischen konventioneller Bedrohung und politischer Instabilität (spring semester 2018)
- Seminar II: Europäische Sicherheit und Verteidigung zwischen konventioneller Bedrohung und politischer Instabilität (fall semester 2018)

#### **Colloquium:**

- Bachelor-Kolloquium (fall semester 2018)

[www.berufsoffizier.ethz.ch](http://www.berufsoffizier.ethz.ch)



## 2.2 DAS ETH IN MILITARY SCIENCES

The two-semester program Diploma of Advanced Studies ETH in Military Sciences (DAS MILWISS) is targeted at aspiring career officers who already hold an academic degree or a comparable higher qualification. Participation is restricted to Swiss nationals and representatives of friendly foreign armies who are simultaneously starting the diploma course at ETH Zurich (MILAK).

The DAS MILWISS program is accredited at the ETH Center for Continuing Education and comprises selected military sciences subjects, which are complemented by security policy and didactics. It is offered in cooperation with the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) of ETH Zurich and MILAK.

On 2 March 2018, ten graduates of the Bachelor program 14–18 as well as 15 Swiss participants of the Diploma program 16–18 received their federal diplomas as career officers in the Swiss armed forces at a graduation ceremony in the ETH Auditorium Maximum. One foreign student of the Diploma program received a certificate of participation.

## 2.3 MASTER OF ARTS IN COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (MACIS)

The four-semester MACIS is a research-oriented graduate program of the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS). The MACIS curriculum combines comparative and international political science as a way of teaching students about the complex interrelationships between national, international, and transnational political processes. The course devotes particular attention to methods, theory, and research-oriented work. As such, the MACIS should also be seen as a preparatory step to a doctorate. Around 20 national and international applicants are selected each year.

The following events were offered by the CSS in 2018:

### **Seminars:**

- Ending Violence (spring semester 2018)
- Political Violence (fall semester 2018)
- Technology Governance and International Security (fall semester 2018)

[www.cis.ethz.ch/education.html](http://www.cis.ethz.ch/education.html)





## 2.4 MASTER OF SCIENCE IN SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND POLICY (STP)

The MSc program in Science, Technology and Policy started in September 2015. The program equips students coming from the natural sciences and engineering curricula with skills for analyzing complex societal problems at the interface of science, technology, and policy.

The CSS offered the following courses in 2018:

### **Seminars:**

- Argumentation and Science Communication  
(spring semester 2018)


## 2.5 PHD PROGRAM OF THE CENTER FOR COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (CIS)

The PhD program of the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) offers a research degree with emphasis on the writing of a doctoral dissertation. Students attend courses in their field of specialization and fulfill coursework requirements in a tailor-made fashion to complement their previous education.

[www.cis.ethz.ch/Studying\\_CIS/  
PhDCIS.html](http://www.cis.ethz.ch/Studying_CIS/PhDCIS.html)

### **ETH Medal for CSS PhD student**

On 18 January 2019, Marco Martini received the ETH Medal for his dissertation on “The Logic of Escalation. Investigating the Role of Stakes in Trade Disputes as a Lens to Conflict Processes”. Marco is now at Princeton University as a postdoc.



In 2018, the CSS supervised the following doctoral dissertations:

*Jan Thiel*

**The Design and Practice of Organizational Performance:  
Investigating Political Trade-Offs at the World Health  
Organization**

*Liviu Horovitz*

**Guns, Butter and Votes: A Theory of American Military Primacy**

*Marco Martini*

**The Logic of Escalation: Investigating the Role of Stakes in  
Trade Disputes as a Lens to Conflict Processes**

*Sascha Langenbach*

**Observational Problems in the Study of International Trade and  
Politics: Methods and Applications**

*Sophie-Charlotte Fischer*

**Keeping the Edge: The National Security Implications of  
Rapid Technological Change**

*Daniel Finnbogason*

**Counterterrorism, Peace and Security: Exploring the Effects  
of Terrorism Proscription on Conflict Resolution and Political  
Violence**

*Felix Rüdiger*

**European Migration Diplomacy in Times of Large Movements**

*David Kostenwein (ISTP doctorate)*

**In Between Walls and Fences. A City Shaped by Gated  
Communities as an Urban Policy Challenge**

*Sam Lloyd (ISTP doctorate)*

**Urban Policies as Tools for Enhancing Informal Social Control  
Processes and Crime Reduction in Marginalized Neighborhoods**

*Owen Frazer*

**Sequencing in Peace Processes (University of Birmingham)**

*Valerie Sticher*

**Process Matters: From Ceasefires to Negotiated Settlement  
(Leiden University)**

*Annabelle Vuille*

**“Big Ticket” vs. Small, Smart, and Many: Deciphering the  
Defence Acquisition Choices of Small States in the 21st Century  
(Southern Denmark University)**

*Amos Dossi*

**Complexity as a Choice: The Arms Policy of Small and Medium-  
Sized States as a Productivity Dilemma between Short-Term  
Efficiency and Long-Term Adaptability (University of St. Gallen)**



## 2.6 MASTER OF ADVANCED STUDIES ETH MEDIATION IN PEACE PROCESSES

The CSS supports the Master of Advanced Studies ETH Mediation in Peace Processes (MAS ETH MPP) course. This program provides participants with the necessary knowledge, skills, and techniques to mediate in violent political conflicts. It is currently the only MAS program for mediation in peace processes.

The MAS MPP is based on a close partnership between ETH Zurich, the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), and the foreign ministries of Germany, Finland, and Sweden. The program is also supported by international organizations such as the UN, the EU, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

### **Modules:**

- Module 2: Mediation Methods – Negotiation/Mediation Theory and Skills (5–16 March 2018)
- Module 3: Mediation Content – Substance of Peace Processes and Peace Agreements (11–29 June 2018)
- Module 4: Mediation Process Design – Models, Theory, and Practice (15 October–2 November 2018)

## 2.7 NADEL ZENTRUM FÜR ENTWICKLUNG UND ZUSAMMENARBEIT

The NADEL Center for Development and Cooperation combines empirical research in social sciences with an interdisciplinary teaching program and various policy outreach activities to contribute to effective and sustainable development policies.

CSS collaborates with NADEL on two biennial courses:

- Mediation Process Design – Supporting Dialog and Negotiation
- Fragile Contexts – Politics, Security, and Development

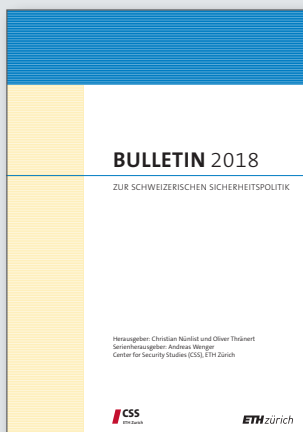
#### Publications 2018

Journal contributions: 23

Monographs, edited volumes,  
and book chapters: 20

Reports: 14

Policy briefs: 26



### 3. THINK TANK

The think tank activities of the CSS are based on the Center's academic expertise in the area of security and strategic studies. The CSS provides its analyses and recommendations to politicians, public administrations, other research centers involved in policy consultancy, and the general public.

#### 3.1 PUBLICATIONS ON SWISS FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

The CSS maintains several publication series on Swiss foreign and security policy; these series are aimed at expert audiences as well as interested parties in the general public. All publications are available free of charge from our website ([www.css.ethz.ch](http://www.css.ethz.ch)).

*Christian Nünlist and Oliver Thürenert (eds.)*

**Bulletin 2018 on Swiss Security Policy**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

The annual Bulletin zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik (Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy) provides information on developments in Swiss security policy as a contribution to public debate on security policy. It offers contributions and interviews on current issues in Swiss foreign and security policy and presents selected projects of the CSS.

