PREFACE

For some years now, international politics has been marked by the erosion of multi-
lateral institutions and intensifying competition between the US, China, and Russia
as major powers. Transatlantic relations have also cooled further under US President
Donald Trump. The president’s confrontational trade policy, his ambivalent attitude
towards the EU and NATO and his decision to terminate the nuclear agreement
with Iran once again revealed a deep gulf between the US and its European allies.
The Euro-Atlantic security architecture based on shared rules and values, which
Switzerland also has a vital interest in stabilizing, came under further pressure as a
result of this behavior. All these developments took place against the background of
the continuous rise of China, which extended its influence in Europe through the
project of a “New Silk Road”, Russia’s renaissance in the Arab world, and the in-
creasingly urgent discussions on how to deal with global warming and technological
changes such as artificial intelligence (AI).

These shifts in the global structure call into question the established rules of foreign
and security policy. This means that Switzerland, too, is increasingly forced to take
a stand. The boundaries between economic, foreign, and security policy are becom-
ing more fluid. Furthermore, with the emergence of new technologies such as AI,
new fields of action are emerging for Swiss foreign and security policy. In addition,
security policy discussions in Switzerland were once again dominated by questions
about how to deal with newer threats from cyberspace and by which military means
Swiss airspace should be monitored and protected beyond 2030.

These developments in Switzerland’s strategic environment were observed by the
Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich and analyzed in terms of their
consequences for Switzerland. President Trump’s increasingly erratic foreign policy
and the ensuing debate about Europe’s strategic autonomy, the impact of the Chi-
inese “Belt and Road Initiative” on Europe and its neighborhood, Russia’s assertive
stance, and current trends in capability development and military technology have
been analyzed and discussed in detail in several CSS Analyses, CSS Policy Perspec-
tives, in Strategic Trends 2019, and in the Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy. The CSS
dedicated several publications as well as an ETH Workshop to studying the effects
of AI on foreign and security policy. In addition, the annual study Security showed
the effects of international developments on the security perception of the Swiss
population.

I would also like to take this opportunity to draw your attention to some internal
innovations. In the coming years, the CSS will focus its activities on the following
seven main topics: Cyber Security Policy, Artificial Intelligence and Security Policy,
the “New Silk Road”: Trade and Security in Eurasia, Euro-Atlantic Security Perspec-
tives, Mediation and Peacebuilding, Military Doctrine and Arms Procurement,
and Socio-Technical Resilience and Disaster Preparedness. Each topic is given its
own landing page on the CSS website (see the QR code on the next page), which
will bring together the most current and relevant publications, events, consulting
services, training and further education formats, and media contributions. In addi-
tion, the seven topics will also be visible on the CSS’s social media channels, newslet-
ters, and direct mailings. Partners, target groups, and the interested public will thus
gain better access to the diverse activities and contents of the CSS. In addition, the
numerous thematic synergies between basic and applied research within the CSS
Think Tank will become more visible.
This Annual Report provides an overview of our activities and is intended to encourage readers to read some of our publications, all of which are freely available online on our website www.css.ethz.ch.

If you wish to receive regular updates about current CSS publications, you can subscribe to our monthly newsletter here www.css.ethz.ch/ueber-uns/cssnewsletter.html, or you can follow us on Twitter (@CSS_Zurich), Facebook (@css.zurich), or LinkedIn.

Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger
Director, Center for Security Studies (CSS)
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4. **The Center for Security Studies (CSS)**
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 deal with 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 which 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 conception of security, the series aims to be a forum for innovative research. The authors of the studies include CSS researchers as well as scientists from associated partner institutes.

Stephen Aris, Aglaya Snetkov, Andreas Wenger (eds.)
Inter-Organizational Relations in International Security
2018

Roland Popp, Liviu Horovitz, 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
2008

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

Myriam Dunn, Kristian Søby 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

In 2019, the CSS staff published the following scientific publications, among others:

Henrik B. L. Larsen
NATO’s Democratic Retrenchment: Hegemony After the Return of History
Series: Modern Security Studies
Routledge, London, UK, 2019

This book examines the motives that prompted NATO to seek democratization in the face of regional challenges and addresses the alliance’s adaptation to current illiberal backlashes in Eastern Europe, the Western Balkans, and Afghanistan. It also examines how enlargement and withdrawal in NATO’s policies can be explained. The book offers a theoretical view of NATO as the product of divergent national interests that converge and diverge in the formulation of common policies. This, in turn, contradicts the notion of NATO as a community of values.
Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, Simon J. A Mason
Mediation and Governance in Fragile Contexts: Small Steps to Peace
Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2019

The result of a long collaboration between a Kenyan-Somali mediator and a Swiss scholar-practitioner, Mediation and Governance in Fragile Contexts introduces an innovative, practical approach to resolving an enduring issue: How can conflicts be resolved in polarized societies? This approach breaks out of the insider/outside dichotomy to develop a framework for achieving peace in the most challenging of contexts – a framework that unites outsider perspectives on mediation methodology with the rich experiences and reflections that only local peace practitioners can provide.

John M. Thompson
Great Power Rising: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy
Oxford University Press, 2019

The nature of the US political system, with its overlapping powers, intense partisanship, and continuous scrutiny from the media and public, complicates the conduct of foreign policy. While numerous presidents have struggled under the weight of these conditions, Theodore Roosevelt thrived and is widely lauded for his diplomacy. Offering the first analysis of the politics of foreign policy for the entirety of Roosevelt’s career, John Thomson sheds new light on the 26th president and the nation’s emergence as a preeminent player in international affairs.