In the introductory interview at the start of the 2018 Bulletin, the chief of the Swiss Armed Forces, Philippe Rebord, notes that for him, the return of power politics is the most concerning development. Additionally, he refers to migration, natural disasters, cyberthreats, and terrorist attacks as the greatest threats to Switzerland's security. For Rebord, a historian by training, one thing is clear: "Switzerland is not an island." Since nearly all current threats are transnational and international, counteracting them requires international cooperation. The army chief wants the Swiss military to deploy a second company-strength detachment, in addition to its presence in Kosovo ("Swiss-coy"), in another location to add to its engagement in international peace support.

The first main section examines how three states – Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova – have acted since the 2014 watershed in the geopolitical struggle between East and West and how Switzerland extends concrete support to these "intermediate countries" in their delicate position. The second contribution discusses the controversial issue of predictive policing, while the third section is dedicated to cybersecurity, comparing the new cyberstrategy (NCS 2018–2022) to that of Israel, which has been engaging with similar challenges for some time now. The fourth contribution analyzes Swiss peace policy in the context of resolving conflicts with religious aspects.



The 2018 Bulletin includes the following lead articles:

**“Es ist mir gelungen, die Gesprächskultur in der Armee zu verbessern”**

*(interview with armed forces chief Philippe Rebord)*

**Zwischen Ost und West: Die Schweiz und die Ukraine, Belarus und Moldawien**

*By Benno Zogg*

**Predictive Policing in der Schweiz: Chancen, Herausforderungen, Risiken**

*By Matthias Leese*

**Cybersicherheit: Was lässt sich von Israel lernen?**

*By Fabien Merz*

**Religion und Konflikt in der Schweizer Friedenspolitik**

*By Angela Ullmann*

Additionally, the following three CSS projects are presented in more detail:

**Geneva Dialogue**

*By Jacqueline Eggenschwiler*

**Rüstungsbeschaffung: Europäische Staaten im Vergleich**

*By Michael Haas and Annabelle Vuille*

**Potenzial und Perspektiven der SOZ**

*By Linda Maduz*

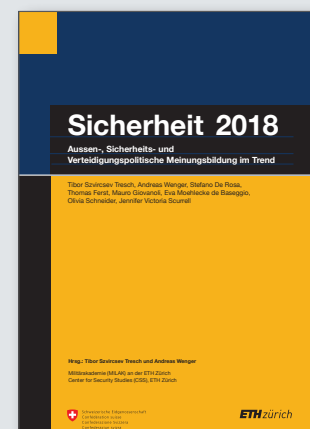
When the Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy was published on the 15th of November 2018, the CSS presented it at a traditional lunch-time event at the Vatter business center in Berne, in close proximity to the Federal Palace. More than 50 interested guests from the federal administration, political parties, the media, and foreign embassies attended the book launch.

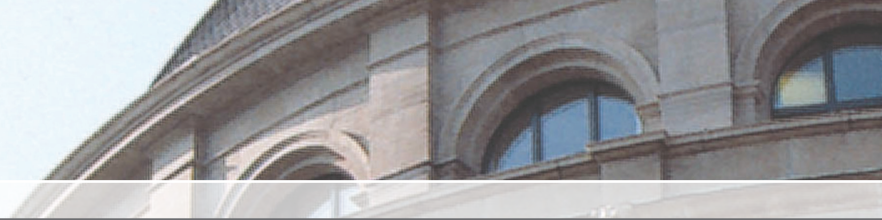
*Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Andreas Wenger, Stefano De Rosa, Thomas Ferst, Mauro Giovanoli, Eva Moehlecke de Baseggio, Olivia Schneider, Jennifer Victoria Scurrall*

**Sicherheit 2018: Aussen-, sicherheits- und verteidigungs-politische Meinungsbildung im Trend**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, and the Military Academy (MILAK) at ETH Zurich, 2018

The annual study Security: The Trend of Opinions on Foreign, Security, and Defense Policy, a joint publication by the CSS and the Military Academy at ETH Zurich (MILAK), evaluates long-term trends and tendencies in public opinion on foreign, security, and defense policy issues in Switzerland. It is based on representative surveys conducted every year. The study is published in German containing summaries in German, French, Italian, and English. The study Security 2018 is based on a representative survey of 1'209 Swiss citizens in January 2018.





In 2018, Swiss citizens generally felt very safe. Moreover, they were significantly more optimistic about Switzerland's future and less pessimistic about future developments with regard to the global political situation. Fear of crime was minimal and did not change in comparison with the previous year.

The police and the judiciary continued to enjoy the highest levels of trust, followed by the Federal Council and the Swiss economy. The armed forces and parliament occupy the middle range of values. In a new development, the media occupied the second-lowest position on the trust index, just above the political parties.

The Swiss value security and freedom in equal measure. However, when these two concepts are mentioned in the context of the fight against terrorism, restrictions on freedom are tolerated by a clear majority.

In 2018, as in previous years, the Swiss population's skepticism towards openness was evident. The desire for economic and political independence remained at a high level. While moderate forms of co-operation without institutional ties were supported by a majority of the population, cooperative forms which would require institutional ties were clearly rejected.

The Swiss population clearly supported Swiss neutrality, with the principle of neutrality enjoying almost unanimous approval. The perception that Switzerland's close economic and political ties renders impossible exercising neutrality lost support in 2018.

A clear majority of Swiss citizens considered the Swiss Armed Forces indispensable. Satisfaction with the performance of the armed forces was average, and the militia system was supported by a majority of the population.

## CSS Analyses in Security Policy

The policy brief series CSS Analyses in Security Policy offers a focused discussion of current developments and events in international security. The briefs are published in three languages: The English versions are geared towards an international audience, while the German and French versions often look more closely at what the respective security issues mean for Switzerland. In doing so, they reflect an institutional viewpoint of the CSS.

The English versions of CSS Analyses are frequently discussed among international security policy experts. The policy briefs also enjoy a great deal of attention among Swiss foreign and security policy experts – among political decision-makers, the public administration, and academia. The CSS Analyses in Security Policy are issued as a monthly e-publication.

A total of 18 briefs were published in 2018:

No. 220: Artificial Intelligence: China's High-Tech Ambitions

No. 221: Security and Stability in Turkey

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No. 222: The Next Steps of North Africa's Foreign Fighters

No. 223: President Trump's Nuclear Posture Review

No. 224: Cybersecurity in Sino-American Relations

No. 225: The Putin System

No. 226: Views on Islam in Times of Terrorism

No. 227: Subsidiarity and Swiss Security Policy

No. 228: The UN Human Rights Pillar on Shaky Ground

No. 229: Swiss Experiences in Addressing Religion in Conflict

No. 230: Contracting Out – the EU's Migration Gamble

No. 231: Belarus between East and West: The Art of the Deal

No. 232: New Challenges in Nuclear Arms Control

No. 233: Trump's Middle East Policy

No. 234: The Transformation of European Armaments Policies

No. 235: Trusting Technology: Smart Protection for Smart Cities

No. 236: Long-distance Relationships: African Peacekeeping


No. 237: The OSCE's Military Pillar: The Swiss FSC Chairmanship

## Strategic Trends

Strategic Trends is an annual publication of the CSS. It aims to offer a concise analysis of major developments in world affairs, with a primary focus on international security. Providing interpretations of key trends rather than a comprehensive survey of events, Strategic Trends targets a broad audience ranging from policy-makers to the media, academics, and the general public. Strategic Trends 2018 is the ninth issue in the series. The publication series is available for download at the website of the CSS ([www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen/strategic-trends.html](http://www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen/strategic-trends.html)).