Matthias Leese, Marijn Hoijtink, Katja Lindskov Jacobsen et al.
Technology and Agency in International Relations
Eds.: Marijn Hoijtink, Matthias Leese
Series: Emerging Technologies, Ethics and International Affairs
Routledge, London, 2019

Technology accelerates, automates, and exercises capabilities that are greater than human abilities. Nevertheless, within International Relations, the role of technology remains under-studied. This volume, edited by Marijn Hoijtink and Matthias Leese, responds to this gap with a series of empirically rich and pertinent chapters on the future of warfare, satellite imagery of North Korea, the US drone program, blockchain and finance, predictive policing and border management databases, and more.

Tobias Böhmelt, Vincenzo Bove, Enzo Nussio
Can Terrorism Abroad Influence Migration Attitudes at Home?
In: American Journal of Political Science
Wiley, Hoboken, 2019

This article demonstrates that public opinion on migration “at home” is systematically driven by terrorism in other countries. Although there is little substantive evidence linking refugees or migrants to most recent terror attacks in Europe, news about terrorist attacks can trigger more negative views of immigrants. The authors argue that feelings of imminent danger and a more salient perception of migration threats do not stop at national borders. Their empirical results based on spatial econometrics and data on all terrorist attacks in Europe for the post-9/11 period support these claims.
Myriam Dunn Cavelty, Andreas Wenger
Cyber Security Meets Security Politics: Complex Technology, Fragmented Politics, and Networked Science
In: Contemporary Security Policy
Taylor & Francis Group, Abingdon, UK, 2019

Over the past decade, cyber incidents have become more costly, more disruptive, and in many cases political. As a result, such incidents attracted the interest of decision-makers and the scientific community alike. This article introduces a special issue of the journal Contemporary Security Policy on cyber security policy. It offers a historical overview of how this policy field and the academic literature on it have developed. According to the authors, both cyber security policy and research have been shaped by technological opportunities, policy choices and scientific practices.

Luke Abbs, Govinda Clayton, Andrew Thomson
The Ties That Bind: Ethnicity, Pro-Government Militia, and the Dynamics of Violence in Civil War
In: Journal of Conflict Resolution
SAGE Journals, Thousand Oaks, 2019

How do pro-government militias influence the dynamics of violence during civil conflicts? Luke Abbs and CSS researchers Govinda Clayton and Andrew Thomson answer this question in a new article, examining the ethnic links between militias and governments. The authors note that the presence of militias belonging to the same ethnic group as the ruling government is associated with longer and more intense civil wars. Co-ethnic militias not only increase the military capacity of a state to resist insurgency, but can also lead to increased inter-ethnic polarization and ethnic extremism, as they are often used against insurgents from other ethnic communities.

Andrea Gilli, Mauro Gilli
Why China Has Not Caught Up Yet: Military-Technological Superiority and the Limits of Imitation, Reverse Engineering and Cyber Espionage
In: International Security, Vol. 43
President and Fellows of Harvard College; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, 2019

Can countries easily imitate the advanced weapon systems of the US and thus erode its military-technological superiority? Scholarship in international relations theory generally assumes that rising states benefit from the “advantage of backwardness”. That is, by free riding on the research and technology of the most advanced countries, less developed states can allegedly close the military-technological gap with their rivals relatively easily and quickly. More recent works maintain that globalization, the emergence of dual-use components, and advances in communications have facilitated this process. This literature is built on shaky theoretical foundations, however, and its claims lack empirical support.
Oliver Thränert
Back to the Future? Nuclear Weapons and European Security
In: Europäische Sicherheit und Technik
Mittler Report Verlag, Bonn, February 2019

The end of the INF Treaty has alarmed an unprepared German (and European) public: Are we once again facing nuclear annihilation? Does Russia want to attack NATO with nuclear weapons? Is the US under Donald Trump expanding its nuclear arsenal again, including in Europe? What about arms control? What should Germany do? These questions are increasingly being debated in public discourse. This article by Oliver Thränert sheds light on the background of current developments.

Mareile Kaufmann, Simon Egbert, Matthias Leese
Predictive Policing and the Politics of Patterns
In: The British Journal of Criminology
Oxford, 2019

Software packages for proactive policing are already in use in many countries. They are based on the identification of statistical patterns of the spatial and temporal distribution of crime. This article shows that each pattern implies certain narratives about how crimes are committed, where crimes occur, and where police patrols should be sent. In other words, statistical patterns formalize different perceptions of crime. However, in this way, police decisions become more opaque, as the assumptions underlying pattern recognition often remain obscured. This fact ultimately necessitates more reflection on the political nature of statistical patterns in the field of predictive policing.

Allard Duursma, Isak Svensson
Introducing an Agenda-Based Measurement of Mediation Success: The Divergent Effects of the Manipulation Strategy in African Civil Wars
In: International Negotiation, Vol. 24, Issue 2
Brill, Leiden, 2019

Mediation research to date measures “mediation success” by means of general indicators such as agreements, ceasefires or peace duration. However, these indicators do not take into account the objectives set for mediators in their mandates. This article presents a novel method of conceptualizing mediation success. It compares mediation results with the explicit mandates of the mediators. The article is based on data on peace negotiations in armed conflicts in Africa from 1990 to 2010 and, in contrast to existing research, shows that attempts at mediation by third parties do not have a significant influence on whether the goal of a particular round of negotiations is achieved.
Jonas Schneider
The Study of Leaders in Nuclear Proliferation and How to Reinvigorate It
In: International Studies Review
Oxford University Press, 2019

How can one explain the decisions of states to seek nuclear weapons or abandon related activities? Based on case studies of West Germany, South Korea, and Pakistan, this article argues that these decisions can only be fully understood if the characteristics of the leaders involved are taken into account. So far, however, the scientific literature on nuclear proliferation has not paid sufficient attention to the beliefs, experiences and identities of leaders. This is problematic in that situational factors rarely determine the behavior of states.