As has been the trend in recent years, 2017 was characterized by significant changes in international politics, highlighting the growing complexity of the world we live in. Reflections on major developments can be found in the contributions to this year's Strategic Trends 2018. In the first chapter, Jack Thompson looks at the new foreign policy of the US under President Donald Trump. In his view, the US will remain the most important player in global affairs, but is struggling to adapt to the evolution of the international system and will be more vulnerable than ever to changes in the geopolitical landscape. Managing relations with Russia and China will be among the main challenges that the West will face in the coming years. Brian Carlson therefore examines the China-Russia relationship and its effects on world politics. China is also an important factor in Severin Fischer's chapter on the impacts of technological change in the energy sector. In his view, China will be the dominant player in the world of new and clean technologies, notably solar and batteries. This could be good





for development goals and limiting global warming, but not necessarily for the influence of the Western world in other regions. Within this changing international system, calls for improving national resilience across different sectors in states and economies are becoming louder. Tim Prior's chapter examines the growing focus on resilience in Western security policy, particularly with respect to deterring asymmetric threats.

Strategic Trends 2018 includes the following articles:

*Jack Thompson*

**Superpower Constrained**

*Brian G. Carlson*

**Room for Maneuver: China and Russia Strengthen Their Relations**

*Severin Fischer*

**Technological Innovation and the Geopolitics of Energy**

*Tim Prior*

**Resilience: The “Fifth Wave” in the Evolution of Deterrence**

The CSS complements this publication with the annual meeting “Weltpolitische Lage: Herausforderungen für die Schweiz” (see also page XX). On the same day, the authors published their main insights in a two-page article in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.

On 29 May 2018, the authors of Strategic Trends 2018 presented their findings at a Brown Bag Lunch at the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) in Berne. The event was attended by representatives of numerous FDFA departments. The subsequent debate focused on the new great-power rivalry between the US, Russia, and China. In the absence of US leadership in the further development of a liberal global order, the participants feared that the influence of autocratic states like China and Russia could further increase. For Switzerland, too, it was important to find answers to the resulting challenges.

Moreover, the authors also presented the publication on 23 May 2018 as part of a panel debate at the *Maison de la Paix* in Geneva, organized by the CSS's partner institute, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy.

### **CSS Policy Perspectives**

The CSS Policy Perspectives series presents the assessments of CSS experts and internationally renowned guest authors on current security issues. They are generated on an event-driven basis, with the objective of translating the academic excellence of the CSS into policy-relevant analyses and recommendations. The Policy Perspectives are directed at an international audience and are therefore published in English, as an electronic publication.



Eight CSS Policy Perspectives were published in 2018:

Vol. 6/1: Rethinking Mediation: Resolving Religious Conflicts

Vol. 6/2: Cyberspace is a Consensual Hallucination

Vol. 6/3: Preventing Violent Extremism in Tunisia

Vol. 6/4: Time to Ease Sanctions on Russia

Vol. 6/5: Russia's Turn to Eurasia

Vol. 6/6: Religion and the Prevention of Violent Extremism

Vol. 6/7: When Terrorism and Organized Crime Meet

Vol. 6/8: The Use of Smart Pressure to Resolve Civil Wars

## Russian Analytical Digest (RAD) / Caucasus Analytical Digest (CAD)

The *Russian Analytical Digest (RAD)* analyzes recent events, trends, and developments within contemporary Russian politics, economics and business, foreign policy, security, and society. Each issue contains original academic and policy-relevant research articles by authors from across the globe, and topical statistical data, graphics, and opinion polls. The series is produced by a partner network that includes the CSS, the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at George Washington University, the Center for Eastern European Studies (CEES) at the University of Zurich, and the German Association for East European Studies (DGO).

The *Caucasus Analytical Digest (CAD)* is a bimonthly internet publication jointly produced by CRRC-Georgia, the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, the CSS, the Center for Eastern European Studies (CEES) at the University of Zurich, and the German Association for East European Studies (DGO). The Caucasus Analytical Digest analyzes the political, economic, and social situation in the three Southern Caucasus states of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia within the context of international and security dimensions of this region's development.

The RAD and the CAD are both published in English.

In 2018, 18 RAD issues were published:

No. 213: 2017 in Review, Perspectives for 2018

No. 214: The Armed Conflict in Eastern Ukraine

No. 215: Russia before the Presidential Elections 2018

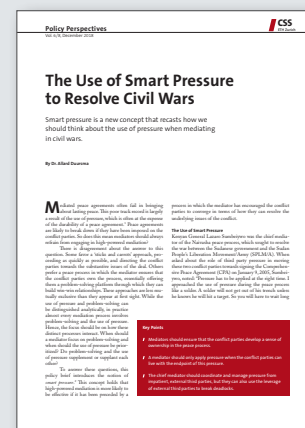
No. 216: Winter Olympics/World Cup

No. 217: Russian Presidential Elections

No. 218: Agenda and Challenges for Putin's New Term

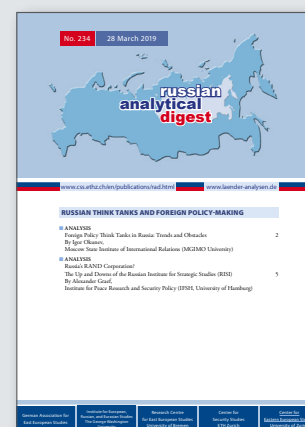
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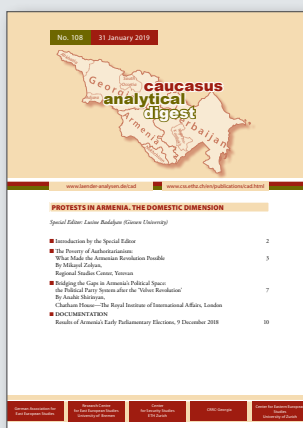
## RAD Newsletter

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### CAD Newsletter

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caucasus-analytical-digest](http://www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen/caucasus-analytical-digest)



- No. 219: Russia in the Middle East
- No. 220: Political Economy
- No. 221: Russian Natural Gas Exports to Europe
- No. 222: North Caucasus
- No. 223: Russian Siloviki
- No. 224: Economic Risks and Opportunities for Putin's Fourth Term
- No. 225: Russia's Pension Reform
- No. 226: Russia and the Balkans
- No. 227: Regulatory Reform in Russia
- No. 228: Cultural Politics
- No. 229: Russia's Public Foreign Policy Narratives
- No. 230: The Russian Far East

In addition, eight issues of the CAD were published:

- No. 101: Urbanization and Urban Public Policy in Baku
- No. 102: Public Opinion in Georgia: New Caucasus Barometer Results
- No. 103: Access to Healthcare
- No. 104: Armenia's Velvet Revolution: Challenges to Regional Foreign Policy
- No. 105: Quality Assurance of Higher Education in the South Caucasus
- No. 106: Political Regime-Related Country Rankings
- No. 107: Economy-Related Country Rankings
- No. 108: Protests in Armenia: The Domestic Dimension

## 3.2 DISCUSSION PLATFORMS

### ETH WORKSHOPS ON SWISS SECURITY POLICY

The ETH Workshops on Swiss Security Policy aim to deliver impulses for strategic thinking in Switzerland and to lay the foundation for revising and developing Swiss security policy. They are conducted in cooperation with the Security Policy sector at the General Secretariat of the DDPS. These events are attended by participants from academia, the government and public administration, politics, and the armed forces.



## **World Politics in 2018**

ETH Zurich, 13 April 2018

On the occasion of the presentation of the CSS publication *Strategic Trends*, the annual State of Global Politics workshop on 13 April 2018 was dedicated to two subject areas: On the one hand, issues relating to “The Security Policy of Tomorrow”, and on the other – more in line with traditional conceptions of security policy – the trilateral rivalry between the great powers: the US, Russia, and China.

The security policy of tomorrow must deal with challenges related to energy security, but also strengthen the resilience of societies that may be ravaged by wars and disasters in the future. In addition to CSS researchers Martin Zapfe and Tim Prior, the panelists discussing these issues included National Councilor Kathy Riklin (CVP); André Duvillard, the delegate of the Swiss Security Network, and Patrick Dümmler of Avenir Suisse.

The second discussion on the rivalry between the great powers involved CSS authors Jack Thompson and Brian Carlson as well as Bruno Rösli, head of the Defense and Armaments Policy at the DDPS, and Jeronim Perovic, professor at the University of Zurich and head of its Center for East European Studies.

## **Jihadi Networks in Switzerland. Regional Clusters and Their Transnational Links**

ETH Zurich, 25 May 2018

Together with the Austrian Institute for International Affairs and in cooperation with representatives of the University of Lucerne, the CSS organized an ETH Workshop on 25 May 2018 that focused on jihadist networks in Switzerland. In his introductory remarks, Prof. Peter Neumann of King's College London noted that while the “Islamic State” was in full retreat, that did not necessarily signal the end of the jihadist threat. The speakers of the next four panels debated the extent to which jihadist networks are formed according to patterns determined by shared languages.

## **Arms procurement in Europe: Current trends and implications for Switzerland**

ETH Zurich, 16 November 2018

The ETH workshop on Swiss Security Policy addressed current trends in European armaments policies and their implications for Switzerland. European policy-makers have to address the challenge of modernizing ageing main weapons systems and acquiring future-proof high-technology capabilities while fiscal possibilities are limited and political support is often uncertain. The means by which states are trying to overcome this challenge are thus of great interest to Switzerland. Workshop participants from the federal administration, academia, industry, and civil society discussed these topics and more in depth.



## CSS EVENING TALKS

The CSS organizes a number of workshops each year to promote co-operation and the exchange of ideas between academics and security policy-makers engaged in practical work. The CSS Evening Talks are a series of occasional events for the discussion of current foreign and security policy events. They are aimed at an audience of experts, journalists, and academics with an interest in security policy.

### **Russia, the West, and the Future of the International Order**

ETH Zurich, 18 January 2018

The question as to how democratic Western countries can engage with the autocratic Russian state stood at the center of our last evening talk on 18 January. Speakers included Celeste Wallander, President of the US-Russia Foundation in Washington, D.C., who previously held various positions within the Obama Administration, as well as Professor Jeronim Perovic, Director of the Center for Eastern European Studies at the University of Zurich. Both speakers agreed that while US-Russian relations will remain a source of conflict in the future, opportunities to identify common interests must not be missed.

### **Swiss Health Security in the Global Context**

ETH Zurich, 3 May 2018

Prof. Marcel Tanner, the former director of the Swiss Tropical and Public Health Institute, spoke about the challenges involved in combating infectious diseases in developing countries. CSS Senior Researcher Ursula Jasper gave a presentation on Swiss health foreign policy. While this policy enjoys solid institutional backing, she explained that it is also caught up in the tension between humanitarian ideals and political-economic interests.

### **The Evolution of Organized Crime and its Linkage to Terrorism**

ETH Zurich, 6 September 2018


On 6 September 2018, the CSS held an Evening Talk on “The evolution of organized crime and its linkage to terrorism”. Dr. Mark Shaw, Director of the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, and Dr. Prem Mahadevan, Senior Researcher at the CSS’s Global Security team, underlined that cooperation between terrorist organizations and organized crime has become more important in recent years, especially in developing countries.

### **Eastern European Security and the View from Belarus**

ETH Zurich, 17 October 2018

On 17 October 2018, the CSS held an Evening Talk on “Eastern European Security and the View from Belarus”. Both speakers, Benno





Zogg of the CSS and Yauheni Preiherman, director of the Minsk Dialogue track-II diplomacy initiative, agreed that Belarus will remain a close Russian ally, partly due to there being no alternative to its dependence on its neighbor. However, the days when Minsk could be considered Moscow's compliant satellite are over. As a result, Belarus will continue to alternate tactically between East and West. Furthermore, as Belarus is repositioning itself as an in-between state, the West should reevaluate its strategy vis-à-vis the country.

## FURTHER SELECTED WORKSHOPS

### **CSS at the Munich Security Conference**

Munich, 17 February 2018

In 2018, the CSS once more had a chance to present itself at the Munich Security Conference. During a lunch at the “Bayrischer Hof” conference venue on 17 February 2018, a discussion on matters of European security was held between Italian Foreign Minister Angelino Alfano, representing the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE); the OSCE Secretary General, Swiss diplomat Thomas Greminger; Andrei Kortunov, director of the Russian Institute of International Relations; and Francois Heisbourg of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. The debate was moderated by the head of the CSS Think Tank, Oliver Thränert.

One day previously, the head of the CSS Risk and Resilience team, Tim Prior, had taken part in a discussion organized by the UN Environmental Programme, also in the framework of the Security Conference.

### **Half-day workshop with all SRF foreign correspondents:**

**“The state of the world. A moment of transition”**

Zurich, 20 March 2018

### **Expert Panel: Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE)**

Zurich, 11 October 2018

On 11 October 2018 at the Volkshaus in Zurich, international experts discussed their experiences with the concept of preventing violent extremism (PVE) at an event organized by the CSS, the Embassy of Canada to Switzerland, and the Embassy of the Netherlands in Switzerland. Phil Gurski, former long-time strategic analyst for the Canadian intelligence community, Ko Minderhood, team leader at the counterterrorism unit of the Dutch police, and Carol Mottet, advisor to the Human Security Division of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), agreed that the early prevention of extremist trends has to begin at the local level. They also noted that for PVE efforts, international cooperation is indispensable. Moreover, one of the biggest issues is the challenge involved in determining the extent to which PVE strategies are successful. Owen Frazer of the CSS moderated the panel.

### **Public Outreach 2018**

Presentation to non-academic audiences: 127

Media contributions: 113

Meetings and workshops with politicians, administrators and scientists: 76

### **Youth Session of the Federal Parliament**

Berne, 8–11 November 2018

Two hundred young people between 14 and 21 years of age discussed a series of topics and presented petitions in the chamber of the National Council. One group of youths dealt with the issue of combating terrorism in Switzerland, gaining a deeper understanding of the topic in conversations with experts and members of parliament. In this connection, Fabien Merz took part as an expert in the working group on 8 November for an exchange of views with the young participants.

### **OSCE Focus Conference: The OSCE at a Crossroads: Recognizing and Seizing Opportunities**

Geneva, 12–13 November 2018

Held on 12–13 October at Villa Moynier in Geneva, the OSCE Focus 2018 conference was dedicated to the topic of “The OSCE at a Crossroads: Recognizing and Seizing Opportunities”. Over 40 high-ranking participants from the OSCE community, including Secretary General Thomas Greminger, engaged in focused, open, and frank discussions on the challenges and opportunities currently facing the organization. This report summarizes key reflections made and recommendations put forward during the conference. The workshop was organized by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) with support from, and in close collaboration with, the ministries of foreign affairs of Austria, Italy, Slovakia, and Switzerland, along with the CSS.

## **3.3 POLICY CONSULTING**

The CSS provides consultancy for national and international public-sector actors.

### **SELECTED STUDIES**

*Michael Haas, Annabelle Vuille, Martin Zapfe*

#### **Grundlagen und Prozesse der Rüstungsbeschaffung**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

The procurement of armaments in general, and of major weapons systems in particular, is by its very nature a highly political matter, reflecting a rationale that goes beyond mere military or economic calculations. This is also the reason why the framework conditions for complex procurement projects vary widely between states, even within Europe. This study presents a current and comparative overview of selected states and their priorities in arms policy as well as – to the extent possible, given the restricted availability of sources – their procurement processes.