Myriam Dunn Cavelty, Florian J. Egloff
The Politics of Cybersecurity: Balancing Different Roles of the State
In: St. Antony’s International Review
University of Oxford, 2019

This article examines the role of the state in cyber security from a theoretical, empirical, and normative perspective. From a theoretical point of view, the authors conclude that the literature treats the role of the state as a security actor as a marginal issue. From an empirical perspective, the article analyses policy development in this area and identifies six different roles that the state claims to play: 1) security guarantor; 2) legislator and regulatory authority; 3) supporter and representative of society; 4) security partner; 5) knowledge broker; and 6) hazard actor. The article concludes with a normative analysis of the tension between state, economy, and society in which cyber security policy takes place.

Anne Isabel Kraus, Owen Frazer, Lars Kirchhoff, Tatiana Kyselova, Simon Mason, Julia Palmiano Federer
Dilemmas and Trade-Offs in Peacemaking: A Framework for Navigating Difficult Decisions
In: Politics and Governance, Vol. 7, Issue 4
Cogitatio, 2019

Peacemaking activities are decisively shaped by competing goals and priorities that apparently cannot be achieved simultaneously. This article focuses on the question of how third parties can deal with these conflicting goals if they are to mediate in violent political conflicts. Based on their personal experiences in Myanmar, Thailand, and Ukraine and an overview of the relevant literature in various disciplines, the authors present several strategies that mediators can use to deal with such situations. Specifically, they argue that third parties should respect normative, political, and practical boundaries if they have a truly determining function. However, if this is not the case, they should try to reduce these obstacles.
To this day, research in the field of cyber security is based on observational studies that consider attributes at the macro level as causal factors for the behavior of the state in cyberspace. Although this tradition led to significant insights, it abstracts the significance of individual decision-makers. In particular, these studies have yet to provide an explanation of why states fail to integrate available information, leading to sub-optimal judgements, such as the misallocation of cyber operations. Using a series of vignette experiments, the study shows that cognitive heuristics and motivated thinking play a crucial role in the formation of judgement in cyberspace.

1.3 SELECTED CONFERENCES

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

Data Matters: Digital Technologies and the Politics of Bordering.
Zurich, 23 – 25 May 2019

CSS researcher Matthias Leese, together with Simon Noori (University of Zurich) and Stephan Scheel (University of Duisburg-Essen), organized a workshop on “Data matters: Digital Technologies and the Politics of Bordering”. The workshop, funded by ETH Zurich, the University of Zurich and the alumni of the UZH, brought together a diverse group of senior and junior researchers from Europe and beyond and explored how the increasing collection and processing of data in border and migration contexts shapes forms of mobility and security practice.

Talking while Fighting? The Causes and Consequences of Civil War Ceasefires
Oslo, 18 – 20 September 2019

The CSS and the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) welcomed more than 40 scientists and practitioners to a three-day conference in Oslo on the topic of “Civil War Ceasefires”. An important contribution of the Ceasefire Project, an ongoing collaboration between researchers from PRIO, the University of Uppsala, and CSS at ETH Zurich, was the creation of a Civil War Ceasefire dataset containing information on all ceasefires during civil wars between 1989 and 2018.
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 IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

The six-semester Bachelor program BA in Political Science is aimed at prospective career officers in the Swiss Armed Forces. It comprises a curriculum of humanities and social and political science subjects, which are supplemented by military science courses. The program is run in cooperation between the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) at ETH Zurich and the Military Academy (MILAK) at ETH Zurich. Students simultaneously are graduates of the MILAK Bachelor’s Course (BLG).

The CSS offered the following courses in 2019:

Lectures:
• Schweizer Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik seit 1945 (spring semester 2019)
• Weltpolitik seit 1945: Geschichte der Internationalen Beziehungen (fall semester 2019)
• Die Rolle von Technologie in nationaler und internationaler Sicherheitspolitik (fall semester 2019)
• Einführung in die Cybersicherheitspolitik (fall semester 2019)

Seminars:
• Seminar I: Eine neue multipolare Weltordnung – Akteure und Interessen (spring semester 2019)
• Seminar II: Eine neue multipolare Weltordnung – Akteure und Interessen (fall semester 2019)

Colloquium:
• Bachelor Colloquium (fall semester 2019)
2.2 DAS ETH IN MILITARY SCIENCES

The two-semester continuing education program Diploma of Advanced Studies ETH in Military Sciences (DAS MILWISS) is aimed at prospective career officers who already have a university degree or equivalent qualification. Enrolment is mainly limited to Swiss citizens, but also includes representatives of friendly foreign armies who have been simultaneously accepted into the diploma course of the Military Academy (MILAK) at ETH Zurich (DLG).

The DAS MILWISS program is accredited at the ETH School for Continuing Education and comprises selected military science subjects, complemented by security policy. It is carried out in collaboration between the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) at ETH Zurich and MILAK.

On 1 March 2019, 14 graduates of the Bachelor’s course 2015 – 2019 and four Swiss participants in the Diploma course 2016 – 2018 were awarded the Federal Diploma as professional officers of the Swiss Armed Forces at the diploma ceremony in the ETH Auditorium Maximum. Two foreign participants of the diploma course received a certificate of participation.

2.3 CAS / DAS ETH IN CYBER SECURITY

This program takes a multidisciplinary approach, addressing both technical and strategic-political aspects of information and cyber security. In addition to an introduction to the topic and a seminar on a current cyber security issue, lecturers from the D-GESS department offered a course on political, strategic, governmental, and military aspects of cyber security in 2019:

- Cyber Security Policy (fall semester 2019)

2.4 MASTER OF ARTS IN COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (MACIS)

The MACIS is a four-semester research-oriented graduate program offered by the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS). The MACIS curriculum combines comparative and international political science, thus teaching students the complex interrelationships between national, international, and transnational political processes. Particular emphasis is placed on methods, theories, and research-oriented work. In this respect, MACIS is also a preparatory course for a PhD. About 20 students can be accepted from national and international applicants every year.

The following events were offered by the CSS in 2019:

www.cis.ethz.ch/education.html
Seminars:
• Ending Violence (spring semester 2019)
• Political Violence (fall semester 2019)
• Politics of Cyber Security (fall semester 2019)
• Cyber Security Policy (fall semester 2019)

2.5 MASTER OF SCIENCE IN SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND POLICY (STP)

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

The CSS offered the following courses in 2019:

Seminars:
• Argumentation and Science Communication (spring semester 2019)

2.6 DOCTORAL 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.

In 2019, 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

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

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 Neighbourhoods

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)

2.7 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). This program provides participants with the knowledge, skills, and techniques necessary 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 Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In 2019, CSS successfully completed the first cycle of the program and began the second cycle.

Modules:

• Module 5: Advanced Mediation Methods – Advanced Skills, Methods and Organisation (8–19 March 2019)
• Module 6: Mediation Processes – Simulation and Practice (17–28 June 2019)
• Module 1: Mediation in Context – Conflict Analysis and Resolution (4–22 November 2019)
2.8 NADEL CENTER FOR DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION

The NADEL Center for Development and Cooperation combines empirical social science research with an interdisciplinary teaching program and various transfer programs for practical application, thus pursuing the goal of contributing to effective and sustainable development cooperation.

The CSS cooperates with NADEL in the framework of two courses, which take place every two years:

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

Fragile Contexts – From Humanitarian Aid to Development
25-29 November 2019

Fritz Brugger (NADEL ETHZ) and Simon Mason (CSS ETHZ) collaborated in designing and running the NADEL course that focused on the triple nexus. The course addressed the question: How can development actors, humanitarian action and peace practitioners better understand each other so as to improve the way they work together in fragile contexts? Conceptual frameworks and exercises on the triple nexus were complemented by inputs from development cooperation (Swiss Development Cooperation FDFA, Caritas), humanitarian action (ICRC), and peace promotion (Human Security Division FDFA).
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 AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN 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).

Oliver Ibrämer and Benno Zogg (eds.)
Bulletin 2019 zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

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 an interview with Bulletin 2019, Ambassador Pälvi Pulli, Head of Security Policy at the DDPS, talked about the increasing harshness in relations between the major powers. These challenge the established rules of the game, with knock-on effects for Switzerland. The boundaries between war and peace, but also between economic and security policy are becoming more fluid. In view of this, Ambassador Pulli has noted growing expectations in Switzerland regarding a stronger profile of the country’s security policy, not least on the part of parliament. In addition, important challenges, such as the replacement of various large military systems, must be overcome in the coming years. Capability-oriented approaches are becoming increasingly important.

The first main contribution argues that many small states face considerable challenges in the future orientation of their defense capabilities. The second article deals with the relationship between NATO and Switzerland, which has always oscillated between rapprochement and estrangement. The third main contribution will focus on the great innovative potential of new technologies for peacebuilding and the challenges that their application poses for many actors. The fourth main contribution deals with the question of how to deal with followers and their families from the West who have been captured in Syria and Iraq in the course of the destruction of the “Islamic State” (IS).

The Bulletin 2019 includes the following lead articles:
“Es ist oft sehr schwierig, politisch kontroverse Themen sorgfältig aufeinander abzustimmen. Aber wir versuchen es immer wieder.”
(Interview with Pälvi Pulli, Head of Security Policy at the DDPS)

Trends in der Streitkräfteentwicklung Kleiner Staaten
By Michael Haas und Annabelle Vuille

Die Schweiz und die NATO: Neue Konvergernz
By Henrik Larsen

Die Digitale Transformation der Friedensförderung
By Julia Hofstetter and Boas Lieberherr

Das Dilemma im Umgang mit im Ausland festgehaltenen westlichen Dschihadreisenden
By Fabien Merz

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

Waffenstillstände in Bürgerkriegen: Ein globaler Datensatz
By Claudia Wiehler and Govinda Clayton

Studie zu Entwicklungen Dschihadistischer Radikalisierung in der Schweiz
By Fabien Merz

On 12 November 2019, Bulletin 2019 on Swiss security policy was presented in Bern. CSS authors Michael Haas, Annabelle Vuille, Henrik Larsen, Julia Hofstetter, and Fabien Merz presented their respective contributions. Topics of the panel discussion included the development of armed forces in small states, Switzerland and NATO, the digital transformation of peacebuilding, and the dilemma of dealing with Western jihadists imprisoned in Syria and Iraq.

Tibor Szövecsev Tresch, Andreas Wenger, Stefano De Rosa, Thomas Ferst, Mauro Giovannoli, Eva Moeblecke de Baseggio, Thomas Reiss, Andrea Rinaldo, Olivia Schneider, Jennifer Victoria Scurrell

Sicherheit 2019: Aussen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitische Meinungsbildung im Trend
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, and Military Academy (MILAK) at ETH Zurich, 2019

The annual study Security, which is published jointly by the Military Academy and the CSS, serves to identify long-term trends and tendencies in the formation of foreign, security, and defense policy opinion in Switzerland. They are based on representative surveys carried out every year and include the repetition of core questions on foreign, security, and defense policy as well as surveys on selected in-depth topics. In 2019, the focus was on relations between the US and Switzerland as well as the global political situation, attitudes towards equal opportunities in the Swiss Armed Forces, and the perception of army communications.