*Linda Maduz*

### **Flexibility by Design: The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and the Future of Eurasian Cooperation**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

Given the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's (SCO) potential significance, particularly with regard to Russia and China's engagement in Central Asia, this comprehensive CSS study explores 1) the SCO's distinctive features in terms of its set-up and agenda; 2) how China's priorities and Sino-Russian relations have played a key role in shaping cooperation in the organization; 3) SCO enlargement and why it has been so divisive; 4) how Europe and Switzerland could engage with the organization, and more.

The study was discussed in depth on 30 August 2018 at a workshop in Berne involving representatives of the FDFA (cf. p. 36).

*Lisa Watanabe*

### **Islamist Actors: Libya and Tunisia**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

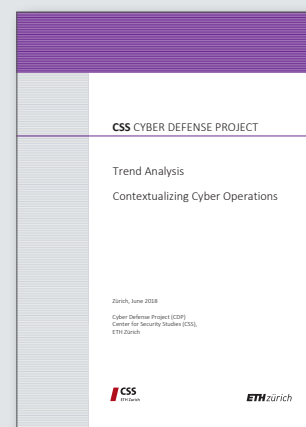
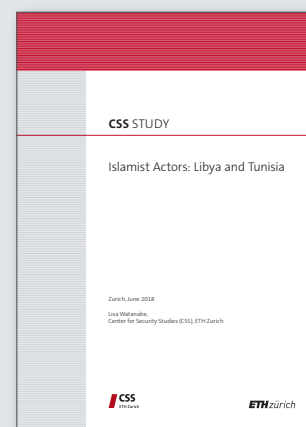
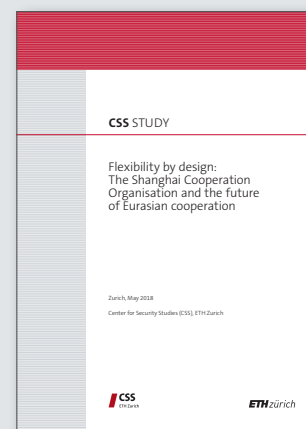
Attention has understandably been focused on jihadi actors in Libya and Tunisia. However, this CSS study contends that other Islamic actors also deserve greater scrutiny, given the role they could play in shaping these countries' future. To help address this gap, the author explores 1) the Muslim Brotherhood in Libya and Ennahda in Tunisia, groups who have gone the furthest in accepting democratic norms and principles; 2) more conservative Salafi actors, such as former jihadis; 3) quietist Salafis, who generally eschew political engagement and reject armed resistance against Sunni Muslim regimes, and more.

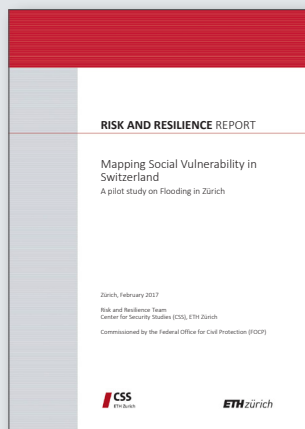
*Robert Dewar*

### **Contextualizing Cyberoperations**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

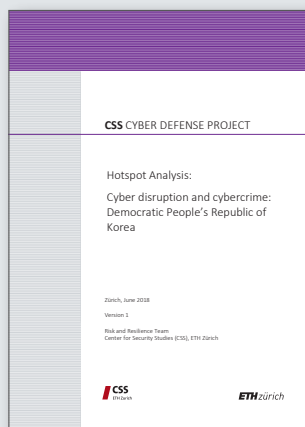
Recent cyberdefense studies have shown that there is an increase in the numbers of cyber-competent actors, and that the malicious digital tools they use and the vectors they exploit are of increasing technical sophistication. These three areas constitute the "who", "what", and "how" of cyberoperations. What is missing from much of these analyses is the "when" question: In which specific geopolitical contexts are cyberoperations deployed? This Trend Analysis examines a series of high-profile cyberincidents with a view to answering this question.





**Florian Roth, Tim Prior, Linda Maduz, Anna Wolf**  
**Social Vulnerability in Affluent Contexts – An In-depth Analysis of Social Vulnerability in Zurich**  
 Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

This report develops a comprehensive view of the specific social situation in Zurich, and of the potentially important dynamics that could have an influence on social vulnerability in the city. To better understand social vulnerability in Zurich, the CSS research team conducted interviews with experts working with very different social groups in the city of Zurich on a day-to-day basis. Three hazards were chosen for detailed spatial analysis: chemical accidents, flooding, and heat waves.



**Marie Baezner**  
**Cyberdisruption and Cybercrime: Democratic People's Republic of Korea**  
 Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

North Korea appears to be disconnected from much of the internet. However, the reality is that it has extensive cybercapabilities, which are an additional tool in Pyongyang's asymmetric strategy. The advantage of this instrument is that it may attract international attention, but carries a reduced risk of sanctions. The goal of this report is to explain the mechanisms of the DPRK's cyberactivities and their role in the DPRK's strategy by examining the impact of these cyberactivities on the DPRK's domestic society, the international economy, technological development, and international relations.



**Linda Maduz, Tim Prior, Florian Roth, Anna Wolf**  
**Individuelle Katastrophenvorsorge**  
 Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

Switzerland's contemporary threat and risk landscape has changed in recent years. Indeed, the risks that now draw the attention of experts and policymakers include cyberattacks, pandemics, terrorist attacks, and blackouts. This report identifies the risks that the Swiss public perceives as the most worrisome, and enquires how risk perceptions differ between experts and members of the general population, and more.



*Marie Baezner*

### **Regional rivalry between India and Pakistan: Tit-for-tat in cyberspace**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

India and Pakistan have integrated new technologies into their strategies, extending their regional rivalry to cyberspace. This Hotspot Analysis examines the dynamic of the India-Pakistan regional rivalry in cyberspace, which increases the risk of misperceptions in cyberspace and escalation of the rivalry to physical conflict.

*Marie Baezner*

### **Use of Cybertools in Regional Tensions in Southeast Asia**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

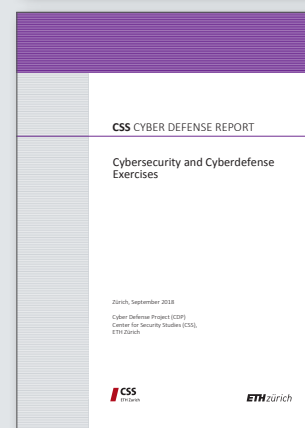
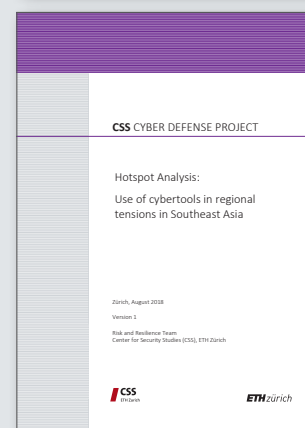
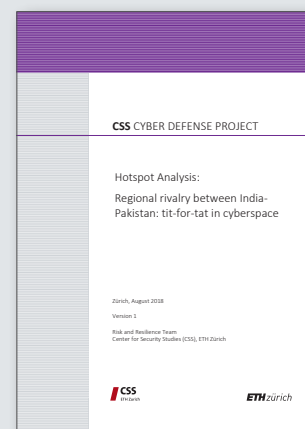
This CSS Hotspot Analysis examines the use of cybertools in the context of tensions over territorial claims involving China and other states in Southeast Asia and the South China Sea. The analysis also details the international effects of these cyberactivities, including how ASEAN has become a platform for the discussion of cybersecurity.

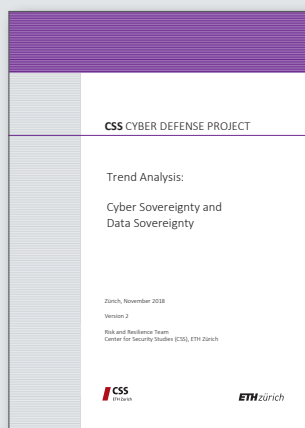
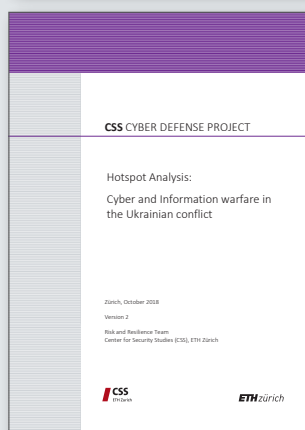
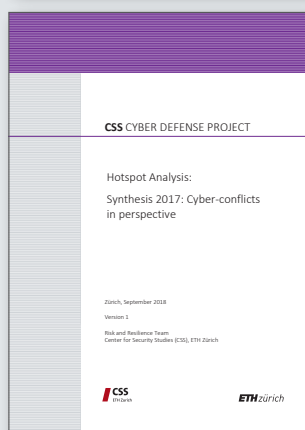
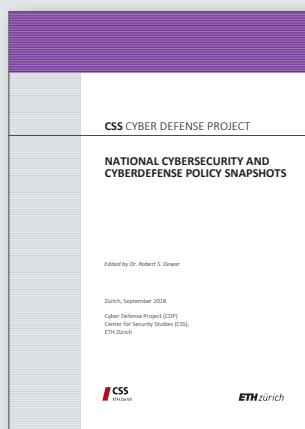
*Robert Dewar*

### **Cybersecurity and Cyberdefense Exercises**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

This report provides current and potential organizers and coordinators of cyberexercises with important points to bear in mind when considering staging an exercise. It does this by examining the After Action Reports (AARs) of a number of national and international cyberexercises, and using information from a series of expert interviews. The report sets out a number of types of exercises which can be conducted, as well as using the AARs and interviews to identify key points and pitfalls from the experiences of others.





**Robert Dewar, Marie Baezner, Sean Cordey, Patrice Robin**  
**National Cybersecurity and Cyberdefense Policy Snapshots**  
 Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

This report attempts to shed light on current cybersecurity policies as a facet of a country's overall national security policy, particularly how cyberdefense is embedded in a state's cybersecurity posture. To that end, this volume examines the policies of four important European actors – France, Finland, Germany, and the UK.

**Marie Baezner**  
**Synthesis 2017: Cyberconflicts in Perspective**  
 Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

This Analysis provides an overview of five cyberrelated conflicts recently reviewed by the CSS. These include 1) the US-Russia cyber-rivalry; 2) cyber and information warfare in the Ukrainian conflict; 3) cyberactivities in the Syrian civil war; 4) tensions in US-China relations over cybersecurity; and 5) cyber and information warfare in European elections. Through this review, the analysis also identifies key trends, including those relating to the politicization of cyberspace; how context shapes the use of cybertools; and disagreements between states regarding legitimate uses of cyberspace.

**Marie Baezner, Patrice Robin**  
**Cyber and Information Warfare in the Ukrainian Conflict**  
 Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

This Hotspot Analysis on cyber and information warfare in the Ukrainian conflict reports on the cybertools, their targets, and actors involved in the Ukrainian conflict and their effects on society, the economy, technology, and international relations. The goal of the Hotspot Analysis is to better understand cyberactivities and events taking place in the context of the Ukrainian conflict. This newest version includes an addendum covering the period from January 2017 to June 2018 that was not covered in the previous version, and new insights on the events that occurred during that period, such as NotPetya and BadRabbit.

**Marie Baezner, Patrice Robin**  
**Cybersovereignty and Datasovereignty**  
 Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

This Cyberdefense Trend Analysis argues that while the concept of “cybersovereignty” is regularly referenced in political, economic, and legal discussions, it has no fixed definition. In response to this, as well as to highlight why using the term in the same way as “strategic autonomy” is a misnomer, the authors analyze references to cybersovereignty in national cybersecurity strategies, current academic discussions, and debates on sovereignty in other domains. Baezner and Robin also explore the similarly ill-defined concept of “data sovereignty”, outlining why control over data depends more on how it is stored than where.

*Angela Ullmann, Seng Mai Aung*

**Addressing Religion in Conflict: Insights and Case Studies from Myanmar**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

This publication captures and highlights the learning points and good practices of selected peacebuilding approaches to interfaith tensions in Myanmar following the outbreaks of violence in 2012. Key insights are drawn from research on three case studies: the Flower Speech Campaign by Panzagar, the Local Resilience for Peace program by the Mercy Corps, and the Religion and Rule of Law Training by the Institute for Global Engagement.

*Jeremy Brickhill, edited by Simon Mason*

**Mediating Security Arrangements in Peace Processes: Critical Perspectives from the Field**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

This booklet provides an introduction to mediating and implementing security arrangements in peace processes and an overview of the tools, concepts, and mechanisms available to manage security transitions. It demystifies the security and military aspects of peace processes so as to enable these critical elements to be fully integrated into mediation and peace-building strategies. It outlines a logical and strategic map of security transitions from war to peace and shows how some of the recurring mistakes of security arrangements in peace processes can be avoided.

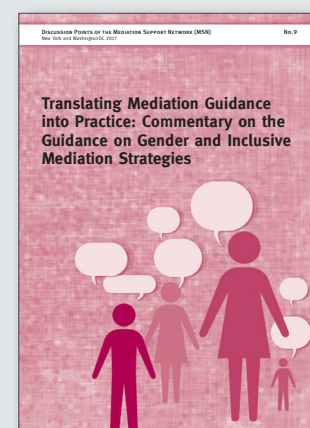
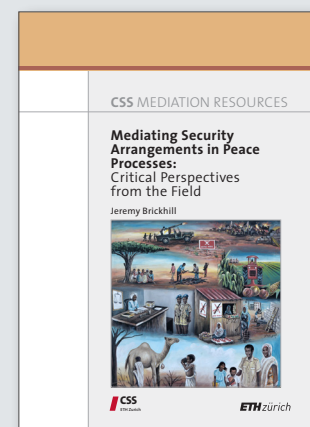
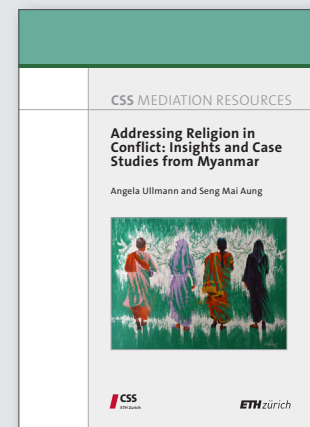
*Jonas Baumann, Sophia Close, Laura Henao Izquiereo,*

*Irene Limo, Fernando Sarmiento Santander*

**Translating Mediation Guidance into Practice: Commentary on the Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

This edition of the MSN Discussion Points aims to critically discuss the United Nations Department of Political Affairs (UN DPA) Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies, which was launched officially at the MSN meeting 2017. The meeting, headlined “State of the Field of Mediation: Challenges for Mediation Support”, was held from 27–31 March in New York and Washington, D.C..





*Angela Ullmann*

**Reflections by Practitioners: Training on Religion and Security in Conflict for Peacebuilding**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

Terms like “religion” and “secularity” are fluid and context-dependent. So how can educators design effective courses for peace practitioners, policy-makers, and mediators on the role of these concepts in conflict? This report responds by summarizing good practices for course organizers and curriculum developers dealing with these issues, based on the insights gathered at a practitioner exchange that took place at the University of Groningen in May 2017.

*Jonas Baumann*

**Reflections by Practitioners: Worldview Conflicts about the Role of Women in Society: Dilemmas for Third Parties**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

Interventions in conflicts about women’s roles in society that involve actors with different worldviews face a key dilemma. Such interventions typically call for third parties to be non-judgmental so they can help bridge existing worldview divides. However, working on the role of women also typically involves efforts to change societal norms to help empower women. To help address this dilemma, this publication draws on the insights gathered at a workshop that took place in October 2017.