The publication is published in German and contains summaries in German, French, Italian, and English. The Security 2019 study is based on a representative survey of 1,213 Swiss voters conducted in January 2019.

Swiss people generally feel very safe. Respondents are optimistic about the future of Switzerland. They cite Switzerland’s good economic situation and political system
as the main reasons for their optimistic assessment of the future. As in the previous year, fear of crime remains unchanged at a low level.

In 2019, the police continued to enjoy the highest level of trust. The courts took second place, followed by the Federal Council and the Swiss economy. The Federal Parliament and the army enjoy equal levels of trust. The average trust in the authorities and institutions surveyed has increased significantly compared to the previous year.

The aversion to openness among the Swiss general public continued in 2019. Approval of economic and political autonomy remains high. While soft forms of cooperation without institutional ties are supported by a majority, forms of cooperation that would entail institutional integration in international organizations are clearly rejected.

The principle of Swiss neutrality is supported almost unanimously by the Swiss electorate. Even if Switzerland's neutrality would no longer bring any advantages, the Swiss people would want to hold on to it.

The indispensability of the Swiss Armed Forces is affirmed by a clear majority of the Swiss population. They are satisfied with the performance of the army. Approval of the militia system as a form of military service and recruitment has increased significantly.

### 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.

In 2019, 18 issues of CSS Analyses in Security Policy were published:

- No. 255: New Technologies for Border Controls in Europe
- No. 254: The Middle East and China's Belt and Road Initiative
- No. 253: National Economic Supply as an Emergency Precaution
- No. 252: Ceasefires in Intra-State Peace Processes
- No. 251: AI in Military Enabling Applications
- No. 250: Russia and China: The Potential of their Partnership
- No. 249: Kazakhstan: A Centerpiece in China's Belt and Road
- No. 248: European Strategic Autonomy and the US
- No. 247: Europe and the Global AI Race

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**Newsletter CSS Analyses**

At [www.css.ethz.ch/cssanalysen](http://www.css.ethz.ch/cssanalysen) a newsletter can be subscribed to, which regularly informs about the latest editions.
Resilience to Disaster Is No Small Measure

By Tim Prior and Florian Roth

The need to integrate disaster risk reduction (DRR) into policymaking and economic development has never been greater. In the aftermath of recent large-scale natural hazards, policymakers in developing countries have reached a consensus that DRR policies must not only manage hazards, but also consider exposure and tackle issues of vulnerability. This implies that DRR can also contribute to peace and security, as DRR in developing countries can also pose a risk to peace and security.

Such events offer reminders that there is no such thing as a “natural disaster”. Such events, for example, wildfires in the USA, Sweden, Greece, and Australia were likely caused by ongoing wildfires in the USA, Sweden, Greece, and Australia. Highly developed countries can also suffer from technical hazards. Devastating consequences of natural and technical hazards.

Policy Workshop on the topic “Global Political Situation 2019” (see page 23). The

Strategic Trends

Strategic Trends is an annual publication of the CSS at ETH Zurich. 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 2019 is the tenth issue in the series. The publication series is available for download at the CSS website (www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen/strategictrends.html).

2019 is developing into another challenging year in global politics. In the first chapter, Jack Thompson analyses the consequences of the new US trade policy. It notes that while protectionist measures may bring short-term benefits, in the long term they will undermine the WTO’s rules-based trading system. In the second chapter, Michael Haas examines the shifts between the West and non-Western states in the field of military technology. Western policy should try to slow down this process and at the same time adapt to a world in which the West is no longer militarily superior. In the third chapter, Jeronim Perović examines the emergence of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). The leadership role within the EAEU, according to Perović, is a cornerstone of Russia’s strategy to position itself as a great power in Eurasia and to gain more influence in its dealings with the US and Europe. In the final chapter, Lisa Watanabe analyses Russia’s resurgence as a power broker in the Middle East and North Africa. Increased influence in this key region will help Russia to consolidate its status as a great power.

Strategic Trends 2019 includes the following articles:

**Jack Thompson**

*Trump and the Weaponization of International Trade*

**Michael Haas**

*The Eclipse of Western Military-Technological Superiority*

**Jeronim Perović**

*Russia’s Eurasian Strategy*

**Lisa Watanabe**

*Russia’s Renaissance in the Arab World*

On 12 April 2019, the CSS presented Strategic Trends 2019 at the ETH Security Policy Workshop on the topic “Global Political Situation 2019” (see page 23). The
CSS also organizes the annual conference “Global Political Situation: Challenges for Switzerland” to complement the publication.

On the same day, an article on the subject appeared in the Neue Zürcher Zeitung: “Der westliche Vorsprung in der Militärtechnologie schwindet” (“The West is losing its edge in military technology”).

As in previous years, Strategic Trends 2019 continued to be presented in various national and international forums. It began with a “Brown Bag Lunch” at the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) on 3 May 2019 and continued with a presentation of Strategic Trends at the Geneva Center for Security Policy (GCSP) on 9 May 2019. Finally, on 20 May 2019, a discussion on Strategic Trends in Vienna at the OSCE followed in the context of a new series of events organized by the OSCE Secretary General entitled “OSCE Talking Points”.

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 CSS Policy Perspectives are aimed primarily at an international audience and are therefore published mainly in English. In selected cases, we also publish them in German if if the topics are of particular interest to a Swiss audience. They appear as electronic publications.

In 2019, two issues of the CSS Policy Perspectives were published:

- Trump's Missile Defense: Challenges for Europe
- A Politically Neutral Hub for Basic AI Research

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.