As a member of the “Überführung WEA” think tank, Andreas Wenger regularly took part in its meetings.

SELECTED MEETINGS AND WORKSHOPS

**Presentation: Aktuelle sicherheitspolitische Trends**

Berne, 25 January 2018

On 25 January 2018, Martin Zapfe of the CSS Think Tank discussed current trends in security policy on the occasion of the Swiss Armed Forces Staff’s “Joint Doctrine Board” in Berne. The main topic was the development of US foreign policy under President Donald Trump and its effects on the security policies of the European states.

**Presentation: Islamism and Intelligence in South Asia**

Berne, 3 May 2018

On 3 May 2018, CSS Think Tank researcher Prem Mahadevan presented his book on Islamism and Intelligence in South Asia at an internal discussion group at the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA). Mahadevan’s core assertion, that Pakistan is threatened by worsening radicalization, was for the most part accepted. At the same time, according to the author, the Pakistani military is attempting to impose stronger restrictions on Pakistani society. The book, which was received with a great deal of interest at the FDFA, is largely based on Pakistani and Western sources.





### **Predictive Policing in der Schweiz: State of the Art in Technik und Anwendung**

Zurich, 4 May 2018

This networking workshop for scholars and users of predictive policing included guests from other ETH Departments and the University of Hamburg as well as members of the Aargau and Zurich cantonal police forces and the City of Zurich police. The workshop offered a framework for participants to exchange views on technical and theoretical aspects of predictive policing software, as well as experiences gained in everyday police work.

### **Block seminar at the Military Academy at ETH Zurich**

Birmensdorf, 22–25 May 2018

Like every year, Andreas Wenger, Martin Zapfe, Christian Nünlist, and Myriam Dunn Cavelty taught a one-week course block on Security Policy from 22–25 May 2018 for Military School 18 at ETH Zurich's Military Academy in Birmensdorf. The CSS lecturers discussed basic aspects of international security policy, current challenges at NATO, the history and current aspects of Swiss security policy, and cyberdefense. The lectures were evaluated as excellent, with the top grade of 10.

### **Vierter Trilateraler Workshop D-A-CH Schutz kritischer Infrastrukturen**

Bonn, 4–6 June 2018

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2018

From 4–6 June 2018, representatives of government departments in the field of security policy and civil defense met for the fourth trilateral D-A-CH workshop on the protection of critical infrastructure (SKI/KRITIS). This year's workshop was organized by the German Federal Office of Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance (BBK) at its official seat in Bonn, and carried out jointly with the Austrian Federal Chancellery, the Austrian Interior Ministry (BM.I), the Swiss Federal Office of Civil Protection (FOCP), and the CSS at ETH Zurich. The workshop was aimed at promoting debate on current approaches and challenges in the protection of critical infrastructures and at learning the lessons from the diverse experiences gained in the three countries. The CSS authored a workshop report.



### **Workshop: Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)**

Berne, 30 August 2018

On 30 August 2018, the author of the SCO study and other CSS researchers presented the results of this study to the FDFA as the commissioning authority. In the discussion that ensued, there was general agreement that Berne should follow the further development of the SCO closely, but not push for formal relations with the SCO as an organization. On the other hand, Switzerland would be well advised to foster and further develop its bilateral relations with the SCO members. It may also be advisable to seek contact with the SCO via the OSCE.

### **Conflict Resolution Involving Islamist Actors**

Expert Workshop, Berne, 1 October 2018

The CSS co-arranged a research-policy dialog at the FDFA in Berne. The objective of the workshop was to bring together researchers and policy-makers to share knowledge and experiences on the topic of conflict resolution in armed conflicts involving Islamist actors. The workshop was co-arranged with the Folke Bernadotte Academy (FBA), the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University (DPCR), and the Human Security Division of the FDFA. Prominent scholars in the field shared their insights from their research and interacted with the members of the FDFA.

### **Hearing of the Council of States Foreign Affairs Committee on the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)**


Berne, 25 October 2018

Together with five other national and international experts, Think Tank head Oliver Thränert participated in a hearing of the Council of States Foreign Affairs Committee on the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) on 25 October 2018. This UN Convention is strictly opposed by all nuclear-armed states, all NATO members, and a number of other countries that benefit from US nuclear security guarantees. The Federal Council had also spoken out against joining the TPNW, while a majority in the National Council urged the Federal Council to join the TPNW. Oliver Thränert argued that Switzerland should continue to actively engage in the international arms control dialog at various levels, but that the TPNW was the wrong way to go, not least due to its lack of verifiability.

### **Expert Workshop: Digitalization of land-based forces**

Zurich, 12 November 2018

On 12 November 2018, an expert workshop was organized by the CSS at ETH Zurich in cooperation with the Swiss Armed Forces Staff on the digitalization of land-based armed forces. The speakers – including Major General Reinhard Wolski, the head of the



Bundeswehr Army Concepts and Capabilities Development Centre; Divisionär (Major General) Claude Meier, head of the Swiss Armed Forces Staff, and Divisionär (Major General) Thomas Süssli, head of the Swiss Armed Forces Command Support Organisation – agreed that the advance of digitalization will generate massive challenges for the armed forces.

### **Expert Workshop: Asia**

Berne, 12 November 2018

At a meeting with representatives of the Asia desk at the FDFA in Berne, CSS staff presented their thoughts on the current state of developments surrounding the New Silk Road project initiated by China. This, they argued, was not a unified large-scale project, but rather a large number of individual proposals. Nevertheless, they found that the initiative will continue to be influential not just economically, but also in political terms. The second topic was the conflict over North Korea's nuclear weapons program. While the meeting between North Korean leader Kim Jong-un and US President Trump had calmed the situation, it was noted that no progress at all had been achieved in terms of complete, verifiable, and irreversible disarmament.

## **SELECTED BRIEFINGS AND COURSES**

### **Briefing of FDFA and foreign diplomats**

Where possible, the CSS offers briefings to members of the FDFA's diplomatic corps about to be deployed overseas about specific security policy aspects of their new post and its region. This year, too, this offer met with strong interest, especially among those about to be posted to eastern and northern European countries.

### **Master Program in Conflict Settlement and Mediation**

Kiev (Ukraine), January–December 2018

At the request of the Swiss FDFA and the Ukrainian Ministry for Temporarily Occupied Territories and Internally Displaced Persons, the CSS and the Mediation Support Project (MSP, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace funded by the Swiss FDFA) have been supporting the setup of a Master Program in Conflict Settlement and Mediation at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute (KPI) in Ukraine from June 2017 until December 2019. This program is part of larger efforts to contribute to a culture of peaceful conflict settlement and sustainable peace in Ukraine by developing and promoting human capital in the country to deal with conflict in a professional and academically sound manner.



### **Intra-Buddhist Dialog for Majority-Minority Coexistence**

Thailand, 2018

Since 2014, the program on Culture and Religion in Mediation (CARIM), a joint initiative of the CSS and the Swiss FDFA, has been working in partnership with the Institute for Human Rights and Peace Studies at Mahidol University, Thailand, on engaging the Thai Buddhist community in efforts to promote peaceful coexistence in southern Thailand. In 2018, the project organized a series of intra-Buddhist dialog workshops where participants exchanged views about the conflict in the south, received training on techniques for critical reflection, and developed joint projects to strengthen Buddhist efforts for peace in the south. In April, dialog group members published a report on the situation of the Buddhists in southern Thailand. Meetings were held with military and civilian authorities, as well as representatives of the Malay separatist movement, to raise awareness of local Buddhist perspectives on the conflict. Group members also engaged in structured dialogs with representatives of the Malay Muslim community on relations between the communities in the south.