Both publication series are published in English.
In 2019, 14 RAD editions were published:
No. 231: Orthodox Church
No. 232: Russia’s Relations with the South Caucasus
No. 233: Russia’s Oligarchs
No. 234: Russian Think Tanks and Foreign Policy-Making
No. 235: Caspian Sea
No. 236: Impact of Sanctions on Russian Business
No. 237: Security Issues
No. 238: North Caucasus
No. 239: Russian Regional Elections
No. 240: Indigenous Peoples in Russia
No. 241: Russia’s Economy
No. 242: Russia-Ukraine
No. 243: Climate Change and Russia
No. 244: Grain Exports from Russia

In addition, five issues of the CAD were published:
No. 108: Protests in Armenia: The Domestic Dimension
No. 109: Russia’s Relations with the South Caucasus
No. 110: Industrial Policy in the South Caucasus
No. 111: China’s “Belt and Road” Initiative and the South Caucasus
No. 112: The Changing Geopolitics of Energy Infrastructure in the Caspian Sea Region

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 department 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.
ETH Conference on Security Policy: Religion in Swiss Peacebuilding
ETH Zurich, 25 January 2019

On Friday, 25 January 2019, an ETH Workshop on “Religion in Swiss Peacebuilding” was held at the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich. After an opening speech by Shamil Idriss, three panels discussed concepts and principles in Swiss peacebuilding on religion and conflict, comparative case studies of Swiss involvement in religion and conflict, and challenges and open questions for the future.

The first panel dealt with the strategy of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) on peacebuilding in conflicts in which religion plays a role. The second panel focused on three peacebuilding projects from different parts of the world (Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, and southern Thailand), which also represented different stages of peacebuilding (prevention, inclusion during peace negotiations, normalization after a peace agreement). The final panel discussed old and new challenges for Swiss peace policy in the area of religion and conflict.

ETH Workshop: Global Political Situation 2019
ETH Zurich, 12 April 2019

On 12 April 2019, the CSS presented Strategic Trends 2019 at the ETH Security Policy Workshop on the topic “Global Political Situation 2019”.

On the first panel, National Councillor Christa Markwalder and Thomas Rothacher, Head of Science and Technology at armasuisse, discussed the future of the “West” and the liberal order with CSS staff members Jack Thomson and Michael Haas. This issue was approached from two sides. On the one hand, the consequences of US trade policy under President Donald Trump were in the foreground; on the other hand, the podium devoted itself to the new dynamics with regard to modern armament technologies and examined the question of whether the Western industrial nations are losing their traditional lead in this area.

The second round of discussions focused on the challenge of Russia. The journalists Zita Affentranger (Tages-Anzeiger) and Daniel Steinworth (Neue Zürcher Zeitung) discussed with Lisa Watanabe, team leader “Switzerland and Euro-Atlantic Security” and trends author Jeronim Perovic, titular professor at the University of Zurich, about Moscow’s strategies of influence in its Eurasian neighborhood and in the Arab world.

ETH Workshop on Swiss Security Policy: Artificial Intelligence, Technological Change and Swiss Foreign and Security Policy
ETH Zurich, 24 May 2019

On 24 May 2019, the CSS organized the conference “Artificial Intelligence, Technological Change and Swiss Foreign and Security Policy”. The aim of the conference was to introduce the topic of artificial intelligence (AI) to people already working in foreign and security policy. A further objective was to discuss how Switzerland has positioned itself in this area to date and how it could actively shape future developments at the interface between AI and foreign policy.

Three top-class panels discussed the following topics: AI, the technology race, and economic power/inequality; AI, military power, and changes in the war picture; and international cooperation and AI governance.
CSS EVENING TALKS

The CSS organizes a number of workshops each year to promote cooperation 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.

Iran’s Nuclear Program and Transatlantic Relations
ETH Zurich, 17 January 2019

The ETH Evening Talk on 17 January 2019 focused on the Iranian nuclear program. The discussion between Mike Singh, director of the Washington Institute for Middle East Policy and former member of the George W. Bush administration, and the head of the CSS Think Tank, Oliver Thränert, primarily centered on highlighting the differences between the US on the one hand and Europe on the other in dealing with the Iranian challenge.

The Death of Expertise
ETH Zurich, 25 March 2019

Since the introduction of the 24-hour news cycle, the invention of the Internet and the growing role of social media, the way of political communication has changed dramatically. Prof. Tom Nichols of the US Naval War College, author of the book “The Death of Expertise”, and David Hesse, editorial staff member of the Tages-Anzeiger newspaper, discussed this issue in an evening talk on 25 March 2019. The speakers agreed that experts are indispensable for democratic discourse on foreign and security policy.

The New Silk Road: Chinese Visions and European Reactions
ETH Zurich, 22 October 2019

During an Evening Talk on 22 October 2019, Dr. Thomas Eder, research associate of the think tank “Mercator Institute for China Studies” in Berlin, and Linda Maduz, Senior Researcher at the Center for Security Studies, discussed “The New Silk Road: Chinese visions and European reactions”. The speakers talked about the goals that the Chinese government is pursuing with the project, the concrete design of the New Silk Road, and the different reactions that this mega-project is provoking in Europe. European countries and actors are affected by Silk Road projects in different ways.
Resilience through Technology: How We Protect Critical Infrastructure from the Unexpected
ETH Zurich, 11 December 2019

Critical infrastructures are essential for the safe functioning of our society. As they become increasingly complex, the creative inventiveness of engineers is needed to make them more resilient. This was the quintessence of the ETH Evening Talk on the topic of “Resilience through technology. How we protect critical infrastructures from the unexpected” on Wednesday, 11 December 2019. Together with approximately 50 participants, Prof. Dr.-Ing. habil. Stefan Hiermaier, Director of Fraunhofer EMI, and Benjamin Scharte, Senior Researcher at CSS, debated how the engineering sciences can contribute to greater resilience.