### **Mediation Support Network Meeting**

London (UK), 6–8 March 2018

The 14th Mediation Support Network (MSN) meeting was dedicated to the topic of “Mediation Support in the Post-Agreement Landscape”. The attendees discussed how mediation support actors can play a constructive role in furthering peaceful outcomes following the signing of comprehensive peace agreements. As the coordinator of the MSN Secretariat, the MSP, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace funded by the Swiss FDFA) supported the organization of the meeting.

### **Workshop for Local Mediators from Libya**

Tunis (Tunisia), 19–23 March 2018

The CSS and the Swiss FDFA jointly organized a mediation training workshop for the Libyan NGO “Dialogue and Reconciliation Organization” (LDRO), focusing on providing knowledge and key skills related to conflict analysis, negotiation, and mediation. The workshop participants had experience with mediation at the community level, and were interested to reflect and improve on their ongoing work.





### **UN Ceasefire Mediation Course**

Oslo (Norway), 7–13 April 2018

The CSS, in the framework of the Mediation Support Project (MSP, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace funded by the Swiss FDFA), collaborated with the UN Mediation Support Unit, the Norwegian Defence International Centre (NODEFIC), the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Swiss FDFA on the UN Ceasefire Mediation course. The training focused on a multi-faceted approach to ceasefire mediation by providing a deeper understanding of the political, military, humanitarian, gender, and socio-economic dimensions of ceasefires.

### **Lecture: Mediation Process Design – Supporting Dialog and Negotiation**

Zurich, 9–13 April 2018

The CSS and the Center for Development and Cooperation (NADEL) at ETH Zurich organized a one-week course aiming to help participants understand why mediation process design is necessary in the context of development cooperation, and to teach them to apply some of its basic principles and skills to support dialog and negotiations.

### **Developing a Mediation Course at the Regional Peacekeeping Training Center**

Bamako (Mali), 13–25 May 2018

The CSS, in the framework of the Mediation Support Project (MSP, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace funded by the Swiss FDFA) were MSP, was involved in a workshop to support the development of mediation training curriculum and material for the Ecole de Maintien de la Paix in Mali.

### **Swiss and German Diplomats Training**

Landgut Stober, Berlin (Germany), 14–18 May 2018

In cooperation with the Swiss FDFA, the German MFA, and German mediation organizations, the Mediation Support Project (MSP, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace funded by the FDFA) has been supporting a weeklong mediation training for Swiss and German diplomats. As part of professionalization efforts of the mediation field in Switzerland and Germany, this annual training brings together about 17 diplomats from Germany, Switzerland, and partner countries such as Sweden and Finland. The training aims to enhance the diplomats' knowledge, skills, and approaches to mediation and mediation support.



### **Conflict sensitivity training for European External Action Service (EEAS)**

Brussels (Belgium), 5 June 2018

The CSS was involved in conflict sensitivity training for the EU Zimbabwe Election Observation mission. This was processed through the EEAS Framework Contract.

### **Peace Mediation Course**

Saanen-Gstaad (Switzerland), 24 June–6 July 2018

The 11th edition of the Peace Mediation Course (PMC) was held this year, organized by the Swiss FDFA and the Mediation Support Project (MSP, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace funded by the FDFA). The goal of the Peace Mediation Course is for participants to deepen their understanding of peace mediation and acquire the skills, knowledge, and attitudes required to support mediation processes effectively. In 2018, 24 participants attended the course, including representatives of the FDFA, the UN, regional organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and experts from conflict regions. The PMC offers uniquely practical insights delivered by experienced speakers giving first-hand accounts. Since its establishment in 2008, the PMC has been regarded as one of the most important mediation courses with regard to peace processes.

### **Religion and Mediation Course**

Murten (Switzerland), 26–31 August 2018

The Culture and Religion in Mediation (CARIM) program's fifth Religion and Mediation Course took place in cooperation with the Swiss FDFA, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, and the Network of Religious and Traditional Peacemakers in Murten, near Bern. The course brought together 25 peace practitioners to deepen their understanding of the interplay between religion and politics in violent political conflict and to acquire the skills, knowledge, and attitudes required to support efforts to mediate or transform conflicts where religion plays a role.

### **Negotiation and Mediation Course**

Mutare (Zimbabwe), 4–10 November 2018

The third edition of the Negotiation and Mediation Course, organized by Africa University (AU) and the CSS, was attended by 23 Zimbabwean policy-makers and practitioners. The Negotiation and Mediation Course (NMC) trains participants in consensus-oriented nation-building by providing them with the necessary dialog, negotiation, and mediation skills and strategies. This workshop is part of a two-year Negotiation and Mediation Training Project (2017–18) between the AU and CSS. The support was carried out in the framework of the Mediation Support Project (MSP, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace funded by the FDFA) and the Institute for Peace,

Leadership and Governance (IPLG) of the Africa University (AU) in Zimbabwe.

### **UN Religion and Mediation Course**

Princeton (USA), 9–12 December 2018

Together with the Mediation Support Unit (MSU) of the United Nations Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers, the Finnish MFA, and the Swiss FDFA, the Culture and Religion in Mediation (CARIM) program at CSS organized the fourth edition of the UN Religion and Mediation Course in New York. It focused on providing participants with the knowledge and tools to support the design of mediation processes in violent political conflicts in which religion plays a role.

## **3.4 TRANSATLANTIC POST-DOC FELLOWSHIP FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY (TAPIR)**

The Transatlantic Post-Doc Fellowship for International Relations and Security (TAPIR) is open to candidates who have recently received their doctorate in social and political sciences, or economics and whose research focuses on topics of international relations and security. Fellowships are granted for a duration of 24 months to prepare fellows for a career in policy-oriented and international research at renowned think tanks and political consulting research institutes.

There are currently five fellowships available through the TAPIR program. Until May 2018, Brian Carlson was part of the CSS as a TAPIR scholar. He studied Russian-Chinese relations.

Among others, the following institutions participate in the TAPIR program:

- Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich
- Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), Helsinki
- German Marshall Fund (GMF), Washington, D.C., Berlin, Paris
- RAND Corporation (RAND), Washington, D.C.
- Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin/Brussels
- Chatham House, London





## 4. THE CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES (CSS)

The CSS is committed to researching Swiss and international security issues. Its activities are structured into the pillars of research, teaching and think tank. The CSS was founded in 1986 by Prof. em. Dr. Kurt R. Spillmann and has developed into a national center of competence for security policy with an international impact.

The CSS combines research with policy advice to bridge the gap between academia and practice. It trains highly qualified young talents and serves as a point of contact and source of information for the interested public.

### **Staff**

Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger has served as the director of the CSS since 2002. Andreas Wenger is Professor of International and Swiss Security Policy at the ETH Zurich. He is also the director of the MAS ETH Mediation in Peace Processes program. The CSS employs a total of about 60 staff members.

### **Strategic Partnership**

Since 2004, the CSS has been jointly supported by ETH Zurich and the Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport (DDPS). Another partnership with the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) was established in 2012. Advisory boards comprising representatives of relevant sponsoring bodies support the CSS management in developing its strategic orientation.

The CSS is anchored within the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) at ETH Zurich. Together with the chairs in Political Science at ETH Zurich and the University of Zurich, it has formed the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) since 1997.

### **Partner Network**

The CSS has an extensive network of national and international partners from academia, policy, the media, and the private sector.





### **Internship Program**

Every year, the CSS offers a comprehensive internship program for four students enrolled in MA and BA programs.

### **Alumni**

Former members of the CSS are organized in the CSS Alumni Group within the ETH alumni body. In addition to manifold discounts, they also receive regular updates for ETH alumni as well as invitations for select CSS events. An alumni meeting is usually held every year where participants can hear presentations, and engage in networking. In 2018, due to time constraints, no meeting was organized.



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