FURTHER SELECTED CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

CSS at the Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction
Geneva, 13 – 17 May 2019

The CSS’s Risk & Resilience team supported the Swiss government, which acted as the host country of sixth Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction (GPDRR). As part of the Swiss delegation, Tim Prior and Florian Roth co-organized a working session on locally-led disaster risk reduction and resilience-building. Further, the CSS provided topical support, including by contributing to the summary presented by the Swiss government as the conference’s co-chair, which was delivered at the closing session by State Secretary Manuel Sager.

OSCE Focus Conference 2019
Geneva, 18 – 19 October 2019

Held on 18 – 19 October at Villa Moynier in Geneva, the OSCE Focus 2019 conference was dedicated to the theme “Building a Vision of the Future”. Over 45 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 faced by the organization. The workshop was organized by the DCAF – Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance with support from, and in close collaboration with, the ministries of foreign affairs of Italy, Slovakia, Albania, and Switzerland, along with the CSS.
3.3 POLICY CONSULTING

In its advisory capacity, the CSS supports various public-sector actors.

SELECTED STUDIES

Daniel Keohane, Amos Dossi
Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) as an Instrument of European Security and Integration Policy: Background, Perspectives, Implications for Switzerland

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

By the end of 2017, 25 EU member states had joined the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO). This cooperation framework aims to deepen technological and institutional interoperability between previously primarily nationally structured armaments and armed forces structures. This CSS study sheds light on the background, perspectives of the actors, and potential development trajectories of PESCO.

Tim, Prior, Florian Roth
Volunteerism in Disaster Management. Opportunities, Challenges, and Instruments for Improvement

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

This report provides an overview of the challenges and opportunities that arise when involving different types of helpers in emergency management and civil protection. The study highlights current challenges in crisis management, taking into account the respective social context.

Linda Maduz, Tim Prior, Florian Roth, Marco Käser
Individual Disaster Preparedness: Explaining Disaster-Related Information Seeking and Preparedness Behavior in Switzerland

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

Individual disaster preparedness is shaped by a multitude of psychological, socioeconomic, and cultural factors that influence each other in a complex way. In this CSS Risk and Resilience Report, Marco Käser, Linda Maduz, Tim Prior, and Florian Roth examine what motivates German and French-speaking Swiss to inform themselves about risks and prepare for dangers.
**Marie Baezner**  
*Synthesis 2018: Focus on Asia: Continuity and Specificities*  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

The Hotspot Synthesis identifies trends from the three CSS Hotspot analyses on cyber activities in South, Southeast, and East Asia. The Synthesis underlines the lack of an agreement on the use of cyberspace, as well as the lack of differentiation between legitimate and illegitimate behavior.

**Marie Baezner**  
*Iranian Cyberactivities in the Context of Regional Rivalries and International Tensions*  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

This hotspot analysis examines state-sponsored cyber activities in relation to Iran. It shows that the Iranian government is using cyberspace to monitor dissidents and control information within Iran. At the international level, the Islamic Republic considers cyber operations to be part of its asymmetric warfare against the US and its allies and offers it the opportunity to harass its opponents with limited risk of retaliation.

**Marie Baezner, Sean Cordey**  
*National Cybersecurity Strategies in Comparison – Challenges for Switzerland*  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

The present CSS study compares the cybersecurity strategies of Germany, Finland, France, Israel, Italy, and the Netherlands in order to place the Swiss approach in a broader international context and to give a comparative overview of the most important future challenges.

**Alice Crelier**  
*The Challenges of Scaling the Internet of Things*  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

To illustrate the societal challenge posed by the Internet of Things, this analysis examines 1) the trade-off between the associated economic costs and its security; 2) the main incidents and incidents related to the Internet of Things; 3) the regulatory environment; and 4) the application of the Internet of Things in the defense sector.
**Stefan Soesanto**  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

This trend analysis provides a historical overview of the development of US defense strategy in cyberspace. The analysis follows a deterrence-oriented approach, which is why primarily cyber-specific events that were relevant to the developments of the US Department of Defense’s cyber strategy are highlighted.

**Sean Cordey, Robert S. Dewar, Marie Baezner, Patrice Robin, Matteo Bonfanti, Raymond Bierens, Nicolas Castellon, Francis Domingo**  
National Cybersecurity and Cyberdefense Policy Snapshots: Updated Collection 2  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

This volume examines and compares the policy and institutional architecture of cybersecurity in Austria, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Singapore, and the UK. It centers on the role that cyberdefense plays in the cybersecurity strategies of these states.

**Alice Crelier**  
Cybersecurity at Big Events  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

Major events such as the G20 summits or the Olympic Games are increasingly influenced by geopolitical developments and digitalization trends. Ensuring cybersecurity during these events is therefore a considerable challenge. Based on case studies from the G20 summits and several Olympic Games, this trend analysis analyzes the most common threats originating from cyberspace and discusses how organizers can effectively protect themselves against cyber attacks.

**Sean Cordey**  
The Israeli Unit 8200: An OSINT-Based Study  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

This report analyses the historical, operational, and organizational background of the Israeli army’s Cyber Unit 8200, which is responsible for operations such as Orchard or Stuxnet.

**Sean Kane**  
Peace Agreement Provisions and the Durability of Peace  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), CSS Mediation Resources, ETH Zurich, 2019

This study examines empirical research on the relationship between the content of negotiated peace agreements of civil wars and the duration of the subsequent peace period. It focuses primarily on quantitative studies that use statistical methods to analyze databases containing decades of civil wars and related peace agreements.
Swisspeace, FBA, HD, Julia Palmiano Federer, Julia Pickhardt, Philipp Lustenberger, Christian Altpeter, Katrina Abatis

**Beyond the Tracks? Reflections on Multitrack Approaches to Peace Processes**
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2019

This report examines peace processes that have several social levels or “tracks”. These can range from high-level diplomatic negotiations to local peace initiatives. The report is based on findings from a retreat with practitioners involved in dialog, negotiation or mediation initiatives in several countries, as well as representatives of the Folke Bernadotte Academy, swisspeace, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, and the CSS.

**SELECTED CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS, AND COURSES**

**Interdepartmental Meeting on Switzerland’s NATO Partnership**
Bern, 22 November 2019

The CSS participated in an interdepartmental meeting on Switzerland’s partnership with NATO on 22 November 2019. The meeting included participants from GS-VBS, ASP-EDA, IBV, the Swiss Mission to NATO, and Armasuisse. At the meeting, Henrik Larsen, senior researcher in the Swiss and Euro-Atlantic Security Team at the CSS, presented his ideas about how Switzerland’s partnership with NATO could be developed.

**Weaving Peace Together**
Thailand, 2019

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 2019, the project team organized a series of intra-Buddhist dialog workshops where participants exchanged views about the conflict in the south, agreed shared values for the group, and developed joint projects to strengthen Buddhist efforts for peace in the south. In September, a public forum was organized with speakers from Sri Lanka to learn from Sri Lankan experiences of addressing inter-community tensions. In November, a mixed group of Buddhists and Malay Muslims travelled to Chiang Mai to learn from experiences of bridging inter-community divides in that region.

**Mediation Support Network Meeting**
Bogota (Colombia), 9 – 12 April 2019

The 15th Mediation Support Network (MSN) meeting was dedicated to the topic of “Transition Processes in the Post-Agreement Scenario”. The attendees discussed the implementation of mediation and mediation support in post-agreement settings, drawing heavily on the Colombian context. As the coordinator of the MSN Secretariat, the Mediation Support Project (MSP, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA) supported the organization of the meeting.
Women in Track One Negotiations and Mediation
Workshops in Istanbul, Stockholm and Brussels, 2019

In cooperation with the Joan B. Kroc Institute of Peace and Justice Studies in San Diego, the Folke Bernadotte Academy in Sweden, and European Institute of Peace in Brussels, the CSS in the context of MSP (CSS and swisspeace, funded by FDFA) launched a practice-based research initiative aimed at learning from senior women negotiators and mediators in Track 1 peace processes. Over the course of 2019, up to 40 women professionals gathered in three different convening meetings in Istanbul, Stockholm, and Brussels to facilitate exchanges on mediation and negotiation methods and strategies that they apply in their peace processes.

Peace Mediation Course
Saanen-Gstaad, 30 June and 12 July 2019

The 12th edition of the Peace Mediation Course (PMC) was held this year, organized by the Swiss FDFA and the MSP (a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA). In 2019, 26 participants attended the course, including representatives of the FDFA, the UN, regional organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and experts from conflict regions.

Religion and Mediation Course
Murten, 26 – 31 August 2019

The Culture and Religion in Mediation (CARIM) program’s sixth Religion and Mediation Course was organized in cooperation with the Swiss FDFA, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, and the Network of Religious and Traditional Peacemakers. It 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.

UN Religion and Mediation Course
New York (US), 9 – 13 December 2019

Together with the Mediation Support Unit (MSU) of the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA), 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 fifth 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 peace mediation processes in violent political conflicts in which religion plays a role.
UN Ceasefire Mediation Course
Oslo, 1–6 April 2019

UNCM provides the participants with the tools and knowledge to support a cease-fire mediation process, taking into account their multifaceted nature in terms of content, context, and actors. UNCM is organized by Norwegian Defense International Centre (NODEFIC), Norwegian MFA, Norwegian MOD, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, United Nations, with a contribution from the CSS.

Master’s Program in Conflict Settlement and Mediation
Kiev, January–December 2019

At the request of the Swiss FDFA and the Ukrainian Ministry for Temporarily Occupied Territories and Internally Displaced Persons, the CSS, and the MSP (CSS and swisspeace, funded by FDFA) have been supporting the setup of a Master’s 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 broader Swiss efforts to contribute to a culture of peaceful conflict settlement and sustainable peace in Ukraine.

Negotiation and Mediation Course
Mutare (Zimbabwe), 28–30 March 2019

The follow-up workshop to the third edition of the Negotiation and Mediation Course, organized by Africa University (AU) and the CSS, was attended by 21 Zimbabwean policy-makers and practitioners. This workshop is part of a four-year Negotiation and Mediation Training Project (2017–2020) between the AU and CSS. The support was carried out in the framework of the MSP (CSS and swisspeace, funded by FDFA) and the Institute for Peace, Leadership and Governance (AU).

Mediation Training for Diplomats
Malters, 12–17 May 2019

The Swiss FDFA and German MFA in collaboration with the MSP (CSS and swisspeace, funded by FDFA) and the German Initiative Peace Mediation (Berghof Foundation and others) organized a one-week mediation support training for diplomats. The course focused on conflict analysis, basic skills, process design, and the role of diplomats in supporting mediation processes.
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. Its work is independent, of practical relevance, and based on solid academic inquiry.

The CSS combines research with policy consultancy 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 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 the two sponsoring bodies support the CSS management in developing its strategic orientation.

The CSS is part of 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 Master and Bachelor programs.

Alumni

Former employees of the CSS are organized in the Alumni Section CSS of ETH Alumni. In addition to a wide range of benefits, they receive regular information from the ETH Alumni Office and, in particular, invitations to selected CSS events. The fifth annual meeting took place on 15 November 2019. As usual, the participants were informed about the news of the CSS, and afterwards, alumni gave lectures on their current professional life. Of course there was also time for informal exchange over a drink.
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